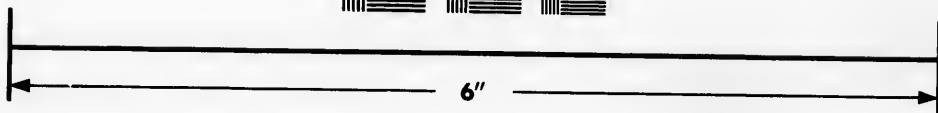
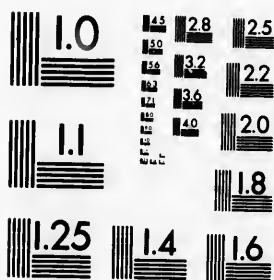


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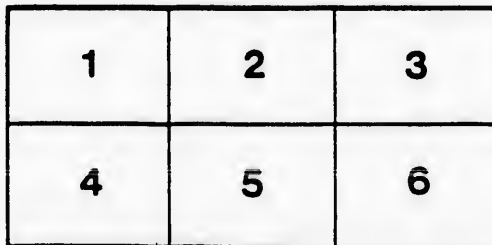
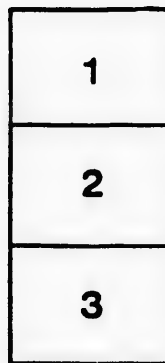
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V

A DICTIONARY
OF
CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

BEING
A CONTINUATION OF THE 'DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.'

EDITED BY
WILLIAM SMITH, D.C.L., LL.D.
AND
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PROFESSOR OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.



IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.

TORONTO:
WILLING & WILLIAMSON.



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PREFACE.

This Work is intended to furnish, together with the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, and Doctrines,' which will shortly follow, a complete account of the leading Personages, the Institutions, Art, Social Life, Writings and Controversies of the Christian Church from the time of the Apostles to the age of Charlemagne. It commences at the period at which the 'Dictionary of the Bible' leaves off, and forms a continuation of it: it ceases at the age of Charlemagne, because (as Gibbon has remarked) the reign of this monarch forms the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical history. It thus stops short of what we commonly call the Middle Ages. The later development of Ritual and of the Monastic Orders, the rise and progress of the great Mendicant Orders, the Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, the Hagiology and Symbolism, the Canon Law, and the Institutions generally of the Middle Ages, furnish more than sufficient matter for a separate book.

The present Work, speaking generally, elucidates and explains in relation to the Christian Church the same class of subjects that the 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities' does in reference to the public and private life of classical antiquity. It treats of the organization of the Church, its officers, legislation, discipline, and revenues; the social life of Christians; their worship and ceremonial, with the accompanying music, vestments, instruments, vessels, and insignia; their sacred places; their architecture and other forms of Art; their symbolism; their sacred days and seasons; the graves or Catacombs in which they were laid to rest.

We can scarcely hope that every portion of this wide and varied field has been treated with equal completeness; but we may venture to assert, that this Dictionary is at least more complete than any attempt hitherto made by English or Foreign scholars to treat in one work the whole archaeology of the early Church. The great

work of Bingham, indeed, the foundation of most subsequent books on the subject, must always be spoken of with the utmost respect; but it is beyond the power of one man to treat with the requisite degree of fulness and accuracy the whole of so vast a subject; and there is probably no branch of Christian archaeology on which much light has not been thrown since Bingham's time by the numerous scholars and divines who have devoted their lives to special investigations. We trust that we have made accessible to all educated persons a great mass of information, hitherto only the privilege of students with the command of a large library.

In treating of subjects like Church Government and Ritual it is probably impossible to secure absolute impartiality; but we are confident that no intentional reticence, distortion or exaggeration has been practised by the writers in this work.

It has been thought advisable not to insert in the present work an account of the Literature, of the Sects and Heresies, and of the Doctrines of the Church, but to treat these subjects in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' as they are intimately connected with the lives of the leading persons in Church History, and could not with advantage be separated from them.

It has not been possible to construct the vocabulary on an entirely consistent principle. Where a well-recognized English term exists for an institution or an object, that term has generally been preferred as the heading of an article. But in many cases obsolete customs, offices, or objects have no English name; and in many others the English term is not really co-extensive with the Latin or Greek term to which it seems at first sight to correspond. The word *Decanus* (for example) has several meanings which are not implied in the English *Dean*. In such cases it was necessary to adopt a term from the classic languages. Cross-references are given from the synonyms or quasi-synonyms to the word under which any subject is treated. The Councils are placed (so far as possible) under the modern names of the places at which they were held, a cross-reference being given from the ancient name. In the case of the Saints' Days, the names of the Western saints have been taken from the martyrology of Usuard, as containing probably the most complete list of the martyrs and confessors generally recognized in the West up to the ninth century; the occurrence of these names in earlier calendars or martyrologies is also noted. In the letters A and B, however, the names of Saints are taken principally from the 'Martyrologium Romanum Vetus,' and from the catalogues which bear the names of Jerome and of Bede, without special reference

to Usuard. In the case of the Eastern Church, we have taken from the calendars of Byzantium, of Armenia, and of Ethiopia, those names which fall within our chronological period. This alphabetical arrangement will virtually constitute an index to the principal martyrologies, in addition to supplying the calendar-dates of events which are fixed—as is not uncommonly the case in ancient records—by reference to some festival. The names of persons are inserted in the vocabulary of this Work only with reference to their commemoration in martyrologies or their representations in art, their lives, when they are of any importance, being given in the Dictionary of Biography.

References are given throughout to the original authorities on which the several statements rest, as well as to modern writers of repute. In citations from the Fathers, where a page is given without reference to a particular edition, it refers for the most part to the standard pagination—generally that of the Benedictine editions—which is retained in Migne's *Patrologia*.

At the commencement of this work, the Editorship of that portion which includes the laws, government, discipline, and revenues of the Church and the Orders within it, was placed in the hands of Professor Stubbs; the education and social life of Christians in those of Professor Plumptre; while the treatment of their worship and ceremonial was entrusted to Professor Cheetham; all under the general superintendence of Dr. William Smith. As the work proceeded, however, a pressure of other engagements rendered it impossible for Professors Stubbs and Plumptre to continue their editorship of the parts which they had undertaken; and from the end of the letter C Professor Cheetham has acted as Editor of the whole work, always with the advice and assistance of Dr. William Smith.

In conclusion, we have to express our regret at the long time that has elapsed since the first announcement of the work. This delay has been owing partly to our anxious desire to make it as accurate as possible, and partly to the loss we have sustained by the death of two of our most valued contributors, the Rev. A. W. Haddan and the Rev. W. B. Marriott.

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AMERICAN PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

In offering this "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities" to the American public, with our imprint, several very important facts need to be stated. It is due to ourselves as Publishers, as well as to the people of this country, who require, in their religious reading and studies, this invaluable production of Dr. Smith, that they be enlightened in regard to the circumstances of its republication on this side of the Atlantic.

Early recognizing the remarkable excellence of this Dictionary, and its necessity to all students of the Bible and Church history, we contracted with the English publisher for a duplicate set of plates, that we might reproduce the work *entire and unaltered*.

An edition, however, largely abridged and seriously mutilated, has been issued, and extensively advertised as Dr. Smith's Dictionary. Ours, therefore, is the only COMPLETE, UNABRIDGED American edition of the work, as it came from the hands of Dr. Smith and his co-laborers. This merit of completeness and integrity will have great weight with all scholars and persons of discrimination. Had this Dictionary been thought susceptible of a wise and proper condensation, the eminent lexicographer would doubtless have done this service himself, as he did a similar service in respect to his "Dictionary of the Bible," in order to accommodate the slender means of many students of the Scriptures. But this work is so compact, its various articles have been so condensed by their respective authors, that any alteration of the text by any other hand, is not a matter of even doubtful expediency nor a question of cost, but a damaging mutilation and grievous mistake. Whoever therefore may be betrayed into the patronage of the abridgment, will lose very much that is contained in the original work.

Again, we are enabled by our contract with the English publisher to offer the UNABRIDGED DICTIONARY at less than one-half the price of the imported edition, and at a cost so low that no one will hesitate a moment to choose our large and unaltered reprint from the English plates, rather than the abridgment hastily prepared in this country.

Furthermore and finally, we have made such arrangements with Dr. Smith and Mr. Murray, his publisher, that the second volume (now nearly ready for publication) is to be in part of American authorship, and will therefore be copyrighted in this country. There can therefore be no legal reprint of it except by ourselves. Any infringement of our sole right to republish it and thus complete this most valuable contribution to Christian literature, will be subjected to legal resistance and redress. The distinguished lexicographer will therefore derive some remuneration for the vast service he has rendered to the Christian people of the United States.

It is proper therefore that we here **emphasize our caution**, lest any person be misled to the purchase of the first volume of the mutilated reprint, as its publishers will be stopped from the issue of the second volume. No

wise man will buy any portion of a work that can not be completed. In the interests of literary integrity, and to save the Christian public from being imposed upon in the purchase of the abridgment, we have felt it incumbent upon us to freely and fully state the real facts of the case, and that we may leave no room for any possible doubt in the mind of any one in regard to the truth of our statements and the validity of our claim, we append the certificates of Dr. Smith of London, and Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, the representatives of the English publisher in this country.

A thorough and exhaustive comparison of the two editions, will be sent to any one who desires it. The publishers of the abridgment caution their subscribers against purchasing any *second volume but theirs*. We caution the American public against purchasing any *first volume but ours*, because no second volume can ever be issued in this country except by us. They will thus avoid great annoyance and pecuniary loss.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Abp.	for Archbishop.	I. U. R.	" <i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romanae</i> ," by De Rossi.
A. C.	<i>Ante Christum</i> =Before Christ.	Jos.	Josephus, the Jewish-historian.
A. D.	<i>Anno Domini</i> =in the year of our Lord.	Just. or Justin.	Justinian, Roman emperor and lawgiver of the fifth century.
al.	<i>alii, or aliter</i> =others.	Kal.	<i>Kalendarium</i> =Calendar.
Alex.	Alexander, or Alexandrinus.	l. h.	<i>leges, iuges</i> =in w. laws, respectively.
an.	<i>anno</i> =in the year.	l. c.	<i>loco citato</i> =in the place cited.
Anast.	Anastasius, Emperor of the East.	Lactan.	Lactantius, a father of the church.
anc.	ancient.	Latin Chr.	Latin Christianity, by Milson.
Ann.	<i>Annals of Tacitus</i> =a Roman historian.	ll. cc.	<i>lucis ritati</i> =at the pieces cited.
Annot.	<i>Annotationes</i> =Annotations.	Lib. or lib.	<i>liber</i> =book.
Ant. or Antiq.	Antiquities.	lit.	literal or literally.
Antiph.	<i>Antiphonarius, with liber</i> =Book of Antiphons.	Livy.	Livy, a Roman historian.
Apoc.	Apocrypha.	LXX.	The Seventy, i. e. the Septuagint, or Greek translation of the O. T.
Apol.	Apology.	M.	<i>Monsieur</i> , (French)=Mr.
Apos. Const.	Apostolical Constitutions.	1 Macc.	1st Book of the Maccabees, (Apoc.)
Archiep.	<i>Archiepiscopus</i> =Archbishop.	2 Macc.	2d Book of the Maccabees, (Apoc.)
Areop.	Areopagite.	3 Macc.	3d Book of the Maccabees, (Apoc.)
A. U. C.	<i>Anno urbis condite</i> =in the year from the building of the city, i. e., Rome.	margin.	margin or marginal.
Aug.	Augustine.	M. Hieron.	<i>Martyrologium Hieronymi</i> =Martyrology of Jerome.
A. V.	Authorized English version of Bible.	Mart. Rom. Vet.	<i>Martyrologium Romanum Vetus</i> .
B.	<i>Beatus</i> =Blessed.	MS. or MSS.	Manuscript or Manuscripts.
B. & D.	Hist. of Bel and the Dragon, (Apoc.)	N. T.	New Testament.
B. C.	Before Christ.	ob. or obt.	<i>obit</i> =died.
Bibl.	<i>Biblion</i> =Book.	Op. Opp.	<i>Opus, Opera</i> =Work, Works, literary.
bk.	book.	O. T.	Old Testament.
B. V. M.	<i>Beata Virgo Maria</i> =Blessed Virgin Mary.	p. & pp.	page and pages, respectively.
c.	<i>capitulum</i> =chapter or <i>circa</i> =about.	Pal.	Palestine.
C. or cent.	Century.	Pent.	Pentateuch.
Cal.	<i>Calendarium</i> =Calendar or List.	Pand.	Pandects.
Cap. or capit.	<i>Capitulum</i> =chapter.	pl. pl.	plate, plates.
Carth.	Carthage or Carthagenian.	pt.	part.
cf.	<i>conferre</i> (French)=compare.	Polyc.	Polycarp, martyred A. D. 167.
ch. & chs.	chapter and chapters, respectively.	Pontif.	<i>Pontificali</i> =concerning the Pope.
Chrys. Hom.	<i>Homilies of Chrysostom</i> , A. D. 344-407.	Prolog.	<i>Prologus</i> =Preface or Introduction.
Cic.	M. T. Cicero, a Roman orator, B. C. 103-43.	Ptol.	Ptolemy.
cit. or cite.	cited or about.	Rel. Jur.	<i>Reliquiae Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimae</i> , by Lagarde's.
Clem. Alex.	Clement of Alexandria.	Eccel. Ant. J.	<i>Responsium</i> =the initial prefixed to responsive verses.
Clem. Rom.	<i>Clemens Romanus</i> =Clement of Rome.	Reg.	<i>Regula or Regulae</i> =Rule, rules.
Cod.	Code or Code.	R. S.	<i>Roma Sotteranea</i> , by De Rossi.
Comm.	Commentary.	R. G.	<i>Rubricae Generales</i> .
comp.	compare.	S.	<i>Sacrosanctum</i> .
Conc.	<i>Concilium</i> =Council.	Sacram.	<i>Sacramentarium</i> , a book of liturgies.
D.	<i>Domini</i> =Lord.	sc.	<i>scilicet</i> =that is to say.
Decr.	Decree or Law.	Soz.	Sozrates, Ecclesiastical historian.
De Eccl. Rit.	<i>De Ecclesiae Ritibus Antiquis</i> .	Soz. or Sozom.	Sozomen.
Ant.	<i>De Resurrectione Mortuorum</i> =Of Resurrection of the Dead.	sq. or seq.	<i>sequens</i> =following (verse.)
De Resur. Mort.	<i>De Resurrectione Mortuorum</i> =Of Resurrection of the Dead.	sq. or seq.	<i>sequentia</i> =following (verses.)
Dial.	<i>Dialogus</i> =Dialogue.	SS.	<i>Sacra</i> =saints.
Dict. or Dict.	Dictionary.	St.	Saint.
Dig.	<i>Digest</i> .	sub fin.	<i>sub finem</i> =near the end.
Disp.	<i>Disputatio</i> =Discussion.	Suet.	Suetonius, a historian, A. D. 100.
E.	East or Eastern.	Sus.	History of Susanna, (Apoc.)
Eccel.	Ecclesiastical.	s. v.	<i>sub verbo</i> =under the word alluded to.
Eccles.	Ecclesiastical, (Apoc.)	Tab., Tabl.	<i>Tab. la, Tabulae</i> .
E. Ch. Intro.	Eastern Church, Introduction to, Neule's.	Tac. or Tacit.	Tacitus, a Roman historian A. D. 56-135.
ed.	edition.	Theod.	Theodoret, Ecclesiastical historian.
e. g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> =for example.	Theod.	Theodosian, the Christian Emperor.
E. g.	England or English.	Tob.	Tobit, (Apoc.)
Ep. & Epp.	Epistle and epistles, respectively.	Tr.	Translation.
Epiph.	<i>Epiphania</i> =Epiphany.	tom.	<i>tomus</i> =volume.
1 Est.	1st Book of Esther, (Apoc.)	U. C.	<i>Urbis condita</i> =See U. A. U. C.
2 Est.	2d Book of Esther, (Apoc.)	u. s.	<i>ut or uti supra</i> =as above.
Euseb.	Eusebius, a Gr. historian, who died A. D. 340.	usu.	usually.
Excurs.	Excursion, Wordsworth's Poem.	v.	<i>vide</i> =see, and sometimes=verse.
f.	following (verse or page).	V.	Virgin.
f.	following (verses or pages).	Vul. Max.	Valerius Maximus.
fig.	<i>figura</i> =engraving or illustration.	ver.	verse or verses.
Gr.	Greek.	V. M. or Vet. J.	<i>Vetera Monumenta</i> , by Ciampinus.
Greg.	Gregory.	Vit. Const. M.	<i>Vita Constantini Magni</i> =Life of Constantine the Great.
Greg. M. or Mag.	Gregory Magnus=Gregory the Great.	viz.	<i>videlicet</i> =namely.
Greg. Nrz.	Gregory Nazianzen.	vol.	volume.
Greg. Nyss.	Gregory of Nyssa.	Vulg.	Vulgate=Latin translation of Bible.
Handb.	Handbook.	W.	Western.
H. E.	Ecclesiastical History.	Wisd.	The Wisdom of Solomon, (Apoc.)
Hier.	<i>Hieronymus</i> =Jerome.	§.	denotes <i>section</i> or subdivision of chap.
Hisp.	<i>Hispalensis</i> =of Hispale now Sevilla.	§.	denotes <i>equivalent to</i> .
Hist.	History.	§.	with date denotes time of death.
Hist. Christ.	History of Christianity, Milman's.		Words in brackets and printed in SMALL CAPITALS thus [MONASTERY] refer the reader to those articles in the Dictionary for further information.
Hom. or Homil.	Homilies.		The abbreviations for the names of the Books or Parts of the Bible are omitted here because familiar to all.
ib. or ibid.	<i>ibidem</i> =in the same place.		
id.	<i>idem</i> =the same.		
i. e.	<i>id est</i> =that is.		
in loc.	<i>in loco</i> =in the place or passage cited.		
Iren.	Irenaeus.		

A
DICTIONARY
 OF
CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

A AND Ω

A and ω. (See Rev. xxii. 13.) Of these symbolic letters the ω is always given in the minuscular form. The symbol is generally combined with the monogram of Christ. [MONOGRAM.] In Boldetti's *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri*, &c. Rom. 1720, fol. tav. iii. p. 194, no. 4, it is found, with the more ancient decussated monogram, on a sepulchral cup or vessel. See also De Rossi (*Inscriptions*, No. 776), where the letters



are suspended from the arms of the St. Andrew's Cross. They are combined more frequently with the upright or Egyptian monogram. Aringhi, *Rom. Subt.* vol. i. p. 381, gives an engraving of a jewelled cross, with the letters suspended by chains to its horizontal arm, as below. And the same form occurs in sepulchral inscriptions in De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr. Rom.* t. i. nos. 661, 666. See also Boldetti, p. 345, and Bottari, tav. xlv. vol. i.



The letters are found, with or without the monogram, in almost all works of Christian antiquity; for instance, right and left of a great cross, on the ceiling of the apse of St. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, circ. A.D. 675. They were worn in rings and sigils, either alone, as in Martigny, s. v. *Ancaux*, or with the monogram, as in Boldetti, ms. 21-31, 30-33. On coins they appear to be first used immediately after the death of Constantine. The earliest instances are an aureus nummus of Constantius (Banduri, v. ii. p. 227, *Numismata Imp. Romanorum*, &c.); and another golden coin bearing the effigy of Constantine the Great, with the words "Victoria Maxima." Constantine seems not to have made great use of Christian emblems on his coin till after the defeat of Licinius in 323, and especially after the building of Constantinople. (See Martigny, s. v. *Numismatique*.)

The use of these symbolic letters amounts to a quotation of Rev. xxii. 13, and a confession of faith in our Lord's own assertion of His infinity

A

AARON

and divinity. There is one instance in Martial (*Epig.* v. 26) where A, Alpha, is used jocularly (as A 1, vulgarly, with ourselves) for "chief" or "first." But the whole expression in its solemn meaning is derived entirely from the words of Rev. xxii. 13. The import to a Christian is shewn by the well-known passage of Prudentius (*Hymnus Omni Jara*, 10, *Cuthmerinon*, ix. p. 35, ed. Tübingen, 45):—

"Corde natus ex parentis ante mundi exordium,
 Alpha et Ω e-gnominatus, Ipse fons et clausula,
 Omnium quae enut, fuerunt, quaeque post futura sunt."

The symbol was no doubt much more frequently used after the outbreak of Arianism. But it appears to have been used before that date, from its occurrence in the inscription on the tomb raised by Victorina to her martyred husband Heraclius in the cemetery of Priscilla (Aringhi, i. 605). It is here enclosed in a triangle, and united with the upright monogram. See also another inscription in Fabretti (*Inscr. antiq. explicatio*, Rom. 1699, fol.), and the cup given in Boldetti from the Callixtine catacomb, tav. iii. no. 4, at p. 194. From these it is argued with apparent truth that the symbol must have been in use before the Nicene Council.* No doubt, as a convenient symbolic form of asserting the Lord's divinity, it became far more prominent afterwards. The Ariens certainly avoided its use (Giorgi, *De Monogram. Christi*, p. 10). It is found on the crucifix attributed to Nicodemus (Angelo Rocca, *Thesaurus Pontificiarum*, vol. i. 153, woodcut), and on a wooden crucifix of great antiquity at Lucca (Borgia, *De Cruce Veltirna*, p. 33). For its general use as a part of the monogram of Christ, see MONOGRAM. It will be found (see Westwood's *Palaeographia Sacra*) in the Psalter of Athelstan, and in the Bible of Alcuin; both in the British Museum. [R. St. J. T.]

AARON, the High Priest, commemorated

* Boldetti: "Quanto alle lettere A and ω, non v'ha dubbio che quei primi Cristiani le presero dall' Apocalisse." He goes on to say that it is the sign of Christ, not Arian, burial; and that Ariens were driven from Rome, and excluded from the Catacombs. Aringhi also protests that those cemeteries were "haud unquam heretico schismaticoque commercio pollutae."

Mlaziab 1 = March 27 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). Deposition in Mount Hor, July 1 (*Mart. Bedae, Hieron.*). [C.]

ABACUC. (1) Habakkuk the Prophet, commemorated Jan. 15 (*Martyrologium Rom. Vetus, Hieron., Bedae*).

(2) Martyr at Rome under Claudius, A.D. 269, commemorated Jan. 20 (*Martyr. Rom. Vetus*). [C.]

ABBA. [ABBAT.]

ABBAT. (*Abbas* or *Abba* [-*itis*], ἀββᾶς, ἄββα, in low Latin sometimes *Abas*, Ital. *Abate*, Germ. *Abt.*, from the Chaldee and Syriac form of the common Semitic word for Father, probably adopted in that form either by Syriac monks, or through its N. T. use.) A name employed occasionally in the East, even so late as the 10th century, as a term of respect for any monks (*Cassian, Collat.* l. 1, A.D. 429; *Reg. S. Columb.* vii., A.D. 609; Jo. Mosch., *Prat. Spir.*, A.D. 630; Epiphani. *Hagiot.*, *De Loc. SS.*, A.D. 956; Byzant. auth. ap. Du Cange, *Lex. Inf. Graec.*; Bulteau, *Hist. Mon. d'Orient*, A.D. 181; and, similarly, ἀββαῖον, ἀββαδίσκιον, ψευδάββας, κληττάββας, for an evil or false monk, Du Cange, *ib.*); and sometimes as a distinguishing term for a monk of singular piety (*Hieron.*, in *Epist. ad Gal.* c. 4; in *Matt.* lib. iv. in c. 23); but ordinarily restricted to the superior of a monastery, *Pater* or *Princeps Monasterii*, elective, irremovable, single, absolute. Replaced commonly among the Greeks by Ἀρχιμανδρίτης [ARCHIMANDRITA], Ἡγούμενος, or more rarely Κοινοβιάρχης; the first of which terms however, apparently by a confusion respecting its derivation, came occasionally to stand for the superior of more monasteries than one (Helyet, *Hist. des Ordre. Mon.* i. 65);—extended upon their institution to the superior of a body of canons, more properly called *Præpositus*, *Abbas Canoniarum* as opposed to *Abbas Monachorum* (e. g. *Conc. Paris.* A.D. 829, c. 37; *Conc. Aquis.* II. A.D. 836, canon. c. ii. P. 2, § 1; *Chron. Leod.*); but varied by many of the later monastic orders, as e. g. by Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans, Servites, into *Præpositus* or *Prior Conventualis*, by Franciscans into *Custos* or *Guardianus*, by Camaldulensians into *Major*, by Jesuits into *Rector*—distinguished in the original Rule of Pachomius, as the superior of a combination of monasteries, from the *Pater*, *Princeps*, or *Oeconomus* of each and from the *Præpositi* of the several families of each. Enlarged into *Abbas Abbatum* for the Abbat of Monte Cassino (Pet. Dinc. *Chron. Casin.* iv. 60; Leo Ostiens., *ib.* ii. 54), who was vicar of the Pope over Benedictine monasteries (*Privileg. Nicol. I. Papae*, A.D. 1059, np. And. n. Nuce and Leon. Ostiens. *ib.* l. 12), and had precedence over all Benedictine abbats (*Privileg. Paschal. II. Papae*, A.D. 1113, in *Bull. Casin.* ii. 130; *Chart. Lothar. Imp.*, A.D. 1137, *ib.* 157). Similarly a single Abbat of Anania, Benedict, was made by Ludov. Pius, A.D. 817, chief of the abbats in the empire (*Chron. Rayf.* p. 81; Ardo, in *F. Bened.* c. viii. 36); and the Hegumenos of St. Dalmatius in Constantinople was, from the time of St. Dalmatius himself (A.D. 430), ἀρχων or πατριμωναρχηριων, *Abbas Universalis* or Καθολικὸς, *Exarchus omnium monasteriorum in urbe regia* (*Conc. Constant.* iv., A.D. 536, Act i; *Conc. Ephes.* iii. A.D. 431; and see Tillem., *Mém. Eccl.* xiv. 322 and Euseb. in *F. Eucych.* n. 18, Jo.

Cantacuz. l. 50, Theocterictus in *V. S. Nicæte*, n. 43, quoted by Du Cange. Transferred improperly sometimes to the *Præpositus* or *Prior*, the lieutenant (so to say) of a monastery, *Abbas Secundarius* or *Secundarius* (*Reg. S. Bened.* 65; and see Sid. Apoll. vii. 17), the proper abbat being called by way of distinction *Abbas Major* (*Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 817 c. 31). Transferred also, in course of time, to non-monastic clerical offices, as e. g. to the principal of a body of parochial clergy (i. the *Abbas, Custos*, or *Rector*, as distinguished from ii. the *Presbyter* or *Cypellanus*, and iii. the *Sacrista*; Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* vii. 506, ap. Du Cange); and to the chief chaplain of the king or emperor in camp under the Carolingians, *Abbas Castrensis*, and to the *Abbas Curiae* at Vienne (Du Cange); and in later times to a particular cathedral official at Toledo (Beyerlinck, *Magn. Theatrum*, s. v. *Abbas*), much as the term cardinal is used at our own St. Paul's; and to the chief of a deced of choristers at Anicia, *Abbas Clericorum* (Du Cange); and later still to the abbat of a religious confraternity, as of St. Yvo at Paris in 1350 and another in 1362 (*Id.*). Adopted also for purely secular and civil officers, *Abbas Populi* at Genoa, and again of the Genoese in Galta (Jo. Pachym. xiii. 27), of Guilds at Milan and Decurions at Brixia; and earlier still, *Palatii*, *Clocherii*, *Campanis*, *Scholaris*, *Eschifardorum* (Du Cange); and compare Dante (*Purgat.* xxvi.), *Abate del Collegio*. Usurped in course of time by lay holders of monasteries under the system of commendation [COMMENDA], *Abbas Protector*, *Abbas Latus*, *Archibbas*, *Abba*-[or *Abbi*]-*Canon*, denominated by a happy equivocation in some papal documents *Abbas Irregularis*; and giving rise in turn to the *Abbas Legitimus* or *Monasticus* (*Scrm. de Tuncat. S. Quintin.*, np. Du Cange), as a name for the abbat proper (sometimes it was the *Decani*, *Cottin. Aimon.* c. 42; and in Culdee Scotland in the parallel case it was a *Prior*) who took charge of the spiritual duties. Lastly, perverted altogether in later days into a mock title, as *Abbas Lavitine*, *Juvenum*, *Fatuorum*, or again *Abbas Beguorum* (of freshmen, or "Yellow Benks," at the university of Paris), or *Comardorum* or *Comardorum* (an equally unruly club of older people elsewhere in France), until "in vitium libertas exidit et vim dignam lege regi," and the mock abbats accordingly "held their peace" perforce (Du Cange).

The abbat, properly so called, was elected in the beginning by the bishop of the diocese out of the monks themselves (with a vague right of assent on the part of the people also, according to Du Cange); a right confirmed at first by Justinian (*Novell.* v. c. 9, A.D. 534-565); who, however, by a subsequent enactment transferred it to the monks, the abbat elect to be confirmed and formally blessed by the bishop (*Novell.* exxiii. c. 34). And this became the common law of Western monasteries also (*Reg. S. Bened.* A.D. 530, c. 64; *Conc. Carthag.*, A.D. 525, in *die Ista*; Greg. M., *Epist.* ii. 41, iii. 23, viii. 15; Theodor., *Poenit.* II. vi. 1 in *Wassersch.* p. 207; Pseudo-Egbert, *Poenit. Add.* in Thorpe, ii. 235, &c.);—"Fratres elegant sibi abbatem," Aldhelm ap. W. Malm., *De G. P.* v. p. 111), confirmed in time by express enactment (*Capit. Car. M. et Lud. Pil.* l. vi., A.D. 816),—"Quomodo (monachus) ex se ipsis sibi eligendi abbates licentiam dederimus;"—Urban. Pap. ap. Gratian, *cap. Alien. caus.* 12.

V. S. Nicotie, n.
 transferred in-
 ostus or Prior,
 onastery, Abbas
 Bened. 65; and
 er abbat being
 Major (Conc.
 rferred also, in
 clerical offices,
 ly of parochial
 rctor, as distin-
 Cyellanus, and
 vii. 596, ap. Du
 of the king or
 rinthians, Abbas
 iae at Vienne
 o a particular
 erlinck, Magr.
 the term car-
 s; and to the
 Anicia, Abbas
 er still to the
 as of St. Yvo
 a 1362 (Id.).
 civil officers,
 of the Genoese
 of Guilds at
 d earlier still,
 abris, Eschif-
 mpare Dante
 ib. Usurped
 of monasteries
 lation (Con-
 laicus, Acro-
 iminated by a
 uments Abbas
 to at the Abbas
 r Tantal. S.
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 ook charge of
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 is Beguinarum
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 ed et vim
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 -565; who,
 r transferred
 be confirmed
 Novell. exxiii.
 mon law of
 Bened. A.D.
 in die Ilda;
 5; Theodor.
 07; Pseudo-
 235, &c. 5;—
 helm ap. 5.
 d in time by
 et Ind. Pii,
 acheris; se
 clidiximus;
 on. caus. 12.

qu. 2; and so also *cap. Quoniam Dist. lxx.*—enforcing the episcopal benediction, from *Conc. Nicæan.* ii., A.D. 787, c. 14. So also Council of Cealchyth, A.D. 785, c. 5 (monks to elect from of their own monastery, or another, with consent of bishop), but Council of Beanceld, A.D. 694, and of Cealchyth, A.D. 816 (bishop to elect abbat or abbes with consent of the "family"). And forms occur accordingly, in both Eastern and Western Pontificals, for the Benedicito respectively of an *Hegumenos*, or of an *Abbas*, both *Monachorum* and *Canonico-rum*, and of an *Abbatissa* (see also Theodor., *Poenit.* II. iii. 5, in *Wasserschl.* p. 204, &c.; and a special form for the last named, wrongly attributed to Theodore, in *Collier's Records from the Ordo Rom.*, and with variations, in Gerbert). An abbat of an exempt abbey (in later times) could not resign without leave of the Pope (c. *Si Abbatem*, Bonif. VIII. in *Scet. Iner.* I. vi. 36); and was to be confirmed and blessed by him (*Matt. Par. in an.* 1257). A qualification made in the Benedictine Rule, allowing the choice of a minority if theirs were the *sanis consilium*, necessarily became a dead letter from its impracticability. Bishops, however, retained their right of institution if not nominated in Spain in the 7th century (*Conc. Châlons-sur-Marne* so late as the time of St. Bernard (*Epist.* 58). See, however, *Caus.* xviii., Qu. 2. The nomination by an abbat of his successor, occurring sometimes in special cases (e.g. St. Bruno), and allowed under restrictions (*Conc. Cabilon.* ii., A.D. 650, c. 12; Theodor., *Capit. Davier.* c. 71, in *Wasserschl.* p. 151), was exceptional, and was to be so managed as not to interfere with the general right of the monks. So also the founder's like exceptional nominations, as e.g. those made by Aldhelm or Wilfrid. The interference of kings in such elections began as a practice with the system of commendation; but in royal foundations, and as suggested and promoted by feudal ideas, no doubt existed earlier. The consent of the bishop is made necessary to an abbat's election, "ubi jussio Regis fuerit," in A.D. 794 (*Conc. Francof.* c. 17). The bishop was also to quash an unfit election, under the Benedictine rule, and (with the neighbouring abbats) to appoint a proper person instead (*Reg. Ben.* 64).

Once elected, the abbat held office for life, unless canonically deprived by the bishop; but the consent of his fellow-presbyters and abbats is made necessary to such deprivation by the Council of Tours (*Conc. Turon.* ii., A.D. 567, c. 7; so also *Excerpt. Pseudo-Epiberti*, 65, Thorpe ii. 107). And this, even if incapacitated by sickness (*Hincmar ad Corbiens.*, ap. Flodond. iii. 7). Triennial abbats (and abesses) were a desperate expedient of far later popes, Innocent VIII. (A.D. 1484-1492) and Clement VII. (A.D. 1523-1534).

Like all monks (*Hieron., ad Rustic.* 95; *Cassinian., Collat.* v. 26; *Caus.* xvi. qu. 1, c. 40; *Dist.* xciii. c. 5), the abbat was originally a layman ("Abbas potest esse, et non presbyter: laicus potest esse abbas;" Jo. de Turreerem., *sup. Dist.* lxx.). and accordingly ranked below all orders of clergy, even the *Ostiaris* (*Dist.* xciii. c. 5). In the East, Archimandrites appear to have become either deacons at least, or commonly priests, before the close of the 5th century

(inter *Epist.* Hormisd. Pap., A.D. 514-523, ante *Ep.* xxii.; *Conc. Constantin.* iv., A.D. 536, Act l.), although not without a struggle: St. Sabas, e.g., A.D. 484, strictly forbidding any of his monks to be priests, while reluctantly forced into the presbyterate himself by the Patriarch of Jerusalem (Surins, in *Vita*, 5 *Decc.*, ec. xxii. xxv). And Archimandrites subscribe Church Councils in the East, from time to time, from *Conc. Constantin.*, A.D. 448. The term 'Abbas' (*ἄββα*, *ἄββα*, however, in *Novican.* (n. 44, ed. Coteler.), appears to indicate the continued existence of abbats not presbyters. In the West, laymen commonly held the office until the end of the 7th century, and continued to do so to some extent or other (even in the proper sense of the office) into the 11th. Jealousy of the priestly order, counterbalanced by the absolute need of priestly ministrations, prolonged the struggle, in the 6th century, whether Western monasteries should even admit priests at all. St. Benedict, A.D. 530, hardly allows a single priest; although, if acceptable, he is to rank next the abbat (*Reg.* 60). Aurelian of Arles, A.D. 50, allows one of each order, priest, deacon, subdeacon (*Reg.* 46). The *Regula Magistri* (23) admits priests as guests only, "ne ablates utpote laicos excludant," St. Gregory, however, A.D. 595, gave a great impulse, as to monastic life generally, so in particular, by the nature of his English mission, to presbyter (and episcopal) abbats. And while Benedict himself, a layman, was admitted to a council at Rome, A.D. 531, as by a singular privilege (*Cave, Hist. Litt.* in *V. Bened.*); during the next century, abbats occur commonly, 1. at Councils of State, or in Councils of abbats for monastic purposes, in Saxon England and in France; but 2. in purely Church Councils in Spain. Theodore (about A.D. 690) repeats the continental canon, inhibiting bishops from compelling abbats to come to a council without reasonable cause (*Poenit.* II. ii. 3; *Wasserschl.* p. 203). And in one case, both *Abbat* *presbyteri*, and *Abbat* simply, subscribe a Saxon Council or Witenagemot, viz. that of Oct. 12, 803 (Kemble, *C. D.* v. 65), which had for its purpose the prohibition of lay commendations; while abesses occur sometimes as well, e.g. at Beanceld, A.D. 694 (*Anjub-Sax.*, *Chron.*) and at London, Aug. 1, A.D. 811 (Kemble, *C. D.* i. 242). Lay abbats continued in England A.D. 696 (Whitred's *Dooms.* § 18), A.D. 740 (Egbert's *Anno*, 7, 11), A.D. 747 (*Conc.* of *Chorcha*, c. 5), A.D. 957 (Aelfric's *Can.* § 18—abbats not an order of clergy). In France, an annual Council of abbats was to be summoned by the bishop every Nov. 1, the presbyters having their own special council separately in May (*Conc. Aurelian.* i., A.D. 511; *Conc. Autisiod.*, A.D. 578 or 586, c. 7). Abbats, however, sign as representatives of bishops at the Councils of Orleans, iv. and v., A.D. 541, 549. But in Spain, abbats subscribe Church Councils, at first after and then before presbyters (*Conc. Bracar.* iii., A.D. 572; *Oceano.*, A.D. 588; *Emerit.*, A.D. 606; *Tolet.* xii. and xiii., A.D. 681, 683); occurring, indeed, in all councils from that of Toledo (viii.) A.D. 653. From A.D. 565, also, there was an unbroken succession of presbyter-abbats at Hy, retaining their original missionary jurisdiction over their monastic colonies, even after these colonies had grown into a church, and both needed and had

bishops, although unloosean (Baed., *H. E.*, iii. 4, v. 24). And clerical abbats (episcopal indeed first, in Ireland, and afterwards presbyteral—see Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 88, 89) seem to have been always the rule in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. In Ireland, indeed, abbats were so identified with not presbyters only but bishops, that the Pope is found designated as "Abbat of Rome" (Todd's *St. Patrick*, 156). Most continental abbats, however (and even their *Præpositi* and *Decani*) appear to have been presbyters by A.D. 817. These officers may bestow the benediction ("quoniam presbyteri non sint"; *Conc. Agripp.*, A.D. 817, c. 62). All were ordered to be so, but as yet inefficiently, A.D. 820 (*Conc. Rom.*, c. 27). And the order was still needed, but was being speedily enforced by custom, A.D. 1078 (*Conc. Pict.*, c. 7: "Ut abbates et decani [aliter abbates diaconi] qui presbyteri non sunt, presbyteri fiant, ut prælationes amittant").

A bishop-abbat was forbidden in a particular instance by a Council of Toledo (xii., A.D. 681, c. 4), but permitted subsequently as (at first) an exceptional case at Lobes near Liège, about A.D. 700, (conjecturally) missionary purposes among the still heathen Flemish (D'Achery, *Spicil.*, ii. 730); a different thing, it should be noted, from bishops resident in abbeys under the abbat's jurisdiction ("Episcopi monachi," according to a very questionable reading in Baed., *H. E.*, iv. 5), as in Ireland and Albanian Scotland, and in several continental (mostly exempt) abbeys (St. Denis, St. Martin of Tours, &c.), and both at this and at later periods in exempt abbeys generally (Du Cange, voc. *Episcopi Vagantes*: Todd's *St. Patrick*, 51 sq.); although in some of these continental cases the two plans seem to have been interchanged from time to time, according as the abbat happened to be either himself a bishop, or merely to have a monk-bishop under him (Martene and Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, i. *Præf.* giving a list of Benedictine Abbatial bishops; Todd, *ib.*). In Wales, and in the Scottish sees in Anglo-Saxon England (e.g. Lindisfarne), and in a certain sense in the monastic sees of the Augustinian English Church, the bishop was also an abbat; but the latter office was here appended to the former, not (as in the other cases) the former to the latter. So, too, "Antistes et abbates," in Sidon. Apoll. (xvi. 114), speaking of two abbats of Lerins, who were also Bishops of Riez. Possibly there were unloosean bishop-abbats in Welsh abbeys of Celtic date (Rees, *Welsh SS.*, 182, 266). Abbats sometimes acted as *chorëpiscopi* in the 9th century: v. Du Cange, voc. *Chorëpiscopus*. The abbats also of Catania and of Monreale in Sicily at a later period were always bishops (diocesan), and the latter shortly an archbishop, respectively by privilege of Urban II., A.D. 1086-1099, and from A.D. 1176 (Du Cange). So also at Fulda and Corvey in Germany.

We have lastly an abbat who was also *ex officio* a cardinal, in the case of the Abbat of Clugny, by privilege of Pope Calixtus II., A.D. 1119 (Hug. Mon. ad *Fontium Abb. Clun.*, ap. Du Cange).

The natural rule, that the abbat should be chosen from the seniors, and from those of the monastery itself (*Reg. S. Serap.*, 4, in Holsten, p. 15), became in time a formal law (*Decret. Bonif.* VIII. in 6 *de Elect.*—Abbat to be an already professed monk; *Capit. Car. M. et Lud.*

Pii, l. tit. 81, "ex seipsis," &c., as above quoted, *Concil. Rotom.*, A.D. 1074, c. 10); although the limitation to one above twenty-five years old is no earlier than Pope Alexander III. (*Conc. Lateran.*, A.D. 1179). In the West, however, the rule was, that "Fratres eligunt sibi abbates de ipsis si habent, sin autem, de extraneis" (Theodor., *Capit. Duch.*, c. 72, in Wasserschlag, p. 151; and so also St. Greg., *Epist.*, li. 41, viii. 15); while in the East it seems to be spoken of as a privilege, where an abbat, having no fit monk of its own, might choose a *ξερικοποιτης*—consecrated elsewhere (Leunclav. *Jus Græco-Rom.*, p. 222).

Repeated enactments prove at once the rule of one abbat to one monastery, and (as time went on) its common violation (Hieron. ad *Austic.*, 95; *Reg. S. Serap.*, 4, and *Regulæ passim*; *Conc. Venetic.*, A.D. 465, c. 8; *Agath.*, A.D. 506, cc. 38, 57; *Ejourn.*, A.D. 517, cc. 9, 10; and so, in the East, *Justinian*, l. l. tit. iii.; *De Episc.*, l. 39; and *Balsamon ad Novocan.*, tit. l. c. 20—"Si non permittitur alicui ut sit clericus in duabus ecclesiis, nec præfectus seu abbas duobus monasteriis præerit"). No doubt such a case as that of Wilfrid of York, at once founder and Abbat of Hexham and Ripon, or that of Allhelm, Abbat at once (for a like reason) of Malmesbury, Frome, and Bradford, was not so singular as it was in their case both intelligible and excusable. The spirit of the rule obviously does not apply, either to the early clusters of monasteries under the Rule of St. Pachomius, or to the tens of thousands of monks subject to the government of e.g. St. Macarius or St. Serapion, or to the later semi-hierarchical quasi-jurisdiction, possessed as already mentioned by the Abbats of St. Dalmatius, of Monte Cassino, or of Clugny, and by Benedict of Aniana, Generals of Orders, and more compact organization of the whole of an Order into a single body, belong to later times.

The abbat's power was in theory paternal, but absolute—"Timeas ut dominum, diligas ut patrem" (*Reg. S. Alucar.*, 7, in Holsten, p. 25; and *Regulæ passim*). See also St. Jerome. Even to act without his order was culpable (*Reg. S. Basil.*). And to speak for another who hesitated to obey was itself disobedience (*Reg. passim*). The relation of monk to abbat is described as a *libera servitus* (*Reg. S. Orsics.*, 19, in Holsten, p. 73); while no monk (not even if he was a bishop, Baed., *H. E.*, iv. 5) could exchange monasteries without the abbat's leave (*Reg. passim*), not even (although in that case it was sometimes allowed) if he sought to quit a laxer for a stricter rule (*Reg. P. P.*, 14, in Holsten, p. 23; *Gild. ap. MS. S. Gall.*, 243, pp. 4, 155); unless indeed he fled from an excommunicated abbat (*Gild. ib.*, p. 155, and in D'Ach., *Spicil.*, i. 500). In later times, and less civilized regions, it was found necessary to prohibit an abbat from blinding or mutilating his monks (*Conc. Francof.*, A.D. 794, c. 18). The rule, however, and the canons of the Church, limited this absolute power. And each Benedictine abbat, while bound exactly to keep St. Benedict's rule himself (e.g. *Conc. Augustod.*, c. A.D. 670), was enjoined also to make his monks learn it word for word by heart (*Conc. Aquisgr.*, A.D. 817, cc. 1, 2, 80). He was also limited practically in the exercise of his authority (1) by the system of *Præpositi* or *Priors*, elected usually by himself, but "consilio et voluntate fra-

&c., as above quoted, c. 10; although the twenty-five years old in canon III. (*Conc. Lat. West.* however, the elegant sibi ablatum utcumq; de extraneis" *Epist.* li. 41, viii. 15); to be spoken of as a having no fit monk a *εγκοπιητης*—one av. *Jus Græco-Rom.*

re at once the rule of r, and (as time went rion, ad *Lustic*, 95; ratic passim; *Conc. th.*, A.D. 504, c. 38, 10; and so, in the *De Episc.* l. 39; and c. 20.—85 non per- in duabus ecclesiis, duobus monasteriis a case as that of under and Abbat of of Adelmi, Abbat Almesbury, Frome, ngular as it was in of excusable. The es not apply, either asteries under the e tens of thou- the government of ion, or to the later ction, possessed s abats of St. Dalma- of Clugny, and by als of Orders, and of the whole of an- g to later times. eory paternal, but um, diligas ut pa- volsten. p. 25; and Jerome. Even to culpable (*Reg. S.* her who hesitated e (*Reg. passim*). e is described as s. 19, in Holsten, even if he was a d exchange mo- ve (*Reg. passim*), use it was some- quit a fixer for n Holsten, p. 23; d, 135); unless munciated abbat s. *Epist.* l. 500), d regions, it was d abbat from blind- (*Conc. Francof.* however, and the absolute power, le bound exactly self (c. g. *Conc. d.*, c. 135) and also to make d by heart (*Conc. b.* He was also s of his authority *Priores*, elected et voluntate fra-

trum" (*Reg. Orient.* 3, in Holsten, p. 89; *Reg. S. Bened.* 65), and in Spain at one time by the bishop (*Conc. Tolet.* iv. A.D. 633, c. 51); one in a Benedictine abbey, but in the East sometimes two, one to be at home, the other superintending the monks abroad (*Reg. Orient.* 2, in Holsten, p. 89); and under the Rule of Pachomius one to each subordinate house; a system in some sense revived, though with a very different purpose, in the *Priores non Conventuales* of the dependent *Obedientiae, Cellae*, &c., of a later Western Abbey; and (2) by that of *Decani* and *Centenarii*, elected by the monks themselves (*Hieron.* ad *Exet. ch. Epist.* xviii.; *Reg. Mon. ch.* in *Append. ad Hieron.* Opp. V.; *Reg. passim*; see also *Baed.* II. E. ii. 2), through whom the discipline and the work of the monastery were administered. He was limited also from without by episcopal jurisdiction, more efficiently in the East (*Conc. Chalced.*, A.D. 451, c. 4, 8, &c. &c.; and so Balsam, ad *Nomocan.* tit. xi., "Episcopis inquis subjecti monachi quam monasteriorum praefectis"), but in theory, and until the 11th century pretty fairly in fact, in the West likewise (*Reg. S. Bened.*; *Conc. Agath.*, A.D. 506, c. 38; *Arculfon.* l. A.D. 511, c. 19; *Epau.*, A.D. 517, c. 19; *Hierol.* A.D. 524, c. 3; *Arculf.* v., A.D. 554, cc. 2, 3, 5; and later still, *Conc. Tull.*, A.D. 859, c. 9; *Patonag.*, A.D. 878, c. 10; *Augustin.*, A.D. 952, c. 6; and see also *Greg. M. Epist.*, vii. 12; x. 14, 33; *Hiacmar*, as before quoted; and *Conc. Paris.* A.D. 615; *Tolet.* iv. A.D. 633; *Chilidon.* l. A.D. 650; *Herulf.*, A.D. 673, c. 3, in *Baed.* II. E. iv. 3, among others, putting restrictions upon episcopal interference). The French Ebert in England (*Excerpt.* 63-65, Thorpe, ii. 106, 107). Cassian, however, in the West, from the beginning, bids monks beware above all of two sorts of folk, women and bishops (*De Institut. Coenob.* xi. 17). And although exemptions, at first merely defining or limiting episcopal power, but in time substituting immediate dependence upon the Pope for episcopal jurisdiction altogether, did not grow into an extensive and crying evil until the time of the Councils of Rheims and of Rome, respectively A.D. 1119 and 1122, and of the self-denying ordinances of the Cistercians (*Chart. Christ.* in *Ann. Cisterc.* i. 109) and Premonstratensians, in the years A.D. 1119, 1120, repudiating such privileges but with a sadly short-lived virtue, and of the contemporary remonstrances of St. Bernard (*Lit. 3 De Consil.*, and *Epist.* 7, 42, 179, 180); yet they occur in exceptional cases much earlier. As e. g. the adjustment of rights between Faustus of Lerins and his diocesan bishop at the Council of Arles, c. A.D. 456 (which secured to the abbat the jurisdiction over his lay monks, and a veto against the ordination of any of them, leaving all else to the bishop, Mansi, vii. 907), a parallel privilege to Agaune (St. Maurice in the Valais), at the Council of Châlons A.D. 579, and *privilegia* of Popes, as of Honorius I. A.D. 628 to Bobbio, and of John IV. A.D. 641 to Luxeuil (see *Marculf.*, *Formul.* lib. l. § 1; and *Mabilly.* *Ann. Bened.* xiii. no. 11, and *Append.* n. 18). Even exempt monasteries in the patriarchate, were subject to the visitatorial powers of regular officials called *Exarchi Monasteriorum* (*Balsam.* in *Nomocan.* i. 20; and a form in Greek Pontificals for the ordination of an exarch, *V. bert.*, *Archierat.*, *Pontif. Græc.* observ. i. ad *Edi.*

pro Archimandrit. pp. 570, 587), exercised sometimes through the *Defensores Ecclesiarum*; and even to visitations by the emperor himself (Justinian, *Noveil.* cxxxiii., cc. 2, 4, 5). The Rule of Pachomius also qualified the abbat's power by a council of the *Majores Monasterii*, and by a tribunal of assessors, *viri sancti*, 5, 10, or 20, to assist in administering discipline (*Reg. S. Pach.* 167, in Holsten, p. 49). And the Rule of St. Benedict, likewise, compelled the abbat, while reserved to him the ultimate decision, to take counsel with all the brethren (Juniors expressly included) in greater matters, and with the *Seniores Monasterii* in smaller ones (*Reg. S. Bened.* 2, 3). The Rule of Columbanus gave him an unqualified autocracy.

The abbat was likewise limited in his power over abbey property, and in secular things, by his inability to interfere in person with civil suits; which led to the appointment of an *Advocatus*, *Vicelonus*, *Oeconomus*, *Procurator* (*Cod. Can. Afric.* A.D. 418 (2), c. 97; Justinian, lib. i. *Cod.* tit. 3, leg. 33, 42; *Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. 45, leg. 3; *St. Greg. Epist.* iii. 22; *Conc. Nicaen.* ii. A.D. 787, c. 11), revived with greater powers under the title of *Advocatus Ecclesiae*, or *Monasterii*, by Charlemagne (*Capit.* A.D. 813, c. 14; and *Lothar.*, *Capit.* tit. iii. cc. 5, 9, 18, &c.); who from a co-ordinate, frequently proceeded to usurp an exclusive interest in the monastic revenues. The abbat also was required to give account of the abbey property to both king and bishop, by the Council of Vern (near Paris) A.D. 755; while neither abbat nor bishop separately could even exchange abbey lands in Anglo-Saxon England, but only by joint consent (*Theodor.*, *Poen.* II. viii. 6, in *Wasserschil.* p. 208).

Within the abbey and its precincts, the abbat was to order all work, vestments, services (*Reg. S. Bened.* 47, 57; *Regule* passim); to award all punishments, even to excommunication (*Reg. S. Bened.* 24; *Leidrad.*, *Lugdun.* *Arch.*, ad *Car. M.* ap. Galland., xiii. 390, restoring to the Abbat of Insula Barbara, "potestatem ligandi et solvendi, uti habuerunt praedecessores sui"; Honorius III. *cap. Dilecta*, tit. *de Major.* et *Obedientia*, desiring a neighbouring abbat to excommunicate refractory nuns, because their abess could not; and see Bingham), or to the use of the "ferrum abscessionis" (*Reg. S. Bened.* 38). He was also to be addressed as "Domnus et Abbas" (p. 63). And while in the East he was specially commanded to cut with the other monks (*Reg. P. P.* 11, in Holsten, p. 23), the Rule of Benedict (56) appoints him a separate table "cum hospitibus et peregrinis," to which he might, in case there was room, invite any monk he pleased. The Council of Aix A.D. 817 (c. 27) tried to qualify this practice by bidding abbats "be content" with the food of the other monks, unless "propter hospitium," and some monasteries kept up a like protest in the time of Peter Damian and Peter the Venerable; but it continued to be the Western rule. He was ordered also to sleep among his monks by the Council of Frankfurt A.D. 794 (c. 13). The abbat was specially not to wear mitre, ring, gloves, or sandals, and in the West in the 10th and 11th centuries, and (vainly) then protested against by the Council of Poitiers A.D. 1100, and by St. Bernard (*Epist.* 42) and Peter of Doleis (*Epist.* 90; and see

also Thom. Cantiprat., *De Apibus*, l. 6; *Chron. Casin.*, iv. 78). But a mitre is said to have been granted to the Abbat of Bobbio by Pope Theodorus I. A.D. 643 (*Bull. Casin.*, l. ii. 2), the next alleged case being to the Abbat of St. Savianus by Sylvester II. A.D. 1000. A staff, however, but of a particular form, and some kind of stockings ("baculum et peludes"), were the special insignia of an abbat in Anglo-Saxon England in the time of Theodore A.D. 668-690, being formally given to him by the bishop at his benediction (*Poenit.* II. iii. 5, in *Wassersch.*, p. 204). And the staff was so everywhere. He was also to shave his head, and of course to be tonsured (*Conc. Bituric.*, A.D. 1031, c. 7). His place of precedence, if an ordinary abbat, appears to have been finally fixed as immediately after bishops, among *prælati*, and before archdeacons (see, however, *Decret. Greg. IX.*, lib. ii. tit. i. cap. *Decernimus*); but the list of our English convocations from Archbishop Kemp's Register A.D. 1452 (*Wilk.* I. xl. sq.), though following no invariable rule, appears usually to postpone the abbat and prior to the archdeacon. In Saxon England, he shared in like manner with the king (as did an abbas also) in the "wite" of a murderer "foreigner" (*Laws of Ine*, 23; *Thorpe*, l. 117). The abbat also was not named in the canon of the mass (*Gavant. in Riv. Miss.*, p. iii. tit. 8; *Macr. F.F.*, *Hierolex.*, in *Can. Missæ*), except in the case of the abbat of Monte Cassino (Ang. a Nuce, in *notis ad Leo. Ostiens.*, ii. 4). But an anniversary was allowed to be appointed for him on his death (e.g. *Conc. Aquigr.*, A.D. 817, c. 73). He was forbidden (as were all monks, at least in France) to stand sponsor for a child (*Conc. Autissiod.*, A.D. 578, c. 25; *Greg. M.*, *Epist.*, iv. 42), with a notable exception, however, in England, in the case of Abbat Robert of Mont St. Michel, godfather to King Henry II.'s daughter Eleanor (Rob. de Monte *ad au.*, 1161), or to go to a marriage (*Conc. Autissiod.*, 15); or indeed to go far from his monastery at all without the bishop's leave (*Conc. Arcl.*, v. A.D. 554); or to go about with a train of monks except to a general synod (*Conc. Aquigr.*, A.D. 817, c. 59). He of course could not hold property (although it was needful sometimes to prohibit his lending money on usury, *Pseude-Egbert. Poenit.* iii. 7, in *Thorpe*, ii. 199); neither could he dispose of it by will, even if it accrued to him by gift or heirship after he became abbat (*Reg. PP.*, 2, in *Holsten.*, p. 22); but if the heirship was within the 4th degree, he was exceptionally enabled to will the property to whom he pleased (*Iustinian.*, lib. i. *Cod. tit. de Episc. et Cler.*, c. 33). Further, we find bishops and archdeacons prohibited from seizing the goods of deceased abbats (*Conc. Paris.*, A.D. 615; *Cabillon.*, l. A.D. 650). And later wills of abbats in the West are sometimes mentioned and confirmed, but principally in order to secure to their abbays property bequeathed to those abbays (see *Thomassin*). Privileges of coining money, of markets and tolls, or secular jurisdiction, began certainly as early as *Laliof*. Plus, or even *Pipin* (*Gieseler*, ii. p. 255, notes 5, 6, *Eng. Tr.*). Others, such as of the title of prince, of the four *Abates Imperii* in Germany (viz., of *Fulda*—also *ex officio* the empress's chancellor—of *Weissenberg*, *Kempten*, *Murbach*), of the English mitred baronial abbats, and the like, and sumptuary laws limiting the number of their horses and attendants, &c., belong to later

times. An abbat, however, might hunt in England (*Laws of Can.*, in *Thorpe*, l. 429). An abbat, or an abbes, presiding over a joint house of monks and nuns, is noted by Theodore as a peculiar Anglo-Saxon custom—"Apud Græcos non est consuetudo viris feminas habere monachas, neque feminas viros; tamen consuetudinem istius provincie" (England) "non destrumimus" (*Poenit.* II. vi. 8, in *Wassersch.*, p. 208). The well-known cases of the Abbesses Hilda and Aelfeld of Whitby and of Aebba of Coldingham are instances of the latter arrangement (*Bæd.* II. E. iv. 23, 24, 25, 26); and the last of them also of its mischievousness (*Id.* *ib.*, 25). Tynemouth and Wimbourne are other instances, but the practice was a Celtic one (e.g. *St. Brigit*; see *Todd, St. Patrick*, pp. 11, 12), not simply Anglo-Saxon; and with Celtic monastic missions, penetrated also into the Continent (e.g. at *Remiremont* and *Poitiers*), and even into Spain and into Rome itself (see *Montalembert, Monks of West*, vol. v. p. 297, *Engl. Tr.*). It is, however, remarkable, that while instances of abbesses ruling monks abounded, abbats ruling nuns rest for us upon the general assertion of Theodore. And the practice, while it died out on the Continent, was not restored in England after the Danish invasion. In the East there was a rigorous separation between monks and nuns. And where two such communities were in any way connected, a special enactment prohibited all but the two superiors from communication with one another, and placed all possible restrictions upon even their necessary interviews (*Reg. S. Basil.* in *Holsten.*, p. 158). *St. Pachomius* established the double order, but put the Nile between his monks and his nuns (*Pallad.*, *Hist. Laus.*, cc. 30-42).

Interference by abbats with the ministrations of parochial clergy could scarcely exist until abbats were presbyters themselves, nor did it ever (as was naturally the case) reach the extent to which it was carried by the friars. We find, however, an enactment of Theodore (*Poenit.* II. vi. 16, in *Wassersch.*, p. 209), prohibiting a monastery from imposing penances on the laity, "quia (hæc libertas) proprie clericorum est." And a much later and more detailed canon, of the 4th Lateran Council (A.D. 1123), forbids abbats to impose penance, visit the sick, or administerunction. They were authorized in the East, if presbyters, and with the bishop's leave, to confer the tonsure and the order of reader on their own monks (*Conc. Nicaen.* II. A.D. 787, c. 14). And they could everywhere admit their own monks ("ordinatio monachi")—Theodor., *Poenit.* II. iii. 3, in *Wassersch.*, p. 204). Eat encroachments upon the episcopal office, as well as upon episcopal insignia, gradually arose. Even in A.D. 448 abbats were forbidden to give *ἀποστολία* (*Conc. Constantin.*,—corrected by *Du Cange* into *ἐπιστολία*—commendatory letters for poor, and see *Conc. Aurelian.* ii. c. 13, and *Turon.* ii. c. 6). But by A.D. 1123 it had become necessary to prohibit generally their thrusting themselves into episcopal offices (*Conc. Lateran.* iv. c. 17). And we find it actually asserted by *Sever. Binius* (*in Canon. Apostol.*, ap. *Labb.*, *Conc.*, i. 54, on the authority of *Bellarmino, De Eccles.*, iv. 8), that two or more "abbates infatati" might by Papal dispensation be substituted for bishops in consecrating a bishop, provided one bishop were there; while *Innocent IV.* in 1489 empowered an abbat by

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297, Engl. Tr.).
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dad, *Hist. Laus.*,
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Poenit. II. iii. 3,
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b. But by A.D.
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And we find
u *Canon*, the
authority of
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himself to confer not only the sublaconate, but the diconate.

The spiritual abbat was supplied in Wales (Giral. *Camb., Itin. Camb.*, and repeatedly) and in Scotland (Robertson, *Early Scotl.* i. 329, 339), by the end of the 8th and so on to the 12th century, by the *Advocatus Ecclesiae* (confused sometimes with the *Procurator*, who in Welsh and Irish monasteries was a different officer, and managed the internal secular affairs, as the other did the external), called in Scotland *Herenach*, in Ireland *Aicchinach*, who was originally the lay, and gradually became also the hereditary, lessee of the Termon (or abbey) lands, being commonly the founder or his descendant, or one of the neighbouring lords; and who held those lands, receiving a third part of their value in the first instance, but who is found as an hereditary married lay abbat during the period named; e. g. Crinan, the Abbat of Dunkeld, who was grandfather of Shakspeare's Duncan, and one Duuchad, also Abbat of Dunkeld, who died in battle A.D. 961. The case was the same at Abernethy and at Applecross. The spiritual duties devolved upon the bishop and a prior. See also Du Cange (voc. *Advocatus*), for a similar process although to a less degree on the Continent. In Ireland, the *Conarb*, or similar hereditary abbat (or bishop), retained his spiritual character (Todd, *St. Patrick*, pp. 155 sq.). The lay abbats in Northumbria, denounced by Baeda (*Epist. ad Ebert.*), were simply fraudulent imitations of abbats in the proper sense of the word. An entirely like result, however, and to as wide an extent during Carolingian times as in Scotland, ensued abroad from a different cause, viz., from the system of commendation [*COMMENDATA*]; which began in the time of Charles Martel (A.D. 717-741, being approved by *Conc. Lepiti.* A.D. 743; *Conc. Nussion.*, A.D. 744; and see Baron, *in an.* 889, n. 31), with the plausible object of temporarily employing monastic revenues for the pressing needs of warfare with Saracens, Saxons, or other heathens, care being taken to reserve enough to keep up the monastery proper. The nobleman, or the king himself, who led the troops thus raised, became titular abbat. And in Carolingian times, accordingly, most of the great Frank and Burgundian nobles and kings, and sometimes even bishops (e. g. Hatto of Mainz, A.D. 891-912, who enjoyed the reputation of holding twelve abbeys at once), were titular abbats of some great monastery, as of St. Denis or St. Martin, held for life or even by inheritance; the revenues of which were soon diverted to purposes less patriotic than that of supplying the king with soldiers (see a short list by way of specimen in Gieseler, ii. p. 411, note I, Eng. Tr.). In the East a like system appears to have grown up, although hardly from the same origin, some centuries later; John, Patriarch of Antioch, at the beginning of the 12th century, informing us that most monasteries in his time were handed over to laymen (*χαρισματα = beneficiaria*), for life or for two or three descents, by gift of the emperors; while Balsamon (*ad Conc. Nicen.* c. 13) actually condemns him for condemning the practice. Later abuses of the kind in the West, as in the time of Francis I. of France or of Louis XIV., need here be only alluded to.

(Bingham; Bulteau, *Hist. Mon. d'Orient*; Du Cange; Ant. Dading, *Asetic. seu Origg. Rei Monas-*

tic; Ferraris; Helyot, *Hist. des Ord. Mon.*; Herzog; Hospinian, *De Monach.*; Macri FF., *Hierologic*; Martene, *De Antiq. Monach. Ritibus*; Martigny; Montalembert, *Monks of the West*; Thomassin, *De Benedic.*; Van Espen.) [A. W. H.]

ABBATISSA. [ABBESS.]

ABBESS. (*Abbatissa* found in inscript. of A.D. 569, in Murator. 429, 3, also called *Antistita* and *Majorissa*, the female superior of a body of nuns; among the Greeks, ἡγουμένη, Ἀρχιμανδρίτις, Ἀρχιμανδρίτιστα, Justinian, *Norell.*, Ἀμῆς or mother, Pallad., *Hist. Laus.* c. 42, at the time of Pachomius, *Mater monasterii* or *monachion*, see St. Greg. M., *Dial.* IV. 13 [where "Mater" stands simply for a nun]; *Conc. Magunt.* A.D. 813; *Aquisgr.*, A.D. 816, lib. ii.). In most points subject to the same laws as abbats, *mulieris munitio*—elective, and for life (triennial abbesses belonging to years so late as bishop—*Benedictio Abbatissae* (that for an abbess *monasticum regulam profectum, capit. ex Canone Theodori Anflorum Episcopi*, is in the *Ordo Romanus*, p. 164, Hiltorp); and in France restricted to one monastery apiece (*Conc. Vern.*, A.D. 755); and with *Præpositæ*, and like subordinates, to assist them (*Conc. Aquisgr.*, A.D. 816, lib. ii., cc. 24-26); and bound to obey the bishop in all things, whether abbesses of *Monachæ* or of *Canonice* (*Conc. Cabillon.* ii. A.D. 813, c. 65); and subject to be deprived for misconduct, but in this case upon report of the bishop to the king (*Conc. Francof.* A.D. 791); bound also to give account of monastic property to both king and bishop (*Conc. Vern.*, A.D. 755); entitled to absolute obedience and possessed of ample powers of discipline, even to expulsion, subject however to the bishop (*Conc. Aquisgr.* A.D. 816, lib. ii.); and save only that while an abbat could, an abbess could not, excommunicate (Honorius III., *cap. Plecta, tit. de Major. et Obedientia*); neither could she give the veil or (as some in France appear to have tried to do) ordain (*Capitul. Car. M.* an. 789, c. 74, Auseg. 71); present even at Councils in England (see *ABBAT*, and compare Lingard, *Antiq.* i. 139; Kemble, *Antiq.* ii. 198; quoted by Montalembert, *Monks of West*, v. 230, Engl. Tr.). While, however, a bishop was necessary to admit and bless an abbat, Theodore ruled in England, although the rule did not become permanent, that a presbyter was sufficient in like case for an abbess (*Poenit.* II. iii. 4, in *Wasserschll.* c. 203). The limitation to forty years old at election is as late as the Council of Trent; Gregory abbess also was not to leave her monastery, in France, save once a year if summoned by the king with the bishop's consent to the king's presence upon monastic business (*Conc. Vern.* A.D. 755; *Cabillon.* ii. A.D. 813, c. 57). Neither was she even to speak to any man save upon necessary business, and then before witnesses and between the first hour of the day and evening (*Conc. Cabillon.* ii. A.D. 813, c. 55, 56). For the exceptional cases of Anglo-Saxon, Irish, or Continental Irish, abbesses ruling over mixed houses of monks and nuns, see *ABBAT*. It was noted also as a specially Western custom, that widows as well as virgins were made abbesses (Theod., *Poenit.* II. iii. 7, in *Wasserschll.* p. 204). [A. W. H.]

ABBAY. [MONASTERY.]

ABBUNA, the common appellation of the Bishop, Metran, or Metropolitan, of Axum, or Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, not a patriarch, but, on the contrary, appointed and consecrated always by the patriarch of Alexandria, and specially forbidden to have more than seven suffragan bishops under him, lest he should make himself, so, twelve bishops being held to be the lowest canonical number for the consecration of a patriarch. In a Council, if held in Greece, he occupied the seventh place, immediately after the prelate of Seleucia. (Ludolf, *Hist. Ethiop.* iii. 7.)

[A. W. II.]

ABDELLA, martyr in Persia under Sapor, commemorated Apr. 21 (*Martyr. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ABDIANUS, of Africa, commemorated June 3 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ABDON, **ANDO** or **ANDUS**, and **SENNE**, **SENNE**, or **SENNIS**, Persian princes, martyred at Rome under Decius, A.D. 250, are commemorated July 30 (*Martyrologium Rom. Vet., Bedae, Adonis*). Proper office in Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 116; and Antiphon in the *Lib. Antiphon.* p. 704.

It is related (Adonis *Martyrol.* iii. Kal. Aug.) that their relics were translated in the time of Constantine to the cemetery of Pontianus. There Bosio discovered a remarkable fresco, representing the Lord, seen from the waist upward emerging from a cloud, placing wreaths on the heads of SS. Abdon and Sennen (see woodcut). This is



Abdon and Sennen. (From the cemetery of Pontianus.)

in front of the vault enclosing the supposed remains of the martyrs, which bears the inscription [DEPOSITIO]NIS DIE. The painting is, in Martigny's opinion, not earlier than the seventh century. It is remarkable that the painter has evidently made an attempt to represent the Persian dress. The saints wear pointed caps or hoods, similar to those in which the Magi are sometimes represented; cloaks fastened with a fibula on the breast; and tunics of skin entirely unlike the Roman tunic, and resembling that given to St. John Baptist in a fresco of the same cemetery in the same cemetery of Pontianus (Dottari, *Sculture e Pitture*, tav. xlv.). Similar figures may be found in *Leibniz's treatise De Evangelio Apostolorum*, pp. 121-126.

The gesture of the Lord, crowning the martyrs

for their constancy, is found also on the bottoms of early Christian cups (GLASS, CHRISTIAN), where He crowns SS. Peter and Paul, and other saints (Bionarroti, *Vest. Antich.* tav. xv. fig. 1, and elsewhere) and on coins of the Lower Empire the Lord is not unfrequently seen crowning two emperors. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antich. chrétiennes*.) [C.]

ABECEDARIAN. The term "Hymnus" or "Psalm Abecedarinus" is applied specially to the hymn of Sedulius, "A solis ortus cardine." [ÆNOSTIC.] [C.]

ABERCICIUS of Jerusalem, *ἱσωνδολλος θαυματουργός*, commemorated Oct. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ABGARUS, King, commemorated Dec. 21 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

ABIBAS, martyr of Elessa, commemorated Nov. 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ABIHON, invention of his relics at Jerusalem, Aug. 3 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ABILIUS, bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 86-96), commemorated Feb. 22 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*); Maskarram 1 = Aug. 29 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C.]

ABJURATION—denial, disavowal, or renunciation upon oath. Abjuration, in common ecclesiastical language, is restricted to the renunciation of heresy made by the penitent heretic on the occasion of his reconciliation to the Church. In some cases the abjuration was the only ceremony required; but in others it was followed up by the imposition of hands and byunction. The practice of the ancient Church is described by St. Gregory the Great in a letter to Quiricus and the bishops of Iberia on the reconciliation of the Nestorians. According to this, in cases in which the heretical baptism is imperfect, the rule was that the penitent should be baptized; but when it was complete, as in the case of the Arians, the custom of the Eastern Church was to reconcile by the Chrism; that of the Western, by the imposition of hands. As, however, the mystery of the Chrism was but the Oriental rite of Confirmation, the practice was substantially identical. (On the question of Re-baptism, see RE-BAPTISM, BAPTISM.) Converts from the Monophysites were received after simple confession, and the previous baptism was supposed to take effect "for the remission of sins," at the moment at which the Spirit was imparted by the imposition of hands; or the convert was reunited to the Church by his profession of faith (St. Greg. *Ep.* 9. 67). A similar rule is found down by the Quinisext Council, canon 95, which classes with the Arians, the Macedonians, Novatians and others, to be received with the Chrism. The Paulianists, Montanists, Encratians, and others, are to be re-baptized; to be received as Christians, on their profession, the first day, as Catechumens the second, and after they have been allowed a place in the Church as hearers for some time, to be baptized. In all cases, the profession of faith must be made by the presentation of a libellus, or form of abjuration, in which the convert renounced and anathematized his former tenets. After declaring his abjuration not to be made on compulsion, from fear or any other unworthy motive, he proceeded to anathematize the sect renounced, by all its

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ABLUTION

names; the heresarchs, and their successors, past, present, and future; he then enumerated the trusts received by them, and, having repudiated them singly and generally, he ended with making profession of the true faith. (Banlinus, *Monumenta* li. 109-111. But for the whole subject see Martene and Durand, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus* li. liber iii. ch. 6; *A. J. de levi et de vehementi*, later date. See London's *Ecol. Dic.*) [D. B.]

ABLUTION. A term under which various kinds of ceremonial washing are included. The principal are the following: the washing of the head, as a preparation for unction in baptism, and the washing of the feet, which in some places formed part of the baptismal ceremony [BAPTISM]; the washing of the feet of the poor by exalted persons, which forms part of the ceremony of Maundy Thursday [FEET, WASHING OF]; the lustral ceremony which preceded entrance to a church [CANTHARUS; HOLY WATER]; and the washing of the priest's hands at certain points in the celebration of the liturgy [AQUAMANILE; HANDS, WASHING OF].

ABORTION.—The crime of procuring abortion is little, if at all, noticed in the earliest laws. It is a crime of civilization; the representative of the principle which in a barbarous state of society is infanticide. The oration of Lysias which was pronounced on occasion of a suit on this subject is lost, so that it cannot be decided whether the act was regarded by the Athenians as an offence against society, or merely as a private wrong. It is in the latter aspect that it is chiefly regarded in the civil law. The child unborn represents certain interests, and his life or death may be beneficial or injurious to individuals; thus, it may have been, that a father by his wife's crime, might lose the *justitium liberorum*. The case quoted from Cicero pro Cluentio (Dig. xlviii. 19, 39), in which a woman was condemned to death for having procured abortion, having been bribed by the second heir, is clearly exceptional. The only passage in the civil law in which the crime is mentioned without such connexion, is a sentence of Ulpian, in the *Pandects* (Dig. xlviii. 8, 8, ad legem Cornelianam de Sicariis), where the punishment is declared to be banishment. The horrible prevalence of the practice among the Romans of the Empire may be learned from Juvenal.

It was early made a ground of accusation by the Christians against the heathen. Tertullian denounces the practice as homicidal. "Prevention of birth is a precipitation of murder," *Apol. ix.* Minucius Felix declares it to be parricide.

The Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) having mentioned that the ancient punishment was penance for life, proceeds to limit it to ten years; and the same space of time is given by St. Basil, who condemns the practice in two canons, ii. and viii., alleging the character of the crime as committed against both the mother and the offspring; and declining to accept the distinctions drawn by the lawyers between the degrees of criminality varying with the time of the gestation. The Council of Lerida (324) classes the crime with infanticide, but allows the mother to be received to Communion after seven years' penance even when her sin is complicated with adultery. The Council in Trullo condemns it to the penance

ABSTINENCE

of homicide. Pope Gregory III. in the next century reverts to the ten years' penance, although he differs from St. Basil in modifying the sentence to a single year in cases where the child has not been formed in the womb; this is based on Exod. xxi., and is countenanced by St. Augustine, in *Questiones Exodi*, in a passage incorporated by Gratian.

There is thus abundant evidence that the crime was held in extreme abhorrence, and punished with great severity, as pertaining to wilful murder, by the canons of the Church. By the Visigothic law (lib. VI. tit. iii. c. 1), the person who administered a draught for the purpose was punished with death. [D. B.]

ABRAHAM. (1) the patriarch, commemorated Oct. 9 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*). Also on the 23rd of the month Nubase, equivalent to August 16. (*Cal. Ethiop.*; Neale, *Eastern Church*, *Introd.* pp. 805, 815.)

(2) Patriarch and martyr, commemorated Taksum 6 = Dec. 2 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C.]

ABRAHAM, ISAAC, AND JACOB are commemorated by the Ethiopic Church on the 28th of every month of their Calendar. [C.]

ABRAXAS GEMS. [See ABRAXAS in *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.*]

ABREHA, first Christian king of Ethiopia, commemorated Tekemt 4 = Oct. 1 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C.]

ABRENTIATIO. [BAPTISM.]

ABSOLUTION (Lat. *Absolutio*). (For Sacramental Absolution, see EXOMOLOGESIS.)

1. A short deprecation which follows the Psalms of each Nocturn in the ordinary offices for the Hours. In this usage, the word "absolutio" perhaps denotes simply "ending" or "completion," because the monks, when the Nocturns were said at the proper hours of the night, broke off the chant at this point and went to rest (*Macri Hierozelicon* s. v.). In fact, of the "Absolutions" in the present Roman Breviary, only one (that "in Tertio Nocturno, et pro feria 1^a et Sabbato") contains a prayer for absolution, in the sense of a setting free from sin.

2. For the Absolution which follows the introductory Confession in most Liturgies and Offices, see CONFESSION.

3. The prayer for Absolution at the beginning of the office is, in Oriental Liturgies, addressed to the Son; but many of these liturgies contain a second "Oratio Absolutions," at some point between Consecration and Communion, which is addressed to the Father. For example, that in the Greek St. Basil (*Rennuot, lit. Orient. i. 81*), addressing God, the Father Almighty (*ὁ Θεός, ὁ Πατήρ ὁ Παντοκράτωρ*), and reciting the promise of the Keys, prays Him to dismiss, remit and pardon our sins (*ἀνεῖ ἀφεῖ συγχώρησον ἡμῖν*). Compare the Coptic St. Basil (*ib. l. 22*).

4. The word "Absolutio" is also applied to those prayers said over a corpse or a tomb in which remission of the sins of the departed is entreated from the Almighty. (*Macri Hierozelicon*, s. v.) [C.]

ABSTINENCE. Days of abstinence, as they are called, on which persons may take their meals at the ordinary hour, and eat and drink what they please, in any quantity so that they

abstain from meat alone, belong to modern times. Anciently, fasting and abstinence went together, as a general rule, formed parts of the same idea, and could not be dis severed. There may have been some few, possibly, who ate and drank indiscriminately, when they broke their fast, as Socrates (v. 22, 10) seems to imply; but in general, beyond doubt, abstinence from certain kinds of food was observed on fasting days when the fast was over, "abstinentes ab iis, quae non rejicimus, sed differimus," as Tertullian says (*De Jejun.* 15). Thus it will be more properly considered under the head of fasting, to which it subserved.

[E. S. F.]

ABUNA. [ABUNA.]

ABUNDANTIUS, of Alexandria, commemorated Feb. 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ABUNDIUS. (1) Martyr at Rome under Decius, commemorated Aug. 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet. et Hecur.*); Aug. 23 (*Mart. Hieronym.*).

(2) The deacon, martyr at Spoleto under Diocletian, Dec. 10 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ACACIUS, martyr, commemorated May 7 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ACATHISTUS (Gr. ἀκάθιστος). A hymn of the Greek Church, sung on the eve of the fifth Sunday in Lent, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, to whose intercession the deliverance of Constantinople from the barbarians on three several occasions was attributed. Meursius assigns its origin more especially to the deliverance of the city from Chosroes, king of the Persians, in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (626). It is called ἀκάθιστος, because during the singing of it the whole congregation stood, while during the singing of other hymns of the same kind they occasionally sat. (Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v.; Neale's *Eastern Ch. Intrad.* 747; Daniel's *Codex Liturg.* iv. 223.)

Francis Junius wrongly supposed this use of the Acathistus to commemorate the journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem. (Macri *Hieroglyphicon*, s. v.)

The word Acathistus is also used to designate the day on which the hymn was used. (*Sabae Typicum*, in Suicer, s. v.) [C.]

ACCENTUS ECCLESIASTICUS. One of the two principal kinds (*accentus* and *concentus*) of ecclesiastical music.

1. The consideration of this subject is encumbered by an especial difficulty—the popular, and now all but exclusive application of the word "accent" to emphasis, stress, or *ictus*. Accent, however, claims and admits of a much wider application. Ben Jonson* speaks of accent as being "with the ancients, a *tuning of the voice*, in lifting it up, or letting it down,"—a definition not only clear and concise, but thoroughly accordant with the derivation of the word "accent" from *accino*, i. e. *ad cano*, to sing to. We are all conscious of and affected by the varieties of accent^b (in this, its etymological and primitive acceptation) in foreign languages spoken by those to whom they are native, as well as in our native language spoken by foreigners, or (perhaps still more) by residents of

* *English Grammar*, 1640, chap. viii.

^b "Est in dicendo etiam quidam cantus obscurior."—Cicero, *Orat.* 18, 57.

parts of Great Britain other than our own. The Scottish, Irish, and various provincial accents, are not so much the result of different vocalization (i. e. utterance of vowel sounds) as of the different gradations in which the Scotch, Irish, and others, "tune their voices."

2. The *Accentus Ecclesiasticus*, called also *modus choraliter legendi*, is the result of successive attempts to ensure in Public Worship uniformity of delivery consistent with uniformity of matter delivered; so as, if not to obliterate, at least to hide individual peculiarities under the veil of a catholic "use." It presents a sort of mean between speech and song, continually inclining towards the latter, never altogether leaving its hold on the former; it is speech, though always attuned speech, in passages of average interest and importance; it is song, though always distinct and articulate song, in passages demanding more fervid utterance. Though actually musical only in concluding or culminating phrases, the *Accentus Ecclesiasticus* is always sufficiently *isochronous*: admit of its being expressed in musical characters, a process to which no attempt (and such attempts have been repeatedly made) has ever succeeded in subjecting pure speech.

3. *Accentus* is probably the oldest, as it is certainly the simplest, form of *Cantus Ecclesiasticus*. Like most art-forms and modes of operation which have subsequently commended themselves on their own account to our sense of beauty, it grew in all likelihood out of a physical difficulty. The limited capacity of the so-called "natural" or speaking voice must have been ascertained at a very early period; indeed its recognition is confirmed by the well-known practice whether of the ancient temple, theatre, or forum. The old rhetoricians, says Forkel, are, without exception, of the same way of thinking; and we may, from their extant works, confidently conclude, that neither among the Greeks nor the Romans was poetry ever recited but in a tone analogous to that since known as the *accentus ecclesiasticus*. The Abbe du Bos^c too has demonstrated that not only was the theatrical recitation of the ancients actually musical—"un veritable chant," susceptible of musical notation, and even of instrumental accompaniment—but that all their public discourses, and even their familiar language, though of course in a lesser degree, partook of this character.

4. The advantages resulting from the employment of isochronous sounds (sounds which are the result of equal-timed vibrations) would become apparent on the earliest occasion, when a single orator was called upon to fill a large auditorium, and to make himself intelligible, or even audible, to a large assembly. So, too, for simultaneous expression on the part of large numbers, these advantages would at once make themselves felt. In congregational worship a uniform (technically, a "unisonous") utterance might seem as essential, as conducive to the decency and order with which we are enjoined to do "all

^c "Die alten Sprach- und Declinations-Lehrer sind sämtlich eben derselben Meinung, und wir können aus ihren hinterlassenen Werken mit dem höchsten Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit schliessen, dass sowohl bei den Griechen als Römern die meisten Gedichte mit keiner andern als mit dieser Art von Gesang gesungen werden sein."—Forkel, *Allgem. Geschichte der Musik*, II, 153.

^d *Reflexions sur la Poésie*, &c.

than our own. The provincial accents, of different vocalizations (sounds) as of the Scotch, Irish, &c.

accents, called also *modus*—result of successive Worship uniformity of matter obliterate, at least to under the veil of a sort of mean benevolently inclining together leaving its such, though always of average interest though always dispassages demanding high actually musical phrasing, the accents sufficiently expressed in music—which no attempt (repeatedly made) of pure speech.

oldest, as it is *cantus Ecclesiasticus*, modes of operation demanded themselves sense of beauty, it physical difficulty, called "natural" as ascertained in its recognition in practice whether or forum. The old without exception, and we may, from conclude, that the Romans was one analogous to *accents*, demonstrated that recitation of the veritable chant," and even of in that all their of familiar language degree, par-

from the employ- ments which are tions) would be occasion, when a fill a large of intelligible, or ly. So, too, for art of large num- berance make mem- orship a uniform utterance might to the decency oined to do "all

ations-Lehrer sind und wir können aus höchsten Grad von weid bei den Orne- mit keiner andern en werden sein."— 4, 153.

ACCENTUS ECCLESIASTICUS

things," as is that still more essential uniformity expressed in the term Common Prayer, without which, indeed, congregational worship would seem to be impossible. "Accent," says Ornthoparcus, "hath great affinity with Convent, for they be Brothers: because *Sonus*, or *Sound* (the King of Ecclesiastical Harmony), is Father to them both, and begat one upon Grammar, the other upon Musik," &c. (He) "so divided his kingdom, that *Conventus* might be chief Ruler over all things that are to be sung, as Hymnes, Sequences, Antiphones, Responsories, Introitus, Tropes, and the like: and *Accentus* over all things which are read; as Gospels, Lectures, Epistles, Orations, Prophecies: For the functions of the Papale Kingdom are not duly performed without *Convent*," &c. "Hence it was that I, marking how many of those Priests (which by the leave of the learned I will say) doe reade those things they have to reade so wildly, so monstrously, so faultily (that they doe not only hinder the devotion of the faithful, but also even provoke them to laughter and scorning, with their ill reading), resolved after the doctrine of *Convent* to explico the rules of *Accent*; in as much as it belongs to a *Justitian*, that together with *Convent*, *Accent* might also as true heire in this Ecclesiastical Kingdom be established: Desiring that the praise of the highest King, to whom all honour and reverence is due, might duly be performed."*

5. The *Accentus Ecclesiasticus*, or *modus charitater legendi*, must have been perpetuated by tradition only, for many ages. That the rules for its application have been reduced to writing only in comparatively modern times does not in the least invalidate its claim to a high antiquity. On the contrary, it tends to confirm it. That which is extensively known and universally admitted has no need of verification. It is only when traditions are dying out that they begin to be put on record. So long as this kind of recitation was perfectly familiar to the Greeks and Romans there could be no necessity for "noting" it; not till it began to be less so were "accents" (the characters so called) invented for its preservation,—just as the "vowel-points" were introduced into Hebrew writing subsequently to the dispersion of the Jews. The force and accuracy of tradition, among those unaccustomed to the use of written characters, have been well ascertained and must be unhesitatingly admitted; their operation has certainly been as valuable in music as in poetry and history. Strains incomparably longer and more intricate than those now accepted as the ecclesiastical accents have been passed on from voice to voice, with probably but trifling alteration, for centuries, among peoples who had no other method of preserving and transmitting them.

6. The authorities for the application of the *Cantus Ecclesiasticus* are, as we have said, comparatively modern. Lucas Lossius,† a writer frequently quoted by Walthar, Kock, and other more recent musical theorists, gives six forms of cadence or close, i.e., notes of bringing to an end a phrase the earlier portion of which had been recited in monotone. According to Lossius,

* Andreas Ornthoparcus, *His Micrologus*. Translated by John Dowland. 1608. p. 99.
† *Ertemata Musicae Practicæ*, 1590.

ACCENTUS ECCLESIASTICUS 11

accent is (1) *inmutabilis* when a phrase is concluded without any change of pitch, i.e., when it is monotone throughout; (2) it is *medius* when on the last syllable the voice falls from the reciting note (technically the dominant) a third; (3) *gravis*, when on the last syllable it falls a fifth; (4) *acutus*, when the "dominant," after the interposition of a few notes at a lower pitch, is resumed; (5) *moderatus*, when the monotone is interrupted by an accent, on the penultimate, of a second; (6) *interrogativus*, when the voice, after a slight descent, rises scale-wise on the last syllable. To these six forms other writers add one more, probably of more recent adoption; (7) the *finalis*, when the voice, after rising a second above the dominant, falls scale-wise to the fourth below it, on which the last syllable is sounded. The choice of these accents or cadences is regulated by the punctuation (possible, if not always actual) of the passage recited; each particular stop had its particular cadence or cadences. Thus the comma (*distinctio*) was indicated and accompanied by the accentus *inmutabilis*, *acutus*, or *moderatus*; the colon (*duo puncta*) by the *medius*; and the full stop (*unctum quadratum ante syllabam capitalem*) by the *gravis*.

7. The following table, from Lossius, exhibits the several accents, in musical notation:—

(1) IMMUTABILIS.

LEE - ti - o E - pis - to - lae sanc - ti Pau - li.

(2) MEDIUS.

et o - pe - ra - tur vir - tu - tes in vo - bis.

(3) GRAVIS.

Be - ne - di - cen - tur in te - om - nes gen - tes.

(4) ACUTUS.

Cum sept - ri - tu coc - po - ri - tis nuc, Cum il - de - li.

(5) MODERATUS.

ex op - e - ri - bus legis an ex au - di - tu si - de - i?

(6) INTERROGATIVUS.

a - ni - ma me - a ad te De - us.

The examples given by Ornthoparcus are similar to the above, with two exceptions—(5) the *Moderatus*, which in 'His Micrologus' appears thus:

Il - lu - mi - na - re Je - ru - sa - lem.

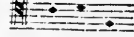
And the *Interrogativus*, of which he says: "A speech with an interrogation, whether it have in the end a word of one syllable, or of two syllables, or more, the accent still falls upon the last syllable, and must be accented. Now the signs of such a speech are, *who, which, what*, and those which are thus derived, *why, therefore, when, how, in what sort, whether*, and such like."



Quantas ha-be-o in-i-qui-ta-tes et pec-ca-ta?

"To these are joyed verbes of asking; as, *I aske, I seeke, I require, I searche, I haue, I see,* and the like."

Some variations too from the above, in the present Roman use, are noticed by Mendelssohn: *c. g.* in the *Gravis*, where there the voice rises a tone above the dominant, on the penultimate, before falling:—



changing the cadence from a fifth (compare 5) to a sixth; and in the *Interrogative*, where the voice falls from the dominant (also on the penultimate) a third:—



To the accents belong the following forms, or portions of offices of the Latin Church: ^b (1) *Tonus Collectarum seu Orationum*. (2) *Tonus Epistolarum et Evangelii*, including the melodies to which the *Possion* is sung in Passion Week. (3) *Tonus Lctionum solemnium et luperbis; Prophetiarum et Martyrologii*. (4) Various forms of Intonation, Benediction, and Absolution used in the Liturgy. (5) Single verses. (6) The Exclamations and Admonitions of the assistants at the altar. (7) The Prefaces; the *Pater Noster*, with its Prefaces; the Benediction, *Pax Domini sit semper vobis-um*. [J. H.]

ACCESS. 1. The approach of the priest to the altar for the celebration of the Eucharist. Hence the expression "prayer of access" is used as equivalent to the *Εὐχὴ τῆς παρασκευῆς*, or prayer of the priest's presenting himself at the altar, in the Greek Liturgy of St. James (Neale's *Eastern Church, Introduction*, i. 360).

2. But the expression "prayer of access," or "prayer of humble access," is more commonly used by English liturgical writers to designate a confession of unworthiness in the sight of God, occurring at a later point of the service; generally between consecration and communion. So that the "prayer of humble access" corresponds to the "Prayer of Inclination" or "of bowing the neck" in the Greek Liturgies. Though words more expressive of "humble access" occur in other places; for instance, in the Greek St. James, where the priest declares: *Ἰδοὺ προσ-ῆλθον τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ μυστηρίῳ οὐχ ὡς ἄξιός ὑπάρχων* (Daniel's *Coder Lit.*, iv. 88); in the Mozarabic, "Accedam ad Te in humilitate spiritus mei" (*Ib.* i. 71); or in the "Domine et Deus noster, ne aspicias ad multitudinem peccatorum nostrorum" in the Liturgy of Adaeus and Maris (*Ib.* i. 176). Compare **CONFESSIO**. [C.]

ACCLAMATION. 1. A term applied by epigraphists to certain short inscriptions, expressed in the second person, and containing a

^a *Beischrieffe aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, p. 167.
^b *Ithou, Anabasion*, 1533; quoted by Arrey von Dommer; Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon*.

ACLEENSE CONCILIJUM

wish or injunction; as, **VIVAS IN DEO** (Muratori, *Thesaurus Vet. Inscr.* 1954, no. 4). By far the greater part of these exclamations are sepulchral [EPITAPH], but similar sentences are also seen on AMULETS, on the bottoms of eggs [GLASS, CHRISTIAN] found in the Catacombs, and on GEMS. (See the Articles.)

2. The term acclamation is also sometimes applied to the responsive cry or chant of the congregation in antiphonal singing. Compare **ACROSTIC** (§ 5); **ANTIPHON**. [C.]

ACCUSERS, FALSE; HOW PUNISHED.—Those who made false accusations against any person were visited with severe punishments under the canons of several councils.

In Spain. The Council of Illiberis (A.D. 305 or 306) refused communion even at the hour of death ("in fine," *al.* "in finem") to any person who should falsely accuse any bishop, priest, or deacon (can. 75).

In France. By the 14th canon of the 1st Council of Arles (A.D. 314) those who falsely accuse their brethren were excommunicated for life ("usque ad exitum"). This canon was re-enacted at the 2nd Council held at the same city (A.D. 443), but permission was given for the restoration of those who should do penance and give satisfaction commensurate with their offence (can. 24). See also **CALUMNY**. [I. B.]

ACEPSIMAS, commemorated Nov. 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Nov. 5 (*Cal. Armen.*); April 22 (*Mart. Rom.*). [C.]

ACERRA or **ACERNA**. (The latter is possibly the original form, from Acer, maple.) Acerra designated, in classical times, either the incense-box used in sacrifices; or a small altar, or incense-burner, placed before the dead. (Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s. v.) And in ecclesiastical litinity also it designates either an incense-box or an incense-burner; "Arca thuris, vel thuribulum, vel thurarium." (Papias in Durange's *Glossary* s. v. 'Acerna').

It is used in the rubrics of the Gregorian sacramentary (Corbey MS.) in the office for the consecration of a church (p. 428); and in the office for the baptism of a bell (p. 438); in the latter in the form Acerna: "tunc ponens incensum in acerna." In both cases it designates an incense-burner or THURIBULUM (q. v.). [C.]

ACHAICUM CONCILIJUM.—Two synods of Achaia, in Greece, are recorded: one, A.D. 250, against the Valesians, who, like Origen, interpreted St. Matth. xix. 12, literally; the other, in 330, against the followers of Aetius. [A. W. H.]

ACHILLEAS (or Achilles), bishop of Alexandria, commemorated Nov. 7 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ACHILLEUS, the eunuch, martyr at Rome, May 12, A.D. 96. (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet., Hier. Bedae*). [C.]

ACINDYNUS (Ἀκίνδυνος) and companions, martyrs, A.D. 346, commemorated Nov. 2 (*Cal. Byz.*). [C.]

ACEPHALI [VAGI CLERICI; AUTOCEPHALI].

ACLEENSE CONCILIJUM (of Aclen = "Field of the Oak," supposed to be Aycliffe, in Durham; Raine's *Prory of Hexham*, i. 38, note). (l.) A.D. 781 (Flor. Wig. in *M. H. B.* 545), but

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LUNNY. [L. B.]

Nov. 3 (*Cal.
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ACOEMETAE

782 (*Angl.-Sax. Chr.* and H. Hunt., *ib.* 336, 731). (ii.) A.D. 787 (Kemble, *C. D.*, No. 151). (iii.) A.D. 788, Sept. 29, in the year and month of the murder of Ellwald of Northumbria, Sept. 21, 788 (Wilk. I. 153; Mansi, xiii. 825, 826). (iv.) A.D. 789 (*Angl.-Sax. Chr.*, M. H. B. 337 "a great synod"), in the 6th year of Bribric, King of Wessex (H. Hunt., *ib.* 732). (v.) A.D. 804 (Kemble, *C. D.*, No. 186). (vi.) A.D. 805, Aug. 6 (*id. ib.*, Nos. 190, 191). (vii.) A.D. 810 (*id. ib.*, No. 256). Nos. ii, v., and vi, probably, and No. vii, certainly, were at Ockley, in Surrey; or, at any rate, not in the Northumbrian Aelen. Nothing more is known of any of these synods. Nothing more is known of the deeds (grants of lands) above referred to, in Kemble. [A. W. H.]

ACOEMETAE, lit. the "sleepless" or "un-resting" (for the theological or moral import of the term v. Suicer, *Thesaur. Ecol.*, s. v.), a so-called order of monks established in the East about the middle, rather than the commencement, of the 5th century, being altogether unnoticed by Soerates and Sozomen, the latter a zealous chronicler of monks and monasteries, who bring their histories down to A.D. 440; yet mentioned by Evagrius (ii. 19) as a regularly established order in 483. Later authorities make their founder to have been a certain officer of the imperial household at Constantinople named Alexander, who quitted his post to turn monk, and after having had to shift his quarters in Syria several times, at length returned to Constantinople, to give permanence to the system which he had already commenced on the Euphrates. The first monastery which he founded there was situated near the church of St. Mennas. It was composed of 300 monks of different nations, whom he divided into six choirs, and arranged so that one of them should be always employed in the work of prayer and praise day and night without intermission all the year round. This was their peculiar characteristic—and it has been copied in various ways elsewhere since then—that some part of "the house," as Wordsworth (*Excurs.*, viii. 185) expresses it, "was evermore watching to God." Alexander having been calumniated for this practice as heretical, he was imprisoned, but regained his liberty, and died, say his biographers, about A.D. 430—it might be nearer the mark to say 450—in a new convent of his own founding on the Dardanelles. Marcellus, the next head of the order but one, brought all the zeal and energy to it of a second founder; and he doubtless found a powerful supporter in Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 458-71, a great restorer of discipline and promoter of learning amongst the clergy. Then it was that Studius, a noble Roman, and in process of time consul, emigrated to Constantinople, and converted one of the churches there, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, into the celebrated monastery bearing his name, but which he peopled with the Acoemetae. There was another monastery founded by St. Dios, in the reign of Theodosius the Great, that also became theirs sooner or later, to which Valens (*Ad. Evag.*, iii. 19 and 31) adds a third founded by St. Bassianus, it may have been owing to their connexion with Studius that they were led to correspond with the West. At all events, on the acceptance by Acaclus, the patriarch succeeding Gennadius, of the Henoticon of the emperor Zeno, and communion with the schis-

ACOLYTES

matic patriarch of Alexandria, their "hegumen," or president, Cyril lost no time in despatching complaints of him to Rome; nor were their emissaries slow to accuse the legates of the Pope themselves of having, during their stay at Constantinople, held communion with heretics. The ultimate result was, that the two legates, Vitalis and Misenus, were deprived of their sees, and Acaclus himself excommunicated by the Popes Simplicius and Felix. Meanwhile one who had been expelled from their order, but had learnt his trade in their monasteries, Peter the Fuller, had become schismatic patriarch of Antioch, and he, of course, made common cause with their opponents. Nor was it long before they laid themselves open to retaliation. For, under Justinian, their ardour impelled them to deny the celebrated proposition, advocated so warmly by the Scythian monks, hesitated about so long at Rome, that one of the Trinity had suffered in the flesh. Their denial of this proposition threw them into the arms of the Nestorians, who were much interested in having it decided in this way. For if it could be denied that one of the Trinity had suffered, it could not be maintained, obviously, hence, on the Trinity had become incarnate. Cyrus and Eulogius, to Rome to defend their bishops thither, Hypatius and Demetrius, to denounce them to the Pope (*Papal ad Baron.*, A.D. 533, n. 2). In short, in a letter, of which they were the bearers, to John II., afterwards inserted by him in Lib. I. Tit. "De summâ Trinitate" of his Code, he himself expressed his favouring Judaism and the Nestorian heresy. The Pope in his reply seems to admit their herodoxy, but he entreats the emperor to forgive them at his instance, should they be willing to abjure their errors and return to the unity of the Church. With what success he interceded for them we are not told. During the iconoclastic controversy they seem to have shared exile with the rest of the monks ejected from their monasteries by Constantine Copronymus (*Papal ad Baron.*, A.D. 798, n. 2); but under the empress Irene of Stulium, at all events, was re-peopled with his former alumni by the most celebrated of them all, Theodore, in whose surname, "Studites," it has perhaps achieved a wider celebrity than it ever would otherwise have possessed.

In the West a branch of the order long held the abbey of St. Maurice of Agaune in Valais, where they were established by Sigismund, king of Burgundy, and had their institute confirmed by a Council held there A.D. 523. For fuller details see Bonanni's *Hist. du Clerg. soc. et reg.*, vol. ii. p. 153 *et seq.* (Amsterdam, 1716); Bulteau's *Hospin, De Orig. Monach.*, iii. 8; Du Fresnoy, *Gloss. Lat.*, s. v.; and *Constant. Christian.*, iv. 8 2; Bingham's *Antiq.*, vii. 11, 10. [E. S. F.]

ACOLYTES--ACOLYTHS--ACOLYTHISTS ("Ακόλυθοι). One of the minor orders peculiar to the Western Church, although the name is Greek. In the Apostolic age, the only order which existed, in addition to those of bishops, priests, and deacons, was that of deaconesses—widows usually at first, who were employed in such ministrations towards their own sex as were considered unsuitable for men, especially in the East. But about the end of the 2nd

or early in the 3rd century, other new officers below the order of the deacons were introduced, and amongst them this of *Acolytes*, though only in the Latin Church as a distinct order. In the rituals of the Greek Church the word occurs only as another name for the order of sub-deacon.

The institution of the minor orders took its origin in the greater Churches, such as Rome and Carthage, and was owing partly to the supposed expediency of limiting the number of deacons to seven, as first appointed by the apostles, and partly to the need which was felt of assistance to the deacons in performing the lower portions of their office; of which functions, indeed, they appear in many cases to have been impatient, regarding them as unworthy of their important position in the Church. Tertullian is the earliest writer by whom any of the inferior orders is mentioned. He speaks of Readers, *De Præscr.* c. 41. It is in the epistles of Cyprian that the fuller organization of these orders comes before us (*Epp.* xxix., xxxviii., lxxv., &c.). It is also stated by his contemporary Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, that the Church of Rome at that time numbered forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, and fifty-two exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers (*Ostiarii*). None of these inferior orders, according to St. Basil, were ordained with imposition of hands, but they were simply appointed by the bishop with some appropriate ceremony, to certain subordinate functions of the ministry such as any Christian layman might be commissioned by episcopal authority to perform. The form of ordination employed in the case of *Acolytes* is thus prescribed by a canon of the 4th Council of Carthage. "When any Acolythist is ordained, the bishop shall inform him how he is to behave himself in his office; and he shall receive a candlestick with a taper in it, from the archdeacon, that he may understand that he is appointed to light the candles of the church. He shall also receive an empty pitcher to furnish wine for the Eucharist of the blood of Christ." Hence it appears that the Acolyte's office at that period consisted chiefly in two things, viz, lighting the candles of the church and attending the officiating priest with wine for the Eucharist.

The Acolyte of the ancient Western Church is represented in the later Roman communion by the Cerotarius or taper-bearer, whose office consists in walking before the deacons or priests with a lighted taper in his hand.

Both in the East and West the minor orders of ancient times were afterwards conferred as merely introductory to the sacred orders of deacon and presbyter, while the duties which had formerly belonged to them were performed by laymen. In the 7th century the readers and singers in the Armenian Church were laymen—in the 8th century the readers, and in the 12th the estiarri and exorcists were laymen in the Greek Church. Before the year 1300 the four orders of acolyte, exorcist, reader, and ostiarius began to be conferred at the same time in the Western Churches. Not long afterwards it became customary to release the clerks thus ordained from discharging the duties of their orders, which were entrusted to lay clerks. The Councils of Cologne and Trent vainly endeavoured to alter this custom; and laymen continue generally to perform the offices of the ancient orders in the Roman churches to

ACROSTIC

the present day. In England the same custom has prevailed; and the minor orders having for some centuries become merely titular, were dissolved in the Reformation of our Churches.

Fuller information on the subject of the minor orders may be found in Field's *Book of the Church*, b. v. c. 25; Bingham's *Antiquities*, b. iii.; Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl.* pars 1, lib. ii. See also Robertson's *History of the Church* and Palmer's *Treatise on the Church of Christ*. [D.B.]

ACONTIUS, of Rome, commemorated July 25 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

ACROSTIC. (*Ἀκροστιχίς, ἀκροστιχίον, ἀκροστιχίον*, Acrostichis.) A composition in which the first letters of the several lines form the name of a person or thing. The invention is attributed to Epicharmus.

We find several applications of the Acrostic principle in Christian antiquity.

1. The word *Acrostic* is applied to the well-known formula *ΙΧΘΥΣ*. [See *ΙΧΘΥΣ*.]

2. Verses in honour of the Saviour were frequently written in the acrostic form; Pope Damasus, for instance, has left two acrostics on the name Jesus (*Chrm.* iv. nad v.), the former of which runs as follows:

"In rebus tantis Trina conjunctio mundi
Erigit humanum sensum laudare veniste;
Sola satis nobis, et mundi summa potestas
Veni peccati nodum dissolvere fructu.
Summa salus cunctis nituit per sæcula terris."

The same pope, to whom so many of the inscriptions in the Catacombs are due, composed an acrostic inscription in honour of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine. This was originally placed in the apse of the basilica of St. Agnes in the Via Nomentana, and may be seen in Bosio, *Roma Subterranea*, p. 118. And inscriptions of this kind are frequent. Lest the reader should miss the names indicated, an explanation of the acrostic principle is sometimes added to the inscription itself. For instance, to the epitaph of Licinia, Leontia, Ampelia, and Flavia (*Muratori, Thesaurus Novus*, p. 1903, no. 5) are added these verses, which give the key:

"Nomina sanctorum, lector, si forte requiris,
Ex omni versu te litera prima docuit."

So the epitaph of a Christian named Agatha (*Murini, Fratelli Areali*, p. 828), ends with the words, "ejus autem nomen capita ver[sum]"; and another, given by the same authority, ends with the words, "Is ejus per capita versorum nomen declaratur." Fabretti (*Inscript. Antiq.* iv. 150) gives a similar one, "Revertere per capita versorum et invenies pium nomen." Gazzera (*Iscrizione del Visconte*, p. 91) gives the epitaph of Eusebius of Vercelli, in which the first letters of the lines form the words *EVSEBIUS EPISCOPVS ET MARTYR*; and another acrostic epitaph (p. 114), where the initial letters form the words *CELSVS EPISCOPVS* (*Martigny, Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* 11).

We also find acrostic hymns in Greek. Several of the hymns of Cosmas of Jerusalem, are of this kind; the first, for instance (*Gallandi, Bibliotheca Pat.* xiii. 234), is an acrostic forming the words,

Χριστός Ἰσοϋσθεὶς ἦν ὁπρὸς Θεοῦ μόνον.

3. Those poems, in which the lines or stanzas commence with the letters of the alphabet taken

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and v.), the former of

quinetio mund
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ACROTELEUTIC

In order, form another class of acrostics. Such is the well-known hymn of Sedulius. "A solis ortus cardine," a portion of which is introduced in the Roman offices for the Nativity and the Circumcision of the Lord; and that of Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* xvi.), which begins with the words "Agnoscat omne saeculum." St. Augustine composed an Abecedarian Psalm against the Donatists, in imitation of the 119th, with the constant response, "Omnes qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum iudicate."

4. A peculiar use of the acrostic is found in the Office-books of the Greek Church. Each Canon, or series of TROPARIA, has its own acrostic, which is a metrical line formed of the initial letters of the Troparia which compose the Canon. To take the instance given by Dr. Neale (*Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 832); the acrostic for the Festival of SS. Proclus and Hilarius is,

Σταυροῖς ἀληθραῖς σεπτόν εἰσέρχομαι μέλος.

The meaning of this is, that the first Troparion of the Canon begins with Σ, the second with Ε, and so on. These lines are generally iambic, as in the instance above; but occasionally Hexameter, as,

Τὸν Νικηφόρον ὡς νικηφόρον ἄσμασι μέλω.

They frequently contain a play on the name of the Saint of the day, as in the instance just given, and in

Δῶρον Θεοῦ σε παμμάκαρ Πάτερ σίβω,

for St. Dorotheus of Tyre. The Troparia are sometimes, but rarely, arranged so as to form an alphabetic acrostic, as on the Eve of the Transfiguration (Neale, *u. s.*).

5. The word ἀκροστιχία, in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 57, § 5) denotes the verses, or portions of a verse, which the people were to sing responsively to the chanter of the Psalm, "ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστιχία ὑποβάλλετω." The constantly repeated response of the 136th Psalm ("For His mercy endureth for ever"), or that of the 'Benedicite omnia Opera' ("Praise Him, and magnify Him for ever"), are instances of what is probably intended in this case. Compare ANTIPHON, PSALMODY (Bingham's *Antiq.* xiv. 1, § 12).

ACROTELEUTIC. [DOXOLOGY; PSALMODY.]

ACTIO. A word frequently used to designate the canon of the mass.

The word "agere," as is well known, bears in classical writers the special sense of performing a sacrificial act; hence the word "Actio" is applied to that which was regarded as the essential portion of the Eucharistic sacrifice; "Actio dicitur ipse canon, quia in eo sacramenta consecretur Dominica," says Warriff Strabo (*De Rebus Eccl.* c. 22, p. 950, Migne). Whatever is included in the canon is said to be "infra actionem;" hence, when any words are to be added within the canon (as is the case at certain great festivals), they bear in the liturgies the title or rubric "infra actionem;" and in printed missals these words are frequently placed before the prayer "Communicantes." Compare CANON. (Bona, *de Rebus Liturgicis*, lib. ii. c. 11; Macri, *Hieroleicon*, s. v. "Actio".)

Honorius of Autun supposes this use of the word "actio" to be derived from legal termino-

ACTORS AND ACTRESSES 15

logy. "Missa quoddam iudicium imitatur; unde et canen Actio vocatur" (lib. i., c. 8); and "Canon . . . etiam Actio dicitur, quia causa populi in eum cum Deo agitur" (c. 103). (In Du Cange's *Glossary*, s. v. "Actio.") But this derivation, though adopted by several mediæval writers, does not appear probable. [C.]

ACTORS AND ACTRESSES.

fluence of Christianity on social life was seen, as in other things, so specially in the horror looked on the classes of the Christian Church whose occupations identified them with evil. Among these were *Actors* and *Actresses*. It must be remembered that they found the drama tainted by the depravity which infected all heathen society, and exhibiting it in its worst forms. Even *Aulus Terentius*, whose performances were the favourite amusement of Roman nobles and people (*Ovid*, *Trist.* ii. 497-520). The tragedies of *Aeschylus* or *Sophocles*, or *Seneca*, the comedies even of *Menander* and *Terence* could not compete with plays whose subject was always the "vettit crimen amoris," represented in all its baseness and foulness (*Ibid.*). What *Ovid* wrote of "ob-scena" and "turpia" was there acted. The stories of *Mars* and *Venus*, the loves of *Jupiter* with *Dance*, *Leda*, and *Ganymede*, were exhibited in detail (*Cyprian*, *De Grat. Dei*, c. 8). Men's minds were corrupted by the very sight. They learnt to imitate their gods. The actors became, in the worst sense of the word, effeminate, taught "gestus turpes et molles et muliebres exprimere" (*Cyprian*, *Ep.* 2, ed. Gersdorf. 61, ed. Rigalt). The theatre was the "sacramentum Veneris," the "consistorium impudicitiae" (*Urb.* c. 17). Men sent their sons and daughters to learn adultery (*Tatian*, *Orat. adv. Graec.* c. 22; *Tertull.* *De Spect.* c. 10). The debasement which followed on such an occupation had been recognized even by Roman law. The more active censors had pulled down theatres whenever they could, and *Pompeius*, when he built one, placed a Temple of *Venus* over it in order to guard against a like destruction (*Ibid.* c. 10). The Greeks, in their admiration of artistic culture, had honoured their actors. The Romans looked on them, even while they patronised them, with a consciousness of their degradation. They were excluded from all civil honours, their names were struck out of the register of their tribes; they lost by the "minutio capitis" their privileges as citizens (*Ibid.* c. 22; *Augustin.* *De Civ. Dei*, ii. 14). Trajan banished them altogether from Rome as utterly demoralized.

It cannot be wondered that that Christian writers should almost from the first enter their protest against a life so debased. They saw in it part of the "pompa diaboli," which they were called on to renounce. *Tertul-*

* Augustine, who in his youth had delighted in the higher forms of the drama (*Confess.* iii. 2), draws, after his conversion, a distinction between these ("scentium tolerabiliora ludorum") and the obscenity of the mimes (*De Civ. Dei*, ii. 8).

b No specific reference to this form of evil is found, it is true, in the N. T. The case had not yet presented itself. It would have seemed as impossible for a Christian to take part in it as to join in actual idolatry.

lian wrote the treatise already quoted specially against it and its kindred evils of the circus and the amphitheatre, and dwells on the inconsistency of uttering from the same lips the *amen* of Christian worship, and the praises of the gladiator or the mime. The actor seeks, against the words of Christ, to add a cubit to his stature by the use of the *Cothurnus*. He breaks the Divine law which forbids a man to wear a woman's dress (Deut. xxii. 5). Clement of Alexandria reckons them among the things which the Divine Instructor forbids to all His followers (*Pædag.* iii. c. 77, p. 298). In course of time the question naturally presented itself, whether an actor who had become a Christian might continue in his calling, and the Christian conscience returned an answer in the negative. The case which Cyprian deals with (*Ep.* 2, *ut supra*) implies that on that point there could be no doubt whatever, and he extends the prohibition to the art of teaching actors. It would be better to maintain such a man out of the funds of the Church than to allow him to continue in such a calling. The more formal acts of the Church spoke in the same tone. The Council of Ilberis (c. 62) required a "pantomimus" to renounce his art before he was admitted to baptism. If he returned to it, he was to be excommunicated. The 3rd Council of Carthage (c. 35) seems to be moderating the more extreme rigour of some teachers, when it orders that "gratia vel reconciliatio" is not to be denied to them any more than to penitent apostates. The *Codex Eccles. Afric.* (c. 63) forbids any one who had been converted, "ex quilibet ludicra arte," to be tempted or coerced to resume his occupation. The Council in Trullo (c. 51) forbids both mimes and their theatres, and τὰς ἐν τῶν κωμῶν ὀρχήσεις, under pain of deposition for clerical, and excommunication for lay, offenders. With one consent the moral sense of the new society condemned what seemed so incurably evil. When Christianity had become the religion of the Empire, it was of course, more difficult to maintain the high standard which these rules implied, and Chrysostom (*Hom.* vi. in Matt., *Hom.* xv. *ad Pop. Antioch.* *Hom.* x. in Coloss. ii. p. 403, i. 38, 731, 780), complains that theatrical entertainments prevailed among the Christians of his time with no abatement of their evils. At Rome they were celebrated on the entrance of a consul upon his office (Claudian in *Cons. Mall.* 313). On the triumph of the Emperors Theodosius and Arcadius the theatre of Pompeius was opened for performances by actors from all parts of the Empire (Symmachus, *Epp.* x. 2, 29). With a strange inversion of the old relations between the old and the new societies, the heathen Zosimus reproaches the Christian Emperor Constantine with having patronised the mimes and their obscenity. The pantomimes or ballets in which the mythology of Greece furnished the subject-matter (Medea and Jason, Perseus and Andromeda, the loves of Jupiter), were still kept up. Women as well as men performed in them (Chrysost., *Hom.* vi. in Thess.), and at Rome the number of actresses was reckoned at 3000. The old infamy adhered to the whole class under Christian legislation. They might not appear in the forum or basilica, or use the public baths. And yet, with a strange inconsistency, the civil power kept them in their degradation rather than deprive the population

of the great cities of the empire of the amusements to which they were so addicted. If the Church sought to rescue them, admitting them to baptism, and after baptism claiming immunity from their degrading occupation, it stepped in to prevent any such conversion, except in *extremis* (Cod. Theod., *De Sacerdot.* xv.). Compare Milman's *History of Christianity*, book iv. c. 2; Chastel, p. 211. Perhaps the fullest collection of every passage in Christian antiquity bearing on the subject is to be found in Prynne's *Histri-metrix*. [P.]

ACUTUS, martyr at Naples, commemorated Sept. 19 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ACUS (*acocubium*, or *acubium*, *acicula*, *spine*, *spinula*). Pins made of precious metal, and, in later medieval times, enriched with jewels, for attaching the archiepiscopal (or papal) pallium to the vestment over which it was worn, i. e. the planeta or casula (the chasuble). The earliest mention of these known to the present writer is in the description given by Joannes Diaconus of himself in the 9th century, he notes it as a point of contrast between the pallium worn by St. Gregory and that customary in his own time, that it was *nullis acubus perforatum*. Their first use, therefore, must probably date between the close of the 6th and the beginning of the 9th century. For details concerning these ornaments at later times, see Bock (*Gesch. der liturg. Gewänder*, ii. 191). Innocent III. (*De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, lib. i. cap. 63) assigns to these pins, as to every other part of the sacerdotal dress, a certain mystical significance. "Tres acus quæ pallio infinguntur, ante pectus, super humerum, et post tergum, designant compassionem proximi, administrationem officii, destructionemque judicii." [W. B. M.]

ADAM AND EVE are commemorated in the Ethiopic Calendar on the 6th day of the month Miaziah, equivalent to April 1. The Armenian Church commemorates Adam with Abel on July 25. (Seale, *Eastern Church, Introduct.*, pp. 800, 812.) [C.]

ADAUCTUS or **AUDAUCTUS**. (1) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Aug. 30 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*, *Hieron.*). Proper collects in Gregorian Sacramentary (p. 127), and Antiphon in *Lit. Antiph.* p. 702.

(2) Commemorated Oct. 4 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

ADDERBOURN, COUNCIL near the (ADDERBURNENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 705; on the River Nodder, or Adderbourn, in Wiltshire; of English bishops and abbats, where a grant of free election of their abbat, after Adhelm's death, made by Bishop Adhelm to the abbey of Malmesbury, Frome, and Bradford, was confirmed (W. Mahm., *De Gest. Pont.* v. pars iii., p. 1645, Migne; Wuk. l. 68). [A. W. H.]

ADJUTOR, in Africa, commemorated Dec. 17 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ADMONTION. [MONITION.]

ADRIANUS. (1) Martyred by Galerius in Nicomedia, commemorated Sept. 8 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*, *Hieron. Bedæ*); Aug. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Nov. 6 (*M. Hieron.*).

(2) Martyr, Natale March 4 (*Mart. Bedæ*)

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ADULTERY

(3) July 26 (*M. Hieron.*).

(4) August 8 (*Cal. Armen.*).

ADULTERY.—We shall attempt to give a general account of laws and customs relating to this topic, dwelling more fully upon such as elucidate the spirit of their several periods, and upon the principles involved in disputable points. Our outline breaks naturally into the three following divisions:—

1. Antecedents of Christian jurisprudence in Church and State on adultery.
2. Nature and classification of the crime.
3. Penalties imposed upon it.

Our quotations from Eastern canonists when compared with civilians are made from the older Latin versions; on occasion the Greek phrases are added. In imperial laws the Latin is commonly the most authentic. These are numbered, first the Book of Codex, next Title, then Law; but in the Digest, where it is usual to subdivide, the Title is distinguished by a Roman numeral.

1. *Antecedents of Christian Jurisprudence in Church and State on Adultery.*—Respecting the germs of future differences as regards this and connected subjects traceable in the Apostolic times, Neander has some useful observations (*Planting of the Christian Church*, Bohn's ed. I. 246-9 and 257, 261). Many circumstances, however, kept down these tendencies to opposition. In an age of newly awakened faith, and under the pressure of persecution, living motive took the place of outward law. The revulsion from heathen sins was strong, and filled the souls of converts with abhorrence, while the tender sympathy of their teachers urged men to control themselves, succour the tempted, and pity the fallen. "I am overwhelmed with sadness," writes Polycarp to the Philippians (cap. xi.), "on account of Valens who was made presbyter amongst you, because he thus knows not the place which was given him." This man had fallen into adultery (see Jacobson *in loco*). "I grieve exceedingly both for him and for his wife, to whom may the Lord grant true repentance. Be ye therefore also sober-minded in this matter, and count not such persons as your enemies; but as suffering and wayward members call them back, that you may save the one Body of you all. For so doing ye shall establish your own selves."

Clement of Rome, unlike Polycarp, had no special example to deal with; his warnings are therefore general. In *Ep.* i. 30 and cap. 6 of the 2nd *Ep.*, attributed to him, adultery is stigmatized among the foulest and most heinous sins. His exhortations and promises of forgiveness (l. 7, 8, 9, 50) are likewise general, but invite all such sinners to repentance. The same declarations of remission to all penitents and the losing of every bond by the grace of Christ, occur in Ignat. *Ep. ad Philadelph.* 8; and in Asia (see Cureton. *Corp. Ignat.* p. 97). In these addresses we seem to catch the lingering tones and early date should be noted as valuable testimonies. De l'Aubeperre (Bingham, xvi. 11, 2) asserted that adulterers were never taken back into communion before the time of Cyrrian, and, though Bishop Pearson refutes this opinion, he

CHRIST. ANT.

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[C.] allows that respecting them, together with murderers and idolaters, there was much dispute in the early Church. Beveridge also (*Cod. Can.* vii. 2) believes that its severity was so great as to grant no such sinners reconciliation except upon the very hardest terms.

Of this severe treatment, as well as the difference of opinion alluded to by Pearson, we see various traces; yet the prevailing inclination was to hold out before the eyes of men a hope mingled with fear. Hermas (*Pastor Mandat.* 4, 1 and 3) conceals one, and but one, repentance to those who are unchaste after baptism; for which mildness and a reluctant allowance of second nuptials, Tertullian (*De Pudicit.* 10) styles this book an Adulterers' Friend. Dionysius of Corinth, writing to the churches of Pontus on marriage and continency, counsels the reception of all who repent their transgressions, whatever their nature may be (Euseb. iv. 23). Thus also Zephyrinus of Rome announced, according to Tertullian, "ego et moechie et fornicationis delicta, poenitentia functis dimitto;" and though sentence, which forms a chief reason for the treatise (*De Pudicit.*), probably contains in substance an authentic penitential rite. Of Tertullian's own opinion, since he was at this time a Montanist, it is needless to say that nothing differing from his former views, nor far removed from those maintained by Hermas (cf. *De Penitent.* 7-10), he now held adultery to be one of those sins not only excluding for ever from the company of believers, but also (cap. 19) absolutely without hope through our Lord's intercession. Exclusion from the faithful was, however, insisted upon in such cases by some Catholic bishops. Cyrrian (*ad Antonian.*), while himself on the side of mercy, tells us how certain bishops of his province had, in the time of his predecessors, shut the door of the Church against adulterers, and denied them penitence altogether. Others acted on the opposite system; yet we are assured that peace remained unbroken—a surprising circumstance, certainly, considering the wealth and intelligence of that province, and the importance of such decisions to a luxurious population. Cyrrian hints at no lay difficulties, and simply says that every bishop is the dispenser and director of his own act, and must render an account to God (cf. also Cyrr. *De Unitate*, several *Epistles*, and *Conc. Carthag. Prologium*). Hence the determination of one bishop had no necessary force in the diocese of another. So, too, the acts of a local council took effect only within its own locality, unless they were accepted elsewhere. But the correspondence of bishops and churches set bounds to the difficulties which might otherwise have arisen, and prepared the way for General Councils—see, for instance, the fragment (*Euseb. v. 25*) of the early Synod at Cæsarea in Palestine—its object being the diffusion of the Synodical Epistle. United action was also much furthered by the kind of compilation called Codex Canonum, but the first of these (now lost) was formed towards the end of the 4th century. See Dion. *Exig. ap. Justell.* l. 101, and Bevereg. *Pand. Can. Proleg.* vii.

The passages already cited show the strength of Christian recoil from heathen sensuality. In his instructive reply to Celsus (iii. 51) Origen com-

pare the attitude of the Church towards backsliders, especially towards the incontinent, with that feeling which prompted the Pythagoreans to erect a cenotaph for each disciple who left their school. They esteemed him dead, and, in precisely the same way, Christians bewail as lost to God, and already dead, those who are overcome with unclean desire or the like. Should such regain their senses, the Church receives them at length, as men alive from death, but to a longer probation than the one converts underwent at first, and as no more capable of honour and dignity amongst their fellows. Yet Origen goes on to state (59-64) the remedial power of Christianity. Taken together these sections paint a lively picture of the treatment of gross transgressors within and without the Christian fold. On the passage in his *De Oratone*, which sounds like an echo of Tertullian, see foot-note in Delarue's ed., vol. i. 256.

Christians might well shrink from what they saw around them. Licentious impurities, countless in number and in kind, were the burning reproaches, the pollution, and the curse of heathendom. It is impossible to quote much on these topics, but a carefully drawn sketch of them will be found in two short essays by Professor Jowett appended to the first chapter of his Commentary on the Romans. They demonstrate how utterly unfounded is the vulgar notion that Councils and Fathers meddled unnecessarily with gross and disgusting offences. With these essays may be compared Martial and the Satirists, or a single writer such as Seneca—*unus instat omnium*—e. g. "Hinc decontissimum sponsaliorum genus, adulterium," &c., i. 9; or again, iii. 16, "Nunquid jam ulla repudi erabescit postquam illustres quedam ac nobiles Gemoniae, non consulum numero, sed maritorum, annos suos computant? et exeunt matrimonii causa, nubunt repudii? . . . Nunquid jam ullus adulteri pudor est, postquam eo ventum est, ut nulla virum habeat, nisi ut adulterum irriter? Argumentum est deformitatis, pudicitia. Quam invenies tam miseram, tam sordidam, ut illi satis sit unum adulterorum par?" &c. In Valerius Maximus we hear a sigh for departed morals—in Christian writers, from the Apologists to Salvian, a recital of the truth, always reprehensible, and sometimes half triumphant. Moreover, as usual, sin became the punishment of sin—Justin Martyr, in his first *Apology* (c. 27 seq.), points out the horrible consequences which ensued from a heathen practice following upon the licence just mentioned. The custom of exposing new-born babes pervaded all ranks of society, and was authorized even by the philosophers. Almost all these exposed, says Justin, both boys and girls, were taken, reared, and fed like brute beasts for the vilest purposes of sensuality; so that a man might commit the grossest crime unawares with one of his own children, and from these wretched beings the State derived a shameful impost. Compare Tertull. *Apology*, 9, sub fin. Happy in comparison those infants who underwent the *prae* or postnatal fate, described by Minucius Felix c. 30. To Laetantius (we may remark) are attributed the laws of Constantine intended to mitigate the allied evils of that later age, cf. Milman (*Hist. Christ.* ii. 394). "We," continues Justin (c. 29), "expose not our offspring, lest one of them

should perish and we be murderers; nay, the bringing up of children is the very object of our marriages." There are passages to the same effect in the *Ep. ad Diognet.* c. 5, and Athenag. *Legat. pro Christianis*, (c. 33 al. 28), and thus these early apologists adduce a principle laid down amongst the ends of matrimony in the Anglican marriage-service. They no doubt utter the thought of their fellow Christians in opposing to the licence of the age the purest parental instincts, and these are perhaps in every age the most stringent restraints upon adultery.

The standard of contemporary Jewish practice may be divined from the *Diad. cum Tappou*, cc. 134 and 141. The Rabbis taught the lawfulness of marrying four or five wives,—if any man were moved by the sight of beauty Jacob's example excused him,—if he sinned, the precedent of David assured his forgiveness.

Surrounding evils naturally deepened the impression upon Christians that they were strangers and pilgrims in the world, that their aim must be to keep themselves from being partakers in other men's sins to suffer not as evil doers, but as Christians, and to use the Roman law as St. Paul used it, for an appeal on occasion—a possible protection, but not a social rule. Hence the danger was Quietism; and they were in fact accused of forsaking the duties of citizens and soldiers—accusations which the Apologists, particularly Tertullian and Origen, answered, though with many reserves. The faithful thought that their prayers and examples were the best of services; they shunned sitting in judgment on cases involving life and death, imprisonment or torture, and (what is more to our purpose) questions of pudor. On the admission of Christians to magistracy as early as the Antonines, cf. Dig. 50, tit. 2, s. 3, sub fin., with Gothofred's notes. Traces of their aversion from such business appear in some few Councils; e. g. Elib. 56, excludes *Dunumvirs* from public worship during their year of office. Tarracon. 4, forbids bishops to decide criminal causes—a rule which has left its mark on modern legislation. Naturally resulting from these influences, was a higher and diffused tone of purity. Obeying human laws, believers transcended them, *Ep. ad Diognet.* 5, and compare Just. *Apol.* i. 17, seq. with 15. He speaks emphatically of the innumerable multitude who turned from licence to Christian self-control. The causeless divorce allowed by law led to what Christ forbade as *adultery*, while the latter sin was dignified by Him extended to the eye and the heart. In like manner, Athenagoras (*Leg. pro Christ.* 2) asserts that it was impossible to find a Christian who had been criminally convicted—and that no Christian is an evil-doer except he be a hypocrite—32, 33, al. 27, 28, that impurity of heart is essentially adultery, and that even a slightly unchaste thought may exclude from everlasting life. He says, as Justin, that numbers in the Church were altogether continent; numbers too, lived according to the strictest marriage rule. Athenagoras goes so far (33 al. 28) as to pronounce against all second marriages, because he who deprives himself of even a deceased wife by taking another is an adulterer. Clerent of Alexandria (*Paedag.* ii. 6) quaintly observes that "Non Moechaberis" is cut up by the roots

Justin
Euseb
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murderers; nay, the very object of our passages to the same *met.* c. 5, and Athenag. *33* al. 28), and thus once a principle laid of matrimony in the ce. They no doubt their fellow Christians of the age the purest these are perhaps in gent restraints upon

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ADULTERY

through "non concupiscis," and in the same spirit Commodian (*Instruct.* 48) writes

"Ecum miscellum ubi mors est longe vitate:
Multa sunt Martyria, quae sunt sine sanguine fuso,
Alicum non cupere," &c.

Compare other passages on adultery of the heart, Lactant. *Listit.* vi. 23, and *Epi.* 8; Greg. Nazianz., *Hon.* 37 al. 31; and later on, Photius, *Epi.* 139—a remarkable composition.

Another safeguard from licentiousness was the high valuation now set upon the true dignity of woman not only as the help-meet of man but as a partaker in the Divine Image, sharing the same hope, and a fit partner of that moral union in which our Lord placed the intention and essence of the married state. Clement of Alexandria draws a picture of the Christian wife and mother (*Pedag.* iii. 11, p. 250 Sylb. and Potter's Gr. marg.); of the husband and father, (*Strom.* vii. p. 741). Tertullian before him, in the last cap. *ad Uxor.* describes a truly Christian marriage—the oneness of hope, prayer, practice, and pious service; no need of concealment, mutual avoidance, nor mutual vexation; distrust banished, a freeborn confidence, sym- pathy, and comfort in each other, presiding over every part of their public and private existence.

This language derives additional strength from Tertullian's treatment of mixed marriages. These contracted before conversion fall under 1 Cor. vii. 10-17 (cf. *ad Uxor.* ii. 2), yet their consequences were most misch'vous. He tells us (*ad Scapulan.* 3) how Claudius Hermianinus, whose wife became a convert, revenged himself by barbarous usage of the Cappadocian Christians. A mixed marriage after conversion is a very great sin, forbidden by 1 Cor. vii. 39 and 2 Cor. vi. 14-16, and Tertullian *ad Uxor.* ii. 3 condemns those who contract it as "stupri reos" — transgressors of the 7th Commandment.

Addressing his own wife, he proceeds to describe its serious evils to a woman. When she wishes to attend worship her husband makes an appointment for the baths. Instead of hymns she hears songs, and his songs are from the theatre, the tavern, and the night cellar. Her fasts are hindered by his feasts. He is sure to object against nocturnal services, prison visits, the kiss of peace, and other customs. She will have a difficulty in persuading him that such private observances as crossing and exsufflation, are not magical rites. To these and other remarks, Tertullian adds the sensible arguments, that none but the worst heathens would marry Christian women, and how then could believing wives feel secure in such hands? Their husbands kept the secret of their religion as a nursed it for the day of persecution and legalized murder. Their own motives were of the baser kind—they married for a handsome litter, mules, and tall attendants from some foreign country—luxuries which a faithful man, even if wealthy, might not think proper to allow them. This being the early experience of the Church, we are not surprised to find mixed marriages forbidden in after times *sub poena adulteri*.

We cannot here pass over a history told by Justin Martyr in his *Apol.* ii. 2, and repeated by Eusebius iv. 17, respecting which the learned Bingham has been led into a remarkable mis-

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take, copied and added to by Whiston in a note on *Antiq.* xv. 7, 10. A woman married to a very wicked husband, herself as drunken and dissolute as the man, became a convert to the faith. Thoroughly reformed, she tried to persuade him by the precepts of the Gospel and the terrors of eternal fire. Falling in her attempts, and revolted by the loutsome and unattracted compulsion to which her husband subjected her, she thought repudiation would be preferable to a life of impious compliances. Her friends prevailed upon her to wait and hope for the best, but a journey to Alexandria made her husband worse than before, and, driven to despair, she sent him a divorce. Immediately he informed against her as a Christian; a blow which she parried by presenting a petition for delay to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who granted her request. Upon this her husband, thirsting for revenge, accused her teacher in religious truth, and had the satisfaction of seeing three lives sacrificed in succession to his vengeance.

Bingham (xvi. 11, 6) cites the narrative as an instance of a wife's being allowed by the Church to divorce a husband on the ground of adultery. But the valuable writer, led perhaps by Gothofred (*Cod. Theod.* vol. i. p. 312) has here erred in a matter of fact, for Justin takes some pains to show that the woman's grievance was not adultery at all. Fleury (iii. 49) has apprehended the truth with correctness and expressed it with delicacy. The like case is discussed by an author long called Ambrose in his comment on 1 Cor. vii. 11 (*Ambros.* op. ed. Benedict., tom. ii. appendix p. 133 E-F), and he determines that, under the given circumstances, a woman must separate from her husband, but she must not marry again. The Imperial law also provided a remedy, *Cod. Theod.* 9, tit. 7, s. 3. It is certainly noteworthy that, in telling this brief tragedy, neither Justin nor Eusebius says a word against the wife's seeking relief from the heathen custom of divorce. Yet its license was condemned on all sides. The founder of the Empire strove to check it; and, had the aggrieved woman lived under the first Christian emperor, that resource would have been denied her. Clearly, circumstances justified the wife, but it would seem natural to have mentioned the danger of doing wrong, while should say that such cases are exceptional, and the inference from silence is that similar wickedness was not exceptional in those days, and was treated by the Church as a ground of divorce; a mournful conclusion, but one that many facts render probable, e.g. the Imperial law above cited.

From these antecedents our step is brief to laws for the repression of incontinency. The natural beginning was for each community to follow simply the example of St. Paul (1 Cor. v. and 2 Cor. ii.), but, as converts multiplied, it became necessary to prescribe definite tests of repentance which formed also the terms of reconciliation. Such rules had for one object the good of the community, and in this light every offence was a public wrong, and is so looked upon by canon law at this day. But penitence had a second object—the son's health of the offender—and this viewed, the same transgression was treated as a moral stain, and censured

according to its intrinsic heinousness, or, in few words, the crime became a sin. This idea, no doubt, entered into the severe laws of Christian princes against adultery, and is an indication of ecclesiastical influence upon them. Framers of canons had in turn their judgment acted upon by the great divines, who were apt to regulate public opinion, and to enforce as maxims of life their own interpretations of Scripture. Sometimes the two characters met in the same person, as in the eminent Gregories, Basil, and others; but where this was not the case, theologians commonly overlooked many points which canonists were bound to consider.

Church lawgivers must indeed always have regard to existing social facts and the ordinary moral tone of their own age and nation. They must likewise keep State law steadily in mind when they deal with offences punishable in civil courts. That they did so in reality, we learn from the Greek Scholia; and hence, when divorce is connected with adultery (particularly as its cause), the Scholiasts trace most canonical changes to foregoing alterations in the laws of the Empire. The reader should reproduce in his mind these two classes of data if he wishes to form a judgment on subjects like the present. We have called attention to the license which tainted pre-Christian Rome. Of the Christian world, homilists are the most powerful illustrators, but the light thrown upon it by canons is quite unmistakable. The spirit prevalent at the opening of the 4th century may be discerned from its Councils, e.g. Gangra; one object of which (can. 4) was to defend married presbyters against the attacks made upon them; cf. Elib. 33, and Stanley's account of the later Nic. 3 (*Eastern Ch.*, 196-9). Gangra, 14, forbids wives to desert their husbands from abhorrence of married life; 9 and 10 combat a like disgust and contempt of matrimony displayed by consecrated virgins, and 16 is aimed against sons who desert their parents under pretext of piety, i.e. to become celibates, something after the fashion of "Corban." An age, where the springs of home life are poisoned, is already passing into a morbid condition, and legislative churgeons may be excused if they commit some errors of severity in dealing with its evils. But what can be said of the frightful pictures of Roman life drawn, somewhat later, by Ammian. Marcell. xiv. 6; xxvii. 3; and xxviii. 4; or the reduced copies of them in Gibbon, chaps. 25 and 31, to which may be added the fiery Epistles of Jerome (*passim*), and the calm retrospect of Milman (*Hist. of Christ.* iii. 230, seq.)? Can any one who reads help reflecting with what intensified irony this decrepit age might repeat the old line of Ennius—

Multerem: quid potius dicam aut verius quam multerem?

Or can we feel surprised with violent efforts at coercing those demoralized men and women?

Gibbon, in giving an account of the jurisprudence of Justinian, saw that it could not be understood, particularly on the topic of our article, without some acquaintance with the laws and customs of the earliest periods. To his sketch we must refer the reader, adding only the following remarks:—

1. His opinion upon the barbarity of marital rule has found an echo in Hegel (see *Werke*, Ed. ix. p. 348, seq.). F. von Schlegel, though in his

Concordia highly praising the conjugal purity of ancient Rome, had already (*Werke*, xiii. 261, 2) blamed that rigid adherence to letter and formula which pervades the system. To such censure Mommsen is thoroughly opposed. In book i. chap. 5, he views the stern simplicity of idea on which all household right was founded as true to nature and to the requirements of social improvement. In chap. 12 he points out how the old Roman religion supplemented law by its code of moral maxims. The member of a family might commit grievous wrong untouched by civil sentence, but the curse of the gods lay henceforth heavy on that sacrilegious head. Mommsen's remarks on religious terrors agree well with the very singular restraints on divorce attributed by Plutarch to Romulus. The impression of ethical hardness is in fact mainly due to the iron logic of Roman lawyers. Father, husband, matron, daughter, are treated as realistic universals, and their specific definitions worked out into axioms of legal right. Yet in application (a fact overlooked by Schlegel) the *summu jus* is often tempered by equitable allowances, e.g. a wife accused of adultery had the power of recrimination, Dig. 48, tit. 5, s. 13, § 5; and cf. August. *De Conjug. Adulterii*, li. 7 (viii.) for a longer extract, and a comment on the recrimination. Such facts go far to explain the course pursued by Christian lawgivers.

2. On the vast changes which took place after the 2nd Punic war Gibbon should be compared with Mommsen, b. iii. cap. 13, pp. 884-5.

But neither of these writers, in dwelling on the immoral atmosphere which infected married life, point out any specially sufficient cause why Roman matrons showed such irrepressible avidity for divorce with all its strainings of law, its dissolution of sacred maxims, its connection with celibacy in males, and a frightful train of unbridled sensualities. Perhaps the only true light is to be gained from a comparison with ecclesiastical history. We shall see that in later ages of the Church there came about an entire reversal of earlier opinions on the criminal essence and the very definition of adultery, and that the ground of complaint at both periods (Pagan and Christian) was one and the same; the cause, therefore, may not improbably be one also, viz., the inadequate remedy afforded to women for wifely wrongs. Some particulars will be found in our second division, but the question opens a wide field for speculation, outlying our limits, and belonging to the philosophy of history.

3. The parallel between Church and State ought to be carried further. Imperial Rome, looking back upon the Republic, felt the decadence of her own conjugal and family ties, and wrote her displeasure in the laws of the first Caesars. So, too, when the nobleness of apostolic life ceased to be a substitute for legislation, it sharpened the edge of canonical censure by regretful memories of the better time. The same history of morals led to a sameness in the history of law, the State repeated itself in the Church.

4. Gibbon has a sneer against Justinian for giving permanence to Pagan constitutions. But those laws had always been presupposed by Christian government, both civil and spiritual. The emperors amended or supplemented them,

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and where bishops felt a need, they petitioned for an Imperial edict—e.g. the canons of three African councils relating to our subject, and noted hereafter, in which the synods decide on such a petition. Then, too, the opposite experiment had been tried. The Codex Theodosianus began with the laws of Constantine (cf. art. *Theodosius* in *Dict. Biograph.*); but when Justinian strove to give scientific form to his jurisprudence he found that completeness could no way be attained except by connecting it with the old framework; and, as we have seen, Gibbon himself felt a similar necessity for the minor purpose of explanation.

Our plan here will therefore be to use the great work of Justinian as our skeleton, and clothe it with the bands and sinews of the Church. We gain two advantages; his incomparable method; and a stand-point at an era of systematic endeavour to unify Church and State. For this endeavour see *Novell.* 131, c. 1, held by canonists to accept all received by Chalcedon, can. 1 (comprehending much on our subject), and *Novell.* 83, extending the powers of bishops on ecclesiastical offences. His example was afterwards followed by the acceptance of Trull. can. 2, adding largely to the list of constitutions upon adultery; cf. *Photii Nomocanon*, tit. i. cap. 2, with Scholia, and for the difficulties *Bev. Pand. Can. Proleg.* viii, ix. For harmonies of spiritual and civil law as respects breaches of the 7th Commandment see *Antiocheni Nomoc.*, tits. xli. and xlii., and *Photii Nomoc.* tit. ix. 23, and tit. xlii. 5 and 6. Both are in *Justellus*, vol. II.

After A.D. 305 the Church was so frequently engaged in devising means for upholding the sanctity of the marriage tie that every step in the reception of canons concerning it forms a landmark of moral change. Such an era was the reign of Justinian; it was an age of great code makers—of Dionysius Exiguus and Joannes Antiochenus. Numbers of local constitutions became transformed into world-wide laws; the fact, therefore, never to be overlooked respecting canons on adultery, is the extent of their final acceptance.

We now come to Division II., and must consider at some length the definition of adultery strictly so called. On this point a revolution took place of no slight significance in the great antithesis between East and West. Details are therefore necessary.

I. Nature and Classification of the Crime.—Neglecting an occasional employment of the words *promiscue* (on which see first of following references), we find (*Dig.* 48, tit. 5, s. 6, § 1, *Papin.* n.), "Adulterium in nupta committitur stuprum vero in virginem viduamve." Cf. same tit., 34, *Modestinus*, and *Dig.* 1, tit. 12, s. 1, § 5, *Ulpian*; see *Dict. Antiq.*, and *Brissonius de Verb. Signif.* 1, s. v. for distinctions and Greek equivalents.

The offending wife is thus regarded as the real criminal; and her paramour, whether married or unmarried, as the mere accomplice of her crime. She is essentially the *adultera*, and he, because of his complicity with a married woman, becomes an *adulter*. If the woman is unmarried, the condition of the man makes no difference—the offence is not adulterium.

This was also the position of the Mosiac code—see *Lev.* xx. 10, compared with *Dent.* xxii. 22. It is not easy to perceive how the law could

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stand otherwise when polygamy was permitted; cf. *Dict. of Bible*, *in verbo*. Espousal by both codes (Roman and Jewish) is protected as *quasi wedlock* (*Dig.* 48, tit. 5, s. 13, § 3, *Dent.* xxii. 23, 24). So likewise by Christian canons, e.g. *Trull.* 98, "He who marries a woman betrothed to a man still living is an adulter." Cf. *Basil.* can. 37.

Both in Scripture language and in ordinary Roman life the legal acceptance of the crime is the current meaning of the word. Hosea (iv. 13, 14) distinguishes between the sins of Jewish daughters and wives; and the distinction is kept in the LXX and Vulgate versions. A like distinction forms the point of Horace's "Matronam terere matronas." Instances are sufficiently common, but, since (for reasons which will soon appear) it is necessary to have an absolutely clear understanding of the sense attached to the word adulterium (= πορνεία) during the Christian period, we note a few decisive references from common usage. Val. Max. (under Tiberius) explains (il. 1, 3) adulteri as "subsecutores alieni matrimonii." Quintilian (under Domitian) defines, *Instit. Orat.* vii. 3, "Adulterium est cum aliena uxore doni coire." Juvenal (under the Antonines), in the well known story *Metamorph.* ix., describes the deed, and refers to the law de Adulteris.

Christian writers seldom explain words needless out of their current sense, and when they do so, the explanation is of course incidental. We find an early example in Athenagoras, *De Resur. Mort.* 23. al. 17, where in treating of bodily appetites occurs a designed antithesis. On the one side "legitimus coitus quod est matrimonium"—on the other, "Inconcessus alienæ uxoris appetitus et cum ea consuetudo—τοῦτο γάρ ἐστὶ μοιχεία." Another early instance is in the Shepherd of Hermas, *Mand.* iv., which thus begins: "Mando, ait, tibi, ut castitatem custodias, et non ascendat tibi cogitatio cordis de alieno matrimonio, aut de fornicatione." We have here a twofold division like Papinian's above quoted, but instead of opposing stuprum to adulterium (implied in alieno Matrimonio), he employs "fornicatio," an ecclesiastical expression when it has this special meaning. Origen (*Levit.* xx., *Homil.* xi.), in contrasting the punishment of adulterers under the Mosiac and Christian dispensations, assumes the same act to be intended by the laws of both. This act, andria, but Delarue (il. 179, 180) writes for Origen. Arnobius (under Diocletian) writes, lib. iv. (p. 142, Varior. ed.), "Adulteria legibus vindicant, et capitalibus efficiunt eos poenis, quos in aliena comprehenderit foedera genitalis se lectuli expugnatioe jecisse. Subsecoriss et adulteri persona," &c.

The canonists, Greek and Latin, use criminal terms like ordinary authors without explanation, and obviously for the same reason. But on our subject the meaning is generally made certain by (1) an opposition of words resembling the examples before quoted; (2) by the case of unmarried women being treated in separate canons; or else (3) by a graduation of penalties imposed on the several kinds of sin.

In the latter half of the 4th century we have again exact ecclesiastical definitions. They are

very valuable, because given by two of the greatest canonists the Church ever produced, and also because they were accepted by can. II. Trull. Gregory of Nyssa thus distinguishes (ad Letaium, resp. 4), "Fornicatio quidem dicitur cupiditatis cupidum expletio quae sine iniuria fit iniuria. Adulterium vero, iustitiae et iniuria quae alteri fertur." This antithesis is substantially the same with that in the Digest, but Gregory so states it because (as his canon tells us) he is replying to certain somewhat subtle reasoners who argued that these acts of incontinence are in essence identical—a theory which would equalize the offences, and, by consequence, their punishments. The arguments are such as we should call verbal, *eq.* what the law does not permit, it forbids—the *non proprium* must be *alium*. He answers by giving the specific division made by the Fathers (as above), and maintains (1) its adaptation to human infirmity, (2) the double sin of adultery, and (3) the propriety of a double penitence. With Gregory, therefore, the canonist prevails over the theologian—he refuses to treat the crime merely as a sin.

In Basil's canon ad *Amphiloch.* 18—which is concerned with lapsed virgins—who had been treated as dignitists, and whom Basil would punish as adulterous, we find an incidental definition: "eum, qui cum aliena muliere cohabitavit, adulterum nominamus."

Basil's important 21st canon is summed by Aristenus: "Virum, qui fornicatus est, uxor propria recipit. Inquinatum vero adulterio uxorem vir dimittit. Fornicator, enim, non adulter est, qui uxori junctus cum soluta" (an unmarried woman) "rem habuerit." Here, again, is the old opposition (as in stuprum and adulterium) the logical essence of the crime turning upon the state of the woman, whether married or sole. But a clause of great value to us is omitted by Aristenus. Basil considers the fornication of a married man heinous and aggravated; he says, "eum poenis amplius gravamus," yet adds expressly, "Canonem tamen non habemus qui eum adulteri crimini subijciat si in solutam a Matrimonio pecuniam commissum sit." This clear assertion from a canonist so learned and veracious as Basil must be allowed to settle the matter of fact, that up to his time Church law defined adultery exactly in the same manner as the civil law.

It is to be remarked, too, that Basil's answer addresses itself to another kind of difficulty from Gregory's, that, namely, of injustice in the different treatment of unchaste men and women. No objection was of older standing. We almost start to hear Jerome (*Epistol. Fabiolae*) echoing, as it were, the verses of Plautus; cf. the passage (*Mercator*, iv. 5)—

"Eccesor lexe dora vivont mulieres,
Multoque iniquitate miserae, quam viri . . .
. . . Utinam lex esset eadem, quae uxori est vtro."

Yet no writer tells more pointedly than Plautus the remedy which Roman matrons had adopted (*Amphitruo*, iii. 2)—

"Valens: tibi habess res tuas, reddas mens."

As to the legal process by which women compassed this object, it was probably similar to their way of enlarging their powers respecting property and other such matters, on which see Mommsen, book iii. 13.

We now note among divines a desire to impress upon the public mind the other, *i. e.* the purely theological idea that all incontinent persons stand equally condemned. They appear to reason under a mixture of influences—1. A feeling of the absolute unity of a married couple, a healthy bequest from the first age; 2. Indignation at marital license; 3. Desire to find a remedy for woman's wrong; 4. The wish to recommend celibacy by contrast with the "servitude" of marriage.

Lactantius (as might be expected from his date) fixes upon points 1 and 2. He finds fault with the Imperial law in two respects—that adultery could not be committed with any but a free woman, and that by its inequality it tended to excuse the severance of the one married body. *Instit.* vi. 23. "Non enim, sicut juris publici ratio est; sola mulier adultera est, quae habet alium; maritus autem, etiam si plures habeat, a crimine adulterii solutus est. Sed divina lex ita duos in matrimonium, quod est in corpus unum, pari jure conjungit, ut adulter habeatur, quisquis compagem corporis in diversa distinxerit." Cf. next page—"Dissociari enim corpus, et distrahi Deus nolit." It would seem therefore that this Father would really alter the ordinary meaning of the word *adulterium*, and explain the offence differently from its civil-law definition. He would extend it to every incontinent act of every married person, on the ground that by such an act the marriage unity enforced by our Lord is broken. It is true that another view may be taken of the words of Lactantius. They may be considered as rhetoric rather than logic, both here and in Epitome 8, where the same line of thought is repeated; but this is a question of constant recurrence in the Fathers, and reminds us of Seiden's celebrated saying. The student will in each case form his own judgment; in this instance he may probably think the statement too precise to be otherwise than literal.

The same must be said of Ambrose, whose dictum has been made classical by Gratian. Yet it should be observed that he is not always consistent with himself, *eq.* (*Hexameron*, v. 7) he lays it down that the married are both in spirit and in body one, hence adultery is contrary to nature. We expect the same prefatory explanation as from Lactantius, but find the old view: "Nolite quaerere, viri, alienum thorum, nolite insidiarie alienae copulae. Grave est adulterium et naturae injuria." So again, in *Luc.* lib. 2, *sub init.*, he attaches this term to the transgression of an espoused woman.

The celebrated passage, one chief support of a distinction which has affected the law and language of modern Europe (quoted by Gratian, *Decret.* ii. c. 32, q. 4), occurs in Ambrose's Defence of Abraham (*De Abr. Patr.* i. 4). We give it as in Gratian for the sake of a gloss: "Nemo sibi blandiatur de legibus hominum" (gloss—quae dicunt quod adulterium non committitur cum soluta sed cum nupta) "Omne stuprum adulterium est: nec viro licet quod mulieri non licet. Eadem a viro, quae ab uxore debetur castissima. Quicquid in ea quae non sit legitima uxor, commissum fuerit, adulterii crimine damnatur." This extract sounds in itself distinct and consecutive. But when the Apology is read as a whole, exactness seems to vanish. It is divided

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into three main heads or *defensiones*: 1st, Abra-
ham lived before the law which forbade adultery,
therefore he could not have committed it. "Deus
in Paradiso licet conjugium iudicaverit, non adul-
terium damnaverat." It is hard to understand
how such a sentence could have been written in
the face of Matt. xix. 4-9, or how so great an
authority could forget that the very idea of *con-
jugium* implied the wrong of *adulterium*. 2ndly,
Abraham was actuated by the mere desire of
offspring; and Sarah herself gave him her hand-
maiden. Her example (with Leah's and Rachel's)
is turned into a moral lesson against female
jealousy, and then men are admonished—"Nemo
sibi blanditur," &c., as above quoted. 3rdly,
Galat. iv. 21-4, is referred to, and the conclusion
drawn, "Quod ergo putas esse peccatum, adver-
tisse esse mysterium; and again "haec quae in
figuram contingebant, illis crimini non erunt."
We have sketched this chapter of Ambrose be-
cause of the great place assigned him in the
controversy of Western against Eastern Church
law.

Another passage referred to in this Q. "Dicit
aliquis," is the 9th section of a sermon on John
the Baptist, formerly numbered 65, now 52 (Ed.
Bened. App. p. 462), and the work of an Am-
brosiaster. But here the *adulterium* (fili testes
adulteri) is the act of an unmarried man with
his ancilla (distinguished from a concubina, *De-
cret. 1. Dist. 34, "Concubina ancilla,"* seq.), i.e.
a sort of Contubernium is called by a word
which brings it within the letter of the 7th
Commandment.

Perhaps Ambrose and his pseudonym, like
many others, saw no very great difference be-
tween the prohibition of sins *secundum literam*
and *secundam analogiam*—as, for example, Molat-
ry is adultery. It seems clear that he did not
with Laetantius form an ideal of marriage and
then condemn whatever contradicted it. His
language on wedlock in Paradise forbids this
explanation.

Looking onwards, there is a famous sermon
(37, al. 31) preached by Gregory Nazianzen, in
which he blends together "the points we have
numbered 2, 3, and 4. He starts (vi.) from the
inequality of laws. Why should the woman be
restrained, the man left free to sin? The Latin
version is incorrect; it so renders *καταρροβειν*
as to introduce the later notion of adultery.
Gregory thinks (*more Aesopi*) that the inequality
came to pass because men were the law-makers;
further, that it is contrary to (a) the 5th Com-
mandment, which honours the mother as well as
the father; (b) the equal creation, resurrection,
and redemption of both sexes; and (c) the mys-
tical representation of Christ and His Church.
A healthy tone is felt in much of what Grego-
ry says, but (ix.) the good of marriage is de-
scribed by a definition far inferior in life and
spirituality to that of the pagan Modestinus,
and (in x.) naturally follows a preference for the
far higher good of celibacy. The age was not to
be trusted on this topic which formed an under-
lying motive with most of the great divines.

Chrysostom notices the chief texts in his
Expository Homilies. For these we cannot afford
space, and they are easily found. We are more
concerned with his sermon on the *Bill of Divorce*
(ed. Bened. iii. 198-209). "It is commonly called
adultery," he says in substance, "when a man

ADULTERY

wrongs a married woman. I, however, affirm it
of a married man who sins with the unmarried.
For the essence of the crime depends on the con-
dition of the injurers as well as the injured.
Tell me not of outward laws. I will declare to
thee the law of God." Yet we encounter a
qualification: the offence of a husband with the
unmarried is (p. 207) *μοιχίας ἕτερον εἶδος*.
We also find the preacher dwelling with great
force upon the lifelong servitude (*δουλεία*) of
marriage, and we perceive from comparing other
passages that there is an intentional contrast
with the noble freedom of celibacy.

Asterius of Amaseia has a forcible discourse
(printed by Combès, and particularly worth
reading) on the question: "An liceat homini
dimittere uxorem suam, quacunque ex causa?"
The chief part of it belongs to our next division,
but towards the end, after disposing of insuffi-
cient causes, he enters on the nature of adul-
tery. Here (as he says) the preacher stands by
the husband. "Nam cum duplice lege matrimo-
nia contrahuntur, benevolentiae ac quaeendorum
liberorum, neutrum in adulterio continetur. Nec
eum affectus locus, ubi in alterum animus
inclinat; ac sobolis omne deus et gratia perit,
quando liberi confunduntur." Our strong Pen-
tonic instincts feel the truth of these words.
Asterius then insists on mutual good faith, and
passes to the point that the laws of this world
are lenient to the sins of husbands who excuse
their own license by the plea of privileged
harmlessness. He replies that all women are
the daughters or wives of men. Some man
must feel each woman's degradation. He then
refers to Scripture, and concludes with precepts
on domestic virtue and example. The sermon
of Asterius shows how kindly sins may be
thoroughly condemned without abolishing estab-
lished distinctions. But he also shows a gen-
eral impression that the distinctions of the Forum
were pressed by apologists of sin into their own
baser service.

Jerome's celebrated case of Fabiola claims a
few lines. It was not really a divorce *propter
adulterium*, but parallel to the history told by
Justin Martyr. The points for us are the
antithesis between Paulus noster and Papi-
nianus (with Paulus Papiiniani understood)
and the assertion that the Roman law turned
upon dignity—i.e. the *matrona* as distinguished
from the *ancillula*. Jerome feels most strongly
the unity of marriage, and joins with it the
proposition that the word Man contains Woman.
He therefore says that 1 Cor. vi. 16, applies
equally to both sexes. Moreover, the same
tendency appears, as in Chrysostom, to de-
press wedlock in favour of celibacy. Marriage
is servitude, and the yoke must be equal, "Eadem
servitus pari conditione censetur." But the
word *adulterium* is employed correctly; and in
another place (on Hosea, ii. 2) he expressly
draws the old distinction—"Fornicaria est, quae
cum pluribus copulatur. Adultera, quae unum
virum deserens alteri jungitur."*

Augustine, like Laetantius, posits an idea of
marriage (*De Genesi*, ix. 12 [vii.]). It possesses a
Good, consisting of three things—*fides, proles,*

* The *innupta* who offends *cum viro conjugato* is not
here made an adulteress; Jerome's remedy might have
been a specific constitution.

sacramentum. "In fide attenditur ne praeter vinculum conjugale, cum altera vel altero concumbatur." But (*Quaest. in Exod.* 71) he feels a difficulty about words—"Item quaeri solet utrum moechia nomine etiam fornicatio teneatur. Hoc enim Graecum verbum est, quo jam Scriptura utitur pro Latino. Moechos tamen Graeci nonnulli adulteros dicunt. Sed utique ista Lex non solis viris in populo, verum etiam feminis data est" (Jerome, *supra*, thought of this point); how much more by "non moechaberis, uterque sexus astringitur. . . . Ac per hoc si femina moechia est, habens virum, concubendo cum eo qui vir ejus non est, etiamsi ille non habent uxorem; profecto moechus est et vir habens uxorem, concubendo cum ea quae uxor ejus non est, etiamsi illa non habet virum." He goes on to quote Matt. v. 32, and infers "omnis ergo moechia etiam fornicatio in Scripturis dicitur—sed utrum etiam omnis fornicatio moechia dici possit, in eisdem Scripturis non mihi interim occurrit locutionis exemplum." His final conclusion is that the greater sin implies the less—a part the whole.

Augustine's sermon (ix. nl. 96) *De decem Chordis* is an expansion of the above topics. In 3 (iii.) occurs the clause quoted *Decret.* ii. 32, q. 6. (a question wholly from Augustine)—"Non moechaberis: id est, non his ad aliquam aliam praeter uxorem tuam." He adds some particulars reminding us of Asterius. On the 7th Commandment, which Augustine calls his 5th string, he says, 11 (ix.), "In illa video jacere totum pene genus humanum;" and mentions that false witness and fraud were held in horror, but (12) "si quis volutatur cum ancillis suis, amatur, blande accipitur; convertuntur vulnera in joam."

We cannot pass by two popes cited by Gratian. One is Innocent I., whose 4th canon *Ad Carp.* stands at the end of same c. 32, q. 5. "Et illud desideratum est scribi, cur communicantes viri cum adulteris uxoriibus non convenient: cum contra uxores in consortio adulterorum virorum manere videantur." The gloss explains "communicantes" of husbands who commit a like sin with their wives. But this may or may not mean that they sinned cum conjugatis, and the words "pari ratione," which follow, to become decisive must be read with special emphasis. The other is the great Gregory, quoted earlier in same q. 5. The passage is from *Greg. Mag. Moralium*, lib. 21, in cap. Jobi xxxi. 9; and as it is truncated in quotation, we give the main line of thought, omitting parentheses: "Quamvis nonnunquam a reatu adulterii nequaquam discrepet culpa fornicationis (Matt. v. 28, quoted and expounded). Tamen plerumque ex loco vel ordine concupiscentis discernitur (instance). In personis tamen non dissimilibus idem luxuria distinguitur reatus in quibus fornicationis culpa, quia ab adulterii reatu discernitur, praedicatoris egregii lingua testatur (1 Cor. vi. 9)." The difference between the two sins is next confirmed from Job. It is easy to see that the old juridical sense of *adulterium* is not taken away by these expository distinctions.

We now come to the event which gives significance and living interest to our recital of opinions. The canon law of Rome took ground which allied it on this as on other questions with what appeared to be the rights of women. Its treatment of cases arising out of the 7th

Commandment widened the separation of East and West, and left a mark on those barbarian nations which owed their civilization or their faith to pontifical Rome. Our business here is only with a definition, but canonists followed civilians in working their doctrine out to its more remote consequences, and some of these would form a curious chapter in history.

The essence of the pontifical definition is not that a wife is the *adultera*, and her paramour the *adulter*, but that the offence be committed "cum persona conjugata," whether male or female. Hence it comprehends two distinct degrees of criminality. It is called *simplex* in two cases, "cum solutus concumbit cum conjugata, vel conjugatus cum soluta." It is called *duplex* "cum conjugatus concumbit cum conjugata." These distinctions are taken from F. L. Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca* (ed. 1781), in verbo. They rest upon the *Decretum* as referred to by Ferraris, part 2, cause 32, quaest. 4. But the extracts we gave from qs. 5 and 6 should not be neglected.

The *Decretum*, according to C. Butler (*Horae Juridicae Subsecivae*, p. 168), is made up from (1) decrees of councils, (2) letters of pontiffs, (3) writings of doctors. But on our subject the last-named is the real source—e.g. q. 4 is from the moral and doctrinal writings of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory I.; q. 6 wholly from Augustine. This is a very noteworthy fact, since it tends to confirm a conclusion that canonists had previously agreed with the civil law so far as concerns its definition of the crime. Gratian would never have contented himself with quoting theologians if he could have found councils, or canonical writings accepted by councils, to support his own decisions.

Such, then, is one not unimportant antithesis in the wide divergence between East and West. It would form an interesting line of inquiry (but beyond our province) to use this antithesis as a clue in those mixed or doubtful cases of descent where the main life of national codes and customs is by some held homesprung, by others given to old Rome, and by a third party derived from Latin Christianity.

Through all inquiry on this subject the student must bear in mind that a confusion of thought has followed the change in law; e.g. Ducange, *Glossar.*, s. v., commences his article with a short quotation from Gregory of Nyssa's 4th can. *ad Let.* (explained above), but the sentence cited contains the opinion, not of the saint, but of the objector whom he is answering. Ducange proceeds to trace the same idea through various codes without a suspicion that he has begun by applying to one age the tenets of another. The difficulty of avoiding similar mistakes is greater than at first sight might have been anticipated. In the Dictionnaires of Trevoix, Furetière, Richelet, and Danet, *adultrie* or *adultère* is explained from papal law or Thom. Aquin., while the citations mostly give the older sense. In Chaucer's *Persones Tale* we find the same word (*adultrie*) defined after the civilians, but soon after he mentions "mo spices" (more species) taken from the other acceptance. Johnson gives to adultery the papal meaning, but his sole example is from pagan Rome, and most modern English dictionary makers are glad to copy Johnson. A still more striking instance

of confounded explanations occurs in a remarkable dialogue between the doctor and his friend, vol. iii. 46, of Coker's *Buswell*.

The natural inference is that the above-mentioned authors were not conversant with the great change of definition undergone by the word adultery and its equivalents. But when those who write on the specialties of church history and antiquities quote Fathers, councils, jurists, and decretals, they ought in reason to note how far the common terms which their catena link together are or are not used in the same sense throughout. This precaution has been generally neglected as regards the subject of this article, —hence endless confusion.

Immediately upon the nature of the crime (as legally defined) followed its Classification. By *Lex Julia*, 48 Dig. i. 1, it was placed among public wrongs. But a public wrong does not necessarily infer a public right of prosecution; see Gothofred's note on *Cod. Theod.* 3, tit. 7, s. 2. —"Aliud est publicum crimen; aliud publica accusatio." For *Publica Judicia*, cf. Dig. as above and *Inst. tit. Justin.* 4, 18, *sub init.*

Under Augustus the husband was preferred as prosecutor, next the wife's father. The husband was in danger of incurring the guilt of procurator (*lenocinatus*) if he failed to prosecute (48, Dig. v. 2, § 2, and 29, *sub init.*; also 9, *Cod. Just.* 9, 2). He must open proceedings by sending a divorce to his wife (48, Dig. v. 2, § 2; 11, § 10; and 29, *init.*). Thus divorce was made an essential penalty, though far from being the whole punishment. By *Nov. tit. 117*, c. 8, proceedings might commence before the divorce. Such prosecution had 60 days allowed for it, and these must be *diem utiles*. The husband's choice of days was large, as his *libellus* might be presented "de plano," i. e., the judge not sitting "pro tribunali" (48, Dig. v. 11, § 6; and 14, § 2). The husband might also accuse for 4 months further, but not "jure mariti," only "ut quis extraneus" (Goth. on 11, § 6). For example, see *Tacit. Ann.* i. 85; Labeo called to account by the praetor (cf. Orell. note), for not having accused his wife, pleads that his 60 days had not elapsed. After this time an extraneus might intervene for 4 months of available days (tit. of Dig. last quoted, 4, § 1). If the divorced wife married before accusation, it was necessary to begin with the adulterer (2, *init.*; 39, § 3). The wife might then escape through failure of the plaintiff against him (17, § 6). He was liable for five continuous years even though she were dead (11, § 4; 39, § 2), and his death did not shield her (19, *init.*), but that period barred all action against both offenders (29, § 5; and 31; also 9, *Cod. J.* 9, 5). Under Constantine, A. D. 326 (9, *Cod. Theod.* 7, 2, and 9, *Cod. J.* 9, 30), the right of public prosecution was taken away. The prosecutors were thus arranged: husband; wife's relations, i. e. father, brother, father's brother, mother's brother. This order remained unaltered (see Balsam. *Schol. la Bevereg. Pandect.* i. 408, and *Blastaris Synagoga*, p. 185).

The Mosaic law, like the Roman, made this offence a public wrong, and apparently also a matter for public prosecution; compare *Deut.* xxii. 22, with *John* viii. 3 and 10. As long as the penalty of death was enforced, the husband could not condone. But in later times he might

content himself with acting under *Deut.* xxiv. 1-4. See *Matt.* i. 19. Espousals count as matrimony under Jewish law —even more strongly than under Roman; compare *Deut.* xxii. 23, *sepr.*, with 48, Dig. v. 13, § 37. See also *Hosen*, ii. 2, iii. 1, and parallel passages.

By canon law all known sins are scandals, and as such public wrongs; cf. *Gothofr. marg. annot.* on *Dig.* 48, tit. 1, s. 1; *Grat. Decret.* ii. c. 6, 9, 1; *J. Clarus, Sent. Rec. v.* 1, 6; and on Adultery, *Blackstone*, iii. 8, 1, and iv. 4, 11. This offence became known to Church authorities in various ways; see *Basil* 34; *Innocent ad Excep.* 4; and *Elph.* 76, 78, *Greg. Nyss.* 4, where confession mitigates punishment. A similar allowance for self-accusation is found in regard of other crimes, e. g. *Greg. Thaum.* cans. 8 and 9.

The Church agreed with the State in not allowing a husband to condone (*Basil* 9 and 21), and on clerks especially (*Neocaesarea*, 8). Divines who were not canonists differed considerably. *Hermas's Pastor* (*Maudr.* iv.) allowed and urged open reconciliation to a penitent wife. Augustine changed his mind; compare *De Adulterio. Conju.* lib. ii. 8 (ix.) with *tractat.* lib. i. xix. 6. In the first of these places he hesitates between condonation and divorce; opposes forgiveness "per claves regni caelorum" to the prohibitions of law "secundum terrene civitatis modum," and concludes by advising continence, which law forbids. In the latter passage he speaks of divorce as not only allowed but commanded. "Et ubi dixi hoc permissum esse, non jussum; non attendi aliam scripturam dicentem; Qui tenet adulteram stultus et impius est" (*Prov.* xviii. 22; lxx.).

A public wrong implied civil rights; therefore this offence was the crime of *free persons* (*Dig.* 48, tit. 5, s. 6 *init.*). "Inter liberis tantum personis adulterium stuprumque passas *Lex Julia* locum habet." Cf. *Cod. J.* 9, tit. 9, s. 23 *init.* A slave was capable only of *Contubernium* (see *Seruus* and *Matrimonium* in *Dict. Antiq.*). Servitude annulled marriage (*Dig.* 24, tit. 2, s. 1), or rather made it null from the first (*Novell. Just.* 22, 8, 9, 10). "Arcellian a toro abjicere" is laudable according to *Pope Leo I.* (*Ad Rustic.* 6). That Christian princes attempted to benefit slaves rather by manumission than by ameliorating the servile condition, we see from the above-quoted *Novell.* and from *Harmonop. Proch.* i. 14; the slave (sec. 1) is competent to his civil relations, and (sec. 6) his state is a quasi-death.

Concubinage was not adultery (*Dig.* 25, tit. 7, s. 3, § 1); but a concubine might become an adulteress, because, though not an *uxor*, she ought to be a *matrona*, and could therefore, if unfaithful, be accused, not *jure mariti*, but *jure extranei*. For legal conditions, see *Cod. J.* 5, tit. 26 and 27, *Just. Novell.* 18, c. 5; also 74 and 89. *Leo* (*Nov.* 91) abolished concubinage on Christian grounds. For the way in which the Church regarded it, cf. *Bals.* on *Basil*, 26, and *Conc. Tolet.* i. 17; also *August. Quæst.* in *Genesis*, 90, *De Fid. et Op. Rustic.* 4, cf. 6, as given by *Mansi*) seems to make the legal concubine a mere ancilla; cf. *Grat. Decret.* i. *Dist.* 34 (ut supra) and *Dict. Antiq.* s. v.

We now come to much the gravest consequence of a classification under public wrongs—its effect on woman's remedy. By *Lex Julia*, the wife has no power of plaint against the husband

for adultery as a public wrong (*Cod. J.* 9, tit. 9, s. 1.). This evidently flows from the definition of the crime, but the glossators' reasons are curious. She cannot complain *jure mariti* because she is not a husband, nor *jura extranei* because she is a woman.

The magistrate was bound by law to inquire into the morals of any husband accusing his wife (*Dig.* 48, tit. 5, s. 13 § 5). This section is from an Antonine rescript quoted at greater length from the *Cod. Gregorian.* by Augustine, *De Conjug. Adulterii*, lib. ii, 7 (viii.). The husband's guilt did not act as a *compensatio criminis*. In England the contrary holds, and a guilty accuser shall not prevail in his suit (see Burns, *Eccl. Law*, art. "Marriage"). But the wife's real remedy lay in the use of divorce which during the two last centuries of the Republic became the common resource of women under grievances real or fancied, and for purposes of the worst kind. There is a graphic picture of this side of Roman life in Boissier's *Cicéron et ses Amis*; and for the literature and laws, see "Divortium" in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*. Brissonius de *Formulis* gives a collection of the phrases used in divorcing.

Constantine allowed only three causes on either side—on the woman's these were her husband's being a homicide, poisoner, or violator of sepulchres (*Cod. Theod.* 3, tit. 16, s. 1.; cf. *Edict. Theodor.* 54). This law was too strict to be maintained; the variations of Christian princes may be seen in *Cod. J.* 5, tit. 17. Theodos. and Valentin. 1, 8, added to other causes the husband's aggravated incontinency. Anastasius, 1, 9, permitted divorce by common consent; this again "nisi castitatis concupiscentia" was taken away by Justinian in his *Novell.* 117, which (app. 9) allowed amongst other causes the husband's gross unchastity. Justin restored divorce by common consent.

The Church viewed the general liberty to repudiate under the civil law, with jealousy; cf. Greg. Nazianz. *Epp.* 144, 5 (nl. 176, 181), and Victor Antiochen. on Mark x. 4-12. But it was felt that women must have some remedy for extreme and continued wrongs, and this lay in their using their legal powers, and submitting the reasonableness of their motives to the judgment of the Church. Basil's Can. 35 recognizes such a process; see under our Div. III. *Spiritual Penalties*, No. 2. Still from what has been said, it is plain that divorce might become a frequent occasion of adultery, since the Church held that a married person separated from insufficient causes really continued in wedlock. Re-marriage was therefore always a serious, sometimes a criminal step. [DIVORCE.]

Marriage after a wife's death was also viewed with suspicion. Old Rome highly valued continence under such circumstances; Val. Max. ii, 1, § 3, gives the fact; the feeling pervades these tender lines which contrast so strongly with Catullus V. ad Lesbiam—

"Ocedit mea Lux, meumque Sidus;
Sed carum sequar; arbor-que ut alta
est tellure sinus agunt amores,
Et radicibus implacantur tms;
Sic nos concubimur sepulch,
Et vitis eritnus beatorum."

Similar to Val. Max. is Herm. *Mandat.* iv, 4. Gregory Nazianz. (*Hom.* 37, al. 31) says that

marrage represents Christ and the Church, and there are not two Christs; the first marriage is law, a second an indulgence, a third swinish. Against marriages beyond two, see Neocæs. 3, Basil, 4, and Leo. *Nordl.* 90. Curiously enough, Leo (cf. *Dict. Biog.*) was himself excommunicated by the patriarch for marrying a fourth wife. [DIGAMY.]

III. *Penalties.*—We are here at once met by a very singular circumstance. Tribonian attributes to Constantine and to Augustus two suspiciously corresponding enactments, both making death the penalty of this crime, and both inflicting that death by the sword. The founder of the Empire and the first of Christian emperors are thus brought into a closeness of juxtaposition which might induce the idea that lawyers, like mythical poets, cannot dispense with Eponyms.

The Lex Julia furnishes a title to *Cod. Theod.* 9, tit. 7; *Dig.* 48, tit. 3, and *Cod. J.* 9, tit. 9; but in none of these places is the text preserved, and we only know it from small excerpts. The law of Constantine in *Cod. Theod.* 9, tit. 7, s. 2, contains no capital penalty, but in *Cod. J.* 9, tit. 9, s. 30, after fifteen lines upon accusation, six words are added—"Sacrilogos autem nuptiarum gladio puniri oportet." The word "sacrilogos" used substantively out of its exact meaning is very rare (see Faellolati). For the capital clause, ascribed to the Lex Julia, see *Inst.* iv, 18, 4; but this clause has been since the time of Cujacius rejected by most critical jurists and historians, of whom some maintain the law of Constantine, others suppose a confusion between the great emperor and his sons. Those who charge Tribonian with emblemata generally believe him to have acted the harmonizer by authority of Justinian. On these two laws there is a summary of the case in Selden, *Uxor. Etr.* iii, 12, with foot references. Another is the comment in Gothofred's ed. of *Cod. Theod.* vol. iv, 296, 7. Heineccius is not to be blindly trusted, but in Op. vol. III. his *Syll. xi. de Secta Triboniano-mustigum* contains curious matter, and misled Gibbon into the idea of a regular school of lawyers answering this description. The passages in Cujacius may be traced through each volume by its index. See also Hoffmann, *Ad Leg. Jul.* (being Tract iv. in Fellenberg's *Jurisprudentia Antiqua*); Lipsii *Excurs.* in *Tacit.* Ann. iv.; Orelli, on *Tacit. Ann.* ii, 50; Ortolan, *Explication des Institutes*, iii, p. 791; Sandars, *On the Institutes*, p. 605; *Dict. Antiq.*, "Adulterium"; and *Dict. Biog.*, "Justinianus."

The fact most essential to us is that practical Christian emperors generally substituted their own edicts for the provisions of the Lex Julia, and that the successors of Constantine were equally diligent in altering his laws. Historians have frequently assumed the contrary; Valerius' note on Socrates, v, 18, may serve by way of example. The Church could not avoid adopting her canons to the varied states of civil legislation; cf. Scholia on *Can. Apost.* 5, and *Trull.* 87, besides many other places. The true state of the case will become plainer if we briefly mention the different ways in which adultery might be legally punished.

1. The *Jus Occident.* most ancient in its origin; moderated under the Empire; but not taken away by Christian princes. Compare *Dig.* 48, tit. 5, s. 20 to 24, 32 and 38, with same 48, tit. 8

s. 1, § 5; *Cod. J.* 9, tit. 9, s. 4; and *Pauli Recept. Sentent.* ii. 26. This right is common to most nations, but the remarkable point is that Roman law gave a greater prerogative of homicide to the woman's father than to her husband. For a similar custom and feeling, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians* i. 297. The *Jus Occidentis* under the Old Testament is treated by Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Discip. Ebraeor.* iv. 3; in old and modern France, by Duenage and Bagueau; in England, by Blackstone and Wharton. There is a provision in Basil's Can. 34 directing that if a woman's adultery becomes known to the Church authorities either by her own confession or otherwise, she shall be subjected to penitence, but not placed among the public penitents, lest her husband, seeing hershould surmise what has occurred and slay her on the spot (cf. *Blastaris Synagma*, letter M, cap. 14). This kind of summary vengeance has often been confounded with the penalty inflicted by courts of law, e.g. its celebrated assertion by Cato in *A. Gell.* x. 23, though his words "sine judicio" ought to have prevented the mistake. Examples of it will be found *Val. Max.* vi. 1, 13; the chastisement of the historian Sallust is described *A. Gell.* xvii. 18; many illustrations are scattered through the satirists, and one, *M. Ann. Senec.*, *Controu.* i. 4, is particularly curious.

2. *The Household Tribunal*, an institution better known because of the details in *Dion. Hal.* ii. 25. The remarks of Mommsen (i. 5 and 12), should be compared with Mr. Hallam's philosophical maxim (*Suppl. to Middle Ages*, art. 54) that the written laws of free and barbarous nations are generally made for the purpose of preventing the infliction of arbitrary punishments. See for the usage *Val. Max.* ii. 9, 2, and *A. Gell.* x. 23, in which latter place the husband is spoken of as the wife's censor, a thought which pervades Origen's remarkable exposition of *Matt.* xii. 8, 9, compared with v. 32 (tomus xiv. 24). The idea itself was likely to be less alien from the mind of the Church because of the patriarchal power which sentenced Tamar to the flames, and the apostolic principle that "the Head of the Woman is the Man." It is plain, however, that all private administration of justice is opposed to the whole tenour of Church legislation. But perhaps the most pleasant example of the Roman Household Court best shows the strength and extent of its jurisdiction. *Pomponia Græcina* (*Theat. Ann.* xiii. 32) was so tried on the capital charge of foreign superstition, and the noble matron, an early convert, as is sometimes supposed, to Christianity, owed her life to the acquittal of her husband and his family assessors.

3. A far more singular penalty on adultery is mentioned, *Theat. Ann.* ii. 85, *Sueton. Tib.* 35, and *Merville*, v. 197. It consisted in permitting a matron to degrade herself by tendering her name to the Aediles for insertion in the register of public women. Tacitus speaks of it as "more inter veteres recepto," and looks back with evident regret upon the ages when such shame was felt to be an ample chastisement. His feeling is shared by *Val. Max.* ii. 1. A like custom subsisted before 1833 among the modern Egyptians, (see Lane, i. 176-7), differing only in the fact that the degradation was compulsory, a custom curiously parallel to a narrative of Socrates, v. 18,

(copied by Nicephorus, xii. 22), who says that there remained at Rome, till abolished by the Christian Emperor Theodosius I., places of confinement called *Sistra*, where women who had been caught in breaking the 7th Commandment were compelled to acts of incontinency, during which the attention of the passers-by was attracted by the ringing of little bells in order that their ignominy might be known to every one. Valerius has a dubious note founded chiefly on a mistake, already observed, as to the constancy of Roman punishments. They really were most variable, and here again Egypt offers a parallel, cf. Lane, i. 462-3. Niebuhr (*Lectures on Roman Hist.* i. 270) thinks the unfixed nature of penalties for numerous offences in Greece and Rome a better practice than the positive enactments of modern times. We now pass to

4. *Judicial Punishments.*—Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, iii. 5) says that the ancient Romans did not inflict death upon adulteresses (cf. *Liv. i.* 28, x. 2, xxv. 2, and xxxix. 18); those who read Plautus will find divorce described as their usual chastisement. The critics of Tribonian generally believe that Paulus (*Sentent.* ii. 26, 14) gives the text of the *Lex Julia*. It commences with the punishment of the woman, and proceeds to that of her paramour on the principle before noticed of the adultera being the true criminal, and the adulter her accomplice. After Constantine, though the civil law maintains this ancient position, there is an apparent inclination to punish the man as a seducer—a clearly vital alteration, and due probably to Christian influences.

Augustine places the lenity of old Rome towards adulterous women in contrast with the severities exercised on Vestal virgins. His statement is not necessarily impugned by those who rank adultery among capital crimes (e.g. *Cod. J.* 9, tit. 9, s. 9), since by some kinds of banishment "eximitur caput de civitate," and hence the phrase "civil death" (see *Dig.* 48, tit. 1, s. 2; tit. 19, s. 2; tit. 22, s. 3-7). Emperors varied from each other, and from themselves. Augustus exceeded his own laws (*Theat. Ann.* iii. 24). Tiberius was perverse (*Ibid.* iv. 42). Appuleius, as actual death, represents the legal; namely the adulteress alive was not an unknown thing (*Met.* ix. ut supra). Of Macrinus it is expressly stated (*Jul. Capit.* 12), "*Adulteriter reos semper vivos simul incendit, junicis corporibus.*" Alexander Severus held to a capital penalty (*Cod. J.* 9, tit. 9), as above. Paulus was of his council (cf. *Ael. Lamprid.* 25), a fact favouring the supposition that the section (*Recept. Sent.* ii. 26, 14) which mentions a punishment not capital must represent an earlier law. Arnobius, under Diocletian (see *Dict. Biog.*), speaks of adultery as capital (iv. p. 142, ed. Var.). With the above precedents before him, the reader may feel inclined to distrust the charge of new and Mosiac severity brought against Constantine and his successors in chap. 44 of Gibbon, vol. v. p. 322, ed. Milman and Smith.

Whether the disputed penal clause of Constantine be genuine or not, by another law of his (*Cod. J.* 9, tit. 11) a woman offending with a slave was capitally punished, and the slave burned. Constantianus and Constantus (*Cod. Theod.* 11, tit. 36, s. 4) enacted "partim similique ratione sacerdos nuptiarum, tanquam manifestos parricidiorum,

auere culco vivos, vel exurere, judicantem oportet." Compare *Dict. Antiq.* art. Leges Corneliae, "Lex Pompeia de Parricidiis," and for burning, *Pauli Sentent. Recet.* v. 24. Baronius (sub fin. Ann. 319) has a note on "Sacerdotes,"—a word which placed the male offender in a deeply criminal light. The execution of the sentence was enforced by clear cases of adultery being executed from appeal (*Sent. Recet.* ii. 26, 17), and afterwards (*Cod. Theod.* 9, tit. 38, s. 3-8), from the Easter indulgence, when, in Imperial phrase, the Resurrection Morning brought light to the darkness of the prison, and broke the bonds of the transgressor. Yet we may ask, Was the Constantian law really maintained? Just thirty years later, Ammianus (xxviii. 1) gives an account of the decapitation of Cethegus, a senator of Lome; but though the sword was substituted for fire, he reckons this act among the outrages of Maximin, prefect of the city; and how easily a magistrate might indulge in reckless barbarity may be seen by the horrible trial for adultery described by Jerome (*Ad Innocent.*), in which both the accused underwent extreme tortures. Again, though the Theodosian code (in force from A.D. 439) gave apparent life to the Constantian law, yet by a rescript of Majorian (A.D. 459) it is ordered that the adulterer shall be punished "as under former emperors," by banishment from Italy, with permission to any one, if he return, to kill him on the spot (*Novell. Major.* 9). That death in various times and places was the penalty, seems clear from Jerome on Nah. i. 9; the Vandal customs in Salvia, 7; and Can. Willet, 27. Fines appear in later Welsh, as in Salic and A. S. codes. For these and other punishments among Christianized barbarians, see *Ancient Laws of Wales*; Lindenbrogii *Cod. Leg.*, Wilkins, vol. i. Olaus Mag. *de Gent. Septent.* XIV.; and Ducange s. v. and under *Trotarii*.

For Justinian's legislation see his 134th *Novell.* Cap. 10 renews the Constantian law against the male offender, extends it to all abettors, and inflicts on the female bodily chastisement, with other penalties short of death. Cap. 12 contemplates a possible evasion of justice, and further offenses, to which are attached further severities. Caps. 9 and 13 contain two merciful provisions. Leo, in his 32nd *Novell.* (cited by Harmenop. as 19th), compares adultery with homicide, and punishes both man and woman by the loss of their noses and other inflictions. For a final summary, cf. Harmenop. *Proch.* vi. 2, and on the punishment of incontinent married men, vi. 3.

Spiritual penalties may be thus arranged.—1. Against adultery *strictly so called* (Can. Apost. 61 al. 60). A convicted adulter cannot receive orders.—Aneyra, 20. Adultera and adulter (so Schol., husband with guilty knowledge, Routh and Fleury), 7 years' penitence.—Neocaesarea, 1. Presbyter so offending to be fully excommunicated and brought to penitence.—Neocaesarea, 8. The layman whose wife is a convicted adultera cannot receive orders. If the husband be already ordained, he must put her away under penalty of deprivation.—Basil, can. 9. An unchaste wife must be divorced. An unchaste husband not so, even if adulterous; this is the rule of Church custom. [N.B.—We place Basil here because accepted by Trull. 2.]—Basil, 58. The adulter 15 years' penitence; cf. 59, which gives 7 years to simple incontinence, and compare with both can.

7 and Scholia.—Gregor. Nyss., can. 4, prescribes 18 years (9 only for simple incontinence).—Basil, 27, and Trull. 26, forbid a presbyter who has ignorantly contracted an unlawful marriage before orders to discharge his functions, but do not degrade him.—Basil, 39. An adultera living with her paramour is guilty of continued crime. This forbids her marriage with him, as does also the civil law. Cf. on these marriages Triburiense, 40, 43, and 51.—On intended and incipient sin, compare Neocaesarea, 4, with Basil, 70 (also Scholia) and *Blastaris Synlogma*, cap. xvi.—The synod of Eliberis, though held A.D. 305, was not accepted by any Universal Council, but it represents an important part of the Western Church, and its canons on discipline are strict. The following arrangement will be found useful. Eliberis, 19. Sin of Clerisy. (Cf. Tarræon. 9.)—31. Of young men.—7. Sic, if repeated.—69. Of married men and women.—47. If habitual and with relapse after penitence.—64. Of women continuing with their accomplices; cf. 69.—65. Wives of clerks.—70. Husbands' connivance (F. Mendoza remarks on the antiquity of this sin in Spain).—78. Of married men with Jewesses or Pagans.

2. Against Adultery as under *Spiritual* but not *Civil Law*.—Both canonists and divines joined with our Saviour's precepts, Prov. xviii. 23; Jer. iii. 1 (both LXX); 1 Cor. vi. 16, and vii. 11-16 and 39. They drew two conclusions: (1) Divorce, except for adultery, is adultery. Under this fall the questions of enforced continence, and of marriage after divorce. (2) To retain an adulterous wife is also adultery—a point disputed by divines, e.g. Augustine, who yielded to the text in Proverbs (*Retract.* i. xix. 6). These divisions should be remembered though the points are often blended in the canons.

Can. Apost. 5. No one in higher orders to cast out his wife on plea of religion. This is altered as regards bishops by Trull. 12, but the change (opposed to African feeling) was not enough to satisfy Rome. It must be remembered that, though divorce was restrained by Constantine, whose own mother had thus suffered (see Eutrop. ix. 22), his law was relaxed by Theod. and Valentin. and their successors, and it was common for a clerk, forced into continence, to repudiate his wife. Trull. 13, opposes the then Roman practice as concerns priests and deacons, and so far maintains, as it says, *Can. Apost.* 5.—The Scholia on these three canons should be read. For the Roman view of them compare Binius and other commentators with Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* xl. 50. Cf. Siricius, *Ad Himer.* 7; Innocent I. *Ad Exup.* 1, and *Ad Mac.* at Sev.; Leo I. *Ad Rustic.* 3, and *Ad Anastas.* 4. See also Milman, *Lat. Christ.* i. 97-100. The feeling of Innocent appears most extreme if Jerome's assertion (*Ad Demetrial.*) of this pope's being his predecessor's son is literally meant, as Milman and others believe.—*Can. Apost.* 18, al. 17. On marriage with a cast-out wife; cf. Levit. xxi. 7.—48, al. 47. Against casting out and marrying again, or marrying a dismissed woman. "Casting out" and "dismissed" are explained by the Scholians: "the sense of unlawful repudiations. Sanchez (*De Matr. lib. x. de Divort. Disp.* ii. 2) quotes this canon in the opposite sense, and brings no other authority to forbid divorce before Innocent I.; indeed in *Disp.* i. 12, he says, "Posterior (excusatio) est, indissolubilitatem ma-

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can. 4, prescribes (continence).—Basil, presbyter who has actual marriage relations, but do not adulterate living with married crime. This, as does also the Triburiense, 40, incipient sin, com. 70 (also Scholia). vi.—The synod of was not accepted it represents an a Church, and its . The following ful. Eliberis, 19. vi.—31. Of young Of married men and with relapse continuing with Wives of clerks. Mendoza remarks (Spain).—78. Of agans.

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timonem non ita crete in primitiva Ecclesia intellectum esse, quia liceret ex legitima causa, apud Episcopos provinciale probata, libellum repudiare." E. Mendoza makes a like reserve on Eliberis, 8. It is to be observed that Latin renderings of Greek law terms are apt to be ambiguous; e.g. "Soluta" is sometimes used of a dismissed wife, sometimes of an unmarried woman.—Basil, *Ad An. Antioch.* can. 9. The dictum of our Lord applies naturally to both sexes, but it is otherwise ruled by custom [i.e. of the Church, see a few lines further, with Scholia; and on unwritten Church custom having the force of law cf. Photii *Nomoc.* i. 3, and references]. In the case of wives that dictum is stringently observed according to 1 Cor. vi. 16; Jer. iii. 1, and Prov. xviii., latter half of 23 (both in LXX and Vulgate).—If, however, a divorced husband marries again, the second wife is not an adultera, but the first; cf. Scholia. [Here the Latin translator has mistaken the Greek; he renders *ὄκη ὄλη ἐὶ δὴ ἄρα* by "nescio an possit," instead of "nescio an non"—so as to give the contrary of Basil's real meaning.] A woman must not leave her husband for blows, waste of dower, incontinence, nor even disbelief (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 16), under penalty of adultery. Lastly, Basil forbids second marriage to a husband putting away his wife, i.e. unlawfully according to Aristonius, Selden, *Uc. Ebr.* iii. 31, and Scholia on Trull. 87. On like Scripture grounds Can. 26 of 2nd Synod attributed to St. Patrick, commands divorce of adulteresses, and permits husband to remarry.—Basil, 21, assigns extra penitence to what would now be called simple adultery (then denied by Church custom to be adultery), i.e. the incontinency of a married man. Divorce is next treated as a penalty—an offending wife is an adulteress and must be divorced—not so the husband; cf. can. 9. Basil, unlike Gregory of Nyssa, does not justify in reason the established custom.—35. Alludes to a judgment of the sort mentioned by Sanchez and Mendoza, and referred to above.—Car. 48. Separated wife had better not re-marry.

Carthage, 105 ap. Bev. (in *Cod. Eccl. Afric.* 102).—Divorced persons (i.e. either rightly or wrongly repudiating) to remain unmarried or be reconciled, and an alteration of Imperial law in this sense to be petitioned for. This breathes a Latin rather than an Eastern spirit, and is the same with 2 Milevis (Mileum), 17 (repeated *Conc. Afric.* 69), cf. 1 Arles, 10, and Innocent I., *Ad Euzp.* 6. The case is differently determined under differing conditions by Aug. *de Fül. et Oper.* 2 (i), compared with 35 (xix.).

The Scholiasts hold that the Carthaginian canon was occasioned by facility of civil divorce, but superseded by Trull. 87. Innocent III., with a politic regard for useful forgeries, ordained that earlier should prevail over later canons (cf. Justell. i. 311), but the Greek canonists (as here) maintain the reverse, which is likewise upheld and explained by Augustine, *De Bapt.* II. 4, (iii.), and 14 (ix.).

Trull. 87, is made up of Basil's 9, 21, 35, and 48. The Scholia should be read—but they do not notice that, when it was framed, divorce by consent had been restored by Justin, *Novell.* 2 (authent. 140). They are silent because neither this *Novell.* nor all Justinian's 117 were inserted in the Basilica then used; his 134 alone repre-

sented the law (see Photii *Nomoc.* XIII. 4, Sch. 3).—Trull. 87, is so worded as to express desertion, and therefore implies a judicial process, without which re-marriage must be held more adultery (see on this point, *Blastaris Syntagma. Gamma.* 13). The "divine" Basil, here highly magnified, is elevated still higher in *Blastaris, Caus. Justrim.* ap. *Leuclavii Jus Græco-Roman.* p. 514.

This canon closes the circle of Oecumenical law upon adultery, and on divorce, treated partly as its penalty and partly as its cause. The points of agreement with State law are plain; the divergence is an effect of Church restraint upon divorce, which, if uncanonical, easily led to digamy, and formed *per se* a species of adultery. According to canonists (Photii *Nomoc.* I, 2, Schol. 2), Church law, having a twofold sanction, could not be resisted by Imperial constitutions.

As the ancient mode of thinking on adultery is alien from our own, it seems right to refer the reader to the vindication of its morality by Gregory Nyssa, (*Ad Let.* 4).—Gregory is by no means lenient to the incontinency of married or unmarried men with single women; 9 years of penitence with all its attendant infamy made up no trifling chastisement. But he held that the offence of a married woman and her paramour involves three additional elements of immorality—the treacherous, the specially unjust, and the unnatural; or, to put the case another way, he estimated the sin by the strength of the barriers overleaped by passion, and by the amount of selfishness involved in its gratification. So, in modern days, we often speak of an adulteress as an unnatural mother, and visit her seducer with proportionate indignation. This viewed, spuriousness of progeny is not a censure by rule of expediency, but a legal test of underlying depravity.

This section may usefully close with examples showing how the ancient position has been overlooked as well as resisted. We saw that Carthage, 105, and its parallels forbade marriage after divorce, whether just or unjust, and that the view of its being adultery had gained ground in the West. Now, three earlier Eliberitan canons uphold the other principle. Can. 8. Against re-marriage of a woman causelessly repudiating. 9. Against re-marriage of a woman leaving an adulterous husband. 10. Against marriage with a man guilty of causeless dismissal. From this last canon, compared with 8 and 9, it appears that the husband divorcing an adulteress may marry again, which by 9 an aggrieved wife cannot do: cf. the parallel, Basil, 9, *supra*. Coterius, *Bas.* 26, 3, to Herm. *Past. Mand. iv.*, quotes can. 9 and 10 as a support to the pseudo-bath to men that the man is favoured above the woman under *liba* conditions. He is followed by Bingham, xvi. 11, 6, as far as the so-called Ambrose is concerned. But we have sufficiently proved that Church custom did not permit incontinency to be held a like condition in husband and in wife. The pseudo-Ambrose himself misleads his readers—his law agrees with the Basilean canon, but not content with laying down the law, he goes on to reason out the topic—the man's being the head of the woman, &c. The Western Canon ascribed to St. Patrick (*supra*) seems a remarkable contrast to the Latin rule. The fact is equally remarkable

that at no further distance from Eliberis than Arles, and as early as A.D. 314, it was enacted by Can. 10 that young men detecting their wives in adultery should be counselled against marrying others during the lifetime of the adulteresses (cf. *Nantes* 12). Most curious to us are the decrees of Pope Leo I, *Ad Nicet.* 1, 2, 3, 4, which allow the wives of prisoners of war to marry others, but compel them to return to their husbands under pain of excommunication should the captives be released and desire their society. Such instances as these and some before cited illustrate the various modes of affirming the law on adultery, and of resisting the law on adultery, and on divorce as the penalty of adultery (afterwards received in Trullo), ere yet the opposition formed an article in the divergence of Greek and Latin Christendom. With them should be compared the extracts from divines given under Division II. *supra*, which display in its best colours the spirit of the revolution. For other particulars, see DIVORCE.

3. *Constructive Adultery*.—The following are treated as guilty of the actual crime.—Trull. 98. A man marrying a betrothed maiden; cf. Basil, 37, with Schol., and Dig. 48, tit. 5, s. 13, § 3; also Siricius, *Ad Him.* 4.—Elib. 14. Girls seduced marrying other men than their seducers.—Basil, 18. Consecrated virgins who sin and their paramours; cf. his 60. These supersede Ancyra, 19, by which the offence was punished as digamy. See on same, Trull. 4; Elib. 13; Siric. *Ad Him.* 6, Innocent, *Ad Vict.* 12 and 13. Cyprian, *Ad Pompon.*, pronounced it better they should marry—the offender is "Christi Adultera." Jerome, *Ad Demetriad.* sub fin., perplexes the case for irrevocable vows by declaring, "Quibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possunt continere, aut continent, si nolunt nubere."—Laod. 10 and 31, accepted by Chalced. i. and Trull. 2, forbid giving sons and daughters in marriage to heretics. Eliberis, 15, 16, 17, enact severe penalties against parents who marry girls to Jews, heretics, and unbelievers, above all to heathen priests. 1. Arles, 11, has same prohibition, so too Agde, 67. By *Cod. Theod.* 16, tit. 8, s. 6 (A.D. 339), Jews must not take Christian women; by *Cod. Theod.* 3, tit. 7, s. 2 (A.D. 388), all marriage between Jew and Christian is to be treated as adultery, a law preserved by Justinian (*Cod. J.* 1, tit. 9, s. 6). Some suppose this phrase simply means treated as a capital offence, but Elib. 15, mentions the risk of *adulterium animae*. The passage in Tertollian, *Ad Ur.* ii. 3, "fideles gentium matrimonium subvertentes stupri reos esse constat," &c. (cf. Division I. *supra*) shows how early this thought took hold of the Church. Holiness from Old Testament times downward was adultery; and divines used the principle 1 Cor. vi. 15, 16, and parallel texts, to prove that marriage with an unclean transgressor involved wife or husband in the sinner's guilt. Compare Justin Martyr in the history cited Division I., Cyprian, *Testimon.* iii. 62, and Jerome, *Epiaph. Fideiolic.* It would appear therefore that law was thus worded to move conscience, and how hard the task of law became may be gathered from Chalcedon, 14. This canon (on which see Schol. and Routh's note, *Opusce.* ii. 107) concerns the lower clergy; but the acceptance of Laodicea by Can. 1 had already met the case of lay people. See further under MARRIAGE.

The Church was strict against incitements and scandals. Professed virgins must not live with clerks as sisters. See SCIN-PRODUCTÆ. On promiscuous bathing, Trull. 77, Laod. 30; the custom was strange to early Rome, but practice varied at different times (see *Dict. Antiq. Balneæ*). On female adornment, Trull. 96, and compare Commodian's address to matrons, *Inst.* 59, 60.—Elib. 35, forbids women's night watching in cemeteries, because sin was committed under pretext of prayer. Against theatricals, loose reading, some kinds of revels, dances, and other prohibited things, see Bingham, xvi. 11, 10-17, with the references, amongst which those to Cyprian deserve particular attention.

For the general literature on CANON LAW see that article. Upon civil law there are excellent references under Justinianus, *Dict. Hier.*, with additional matter in the notes to Gibbon, chap. 44, c. l. Smith and Milman, and a summary respecting the *Basilica*, vol. vii. pp. 44, 45. We may here add that Mommsen is editing a text of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*; and the whole Russian code is now being translated for English publication. There is a series of manuals by Ortolan deserving attention: *Histoire de la Législation romaine*, 1842; *Cours de Législation pénale comparée*, 1839-41; *Explication des Institutes*, 1863. Gothofredi *Manuale Juris*, and Windscheid's *Lehrbuch d. Pandectenrechts* (2nd ed.) may be useful. An ample collection of Councils and Ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland is being published at Oxford. References on special topics have been fully given above, and will serve to indicate the readiest sources for further information. Curious readers will find interesting matter in Saint Edme, *Dictionnaire de la Pénalité*; Taylor, *On Civil Law*; and Duni, *Origine e Progressi del Citadino e del Governo civile di Roma*, 1763-1764. [W. J.]

ADVENT (*Adventus*, Ἐπισημία τῶν Χριστογενέων), is the season of preparation for the Feast of the Nativity, to which it holds the like relation as does Lent to Easter. As no trace of an established celebration of the birth of our Lord is met with before the 4th century [NATIVITY], no earlier origin can be assigned to the ecclesiastical institution of Advent; the statement of Durand (*Rationale divin. off.* vi. 21), which makes this an appointment of St. Peter (which, like other statements of the same kind, it means only that this was an ordinance of the see of St. Peter), may rest, perhaps, on an ancient tradition, making Christmas an apostolic institution, but is contrary to all historical testimony, and devoid of probability. Expressions which have been alleged on that behalf from Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and other early writers, are evidently meant, not of "Advent" as a Church season, but of the coming of the Lord in the fulness of time. A passage of St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* iii. *ad Eph.* t. xi. 22 B), in which *καρπὸς τῆς προσόδου* is mentioned in connection with τὰ Ἐπισημία (i. e. the ancient Feast of Nativity and Baptism) and with the Lenten Quadragesima, speaks as the context manifestly shows, not of the season of Advent, but of the fit time (or rather fitness in general) for coming to Holy Communion (comp. Menard on *Liv. Sacram.* S. Gregorii; *Opp.* t. iii. col. 446). Setting aside these supposed testimonies, and that of the Sermons de Adventu,

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alleged as St. Augustine's, but certainly not his, we have two homilies *In (or De) Adventu Domini*, de eo quod dictum est, *scilicet fulgur coruscans*, &c., et de *duobus in le to no*, by St. Maximus, Bishop of Turin, *ob.* 466. In neither of these sermons is there any indication of Advent as a season, any allusion to Lessons, Gospels, &c., appropriated to such a season, or to the Feast of Nativity as then approaching. And, indeed, the fact that the "Sundays in Advent" are unknown to the Sacramental of Pope Leo of the same age sufficiently shows that this season was not yet established in the time of Maximus. Among the Homilies (doubtfully) ascribed to this bishop, edited by Mabillon (*Mus. Ital.* t. i. pt. 2), one, hom. vii, preached on the Sunday before Christmas, simply exhorts to a due observance of the feast, and contains no indication of any ecclesiastical rule. Even in the Sermons *de Adventu*, formerly ascribed to St. Augustine, now generally acknowledged to have been written by Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, *ob.* 542 (S. 116), there is no distinct recognition of Advent as an established observance. In these, the faithful (ante *phases dies*), for the due celebration of the Nativity, especially of the Christmas Communion, by good works, by guarding against anger and hatred, by modest hospitality to the poor, by strict continence, &c. Still there is no indication of the length of time so to be set apart, nor any reference to Lessons, Gospels, or other matters of Church usage. The preacher urges such preparation, not on the ground of Church observance, but as matter of natural fitness: "Even as ye would prepare for celebrating the birth-day of a great lord by putting your houses in order," &c. "Ideo ab omni inquinamento ante ejus Natalem multis diebus abstinere debetis. *Quotiescumque* aut Natalem Domini *aut reliquas sollemnitates* celebrare disponitis, christentem ante omnia fugite," &c. And so in the second sermon: "Et ideo *quotiescumque* aut dies Natalis Domini, *aut reliquas festivitates* adventum, sicut frequenter admonui, ante plures dies non solum ab infelicis conebinarum consortio, sed etiam a propriis uxoriis abstinete: ab omni iracundia," &c. There is indeed a canon cited by Gratian (*Decretal.* xxxiii. qn. 4) as of the Council of Lerida. A. D. 523, prohibiting all marriage from Advent to Epiphany. But this canon is known to be spurious, and does not appear in the authentic codes (see Brun's *Concilia*, t. ii. 20). A similar canon of the Council of Mâcon, (A. D. 581, *ibid.* 242) is undisputed. This (can. ix.) enjoins that from the Feast of St. Martin (Nov. 11) to the Nativity there be fasting on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of each week, and that the canons be then read; also that the sacrifices be offered in the quadragesimal order. (Subsequent councils, after our period, enjoin the observance of this Quadragesima S. Martini as the preparation for Christmas, corresponding to the Lenten Quadragesima before Easter.) It does not appear what were the canons appointed to be read, relating, of course, to the observance of these forty days before Christmas; only, it may be inferred that such canons were, or were supposed to be, in existence, of earlier date than that of Mâcon (in the preface to which council it is said these enact-

ments are not new: "non tam nova quam *prisca* patrum statuta sancientes" &c.). In the second Council of Tours (A. D. 567), the first of three days in the week is ordered (can. xvii.) for the months of September, October, and November, and from (1) December to the Nativity, *omni die*. But this is for monks only. St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours, in *De Vita Patrum*, written between 590 and 595, alleges that Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours (461-490), ordered "a depositione B. Martini usque ad Nat. Dom. terna in septimana jejunia." This may have been one of the *prisca statuta* appended to; but no trace is extant of any such canon, either in the First Council of Tours, A. D. 460, or in any other Latin council before that of Mâcon. It seems, from all that is certainly known, that Advent took its place among Church seasons only in the latter part of the 6th century. When the Nativity had become established as one of the great festivals, it was felt that its dignity demanded a season of preparation. The number of days or weeks to be so set apart was at first left to the discretion of the faithful: "ante plures dies, multis diebus," as, in the above-cited exhortation of Caesarius. Later, this was defined by rule, and first, it seems, in the Churches of Gaul. Yet not everywhere the same rule: thus the oldest Gallican Sacramentary shows three Sundays in Advent, the Gothic-Gallican only two (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* t. i. pp. 284-288; and *de Liturg. Gallicana*, p. 98, *sup.*). But the rule that the term of preparation should be a quadragesima (corresponding with that which was already established for Easter), to commence after the Feast of St. Martin, which rule, as has been seen, was not enacted, but reinforced by the canon of Mâcon, 581, implies six Sundays; and that this rule obtained in other Churches appears from the fact (or Spanish Ordo (or Milan) and Mozarabic number of Sundays; and the same rule was observed (as Martene has shown) in some of the Gallican Churches. The *Epistolu ad Ibbianum* falsely alleged to be St. Augustine's account of "the offices of divine worship throughout the year" in his diocese of Hippo (see Bened. *Admonitio* at end of *Opp.* S. Augustini, t. ii.), also attests this for Churches of Gaul, if, as Martene surmises, this was the work of some Gallican writer. It should be remarked that this writer himself makes the *ordo adventus Domini* begin much earlier, at the autumnal equinox, Sept. 25, as being the day of the conception of St. John the Baptist, and so the beginning of the times of the Gospel. "Sed quin sunt nonnulli qui adventum Domini a festivitatem B. Martini Turonensis urbis episcopi videntur insipienter excolere, nos eos non reprehendamus" &c. This *Quadragesima S. Martini* seems to have originated in Gaul, in the diocese of Tours, to which it was specially recommended by the devotion paid to its great saint; an additional distinction was conferred upon his festival in that it marked the beginning of the solemn preparation for the Nativity. So far, we may accept Binterlin's conclusion (*Denkbeurtheilen der christ.-kathol. Kirche*, vol. v., pt. i., p. 166): the rule—not, as he says, of Advent, but—of this Quadragesima is first met with in the diocese of Tours. It, indeed, the *Tractatus de sanctis tribus Quadragesimis*, "unde eas observari ac-

cepimus, quodque qui ens transgrediantur legem violent" (cp. *Cateley, Monum. Eccl. Gr.* iii. 425), be, as Cave (*Hist. Lit.*) represents, the work of Antioch, 561, or 599; this Quadragesima, under another name ("Q. S. Philippi," or "Fast of the Nativity"), was already observed in the East. But the contents make it plain enough that its author was another and much later Anastasius Sinaita, who wrote after A.D. 787. The observance of the "Quadragesima Apostolorum," and "Quadragesima S. Philippi" (the Feast of St. Philip, in the Greek Calendar is November 14) is enjoined upon monks by Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 806. This fast of 40 days before Christmas seems to have been kept up chiefly by the monastic orders in Gaul, Spain, Italy, (Martene *De Rit. Ant. Eccl.* iii. p. 27); it was observed also in England in the time of Beke (*Hist.* iii. 27; iv. 30), and much later. It was not until the close of the 6th century that the Church of Rome under St. Gregory received the season of preparation as an ecclesiastical rule, restricted, in its proper sense, to the four Sundays before the Nativity (Amalarius *De Eccl. Off.* iii. 40, A.D. 812, and Abbot Berno, *De quibusdam rebus ad Missam pertinentibus*, c. iv. 1014); and this became the general rule for the Western Church throughout the 8th century, and later. And, in fact, four is the number of Sundays in Advent in the Sacramentary of Gregory (*Liber Sacrament. de circulo anni*, ed. Panellus; and in the *Lectioarium Romanum*, ed. Thomassinus). But other and older copies of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* (ed. Menard, 1642, reprinted with his notes in the *Benedictine Opus. S. Gregorii*, t. iii.); the *Comes*, ascribed to St. Jerome; the *Sacramentary of Gelasius*, ob. 496 (a very ancient document, but largely interpolated with later additions); the *Antiquum Kalend. Sacrae Romanae Eccl.* ap. Martene. *Thes. Anecd.* t. v. (in a portion added by a later hand); the *Pontifical of Egbert*, Archbishop of York, ob. 787; a *Lectioary* written for Charlemagne by Paul the Deacon (cp. Mabillon); and other MSS. cited by Martene (t. s. iv. 80, ff.), all give five Sundays. Hence, some writers have been led to represent that the practice varied in different Churches, some reckoning four, others five Sundays in Advent—an erroneous inference, unless it could be shown that the first of the five Sundays was designated "Dominica Prima Adventus Domini." The seeming discrepancy is easily explained. The usual ancient names of the four Sundays, counted backwards from the Nativity, are: Dominica i., ante Nat. Domini (our 4th Advent), Dom. ii., Dom. iii., Dom. iv. ante Nat. Domini. To these the next preceding Sunday was prefixed under the style Dom. v. ante Nat. Dom., not as itself a Sunday in Advent, but as the preparation for Advent. So Amalarius and Berno, u. s., and Durandus: "In quinta igitur hebdomada ante Nat. D. incipitur preparatio adventus . . . nam ab illa dominica sunt quinque officia dominicalia, quinque epistolae et quinque evangelia quae adventum Domini aperte praedicant." The intention is evident in the Epistle and Gospel for this Sunday, which in the Sarum Missal is designated "dominica proxima ante Adventum," with the rule (retained by our own order from that of Sarum), that these shall always be used for the last Sunday before Advent begins.

After the pattern of the Lenten fast, Advent was marked as a season of mourning in the public services of the Church. The custom of omitting the *Gloria in Excelsis* (replaced by the *Venedicamus Domino*), and also the *Te Deum* and *Re missa est*, and of laying aside the damatic and sublecon's vestment (which in the 11th and 12th century appears to have been the established rule, Micrologus *De Eccl. Obs.* c. 46; Rupert Abbas Tult. *de Din. Off.* iii. c. 2), was coming into use during the eighth century. In the Mozarabic Missal, a rubric, dating probably from the end of the 6th century (i.e. from the refashionment of this ritual by Leander or Isidore of Seville), appoints: "In Adventu non dicitur *Gloria in Excelsis* domine diebus et feriis, sed tantum diebus festis." And Amalarius, ob. 812 (*De Offic. Sacr.* iii. c. 40), testifies to this custom for times within our period: "Vidi tempore prisco *Gloria in Excelsis* praetermitti in diebus adventus Domini, et in aliquibus locis dalmaticis;" and iv. c. 30: "Aliqua de nostro officio reservamus usque ad praesentium nativitas Domini, h. e. *Gloria in Excelsis* Deo, et clarum vestimentum dalmaticam; in aliis vero non ita agitur ut vidi occidit in aliquibus locis." The Benedictine monks retained the *Te Deum* in Advent as in Lent, alleging the rule of their founder. The *Alléluia* also, and the Sequences, as also the hymns, were omitted, but not in all Churches. In the *Gregorian Antiphonary*, the *Alléluia* is marked for 1 and 3 Advent and elsewhere. In some Churches, the *Miserere* (Ps. li.) and other mournful Psalms were added to or substituted for the ordinary Psalms. For lessons, Isaiah was read all through, beginning on Advent Sunday; when that was finished, the Twelve Minor Prophets, or readings from the Fathers, especially the Epistles of Pope Leo on the Incarnation, and Sermons of St. Augustine, succeeded. The lesson from "the Prophet" ended with the form, "Haec dicit Dominus Deus, Convertimini ad me, et salvi eritis."

In the Greek Church, the observance of a season of preparation for the Nativity is of late introduction. No notice of it occurs in the liturgical works of Theodorus Studites, ob. 826, though, as was mentioned above, the 40-days' fast of St. Philip was enjoined (to monks) by Nicephorus, A.D. 806. This τεσσαρακονθήμερον, beginning November 14, is now the rule of the Greek Church (Leo Allat. *de Consensu* iii. 9, 3). Codinus (*De Off. Eccl. et Curiae Constantinop.* c. 7, n. 20) speaks of it as a rule which in his time (cir. 1350) had been long in use. The piece *De Tribus Quadragesimis* above noticed, ascribed to Anastasius Sinaita, Patriarch of Antioch, shows that, except in monasteries, the rule of a 40-days' fast before the Nativity was contested in his time (A.D. 1100 at earliest). And Theodore Balsamon, A.D. 1200, lays down the rule thus:—"We acknowledge but one quadragesima, that before Pascha; the others (named), as this Fast of the Nativity, are each of seven days only. Those monks who fast 40 days, viz. from St. Philip (14 Sept.), are bound to this by their rule. Such laics as voluntarily do the like are to be praised therefor." *Respons. ad qu. 53 Marci Patriarch. Alex.*, and *ad interrog. monachorum*, app. to Photii *Nomocanon*. In the calendar formed from Evangelia Elogadia of 9th century our 4 Advent is marked "Sunday before the Nativity,"

Lenten fast, Advent mourning in the public. The custom of the *Te Deum* and the dalmatic which in the 11th to have been the *De Ecol. Obs. c. 46; (Off. iii. c. 2), was 8th century. In the 9th, dating probably from the Leander or Isidore Leander non dicitur Iebus non dicitur Iebus et feris, sed Amalarius, ob. 812 dies to this custom. " Villi tempore mitti in diebus toris dalmaticas": pro officio reserantivativatis Domini, et clarum vestimane it agitvris." The Benedicium in Advent as her founder. The fees, as also the in all Churches, the Alleluia is elsewhere, in (s. li.) and other to or substituted lessons, Isalah on Advent hel, the Twelve om the Fathers, Leo on the Incarnstine, succeeded. ended with the Convertimini ad*

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while the preceding Sundays are numbered from All Saints - our Trinity Sunday. (Assemani *K. leud. Ecol. Unic.*, t. vi. p. 575.) The term "Advent" is not applied to this season; the *κωνσταντίνης δευτερας Παπουλας* is our Semagisma.

In the separated Churches of the East, no trace appears, within our period, of an Advent season; unless we except the existing Nestorian or Chaldean rule, in which the liturgical year begins with four Sundays of Annunciation (*εορταγλισμοι*), before the Nativity (Assemani *Bibliotheca Orient.*, t. iii. pt. 2, p. 380 *sup.*). This beginning of the Church year is distinguished as *Rish phendito*, i.e. initium codicis, from the *Rish Janoto*, i.e. new-year's day in October. The Armenian Church, refusing to accept 25th December as the Feast of Nativity, and adhering to the more ancient sense of the Feast of Epiphany as including the Birth of Christ, prepares for this high festival (6th January) by a fast of 50 days, beginning 17th November.

The first Sunday in Advent was not always the beginning of the liturgical year, or circulus totius anni. The Comes and the Sacramentary of St. Gregory begin with IX. Kal. Jan., the Vigil of the Nativity. So does the most ancient Lictionarium Gallianum; but the beginning of this is lost, and the Vigil is numbered VII, the Nativity VIII. Hence Mabillon (*Liturg. Gallic.* p. 98, 101) infers that it began with the fast of St. Martin (or with the Sunday after it, Dom. VI. ante Nat. Dom.). One text of the *Missale Ambrosianum* begins with the Vigil of St. Martin (ed. 1560). The *Antiphonarius* of St. Gregory begins I. Advent, and the *Liber Responsionis* with its Vigil. But the earlier practice was to begin the ecclesiastical year with the month of March, as being that in which our Lord was crucified (March 25); a trace of this remains in the notation of the Quatuor Tempora seu Jejunium primi, quarti, septimi, decimi mensis, the last of which is the Advent Ember week.

Liter. turc.—*De Catholicæ Ecclesiæ divinis officiis ministeriis*, Rome, 1590 (a collection of the ancient liturgical treatises of St. Isidore, Alenin, Amalarius, Micrologus, Petr. Damianus, &c.); Martene, *De Ritibus Ant. Ecclesiæ et Monachorum*, 1699; Binterim, *Die vorzüglichsten Denkwürdigkeiten der christlich-katholischen Kirche*, Mainz, 1829 (founded on the work of Pellicci, *De Christ. Eccles. Primæ Mediæ et Novissimæ Aetatis Politia*, Neap. 1777); Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archæologie*, Leipzig, 1818; Herzog, *Real-Encyclopædie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*, s. a. Adventszeit, 1853; Rheinwald, *Kirchliche Archæologie*, 1840; Alt, *Der Christliche Cultus*, Abth. II. *Das Kirchenjahr*, 1860. [H. B.]

ADVOCATE OF THE CHURCH (*Advocatus*, or *Defensor*, *Ecclesiæ* or *Monasterii*; *ἑκδικος*, *ἑκδικος*; and *Advocatio* = the office, and sometimes the fee for discharging it);—an ecclesiastical officer, appointed subsequently to the recognition of the Church by the State, and in consequence (1) of the Church's need of protection, (2) of the disability, both legal and religious, of clergy or monks (Cam. *Apost.* xx., lxxxi.; *Constit. Apostol.* ii. 8; Justinian, *Novell.* cxliii. 6; and see Bingham, vi. 4) either to plead

in a civil court or to intermeddle with worldly business. In its original form it was limited to the duties thus intimated, and took its origin as a distinct and a lay office in Africa (*Cod. Can. Ecol. Africæ*, c. 97, A.D. 407, "*Defensores*," i. e. taken from the "*Scholastici*;" *Conc. Arelat.* ii. c. 16, A.D. 416; *Can. Africæ*, c. 64, c. A.D. 421); but received very soon certain privileges of ready and speedy access to the courts from the emperors (*Cod. Theod.* 2. tit. 4. § 7; 16. tit. 2. § 38). It became then a lay office (*defensores*, distinguished in the code from "*coadvocati*" or tunc persons), but had been previously, it would seem, discharged by the *oeconomi* (Du Cange). And, as it naturally came to be reckoned almost a minor order, so it was occasionally, it would seem, still held by clerics (Morinus, *De Ord.*; Bingham). The *advocatus* was to be sometimes asked from the emperors (authorities as above)—as *judices* were given by the Prætors;—but sometimes was elected by the bishop and clergy for themselves (*Cod. lib. i. tit. iv. constit.* 19). The office is mentioned by the Council of Chalcedon, ec. 2, 25, 26, A.D. 451, and is there distinguished both from the clergy and from the *oeconomus*; by Pope Gelasius, *Epist.* ix. c. 2, A.D. 492-496; and by Maxentius (*Uesp. ad Iovinian.*) some score of years later. But it had assumed a much more formal shape during this period, both at Constantinople and at Rome. In the former place, as protectors of the Church, under the title of *ἑκκλησιαστικῶν*, there were four officers of the kind: i. the *πρωτεύδικος*, who defended the clergy in criminal cases; ii. one who defended them in civil ones; iii. ὁ πῶς *ἑκκλησίας*, also called the *πρωτόπapas*; iv. ὁ πῶς *ἑκκλησίας*; increased by the time of Heraclius to ten, and designed in general for the defence of the Church against the rich and powerful (Justinian, *Edict.* xiii., and *Novell.* lvi. and lix. c. 1; and see the passages from Codrinius, Zonaras, Balsamon, &c., in Meursius, *Gloss. Græco-Latinæ*, voc. *ἑκδικος*, and in Suicer). They appear also to have acted as judges over ecclesiastical persons in trifling cases (Morinus). They were commonly laymen (so *Cod. Theod.* as above); but in one case certainly (*Conc. Constantin.*, A.D. 536, act. ii.) an *ἐκκλησιαστικῶν* is mentioned, who was also a presbyter; and presbyters are said to have commonly held the office, while later still it was held by deacons (Morinus). In Rome, beginning with Innocent I. (A.D. 402-417, *Epist.* xii. ed. Constant) and his successor Zosimus (*Epist.* i. c. 3), the Great a regular order of officers (*Defensores Romanæ Ecclesiæ*), whose duties were—i. to defend Church interests generally; ii. to take care of alms left for the poor; iii. to be sent to help applicants from a distance for Papal protection; iv. to look after outlying estates belonging to St. Peter's patrimony (S. Greg. M., *Epist.* passim). There were also in Rome itself at that time seven officers of the kind, called *Defensores Regionarii* (*Ordo Roman.*), each with his proper region, and the first of the seven known as the *Prætorius Defensorum* or *Primus Defensor* (St. Greg. *Epist.*, passim). St. Gregory certainly marks them out as usually laymen, yet in some cases clerics, and generally as holding a sort of ecclesiastical position. And the other Popes who allude to them (as quoted above), are led to do so while treating the question of the steps and

delays to be made in admitting laymen to holy orders, and feel it necessary to say that such restrictions apply "even" to *Defensores*. See also St. Gregory of Tours, *De Vita Patrum*, c. 6.

The great development of the office, however, took place under Charlemagne; who indeed, and Pipin, were themselves, *rex Rexy*, "*Defensores Ecclesie Romane*." And the German emperors became, technically and by title, *Advocati et Defensores Ecclesiarum* (Charles V. and Henry VIII. being coupled together long afterwards as respectively *ecclesie*, and *fidei defensores*). It was then established as a regular office for each church or abbey, under the appellation for each church of *Mundicari* (or *Avopi*). *Pastores Laici*, and sometimes simply *custodii auctores*; to be nominated by the emperor (Leo IX., however, as Pope appointed (Du Cange)), but then probably for a particular emergency only (*Car. M. Capit.*, v. 31, vii. 308); and usually as an office for life, to which the bishops and abbots were themselves to elect (*Conc. Magunt.*, c. 50, A.D. 813,—"all bishops, abbots, and clergy, to choose 'vicedominus, prepositus, advocatus, sive defensores;" *Conc. Aem.*, ii. c. 24, A.D. 813,—"Ut prepositi et vicedominii securum regulas vel canones constituentur;" and see also *Conc. Roman.*, cc. 19, 20, A.D. 826, and *Conc. Papiac.*, ii. P. iii. c. 5, A.D. 871), but "in presentia comitum" (*Legg. Longobard.*, lib. ii. tit. xvii. § 1, 2, 4, 7), and from the landowners in their own neighbourhood (*cap. xv. ex Legg. salica, Romana, et Gumbata*,—"Et ipsi [advocati] habent in illo comitatu propriam haereditatem;" and in a capitular of A.D. 742, we find mention of a "*Graphio*," i. e. count, "qui est defensor;" Morinus, *De Ordin.*, P. III. p. 307); and this, not only to plead in court or take oath there (sometimes two *advocati*, one to plead, the other to swear, *Legg. Longobard.*, ii. xviii. § 8), but in course of time to hold courts (*placita or iudicia*) as judges in their own district (Du Cange, but A.D. 1020 is the earliest date among his authorities), and generally to protect the secular interests of their own church or abbey. The *Advocatus* was at this time distinguished from the *Vicedominus*, sometimes called *Major Domus*, who ruled the lay dependents of the Church; and from the *Procurator*, who ruled its clerical dependents; and from the *Oeconomus*, who (being also commonly a cleric) managed the interior economy of its secular affairs; although all these titles are occasionally used interchangeably. He was also distinct from the *Cancellarius*, whether in the older sense of that term when it meant an inferior officer of the court, or in the later when it meant a judge (Bingh, III. xi. 6, 7). Two circumstances however gradually changed both the relative position of the *Advocatus* to his ecclesiastical clients, and the nature of his functions; the one arising from the mode in which he was remunerated, the other from the mode of his nomination. 1. He was paid in the first instance at this period by sometimes an annual salary, with certain small privileges of entertainment and the like; also, by the third part of the profits of his judicial office (*Tertia pars banorum, emendarum, leyum, compositionum, &c.*, "*placitorum ad que ab abbate vocatus fuerit*," *Charon, Sen.*, lib. ii. c. 5, in D'Ach. *Spicil.*, ii. 613, ed. 1723; *tertius denarius*); but commonly and finally by lands held from the church or abbey, a third of their value belonging to himself

as his portion. And the growth of the feudal tenure, in addition to other obvious influences, gradually converted him through this last circumstance from a dependent into a superior, from a law officer into a military one, and from a beneficiary into an owner, and sometimes into an usurer outright. In the *Ordo Romanus*, is an *Ordo ad armandum Ecclesie Lancesorem vel ulium Militem*, beginning with a *beneficium ecclie lanceae, ensis* (p. 178 Hittorp., about the time of Charlemagne). His *subadvocatus*, let us add (the number of whom was limited by various enactments), was to be paid in one instance by the receipt, from each vill of the ecclesiastical property, of one penny, one cock, and one *sextarius* of oats. 2. The nomination to the office, resting originally with the Church itself or with the emperor, was usurped gradually by the founder, and as an hereditary appanage of his own estate; whence followed first an usurpation of the Church property by the lay *Advocatus*, and next an usurpation by the same officer of the right of nominating to the church or abbey. And from the latter of these has arisen the modern use of the word *advocaton*, which now means exclusively and precisely that right which the original *advocatus* did not possess; the *ius patronatus* no doubt being attached to the founder of a church from the time of the Council of Orange (c. 10) A.D. 441, and of Justinian (*Novell.*, lvii. c. 2, exxiii. c. 18), A.D. 541, 555; but the combination of foundership with the office of *advocatus* being an accidental although natural combination, belonging to the ninth and next following centuries. The earliest charter quoted by Du Cange, in which mention is made of an election (in this case of an abbat) "assensu et consilio advocati," is a "*privilegium Rudolphi Episc. Halberstad.*" A.D. 1147. But in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, the officer analogous to the lay *advocatus* had usurped the position and the very name of abbat long previous to the 12th century [see *ABBIAT*]. And instances of similar usurpation abroad may no doubt be found of a like earlier date (see Robertson's *Early Scotland*). The *advocatio* of a bishopric seems to have included, at least in England, the *custodia* (i. e. the profits) of the property of the see, *seco vacante*; but was a distinct right from that of nomination to the office, the "*dignitas episcopalis*" (as e. g. in the case between the Welsh Lords Marchers and the English Crown, the former claiming the *custodia* but not the nomination); although the two became in England combined in the Crown. There does not, however, appear to be evidence, that this particular usurpation was laid to the charge of *advocati* abroad during the Carolingian period; although the system of lay abbats, commendatories, &c., and the usurpation of such offices by kings and nobles, led to the same general result of usurpation, there also, by the lay, over the ecclesiastical, functionary. Councils in England put restrictions on these usurpations of *lay domini, advocati, &c.*, as early as the Council of Beccaneld, A.D. 696 x 716 and of Clovesho, A.D. 803 (Councils III. 358, Haddan and Stubbs; Wilk. i. 56, 167). Abroad, the first canon on the subject is that of Rheims (c. 6), A.D. 1148, followed among others by the Councils of Salzburg (c. 24), A.D. 1274 and (c. 12), A.D. 1281. But a check upon them was attempted as early as the 10th century by the Capetian dynasty in France.

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ADVOCATES

The title of *Fidei Defensor*, attached to the Crown of England, and so strangely inverted from the special intent of its original Papal donor, may be taken as the last existing trace of the ancient *Advocatus* or *Defensor Ecclesie*. Unless (with Spelman) we are to give an ancient pedigree to churchwardens, and find the old office still in them. (Bingham; Du Cange; Meursius, *Gloss. Græco-Latinarum*; Morinus, *De Ordinariis*; Thomassin.)

[A. W. H.]

ADVOCATES, NOT TO BE ORDAINED.

—Amongst the laws which imposed restraints upon the clergy was one which forbade them, except in certain specified cases, to act as advocates before civil tribunals; since it was considered that any such interference with worldly matters would be inconsistent with the words of St. Paul (2 Tim., ii. 4 "No man that warreth [with the world] entangleth himself with the affairs of this life;" see St. Ambrose, *De Off. Minist.*, l. 36; and Gelasii Papæ *Epist.*, 17, sec. 15). For this reason the 3rd Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) in its 15th canon prohibits all clerks from becoming agents or procurators. The prohibition is repeated in the 3rd canon of the Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), but with the proviso that secular business may be undertaken by the clergy when the bishop directs it for the protection of Church property, or of orphans and widows who are without any one to defend them. This exception was in later times extended to the poor and all others who came under the designation of "miserabiles personee." So likewise were monks forbidden by the 11th canon of the Council of Tarragona (A.D. 516) to undertake any legal business except for the benefit of the monastery and at the command of the abbot.

In France the above-cited provisions of the Council of Chalcedon were repeated by the 16th canon of the Council of Verneuil (A.D. 755) and the 14th canon of the Council of Mayence (A.D. 813).

There are many other canons which prohibit the clergy from mixing themselves up with worldly matters, and which therefore forbid, though not in express terms, their acting as advocates.

There are also several imperial constitutions to the same effect, as, for instance, one of Theodosius II. (A.D. 416) which he afterwards repeated in the *Code Theodosianus*, A.D. 438 (16, tit. 2, 42), and which was also inserted in the 1st book (tit. 3, s. 17) of the *Code Repetitæ Prælectionis* of Justinian (A.D. 534).

Similar provisions are to be found in the 34th title of the *Liber norrlanum* of Valentin III. (A.D. 452), and in the 6th chapter of the 123rd *Novellæ* of Justinian (A.D. 541).

(Thomassinus, *Vetus et nova Ecclesie Disciplina*, De Beneficiis, Pars III. lib. 3, cap. 17-19; Bouix, *Tractatus de Judiciis Ecclesiasticis*, Pars I., 3, 4-5.)

[I. B.]

AEDITUL [DOORKEEPER.]

AEGATES, Saint, commemorated Oct. 24 (*Mart. Bedæ*).

ÆITHALAS. (1) Deacon and martyr, commemorated Nov. 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated Sept. 1 (*ib.*). [C.]

ÆMILIANUS. (1) Saint in Armenia, commemorated Feb. 8 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet., Hieron.*).

(2) Confessor in Africa, Dec. 6 (*Mart. R. V.*).

AFFINITY

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(3) Confessor, Jan. 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Bishop of Cyclicum, Confessor, Aug. 8 (*ib.*). [C.]

ÆMILIIUS. (1) Martyr in Africa, commemorated May 22 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) Of Sarlinia, May 28 (*ib.*).

(3) Commemorated June 18 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

AER. [VEIL.]

AERA. [ERA.]

ÆFRA, martyr in Rhaetia, commemorated Aug. 5 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*); Aug. 6 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

AFFIDATIO (*affiance*, Spenser; Fr. *fiançailles*), betrothal. It appears doubtful whether this term came into use within the first nine centuries of the Christian era. It seems rather to belong to the period of fully developed feudalism. The earliest example quoted by Du Cange, from the synodal statutes of the Church of Liège in Martene's *Thesaurus Novus Archaicorum*, is in the year 1287. The form given in Martene's work, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus* (see vol. ii, pp. 136, 137), in which the word occurs, from the rituals of Limoges and of Rheims, are palpably more modern yet, to judge from the passages in French which are intermixed in them. [J. M. L.]

AFFINITY (*adfinitas*), a relationship by marriage. The husband and wife being legally considered as one person, those who are related to the one by blood are related to the other, in the same degree by affinity. This relationship being the result of a lawful marriage, the persons between whom it exists are said to be related in *law*; the father or brother of a man's wife being called his *father-in-law* or *brother-in-law*. The distinction between affinity and consanguinity is derived from the Roman law. The kinsfolk (*cognati*) of the husband and wife become respectively the *adfines* of the wife and husband. We have borrowed the words affinity and consanguinity from the Roman law, but we have no term corresponding to *adfines*. The Romans did not reckon degrees of *adfinitas* as they did of consanguinity (*cognatio*); but they had terms to express the various kinds of *adfinitas*, as *socer*, father-in-law; *socrus*, mother-in-law.

It has resulted from the Christian doctrine of marriage that persons related by affinity have been always forbidden by the Church to marry within the same degrees as those who are related by blood. The Council of Agde (506) particularly forbids the degrees as follows (Can. 61):—"A man may not marry his brother's widow, his own sister, his step-mother or father's wife, his cousin-german, any one nearly allied to him by consanguinity, or one whom his near kinsman had married before, the relict or daughter of his uncle by the mother's side, or the daughter of his uncle by the father's side, or his daughter-in-law, i.e. his wife's daughter by a former husband."

This canon is repeated almost verbatim in the Council of Epone, and again in the second Council of Tours (566). The same prohibitions are also specified in the Council of Auxerro (578).

Certain spiritual relations have been also included within the prohibited degrees. This restriction, however, was first introduced by

Justinian, who made a law (*Con. Just.* lib. 5, tit. 4, *de Nuptiis*, leg. 26) forbidding any man to marry a woman for whom he had been godfather in baptism, on the ground that nothing induces a more paternal affection, and, therefore, a juster prohibition of marriage, than this tie, by which their souls are in a divine manner united together.

The Council of Trullo (*Can.* 53) extends the prohibition to the mother of the godchild; and, by the Canon law afterwards, these spiritual relations were carried still further, so as to exclude from marrying together even the baptiser and the baptised, the catechist and catechumen, and various other degrees of supposed spiritual affinity. Such restrictions, however, of course, could not be maintained in practice, and the dispensing power of the Pope was accordingly extended to meet the necessity. (*Bingham*; *Gibson's Codes*; *Thorndike*; *Whentley, On Common Prayer.*)

AFFUSION. [BAPTISM.]

AFFRICAN CODE. [AFRICAN COUNCILS.]

AFRICAN COUNCILS. Under this head we must include whatever Councils were held in Africa—no matter at what places, only distinct from Egypt—for this simple reason: that so many of their canons were so soon thrown together indiscriminately and made one code, which, as such, afterwards formed part of the code received in the East and West. On this African code a good deal has been written by Justellus (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.*, Paris, 1614, 8vo.), who was the first to publish it separately, Bishop Beveridge (*Synod.*, vol. ii, p. 202, *et seq.*), De Marca (*Diss. de Vet. Coll. Can.*, c. 17, xi.), and the Ballerini in their learned Appendix to the works of St. Leo (tom. iii. *De Antiq. Col. Diss.*, pars I, c. 3, 21-9), but a good deal also remains unsolved, and perhaps insoluble. Several of the canons contained in it have been assigned to more Councils than one, and several of the Councils differently dated or numbered by different editors or collectors. Perhaps the best edition of it is that published in Greek and Latin by Mansi (tom. iii. pp. 699-843). Not that it was originally promulgated in both languages, though, as Beveridge suggests, the probability is that it had been translated into Greek before the Trullan Council of A.D. 683, by the second canon of which it became part of the code of the Eastern Church. As it stands in Mansi, then, it comprehends, first, the deliberations of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 419; then the canons of the same Synod to the number of 33; then "canones diversorum conciliorum ecclesie Africane"—in the words of their heading, the first of which is numbered 34, in continuous series with the preceding, and the last 138. However, in reality, the canons proper ought to be said to end with the one numbered 133, at which point Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, who presided, calls upon the Council to subscribe to all that had gone before, which is accordingly done; he signing first, the primate of Numidia second, the legate from Rome, Faustinus. Bishop of Potenza, third, St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, fourth; and the other bishops—17 or 229, according to the reading selected—in order; and after them all the two presbyter-legates from Rome, who sign last.

This done, the day following, a letter in the name of the whole Synod was addressed to Boni-

face, bishop of Rome, to be despatched by the three legates. This is given at length, and numbered 134. It acquaints him with their objections to the "communitorium" or instructions received by the legates from the late Pope Zosimus, particularly to that part of it bearing upon appeals to Rome in conformity with some supposed canons of Nicaea, which they had not been able to find in any Greek or Latin copy of the acts of that Council in their possession, and therefore beg him to send for authentic copies of them at once from the Churches of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople. This course they had already taken themselves, while recommending it to him; and what follows as canon 135 proves to be a letter from St. Cyril of Alexandria to the same bishops, telling them that in conformity with their request he has sent them, by his presbyter Innocent, faithful copies of the authentic Synod of Nicaea, which they would also find, if they looked for them, in the ecclesiastical history; he does not say by whom.

In the same way canon 136 is a letter from Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, telling them that he too sends them the canons as defined by Nicene Fathers pure and entire, by their messenger Marcellus the sub-deacon, as they had requested. We can hardly suppose the Synod to have been sitting all the time that it must have taken these messengers to go and return. Next a copy of the Nicene Creed follows, and is numbered 137. It had been already recited and accepted, together with the Nicene canons, in the previous deliberations of the Council, before the resolution to send for authentic copies of both had been carried out. Cæcilian, who was Bishop of Carthage at the time of the Council of Nicaea, and had attended it, had brought back with him copies of its creed and canons in Latin, which had been preserved with great care by his Church ever since. What follows in the last place, and is numbered 138, cannot have been written earlier than A.D. 422, it being a letter addressed to Celestine, the successor of Boniface, who died in that year, "our beloved lord (*θεοσεβή*) and most honoured brother," as he is styled, in the name of Aurelius and others whose names are given (St. Augustine's is not one) and the rest of those present in the universal Council of Africa, in which they tell him that the canons of which his predecessor had spoken were nowhere to be found in the authentic copies of the Nicene decrees just received from the East; and, further, that in no Council of the Fathers could they find it defined that "any should be despatched as it were from the side of his Holiness," as had been attempted in this instance. If he last, or 20th, Council, as it is called, under Aurelius, therefore, has been rightly assigned to A.D. 421,—and Aurelius opens its proceedings by saying that, for reasons well known to his audience, it had been suspended for the space of two years, this connecting it with the Council of A.D. 419,—either it must have sat the year following as well, or there must have been a 21st Council under Aurelius the year following to indite this epistle, which, as has been observed, could not have been done till the accession of Celestine had become known in Africa, that is, till towards the end of A.D. 422. And with it this collection of the canons of the African Church is brought to a close. Dionysius Exiguus, in his edition, heads them appropriately "the Synod of

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AFRICAN COUNCILS

the Africans at Carthage that enacted 138
 canons," meaning of course the Synods of A.D.
 419-22 considered as one, where they were
 passed or confirmed (Migne's *Patrol.*, tom. 67,
 p. 161 *et seq.*). Not but there are other collec-
 tions extant containing fewer or more canons
 than are included in this. For instance, the
 Spanish and Isidorian Collections begin with the
 Synod of Carthage under Gratus, A.D. 348, and
 end with the Synod of Milevis, A.D. 402, making
 eight Synods in all, one of Milevis and seven of
 Carthage (Migne's *Patrol.*, tom. 81, pp. 179-236).
 In Beveridge (*Synodic.*, l. p. 365-72) the synodi-
 cal letter of a Council of Carthage as far back as
 A.D. 258 (or 256 according to others) under St.
 Cyprian, is printed in the form of a canon, and
 placed, together with the speeches made there by
 him and others, immediately before the Ancyran
 canons, as though it had been one of the provin-
 cial Councils whose canons had been accepted by
 the whole Church, which it was not. Earlier far
 than either of them is the compendium of eccle-
 siastical canons, African mainly, 232 in all, by
 Fulgentius Ferrandus, deacon of the Church of
 Carthage, seemingly drawn from independent
 sources (Migne's *Patrol.*, tom. 67, p. 949-62).
 Then earlier still than his were the two books
 produced by Boniface, Bishop of Carthage, at the
 Synod held there by him A.D. 525, as having
 been discovered in the archives of that church,
 one volume containing the Nicene canons in part,
 and those which had been passed in Africa
 before the time of Aurelius; the other volume
 called "the book of the canons of the time of
 Aurelius," in which, according to the Ballerini,
 nine of the Synods of Carthage under Aurelius,
 and some others of Milevis and Hippo, were con-
 tained (Musi, viii, p. 633-56). Finally, there
 is a "Breviarium canonum Hipponensium"
 printed in Mansi, with the comments of the
 Ballerini upon them, supposed to have been
 passed in the Synod held there A.D. 393, at
 which St. Augustine was present, but as a
 priest; and afterwards inserted in the Council of
 Carthage, held four years afterwards under
 Aurelius, amongst its own, and evidently con-
 firmed by the 34th canon of the Synod of A.D.
 419, as proposed by one of the bishops named
 Epigenius.

The argument drawn by the Ballerini, after
 elaborately comparing these collections, is unfa-
 vourable to the title given by Justellus to the
 138 canons above mentioned of the African code:
 still as designating those canons alone which
 have been received generally by the East and
 West, it cannot be called meaningless; and this
 fact having been made patent by his publication
 of them, it remains as a matter of antiquarian
 interest solely to determine what canons belong
 to what councils. The general account seems to
 be that there are sixteen Councils of Carthage,
 one of Milevis, and one of Hippo, whose canons
 were received and confirmed by the Council of
 A.D. 419 besides its own (Johnson's *Fide Mecum.*,
 ii, 171); but it is beset with difficulties. The
 two canons interdicting appeals beyond the sea—
 118 and 125 according to the Latin numbering,
 and doubtless 23 and 39 were passed with the
 same object—have been attributed to a Synod of
 Hippo by some; but the 22nd canon of the
 second Synod of Milevis, A.D. 416, to which both
 Aurelius and St. Augustine subscribed, reads

AFRICAN COUNCILS

identical with one of them, and the 34th canon
 of a Council of Carthage two years later with the
 other. It is of more practical importance to
 ascertain whether they steer clear of the Sardic
 canons, as some maintain; or were framed in
 antagonism to them, as others. The Sardic
 canons, it has been said, allowed bishops to appeal
 to Rome; the African canons forbade priests and
 all below priests to appeal to Rome. The African
 fathers carefully abstained from laying the same
 embargo upon bishops; nay, they undertook to
 observe the canons cited by Zosimus as Nicene,
 till authentic copies of the Nicene canons had
 been obtained from the East. There can be no
 doubt whatever that all this is delusive. In the
 discussion that took place on the canons cited in
 the "Commonitorium," some were for observing
 them, pending the inquiry; St. Augustine among
 the number. But when Aurelius called upon the
 Council to say definitely what it would do, the
 collective reply was: "All things that were en-
 acted in the Nicene Council are acceptable to us
 all." And to no more could they be induced to
 pledge themselves. Then as to the canons, which
 if they did not frame, they confirmed; subse-
 quently; the 28th, according to the Latin num-
 bering, is: "It was likewise agreed that presby-
 ters, deacons, or any of the inferior clergy with
 causes to try, should they have reason to com-
 plain of the judgment of their bishops, might be
 heard by the neighbouring bishops with consent
 of their own; and such bishops might decide
 between them; but should they think they ought
 to appeal from them likewise, let them not ap-
 peal to transmarine tribunals, but to the primates
 of their provinces, as has also been frequently en-
 acted in regard of bishops. But in case any should
 think he ought to appeal to places beyond the
 sea, let him be received to communion by nobody
 within Africa." The words "sicut et de episcopis
 saepe constitutum est," are found in all manu-
 scripts of this canon, as it stands here. They are
 wanting in the 125th. And the meaning is
 clearly, that there had been earlier canons in
 abundance passed for regulating episcopal ap-
 peals; for instance, the 6th canon of the Council
 of Constantinople, where it is said that bishops
 should be brought before the greater Synod of
 the diocese, in case the provincial Synod should
 be unable to decide their case. And nothing had
 occurred to induce them to legislate further for
 bishops. The present controversy had originated
 with a simple priest, Apurarius. Accordingly their
 canons were directed to prevent priests and all
 below priests in future from doing as he had
 done. In short, they told Celestine that "the
 canons of the Nicene Council left all, whether
 inferior clergy or bishops themselves, to their
 own metropolitan; it having been wisely and
 justly considered there that, whatever questions
 might arise, they ought to be terminated in their
 own localities." Which was in effect as much as
 telling him that the genuine Nicene canons were
 in flat contradiction upon each point to those so
 designated by his predecessor. Canon 125 is
 identical with the preceding, except that it omits
 the clause "sicut et de episcopis," &c., and men-
 tions the African Councils as another legitimate
 tribunal of appeal besides the primates. Canon
 23, that "bishops should not go beyond the sea
 without leave from their primate," reads very
 like another outpouring of their sentiments on

the same subject; and canon 39, that "no primate should be called a prince of priests, or pontiff," seems almost borrowed from the well-known invective of St. Cyprian against Stephen. Such, then, is the language of some of the canons of the African code, fairly construed, to which the assent of Rome as well as Constantinople has been pledged. And "it was of very great authority," says Mr. Johnson (*Vade Mecum*, ii. p. 171) in the old English Churches; for many of the "excerptions" of Egbert were transcribed from it.

It only remains to set down the different African Councils in the order in which they are generally supposed to have occurred, with a running summary of what was transacted in each; referring generally for all further information to Mansi, Cave, Beveridge, Johnson, De Marca, the *Art de vérifier les dates*, and the Bullerini. Numb-ering them would only serve to mislead, at least if attempted in any consecutive series. Cave, for instance, reckons 9 African between A.D. 401 and 603, and as many as 35 Carthaginian between A.D. 215 and 533; but among the latter are included 6 (between A.D. 401 and 410), which he had already reckoned among the 9 African.

CARTHAGE, A.D. 200, 217—Supposed to be one and the same, under Agrippinus, in favour of rebaptizing heretics.

— A.D. 251—Under St. Cyprian; decreed that the lapsed should be received to communion, but not till they had performed their full penance.

— A.D. 252—Against Novatian, who denied that the lapsed were ever to be received to communion again; and Felicissimus, who affirmed they were, even before they had performed their penance.

— A.D. 254, 255—Doubtful in which year; under St. Cyprian, in favour of infant baptism.

— A.D. 256—Under St. Cyprian, approving the consecration by the Spanish bishops of Felix and Sabinius in place of Basil and Martial, two bishops who had purchased certificates, or "libels," of having sacrificed to idols, and declaring that Stephen, Bishop of Rome, had interposed in favour of the latter unreasonably, from having been duped by them.

— A.D. 256—Another held in the same year—or there may have been several—in favour of rebaptizing all who had received heretical baptism, when St. Cyprian uttered his celebrated invective against Stephen. The question was finally ruled in the 7th of the Council's Constantinopolitan canons. This is printed by Beveridge in the form of a canon, immediately before those of Ancyra. It is given in Mansi, i. 922-6; but the speeches belonging to it follow 951-92, under the head of "Concil. Carthag. iii. sub Cypriano episcopo;" what purports to have been the second being given p. 925, and all three supposed to have been held A.D. 256.

CIRTA, A.D. 305—To elect a new bishop in place of one who had been a "traitor;" that is, had surrendered copies of the Scriptures to the Pagan authorities, to which all

present, when they came to be asked, however, pleaded equally guilty.

CARTHAGE, A.D. 312—Of 70 Donatist bishops against Caecilian, bishop of that see.

— A.D. 333—Under Donatus, author of the schism; favourable to the "traditores."

— A.D. 348—Under Gratus; its acts are comprised in fourteen chapters, of which the first is against rebaptizing any that have been baptized with water in the name of the Trinity. This is probably the Council whose canons are invoked in canon 12 of the African code.

THEVESTE, A.D. 362—Of Donatists quarrelling amongst themselves.

AFRICAN, A.D. 380—Of Donatists, in condemnation of Tichonius, a Donatist bishop.

CARTHAGE, A.D. 386—Confirmatory of the synodical letter of Siricius, Bishop of Rome.

LEPTIS, A.D. 386—Passed canons on discipline.

CARTHAGE, A.D. 390—Formerly regarded as two separate Councils, under Genethlius, Bishop of Carthage; made 13 canons, by the second of which bishops, priests, and deacons are required to abstain from their wives and observe continence. Mansi prints what used to be regarded as a second Council of this year twice, iii. pp. 691-8 and 867-76.

— A.D. 393—Of Maximian's (Donatist bishop of Carthage) supporters against Primian (another Donatist bishop of Carthage).

HIPPO, A.D. 393—At which St. Augustine disputed "de fide et symbolo" as a presbyter.

CABARUSI and of the CAVERNS, A.D. 394—Of the same on the same subject.

BAGAIS, A.D. 394—Of Primian's supporters, against Maximian.

— A.D. 396—One canon only preserved; against translations of bishops and priests.

BYZATIUM, A.D. 397—Confirming all that had been decreed in 393 at Hippo.

CARTHAGE, A.D. 397—Called the 3rd, either reckoning that under Gratus as first, and that under Genethlius as 2nd; or else supposing two to have been held under Aurelius previously in 394 and 397, and making this the 3rd under him; passed 50 canons, among which the "Breviarium canonum Hipponensium" is said to have been inserted (Mansi, iii. 875, and the notes).

CARTHAGE, A.D. 400—Called the 5th under Aurelius; of 72 bishops; passed 15 canons on discipline (Pagl, quoted by Mansi, iii. p. 972). Yet, p. 979, Mansi reckons a first African Council in 399, and a 2nd and 3rd in 401, which he calls 4th, 5th, and 6th Councils under Aurelius, in the pontificate of Anastasius.

MILEVIS, A.D. 402—To decide several points affecting bishops.

CARTHAGE, A.D. 403, 404, 405—Mansi makes 3 African Councils of these; a 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, in the Pontificate of Innocent, or 8th, 9th, and 10th under Aurelius, for bringing back the Donatists to the Church (iii. pp. 1155 and 1159).

— A.D. 407, 408, 409—Called by Mansi

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AFRICAN COUNCILS

4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th African Councils in
the pontificate of Innocent, the 5th and
6th being regarded by him as one, or the
11th, 12th, and 13th Councils under Au-
relius—all incorporated into the African
code (iii. p. 1163).
CARTHAGE, A.D. 410—Against the Donatists—
probably the 14th under Aurelius.
—A.D. 411—Great conference between the
Catholics and the Donatists; Aurelius and
St. Augustine both taking part on behalf
of the former; 286 bishops said to have
been present on the Catholic side, and 279
on the Donatist, yet 313 names are given
on the latter side. There were three dif-
ferent stages in the proceedings. (Mansi,
iv. pp. 269 and 276.)
—A.D. 412—In which Celestius was ac-
cused of Pelagianism and appealed to the
Pope, probably the 15th under Aurelius.
CIRTA, A.D. 412—In the matter of the Donatists
—published a synodical letter in the name
of Aurelius, St. Augustine and others. Sil-
vanus, primate of Numidia, heads it.
AFRICAN, A.D. 414—Of Donatists.
CARTHAGE, A.D. 416—Or the 2nd against the
Pelagians; probably the 16th under Au-
relius; composed of 67 bishops; addressed
a synodical letter to Innocent of Rome,
condemning both Pelagius and Celestius.
MILEVIS, A.D. 416—Called the 2nd of Milevis
against Pelagius and Celestius—composed
of 60 bishops—published 27 canons on
discipline—addressed a synodical letter to
Innocent of Rome, to which was appended
another in a more familiar tone from
Aurelius, St. Augustine and three more.
TIBSIDA, A.D. 417—Passed canons on disci-
pline.
CARTHAGE, A.D. 417, 418—Against the Pela-
gians—regarded as one, probably the 17th
under Aurelius.
HIPPO, SUFFETULA, MACRIANA, A.D. 418—
Passed canons on discipline preserved by
Ferrandus (Mansi, iv. 439).
THENES, A.D. 418—Published nine canons on
discipline.
CARTHAGE, A.D. 419—Attended by 229, or,
according to other accounts, 217 bishops;
and by Faustinus, Bishop of Potenza, and
two presbyters as legates from Rome. Its
proceedings have been anticipated in what
was said on the African code. It would
seem as if it really commenced in 418,
and extended through 419. Pagi supposes
33 canons to have been passed in the
former year, and but 6 in the latter
(Mansi, iv. 419); and Mansi seems even to
make two synods of it, calling one a 5th
or 6th, and the other a 7th Council of
Carthage (against the Pelagians, he prob-
ably means), and yet evidently reckoning
both together as the 18th under Aurelius.
From 419 it seems to have been adjourned
to 421, and then lasted into 422 at least,
as has been shown above; this adjourned
council was therefore in reality the 20th
under Aurelius, though sometimes headed
the 18th, as being one with the council of
which it was but the adjournment. Then
the 19th under Aurelius is the title given
in Mansi (iv. 443) to one held in the

AGAPAE

interim, A.D. 420, to determine certain
questions of precedence amongst bishops,
possibly the missing 6th against Pela-
gianism.
NUMIDIA, A.D. 423—In which Antonius, a
bishop of that province, was condemned.
CARTHAGE, A.D. 426—At which Leporius, a
French presbyter, cleared himself from
Pelagianism.
HIPPO, A.D. 426—At which Heraclius was
elected successor to St. Augustine at his
nomination.
—A.D. 427—Said to have passed canons
29 and 30, in the Latin numbering of the
African code (Mansi, iv. 539).
AFRICAN, A.D. 484—To render account of their
faith to King Hunneric, when it appeared
that of 475 sees, 14 were then vacant: 88
had been deprived of their bishops by
death, and most of those who survived
were in exile (Mansi, vii. pp. 1156-64
and the notes).
BYZATIUM, A.D. 507—To appoint new bishops
in place of those who had died or been
exiled.
JUNCA, A.D. 523—under Liberatus; to con-
demn a bishop of the province of Tripoli
who had usurped a church not in his
diocese: St. Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe,
being one of those present.
CARTHAGE, A.D. 525—under Boniface; when
two volumes of the canons were found, as
already described (Mansi, viii. 635-56).
AFRICAN, A.D. 533—Sent a synodical letter to
John II. of Rome by Liberatus, deacon of
the church of Carthage, so well known for
his writings.
BYZATIUM, A.D. 541—Sent a deputation to
Justinian, and legislated on discipline.
AFRICAN, A.D. 550—Excommunicated Vigilius
for condemning the three chapters.
SUFFETULA, A.D. 570—Passed canons on disci-
pline, some of which are preserved.
AFRICAN, A.D. 594—Against the Donatists,
probably for the last time.
BYZATIUM, A.D. 602—To examine certain
charges made against Clement the pri-
mate.
NUMIDIA, A.D. 603—To examine the case of
Donadeus, a deacon, who had appealed
from his bishop to Rome.
BYZATIUM, NUMIDIA, MAURITANIA, CAR-
THAGE, A.D. 633—Against Cyfus, Pyrrhus,
and Sergius, the Monothelite leaders.
BYZATIUM, NUMIDIA, MAURITANIA, CAR-
THAGE, 646—Against the Monothelites:
the councils of Byzantium, Numidia, and
Mauritania addressed a joint synodical
letter: and the Bishop of Carthage a
letter in his own name to Theodore,
Bishop of Rome: all preserved in the acts
of the Lateran Council under Martin I.,
A.D. 649. [E. S. F.]
AGABUS, the prophet (Acta xxi. 10), com-
memorated Feb. 13 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*); April
8 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]
AGAPAE.—The custom which prevailed in
the Apostolic Church of meeting at fixed times
for a common meal, of which all alike partook
as brothers, has been touched on in the *Dict. of
the Bible* [LORD'S SUPPER.] It had a precedent

in the habits of the Essene communities in Judaea (Joseph, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8), and in the *Charities* of Greek guilds or associations; in the *Charities* of Roman law (Ovid, *Fasti*, li. 616), in the *συστήρια* of Crete, in the *φειδύρια* of Sparta. The name apparently was attached to the meals towards the close of the Apostolic age. The absence of any reference to it in 1 Cor. xi. or xiii., where reference would have been so natural, had it been in use, may fairly be taken as negative evidence that it was not then current. The balance of textual authority inclines in favour of *ἀγάπαι*, rather than *ἀνάγναι*, in Jude v. 12, and perhaps also, though less decidedly, in 2 Pet. ii. 13, and we may fairly assume (without entering on the discussion of the authorship and date of those epistles) that they represent the terminology of the Church in the period from A.D. 60 to A.D. 80. The true reading of 1 Pet. v. 14 (*ἐν φιλημαῖ ἀγάπης*) cannot be disjoined from the fact that there was a feast known then or very soon afterwards by that name, at which such a salutation was part of the accustomed ceremonials. Soon the name spread widely both in the East and West. Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* c. 8),* for the Asiatic and Syrian Churches, Clement for Alexandria (*Paedag.* ii. p. 142), Tertullian for Western Africa (*Apol.* c. 39), are witnesses for its wide-spread use.

It is obvious that a meeting of this character must have been a very prominent feature in the life of any community adopting it. The Christians of a given town or district came on a fixed day, probably the first day of the week (the "stato die" of Pliny's letter to Trajan, *Epp.* x. 96), in some large room hired for the purpose, or placed at their disposal by some wealthy converts. The materials of the meal varied according to the feeling or wealth of the society. Bread and wine were, of course, indispensable, both as connected with the more solemn commemorative act which came at some period or other in the service, and as the staple articles of food. Meat, poultry, cheese, milk, and honey, were probably used with them (August., c. *Paust.* xx. 20). Early paintings in the catacombs of Rome seem to show that fish also was used (Airinghi, *Roma Sotterranea*, ii. pp. 77, 83, 119, 123, 185, 199, 267). Both the fact of its being so largely the common diet of the poor in Syria (Matt. vii. 9, xiv. 17, xvi. 34), and the associations of Luke xxiv. 42, John xxi. 9 (to say nothing of the mystical significance attached to the word *ἰχθῆς* as early as Tertullian), would naturally lead Christians to use it at their "feasts of love." The cost of the meal fell practically on the richer members of the Church, whether it was provided out of the common funds, or made up of actual contributions in kind, meat or fruit sent for the purpose, or brought at the time. At the appointed hour they came, waited for each other (1 Cor. xi. 33),

* There is a suggestive difference, indicating a change in language and practice, between the shorter and longer texts of the Ignatian Epistles in this passage. In the former the writer claims for the bishop the sole prerogative of baptizing, or *ἀγάπην ποιεῖν*. In the latter the word *προσφέρειν* is interpolated between them. The *ἀγάπῃ* is distinguished, *v. e.* from the "Supper of the Lord," with which it had been identified; and the latter, thus separated, is associated with a more sacrificial terminology, and placed before the social feast.

men and women seated at different tables, perhaps on opposite sides of the room, till the bishop or presbyter of the Church pronounced the blessing (*εὐλογία*). Then they ate and drank. Originally, at some time before or after the rest of the meal, one loaf was specially blessed and broken, one cup passed round specially as "the cup of blessing." When the meal was over, water was brought and they washed their hands. Then, if not before, according to the season of the year, lamps were placed (as in the upper room at Troas, Acts xx. 8) on their stands, and the more devotional part of the evening began. Those who had special gifts were called on to expound Scripture, or to speak a word of exhortation, or to (Plin. l. c.) it was the natural time for intelligence to be communicated from other Churches, for epistles from them or their bishops to be read, for strangers who had come with *ἐπιστάλαι συστατικά* to be received. Collections were made for the relief of distressed churches at a distance, or for the poor of the district (1 Cor. xvi. 1; Justin. M. *Apol.* ii.; Tertullian. *Apol.* c. 39). Then came the salutation, the kiss of love (1 Pet. v. 14), the "holy kiss" (Rom. xvi. 16), which told of brotherhood, the final prayer, the quiet and orderly dispersion. In the ideal *Agapae*, the eating and drinking never passed beyond the bounds of temperance. In practice, as at Corinth, the boundary line may sometimes have been transgressed, but the testimony of Pliny in his letter to Trajan (l. c.), as well as the statements of the Apologists, may be allowed as proving that their general character at first was that of a pure simplicity. The monstrous slanders of the Apologists and "shameless impurity" were but the prurient inventions of depraved minds, who inferred that all secret meetings must be like those of the Bacchanalian orgies which had at various periods alarmed the Roman Senate with their infinite debasement (Liv. xxxix. 13, 14). At Alexandria, indeed, as was natural in a wealthy and luxurious city, there seems to have been a tendency to make the *Agapae* too much of a sumptuous feast, like the entertainments of the rich, and to give the name to banquets to which only the rich were invited. Clement protests with a natural indignation against such a misapplication of it by those who sought to "purchase the promise of God with such feasts" (*Paedag.* li. I. § 4, p. 61). It seems probable from his protest against the use of flutes at Christian feasts (*Paedag.* li. 4, p. 71) that instrumental music of a secular and meretricious character had come to be used instead of the "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (Eph. v. 19, Col. iii. 16) which had been in use, without accompaniment, at the original *Agapae*. Clement, however, permits the employment of the harp or lyre.

At first the practice would naturally serve as a

b Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 and 64, on 1 Cor. xi.), followed by Theodoret and Theophylact *in loc.*, and most liturgical writers, say "before," but obviously under the influence of later practice, and the belief that the Eucharist could not have been received otherwise than fasting in the time of the Apostles.

c We may probably think of some order like that which attends the use of a "grace-cup" in college or civic feast; each man kissed by his neighbour on one side, and kissing in turn him who sat on the other.

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witness and bond of the brotherhood of Christians. Rich and poor, even master and slave, met together on the same footing. What took place but once a year in the Roman saturnalia was repeated in the Christian society once a week. But in proportion as the society became larger, and the presence of brotherhood less living, the old social distinctions would tend to reassert themselves. The Agapae would become either mere social entertainments for the wealthy, as at Alexandria, or a mere dole of food for the poor, as in Western Africa (Augustin. *c. Faustum* xx. 20), and in either case would lose their original significance. Other causes tended also to throw them into the back-ground. When Christians came to have special buildings set apart for worship, and to look on them with something of the same local reverence that the Jews had had for the Temple, they shrank from sitting down in them to a common meal as an act of profanation. The Agapae, therefore, were gradually forbidden to be held in churches, as by the Council of Laodicea (c. 27), and that of 3rd Carthage A.D. 391 (c. 30), and that in Trullo much later^d (A.D. 692). This, of course, together with the rule of the 3rd Council of Carthage (c. 29), that the Eucharist should be received fasting, and the probable transfer, in consequence of that rule, of the time of its "celebration" from the evening to the morning, left the "feast of love" without the higher companionship with which it had been at first associated, and left it to lose more and more the character of a pauper meal. Even the growing tendency to asceticism led men who aimed at a devout life to turn aside fastidiously from sitting down with men and women of all classes, as a religious act. So Tertullian, who in his *Apologetica* had given so beautiful a description of them, after he became a Montanist, reproaches the Church as large with the luxury of its Agapae, and is not ashamed to repeat the heathen slander as to the prevalence in them even of incestuous licence (*De Jejuniis*, c. xvii.). One effort was made, as by the Council of Gangra, to restore them to their old position. Those who despised and refused to come to them were solemnly anathematised (c. 11). But the current set in strongly, and the practice gradually died out. Their close connexion with the annual commemoration of the deaths of martyrs, and the choice of the graves of martyrs as the place near which to hold them, was, perhaps, an attempt to raise them out of the disrepute into which they had fallen. And for a time the attempt succeeded. Augustine describes his mother Monica as having been in the habit of going with a basket full of provisions to these Agapae, which she just tasted herself, and then distributed (*Confess.* v. 2). And this shows the prevalence of the practice in Western Africa. In Northern Italy, however, Ambrose had suppressed them on account of the disorders which were inseparable, and their resemblance to the old heathen Parentalia, and Augustine, when he returned to Africa, urged Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, to follow the example (*Epi. Ist.* xxii.). The name, indeed, still lingered as given to the annual dedication feasts

of churches at Rome in the sixth century (Greg. M., *Epp.* ii. 74), and the practice left traces of itself, in the bread, blest as distinct from consecrated, which, under the title of *EULOGIA*, was distributed in churches, or taken from them to absent members of the congregation, (2) in the practice, prohibited by the Apostolic canons (c. 3), and by the Council in Trullo (c. 28, 57, 99) of bringing to the altar honey, milk, grapes, poultry, joints of meat, that the priest might bless them there before they were eaten at a common table. The grapes appear, indeed, to have been actually distributed with the *Agape*, or consecrated elements, while the joints of meat are mentioned as a special enormity of the Armenian Church. (3) Traces of the Agapae are to be found lastly in the practice which prevailed in Egypt, from the neighbourhood of Alexandria to the Thebaid, in the 5th century, of meeting on the evening of Saturday for a common meal, generally full and varied in its materials, *officiis* which those who were present partook of the "mysteries" (Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 19; Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22). The practice, then, noticed as an exception to the practice of all other Churches (comp. Augustin. *Epist.* at Jan. i. 5) was probably a relic of the primitive Church, both as to time and manner, in the Lord's Supper had been, like other suppers, eaten in the evening, when an evening meeting on "the first day of the week" meant, according to the Jewish mode of speech, the evening of Saturday, when the thought that "fasting" was a necessary condition of partaking of the Supper of the Lord was not only not present to men's minds, but was absolutely excluded by the Apostle's rule, that men who could not wait patiently when the members of the Church met, should satisfy their hunger beforehand in their own houses (1 Cor. xi. 34).

The classification of Agapae, according to the occasion on which they were held, as (1) connected with the anniversaries of martyrdoms [comp. NATALITIA], (2) as *Communiões* [comp. MARRIAGE], (3) as accompanying funerals [BURIAL], (4) as at the dedication festivals of churches [DEDICATIONS], must be looked on as an after-growth of the primitive practice of weekly meetings. Details will be found under the respective headings.

We have lastly to notice the probable use at the Agapae of cups and plates with sacred emblems and inscriptions, of which so many have been found in the Catacombs [GLASS, CHRISTIAN], and which almost suggest the idea of toasts to the memory of the martyrs whose *Natalities* were celebrated. "*Virtus VIVAS IN NOMINE LAURETI*" (Buonarrotti. Plate six, fig. 2), "*SEMPER FRFRIGERIS IN NOMINE DEI*" (*Ibid.* xx. 2), "*THE ZHETAI EN ATAOOIZ, DULCIS ANIMA VIVAS, BIBAS (for VIVAS) IN PACE*," are examples of the inscriptions thus found. In the judgment of the archaeologist just referred to, they go back to the third, or even to the second century. The mottoes were probably determined by the kind of Agapae for which they were intended (comp. Martigny, art. *Fonds de Coupe*). [E.H.P.]

AGAPE. (1) Virgin of Antioch, commemorated Feb. 15 and March 10 (*Mart. Hieron.*).
(2) Virgin of Thessalonica, commemorated April 3 (*Martyrol. Rom. Vet.*).

^d The significance of the reversal of the prohibition at so late a date, is that it shows that the practice still lingered.

(3) Martyr, April 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Daughter of SOPHIA, Sept. 17 (*Ib.*).

(5) Virgin, commemorated at Rome Aug. 8 (*M. Hieron.*).

(6) Virgin, commemorated at Hieraclea, Nov. 20 (*M. Hieron.*).

AGAPETI, AND AGAPETAE, respectively, men who dwell in the same house with deacons, and virgins who dwell in the same house with monks, under a profession of merely spiritual love; the latter of the two akin to *συνεπισκράται*, and also called *ἑδελφοί*; denounced by St. Greg. Nyz. (*Caron. III.*), by St. Jerome (*Ad Eustoch.* and *Ad Oceanum*,—"Agapetarum pestis"), by St. Chrysostom (Pallad. in *V. S. Chrys.* p. 45), by Epiphanius (*Har. lxxiii.*, lxxix.), and by Theodoret (*In Epist. ad Philom.* v. 2); and forbidden by Justinian (*Novell.* vi. c. 6), and others (see Photius in *Nomocan.* tit. viii. c. xiv. p. 99). (Du Cange, *Menrsius in Glossar.*, Suicer.) The Irish Rules and Penitentials severely condemn a like practice: see e. g. Reg. Columban. ii. 13. And the "second order of saints," in Ireland itself (according to the well-known document published by Usher), "abnegabant mulierum administrationem, separantes eas a monasteriis," owing apparently to the abuse arising from the practice when permitted by "the first order." See Todd, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 90-92. (See *συνεπισκράται*.) [A. W. H.]

AGAPETUS OR AGAPITUS. 1. Commemorated March 24 (*Mart. Hieron., Bedae*).

(2) Of Asia, April 12 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(3) The deacon, martyr at Rome, commemorated with Felicitissimus, Aug. 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae*). Proper office in Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 118, and Antiphon in *Lit. Antiph.*, p. 705.

(4) Martyr at Praeneste, commemorated Aug. 18 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae*). Proper office in Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 123, and Antiphon in *Lit. Antiph.* p. 707. [C.]

AGAPIUS. (1) The bishop, martyr in Numidia, commemorated April 29 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) And companions, martyrs at Gaza, March 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

AGATHA OR AGATHE. (1) The virgin, martyr at Catania, passion commemorated Feb. 5 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Cal. Byzant.*). Another commemoration, July 12 (*M. Hieron.*). One of the saints of the Gregorian Canon. Proper office for her *Vitalis* in Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 25, and Antiphon in *Lit. Antiph.* p. 665.

(2) Commemorated April 2 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

AGATHANGELUS, martyr, commemorated Jan. 23 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

AGATHENSE CONCILIIUM. [AGDE.]

AGATHO. (1) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated Dec. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) Deacon, April 4 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(3) Commemorated July 5 (*Id. et Hieron.*). [C.]

AGATHONICA of Pergamus, commemorated April 13 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

AGATHONICUS, martyr, commemorated Aug. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

AGATHUS, commemorated May 8 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

AGAUNE, COUNCIL OF (AGAUNENSE

CONCILIUM), April 30, A.D. 515, 516, or 523; of sixty bishops and sixty nobles, under Sigismund, King of the Burgundians; established the "Latus Perennis" in the monastery of Agaune for St. Maurice in the Valais, then also endowed with lands and privileges. Maximus, Bishop of Geneva, bears the signatures; but Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, is supposed to have been also present (*Mansi.* viii. 531-538). [A. W. H.]

AGDE, COUNCIL OF (AGATHENSE CONCILIIUM), in Narbonne, A.D. 506, Sept. 10 or 11; of 35 bishops from the South of France; in the 22nd year of Alaric, (Arian) King of the Goths; enacted 73 canons in matters of discipline; among other things, forbidding "bigamy" to be ordained; commanding married priests and deacons to abstain from their wives; fixing 25 as the age of a deacon, 30 as that of a priest or bishop, &c. It was assembled "ex permisso domini nostri gloriosissimi magnificissimique regis," sc. Alaric; without any mention of the pope (Synnchichus), save as mentioning his year in the tit'e (*Mansi.* viii. 319-346). [A. W. H.]

AGE, CANONICAL. The age required by the canons for ordination. In the case of bishops, it appears to have been the rule of the Church from early times that they should be thirty years old at the time of their ordination. This rule, however, was frequently dispensed with, either in cases of necessity or in order to promote persons of extraordinary worth and singular qualifications. It may be questioned whether this rule was observed from the days of the Apostles, as it is nowhere enjoined in St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles or elsewhere in the New Testament. And in the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, which may be taken as expressing the system of the Eastern Church as it was established about the end of the third century, fifty is the age required of a bishop at his ordination, except he be a man of singular merit, which may compensate for the want of years.

The age of thirty is required by implication by the Council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314, which forbids to admit any one, however well qualified, to the priesthood, under thirty years of age, because the Lord Jesus Christ at that age began His ministry. The Council of Agde (Concilium Agathense) forbids the ordination of bishops or priests under thirty years of age.

By this rule, as enacted by the above-named councils, the ordinary practice of the Church has been regulated. The deviations, however, in special cases have been numerous, and for these a warrant may be found in the case of Timothy, whose early ordination as Bishop of Ephesus is inferred from the Apostle's nomination,—“Let no man despise thy youth” (1 Tim. iv. 12). We learn from Eusebius, that Gregory Thaumaturgus and his brother Athenodorus were both ordained bishops very young; *ἔτι νέους ἑσθλα*. It is probable that Athanasius was ordained to the see of Alexandria before he was thirty. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, as all authors agree, was ordained at the age of twenty-two, A.D. 471.

In later times, boys of eleven or twelve years of age have been ordained to the episcopate by papal dispensation; but this abuse was unknown to the ancient Church.

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AGENDA

before the age of thirty. Justinian, indeed, enacted that none should be a presbyter before thirty-five; but the Sixth General Council of Constantinople reduced it to the old period, appointing thirty for a priest and twenty-five for a deacon. Which ages were also settled in the Saxon Church, as appears by Egbert's Collection of the Canons then in force in this country.

The councils of Agie, 506, of Carthage, 397, of Tralio, 692, of Toledo, 633, all prescribe twenty-five as the minimum of age for a deacon; and, according to Bingham, this rule was very nicely observed, so that we scarce meet with an instance of any one that was ordained before this age in all the history of the Church. For this the Council of Toledo cites the Levitical precedent.

In the Greek Church the age of thirty is still prescribed for a priest, and twenty-five for a deacon. In our own Church, the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. prescribed twenty-one for deacons, twenty-four for priests. The present rubric is a provision of Canon 34.

(Bingham, x. 1, xx. 20; Laudon's *Manual of Canons*; Comber's *Companion*; *Prayerbook interlectual*.)

[D. B.]

AGENDA (from *agere* in the special sense of performing a sacred act). A word used to designate both the mass and other portions of Divine service.

1. In the plural.—The second Council of Carthage (390) speaks of presbyters who committed a breach of discipline, in that "agant agenda" in private houses, without the authority of the bishop (Canon 9). Innocent I. (*Epistola ad Celebrant* other agenda, in contrast with the consecration of the mysteries.

2. The plural form "agenda" came in time, like "Biblia" to be considered a singular feminine. For instance, St. Benedict in his Rule, c. 13 (p. 291), speaking of the morning and evening office, says, "Agenda matutina et vespertina non transant."

3. The word "agenda" is not unfrequently used absolutely to denote the office for the dead. This may not improbably be the case in the canon quoted above by the II. Conc. Carthage; and it is certainly used in this sense by Venerable Bede, when, speaking of local commemorations of the dead, he says, "Per omne sabbatum a presbytero loci illius Agendae eorum sollempniter celebrantur" (*Vita St. Augustini*, in Ducauge s. v.). Compare Menard's note in his edition of *Gregory's Sacramentary*, p. 482. (Ducauge's *Glossary*, s. v. "Agenda").

[C.]

AGNES, or AGNE (ἄγνη). (1) The virgin, martyr at Rome. Her *Natalis*, which is an ancient and highly-honoured festival, is celebrated Jan. 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Bedae): Octave, Jan. 28 (*ib.*). Proper office for the *Natalis* in the Gregorian *Sacramentary*, p. 23, and Antiphon in *Lit. Antiph.* p. 664. By Theodorus Lector (*Ekloga II.*) the deposition of her relics is joined with the deposition of those of Stephen and Laurence (see *Greg. Sacram.* p. 304, ed. Meard). She is one of the saints of the Gregorian Canon, where her name appears in the form Agne.

Tillemont (*Mém. Eccl.* iv. 345) conjectures that the second festival on Jan. 28 commemorates the apparition of St. Agnes to her parents eight days after her death.

AGNUS DEI

Her remains are said to have been buried in a *praedictum* belonging to her family on the Via Nomentana. The crypt dug to receive them became the nucleus of the famous cemetery of St. Agnes. Two churches at Rome are dedicated to St. Agnes, one of which is said to be that built by Constantine at the request of his daughter Constantia, and is certainly one of the most ancient basilicas in Rome. In early times, it was customary for the Pope to be present at the festival of St. Agnes in this church, in which Gregory the Great delivered several of his homilies (*e. g.* in Matt. c. xiii., *Hom.* 2); and in this church still, on Jan. 21, the lambs are blessed, from the wool of which the *PALLIA* destined for archbishops are to be made.



St. Agnes.

In the illustration, taken from an ancient glass vessel, the doves on each side bear the two crowns of Chastity and of Martyrdom. This representation illustrates the verse of Prudentius (*Peristeph.* xiv. 7),

"Duplex corona est praestita martyri."

Representations of St. Agnes are found very frequently on glass vessels in the catacombs; only St. Peter and St. Paul are found more often so represented. When alone, she is generally placed between two trees; sometimes she is at the side of the Virgin Mary; sometimes between the Lord and St. Laurence; between St. Vincent and St. Hippolytus; between St. Peter and St. Paul.

(2) There is another festival of St. Agnes on Oct. 18 (*Mart. Hieron.*). Tillemont (l. c.) conjectures that this was instituted in commemoration of the dedication of some church in her honour. (Marriguy, *Dict. des Antiq. chret.* p. 22 ff.; the Abbé Marriguy has also written a monograph, *Notice historique, liturgique, et archéologique sur le Culte de Ste. Agnès*. Paris et Lyons, 1847.)

[C.]

AGNUS DEI, commemorated Aug. 10 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

AGNUS DEI. The versicle "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, Misereere nobis," is generally spoken of as the "Agnus Dei."

1. A reference to the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," was introduced (as was natural) into some of the liturgies at an early period. Thus in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, during the breaking of the bread, the priest says, *Μελέσεται και διασπέρσεται δ*

ἀγνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (Neale's *Tetraëgia*, 176); and in that of St. James, after breaking and signing with the cross, the priest says, Ἰδὲ δ' ἀγνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ ἀρῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου. σφραγισθὲις ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας (ib. 179). And in the ancient "Morning Hymn" [GLORIA IN EXCELSIS] adopted both in Eastern and Western Liturgies, the deprecation is found: Ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ ἀρῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

2. At the Trullan Council (692) it was decreed, among other matters, that the Lord should no longer be pictured in churches under the form of a lamb, but in human form (Canon 82). The then Pope, however, Sergius I., rejected the decrees of this Council (though its conclusions had been subscribed by the Papal legates), and Anastasius the Librarian (in Baron., an. 701, vol. xii. 179) tells us that this Pope first ordered that, at the time of the breaking of the Lord's body, the "Agnus Dei" should be chanted by clerks and people. Some think that Sergius ordered it to be said thrice, where it had previously been said only once; others, as Krazer (*De Liturgiis*, p. 545), that he ordered it to be said by the whole body of the clergy and people, as being a prayer for all; not, as previously, by the choir only. However this may be, the evidence of the Ordinines Romani I., II., and III. (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii. pp. 29, 50, 59), and of Amalarius of Metz, shows that in the beginning of the 9th century the choir alone, and not the priest at the altar, chanted the "Agnus Dei," and this was the case also when Innocent III. wrote his treatise on the "Mystery of the Altar." The Ordinines Romani do not define the number of repetitions of the versicle; but Martene (*De Ritibus Ecclesiae*, lib. i., c. 4, art. 9) proves from ancient documents that the threefold repetition was expressly enjoined in some churches—as in that of Tours—before the year 1000; and in the 12th century this custom prevailed in most churches. Subsequently, probably from about the 14th century, the "Agnus Dei" came to be said in a low voice by the priest with his deacon and subdeacon. In later times, says Innocent III. (*De sacro Altaris Mystero*, l. 4, p. 910, Migne), as trouble and adversity fell upon the Church, the response at the third repetition was changed into "Dona nobis pacem;" in the church of St. John Lateran only was the older form retained. When the substitution of "Dona nobis pacem" was made is uncertain; it is found in no MS. older than the year 1000. The reason which Innocent gives for the introduction of the prayer for peace may perhaps be the real one; but it is not an unreasonable conjecture that it had reference to the "pax," or kiss of peace, which was to follow.

3. Gerbert (*De Musica Sacra*, i. p. 458) mentions among ancient customs the chanting of the "Agnus Dei" by the choir during the time that the people communicated, before the antiphon called "Communion" (Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, i. 148).

4. The "Agnus Dei" was sometimes interpolated with "tropes;" for instance, the following form is quoted by Cardinal Bona from an ancient missal, the date of which he does not mention: "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, *crinina tollis, aspera mollis, Agnus honoris*, Misereere nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, *vulnere sanas, a dña plenas, Agnus amaris*, Misereere nobis, Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, *sordida mundas, cuncta fecundas, Agnus odoris*, Dona nobis pacem" (*De Rebus Liturgicis*, lib. ii. c. 16, p. 473). And Rupert of Deutz has the addition, "Qui sedes ad dextram Patris, Misereere nobis" (Daniel, *Codex Lit.*, l. 142).

5. The Ambrosian rite the "Agnus Dei" occurs only in masses for the dead; where, after "Donna nobis pacem," the words are added, "Requiem sempiternam, et locum indulgentiae cum sanctis tuis in gloria" (Krazer, *De Liturgiis*, p. 637).

6. A legend preserved by Robert of Mount St. Michael (in Bona, *J. Reb. Lit.*, lib. ii. c. 16) tells how, in the year 1133, the Holy Virgin appeared to a woodman at work in a forest, and gave him a medal bearing her own image and that of her Son, with the legend "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, Dona nobis pacem." This she bade him bear to the bishop, and tell him that all who wished the peace of the Church should make such medals as these, and wear them in token of peace. [C.]

AGNUS DEI. A medallion of wax, bearing the figure of a lamb. It was an ancient custom to distribute to the worshippers, on the first Sunday after Easter, particles of wax taken from the Paschal taper, which had been solemnly blessed on the Easter Eve of the previous year. These particles were burned in houses, fields, or vineyards, to secure them against evil influences or thunder-strokes.

In Rome itself, however, instead of a Paschal taper, the archdeacon was accustomed to pronounce a benediction over a mixture of oil and wax, from which small medallions bearing the figure of a lamb were made, to be distributed to the people on the first Sunday after Easter, especially to the newly baptised. (*Ordo Romanus*, i. pp. 25, 31; Amalarius de *Ecl. Off.* i. 17, p. 1033; Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off.* c. 19, p. 482.)

In modern times this benediction of the *Agnus Dei* is reserved to the Pope himself, and takes place in the first year of each pontificate, and every seventh year following.

The Paschal taper was anciently thought to symbolise the pillar of fire which guided the Israelites, and the *Agnus Dei* the Passover Lamb (Amalarius, u. s. c. 18; compare the Gregorian Sacramentary, p. 71; "Deus, cuius antiqua miracula in presenti quoque saeculo conscrvare sentimus").

A waxen *Agnus Dei* is said to have been among the presents made by Gregory the Great to Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards (Frisi, *Memorie di Monza*, i. 34); but nothing of the kind is mentioned by the saint himself in the letter (*Epist.* xiv. 12, p. 1270) in which he gives a list of his presents. One was found in 1725 in the church of San Clemente on the Coelian Hill at Rome, in a tomb supposed to be that of Flavius Clemens a martyr. This *Agnus* is supposed, by De Vitry (in Calogiera's *Raccolta*, xxxii. 280), to have been placed in the tomb at the translation of the relics which he thinks took place in the 7th century.

An *Agnus* was frequently enclosed in a case or reliquary; and some existing examples of such cases are thought to be of the 8th or 9th cen-

ata mundi, *vulve-*
 moris, Miserere nobis,
 nata mundi, *sordida*
Asinus odoris, Dona
spicis, lib. ii. c. 16,
 atz has the addition,
 is, Miserere nobis"

the "Agnus Dei"
 dead; where, after
 words are added, "Re-
 indulgentiae cum
 azer, *De Liturgiis*,

Robert of Mount St.
 t. lib. ii. c. 16) tells
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 [C.]

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stead of a Paschal
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 lions bearing the
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Ordo Romanus I
cl. Off. i. 17, p.
Off. c. 19, p. 482.
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AGRICIUS

tary. A very remarkable one, said to have
 belonged to Charlemagne, is among the treasures
 of Aix-la-Chapelle; but the style appears to be
 of a much later age than that of Charlemagne
 (Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*,
 vol. i. pl. xix. fig. D.). [C.]

AGRICIUS, Bishop of Trèves and confessor,
 deposition Jan. 13 (*Mart. Bedae*). [C.]

AGRICOLA. (1) In Africa, martyr, commemo-
 rated Nov. 3 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

(2) Martyr at Bologna, commemorated Nov.
 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(3) Saint, *Natale* Dec. 3 (*M. Bedae*).

(4) In Auvergne, Dec. 9 (*M. Hieron.*).

(5) At Ravenna, Dec. 16 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

AGRIPPINA, martyr at Rome, commemo-
 rated June 23 (*Cal. Eyaant.*). [C.]

AGRIPPINENSE CONCILIUM. [CO-
 LOGNE, COUNCIL OF.]

AGRIPPINUS, of Alexandria, commemo-
 rated July 15 (*Mart. Hieron.*); *Jakutit* 5 = Jan.
 30 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

AINOL. [LAUDS.]

AISLE. [CHURCH.]

AIX - LA - CHAPELLE, COUNCILS OF

(AQUISGRANENSIA CONCILIA).—i. A. D. 783; a
 mixed synod held under Charlemagne in his
 palace, which enacted 82 capitulars respecting
 the Church, 16 *ad monachos*, 21 on matters of a
 mixed kind (Baluz., *Capit. i. 209*).—ii. A. D. 797;
 also under Charlemagne, and consisting of bishops,
 abbats, and co. ts; at which 11 capitulars were
 made respecting matters ecclesiastical and civil,
 and 43 "de partibus Saxoniae." The canons (46)
 of Theophilus, Bishop of Orleans, "ad parochiae
 suae sacerdotes," are appended to this council
 (Baluz., *Capit. l. 250*; Mansi, xiii. 994-1022).

—iii. A. D. 799; also under Charlemagne, and in
 his palace, of bishops, abbats, and monks, where
 Felix of Urgel was induced by Alcuin to renounce
 the heresy of Adoptionism (Mansi, xiii.
 1033-1040, from Alcuin, *ad Eliand.* i., and the
Vita Alcuin.).—iv. A. D. 802, October; also under
 Charlemagne, of bishops, priests, and deacons,
 who then took the oath of allegiance to him
 (Mansi, xiii. 1102).—v. A. D. 809, November;
 also under Charlemagne, upon the question of
 the *Tithe*; which sent messengers to Pope
 Leo III., and was instructed by him to omit the
 words from the Creed, although the doctrine
 itself was *de fide* (Mansi, xiv. 17-28). The later
 Councils of Aix are beyond the period assigned to
 this work. [A. W. H.]

ALB (*al'a*, *tunica alba*, *tunica talaris*, *podoris*,
linea, *suppuris*, *subucula*, *camisia*; see also STRI-
 CHARION).

§ 1. *The word and its derivation.*—The Latin
 word *alba*, the fuller expression for which is
tunica alba, first appears, as the technical desig-
 nation of a white tunic, in a passage of Vopis-
 cius, who speaks of an *al'ba subsericea*, or tunic
 made of silk interwoven with some other mate-
 rial, sent as a present, circ. 265, A. D., from Gal-
 liens to Claudius (*Hist. August. Script.* Tre-
 bellius in *Claudio*, p. 208). The same expression,
al'ba subsericea, occurs more than once in a letter
 of the Emperor Valerian. The word survives in
 the Fr. "aube," as in our own "alb." The cor-

ALB

responding Italian word "canice" is derived
 from "cinnisia" (see below, § 3).

§ 2. *Ecclesiastical use of the word, and of the*
vestment.—There are two uses of the term in
 ancient writers, between which it is not always
 easy to distinguish. When used in the singular
 it has generally the technical meaning above no-
 ticed, that of a white tunic. But in the plural
 the phrase is *al'bis*, and the like, may either
 mean "in albs," or, more vaguely and compre-
 hensively, "in white garments." Context only
 can determine which is meant.

The first recorded instance of the technical
 use of the term, as a designation of a vestment
 of Christian ministry, occurs in a canon of the
 African church (*Concil. Carthag.* iv. can. 41),
 dating from the close of the 4th century. That
 canon prescribes that deacons shall not wear the
 alb except when engaged in Divine service, "Ut
 diaconus tempore oblationis tantum, vel lectionis,
 alba utatur." This probably implies that bishops
 and presbyters, but not deacons, were allowed
 to wear in ordinary life a long white tunic, re-
 sembling that worn in divine service. Other
 early canons, on the subject of ecclesiastical
 habits, show, as does the last quoted, that there
 was a general tendency on the part of the dea-
 cons, and other yet inferior orders, to assume the
 insignia which properly belonged to the higher
 grades of the ministry. "Human nature" had
 found its expression in such and the like ways in
 the early church as in later times.

This conjecture as to an alb being worn by
 bishops and presbyters even in ordinary life
 (from the time of the "Peace of the Church"
 under Constantine), at least on occasions when
 "full dress" was required, is confirmed by the
 remarkable mosaics in the church of St. George
 at Thessalonica. These date in all probability
 from the 4th century. Among the personages
 represented, all of them in the more stately dress
 of ordinary life, there are two only who are
 ecclesiastics, Philip Bishop of Heraclea, and the
 Presbyter Romanus; and the dress of each is so
 arranged as to show the white chiton (or tunic),
 though an outer tunic of darker colour is also
 worn. In this respect their dress differs from
 that of the other figures, which are those of lay-
 men. These mosaics are figured in the *Byzantine*
Architecture of Texier and Pullan (London, 1864).

That an alb was so worn, more or less generally,
 by presbyters, at least in some parts of the West
 in later centuries, appears clearly from such a
 direction as that of Leo IV. in his *Cura Pasto-
 ralis*: "Nullus in alba qua in suo usu utitur
 presumat missas cantare." This direction is
 repeated almost verbatim in the *Capitula* of
 Hincmar of Rheims (1882), and in the *Disciplina*
Ecclesiastica of Regino, abbot of Prume, in the
 following century.

§ 3. *Primitive forms of the Alb.*—In the early
 ages of the church the alb of Christian ministry
 was of full and flowing shape, and distinguished
 in this respect from the closely-fitted tunic of
 Levitical priesthood. St. Jerome (*Epist. ad Epi-
 biolanum*) follows Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* iii. 7) in
 dwelling particularly on this distinctive charac-
 teristic of the Levitical tunic; and in order to
 convey to his readers an idea of its general ap-
 pearance, he is obliged to refer them to the linen
 shirts, called *camisiae*, worn by soldiers when on
 service. More than four centuries later, Amala-

rius of Metz quotes this passage of St. Jerome, in his treatise *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (lib. ii. cap. 18); and expressly notices the fact that the Christian alb differed from the *ioderis*, or full-length tunic of Levitical ministry, in that, while this was *strictum*, closely fitted to the body, that of the church was *largum*, full and flowing. With this statement the earliest monuments of ministering vestments quite accord. The albs (if they be not rather dalmatics) worn by Archbishop Maximian and his attendant clergy in the Ravenna mosaics (see *Vestiarium Christianum*, Pl. xviii.), and under VESTMENTS, and in a less degree, that assigned to the deacon in the fresco representing Ordination in the cemetery of St. Hermes at Rome (Aringhi, *Roma Ant.* tom. ii. p. 329); and again those worn under a *placata* by Pope Cornelius of Rome and St. Cyprian of Carthage in frescoes of the 6th century (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* vol. i. pp. 298-304) all agree in this respect. In these last, particularly, the albs (possibly DALMATICS, v. w.) worn under the *placata*, have sleeves as large as those of a modern surplice.

But while this was, no doubt, the prevailing form, we have pictorial evidence to show, that, in the ninth century certainly, and in all probability at a considerably earlier time, a different form of alb was in use side by side with the first. Considerations of practical convenience determined this, as had been the case, we may well believe, in the case of the Levitical priests. If these latter, in the discharge of their sacrificial duties, would have been not only incumbered but endangered by wearing full and flowing linens, so were there occasions, particularly the administration of baptism, when large and full sleeves, like those of the ordinary alb or dalmatic, would have been inconvenient in the highest degree to those engaged in offices of Christian ministry. We find accordingly, in an illumination dating from the 9th century (see woodcut in the article BAPTISM), that the priest in baptizing wore a closely fitted alb, girded. This is, we have reason to believe, the earliest example in Christian art of an alb so shaped; but in later centuries, as the "sacred vestments" continually increased in number, the alb, which was worn underneath the rest, was gradually more and more contracted in form; and at the present time the alb, technically so called, is a closely-fitting vestment, girded, nearly resembling that of the priest in the plate just referred to.

§ 4. *Decoration of the alb.*—Like other vestments which, in primitive times, were of white linen only, the alb was often enriched in later times in respect of ornament, material, and colour. Details as to this are given by Bock (*Liturgische Gewänder*, li. 33) and by Dr. Rock (*Church of our Fathers*, vol. i. p. 424 *sqq.*). The most common ornaments of the kind were known as *parure* (a shorter form of *paraturae*), which were oblong patches, richly coloured and ornamented, attached to the tunic. Hence a distinction between *alba parata*, an alb with "apparel" (technically so called), and *alba pura*, this last being the "white alb plain" spoken of in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. These *albæ paratae* date, according to Professor Weiss, from the close of the 10th century (*Kostumkunde*, u. s. w., p. 667). But this is true only of

ecclesiastical use. Ornaments like in kind to these apparels had long been in use for the richer albs worn by persons of high secular rank. They were called *Paragaudae*, from a Syriac word of similar import. See Casaubon's note on the passage of Trebellius referred to in § 1. [W.B.M.]

ALBANUS (1) (ST. ALBAN) or ALBINUS (Mart. Hieron.) and his companions, martyrs in Britain, commemorated June 22 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., et Bedae).

(2) Saint, commemorated December 1 (M. Bedae). [C.]

ALBINUS. (1) Bishop and confessor, commemorated March 1 (Mart. Hieron., Bedae).

(2) Martyr, June 21 (M. Bedae). [C.]

ALCESTER, COUNCIL OF (ALNENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 709; an imaginary council, resting solely on the legendary life of Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, and founder of Evesham Abbey, by Brihtwald of Worcester (or Glastonbury); said to have been held to confirm the grants made to Evesham (Wilk. i. 72, 73; Mansi, xii. 182-189). Wilfrid of York, said to have been at the council, died June 23, 709. [A. W. H.]

ALDEGUNDIS, virgin, deposition Jan. 30 (Mart. Bedae). [C.]

ALDERMANN. [ALDORMAN.]

ALEXANDER, (1) martyr under Decius, commemorated Jan. 30 (Mart. Rom. Vet.).

(2) Commemorated Feb. 9 (M. Bedae).

(3) Son of Claudius, martyr at Ostia, Feb. 18 (ib.).

(4) Bishop of Alexandria, Feb. 26 (ib.); April 10 (M. Hieron.).

(5) Of Thessalonica, Feb. 27 (M. Hieron.).

(6) Of Africa, March 5 (M. Hieron.).

(7) Of Nicomedia, March 6 (M. Hieron.).

(8) With Gaius, March 10 (Mart. Bedae).

(9) Bishop of Jerusalem, martyr, March 18 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae).

(10) Martyr at Caesarea in Palestine, March 28 (Mart. Rom. Vet.); Mar. 27 (M. Bedae).

(11) Saint, April 24 (Mart. Bedae); April 21 (Hieron.).

(12) The Pope, martyr at Rome under Trajan, May 3 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae). Named in the Gregorian Canon, Antiphon in *Lit. Antiph.* p. 693.

(13) Martyr at Bergamo, Aug. 26 (Mart. Rom. Vet.).

(14) Bishop and confessor, Aug. 28 (ib.).

(15) "In Sabinis," Sept. 9 (ib. et Hieron.).

(16) Commemorated Sept. 10 (M. Hieron.).

(17) In Capua, Oct. 15 (M. Hieron.).

(18) Patriarch, Nov. 7 (Cul. Armen.); Minziah 22 = April 17, and Nahasse 18 = Aug. 11 (Cul. Ethiop.).

(19) Bishop and martyr, Nov. 26 (M. R. V.).

(20) Martyr at Alexandria, translated Dec. 12 (ib.). [C.]

ALEXANDRIA, CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF. The school thus described occupies an exceptional position in the history of the Christian Church. Everywhere, of course, there was instruction (*κατήχησις*) of some kind for converts [CATECHUMENS]; everywhere, before long, there must have been some provision made for the education of Christian children. That at Alexandria was the only one which acquired a special reputation, and had a succession of illustrious

It is desirable to have the original text of the document for a more accurate transcription. The text provided is a mix of English and Greek, with some parts being illegible or cut off. I will correct the transcription to be more accurate, removing the gibberish at the end.

aments like in kind to been in use for the richer high secular rank. They from a Syriac word of saubon's note on the pas- ded to in § 1. [W.B.M.]

ALBAN) or ALBINTU companions, martyrs in June 22 (Mart. Rom.

ntea December 1 (M. Bedae). [C.]

and confessor, com- t. Hieron., Bedae). [C.]

L OF (ALBENSE) CON- ginary council, resting life of Egwin, Bishop of Evesham Abbey, by or (thlastonbury); said firm the grants made 73; Maasi, xii, 182 id to have been at the [A. W. H.]

, deposition Jan. 30 [C.]

DORMAN.] artyr under Decius, t. Rom., Vet.). 9 (Mart. Bedae), 9 (Mart. Ostia, Feb. Feb. 26 (ib.); April 27 (M. Hieron.), t. Hieron.), 3 (M. Hieron.), (Mart. Bedae), martyr, March 18

n Palestine, March 27 (M. Bedae), t. Bedae); April 21

ome under Trajan, e). Named in the Lib. Antiph. p. 693. ng. 26 (Mart. Rom.

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teachers, and affected, directly and indirectly, the theology of the Church at large. The lives of these teachers, and the special characteristics of their theological speculations will be treated elsewhere. Here it is proposed to consider (1) the outward history of the school; (2) its actual mode of working, and general influence on the religious life of the Alexandrian Church.

(1) The origin of the Alexandrian school is buried in obscurity. Eusebius (H. E., v. 10) speaks of it as of long standing (ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους), but the earliest teacher whom he names is Pantenus, circ. A.D. 180. If we were to accept the authority of Philip of Sida (Fragm. in Dodwell's Dissert. in Iren. Oxf. pp. 488-497), the honour of being its founder might be conceded to Athenagoras, the writer of the Apologia; and this would carry us a few years further. But the authority of Philip is but slight. His list is manifestly inaccurate, the name of Clement coming after Origen, and even after Dionysius, and the silence of Eusebius and Jerome must be held to outweigh his assertion. Conjecture may look to St. Mark (Hieron., Cat. 36), with more probability, perhaps, to Apollon, as having been the first conspicuous teacher at Alexandria. Pantenus, however, is the first historical name. He taught both orally and by his writings, and, though his work was interrupted by a mission to India, he seems to have returned to Alexandria, and to have continued teaching there till his death. First working with him, and then succeeding him, we have the name of Clement, and find him occupying the post of teacher till the persecution of Severus, A.D. 202, when he with others fled for safety. The vacant place was filled by Origen (Euseb. H. E. vi. 3), then only eighteen years of age, but already well known as a teacher of grammar and rhetoric, and as having studied profoundly in the interpretation of the Scriptures. It is probable, but not certain, that he himself had attended Clement's classes. As it was, seekers after truth came to him in such numbers that he renounced his work as an instructor in other subjects, and devoted himself to that of the school which was thus reopened. Clement may possibly have returned to Alexandria, and worked with him till his death, circ. A.D. 220. Origen himself left soon afterwards, and founded, in some sense, a rival school at Caesarea. Of the teachers that followed we know little more than the names. Philip of Sida (l. c.) gives them as Heraclas, Dionysius, Pierius, Theognostus, Serapion, Peter, Menearius, Didymus, Rhodon. Eusebius (H. E. vii. 32) names Pierius as a man of philosophical attainments at Alexandria, and mentions Achillas more distinctly as having been entrusted with the διδασκαλείον there under the episcopate of Theonas. He further speaks of the school as existing in his own time (circ. A.D. 330). Theodoret (i. 1) names Arius as having at one time been the chief teacher there, and Sozomen (H. E. iii. 15) and Rufinus (H. E. ii. 7) name Didymus, a teacher who became blind, as having held that post for a long period of years (circ. A.D. 340-395). During the later years of his life he was assisted by Rhodon as a conjutor, who, on his death, re-

It may be worth while to note the names by which it is described—(1) τὸ τῆς καθήκοντος, or τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων διδασκαλείον, Euseb., H. E. v. 10, vi. 3, 28. (2) τὸ ἱερὸν διδασκαλείον τῶν ἱερῶν μαθημάτων, Sozom. iii. 15. (3) Ecclēstastica Schola, Hieron., Cat. c. 38.

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moved to Sida, where he numbered among his pupils the Phillip from whom we get the list of the succession. This seems to have broken up the school, and we are unable to trace it further.

(2) The pattern upon which the work at Alexandria was based may be found in St. Paul's labours at Ephesus. After he ceased to address the Jews through his discourses in the synagogue he turned to the "school" (σχολή) of Tyrannus (Acts, xix. 9). That "school" was probably a lecture-hall (so the word is used by Plutarch, Vit. Ardi. c. 29), which had been used by some teacher of philosophy or rhetoric, and in which the apostle now appeared as the instructor of all who came to inquire what the "new doctrine" meant. Something of the same kind must have been soon found necessary at a place like Alexandria. With teachers of philosophy of all schools lecturing round them, the Christian School could not but feel the need of lecturers of its own. Elsewhere among slaves and artisans it might be enough to hand down the simple tradition of the faith, to develop that teaching as we find it in the Catechesis of Cyril of Jerusalem. The age of apologists, appealing, as they did, to an educated and reading class, must have made the demand for such teachers more urgent, and the appearance of Pantenus as the first certainly known teacher, indicates that he was summoned by the Church to supply it. In a room in his own house, or one hired for the purpose, the teacher received the inquirers who came to him. It was not a school for boys, but for adults. Men and women alike had free access to him. The school was open from morning to evening. As of old, in the schools of the Rabbis, as in those of the better sophists and philosophers of Greece, there was no charge for admission. If any payment was made it came, in the strictest sense of the word, as an honorarium from grateful pupils (Euseb. H. E. vi. 4). After a time he naturally divided his hearers into classes. Those who were on the threshold were, it is natural to think, called on, as in the Chōn'tis ad Graecos of Clement, to turn from the obscenities and frivolities of Paganism to the living and true God. Then came, as in his Prolegomenus, the "milk" of Catechesis, teaching them to follow the Divine Instructor by doing all things, whether they ate or drank, in obedience to His will. Then the more advanced were led on to the "strong meat" of ἡ ἐπιστημὴ θεωρία (Clem. Alex., Strom. v. p. 686, Pott.). At times he would speak, as in a continuous lecture, and then would pause, that men might ask the quest as which were in their hearts (Origen, in Matt. Tr. xiv. 16). The treatises which remain to us of Clement's, by his own account of them, embody his reminiscences of such instruction partly as given by others, partly doubtless as given by himself. We may fairly look on Origen's treatises and expositions as having had a like parentage. Comp. Guerike, De Scholā Alex.; Hasselbach, De Schola Alex.; Redepenning's Origenes, i. 57, ii. 10; and Art. Alexandrinisches Catecheten Schule, in Herzog's Real. Encyclopädie; Neander's Church History [Engl. Translation], ii. 260, et seq. [E. H. P.]

ALEXANDRIA, COUNCILS OF. There were no councils of Alexandria proportionate to its situation as the marino gate of the East, or to the fame of its catechetical and eclectic schools.

or to its ecclesiastical position, as having been the second see of the world. And the first of them was held A.D. 230, under Demetrius, in a hasty moment, to pass judgment upon one of the most distinguished Alexandrians that ever lived, Origen: his chief fault being that he had been ordained priest in Palestine, out of the diocese. His works were condemned in this, and he himself excommunicated and deposed in a subsequent council; but both sentences were disregarded by the bishops of Palestine, under whose patronage he continued to teach and to preach as before.

- A.D. 245—There was a synod under Heraclas, who is said to have appointed 29 bishops; one of whom, Amnonius, having betrayed the faith, was reclaimed at this synod.
- A.D. 264—This was a synod, under Dionysius, against the errors of Sabellius; in another, Neptianus, a bishop of Egypt, and Cerinthus fell under censure for their views on the Millennium.
- A.D. 306—under Peter; against Meletius, a bishop of Lycopolis, who had sacrificed to idols, and was therefore deposed.
- A.D. 321—Against Arius, who was deposed in two synods this year under Alexander.
- A.D. 324—Against Arius once more; but this time under Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, who had been despatched to Alexandria to make enquiries, by Constantine.
- A.D. 328—When St. Athanasius was consecrated bishop. (On the date, see Mausi, li. 1085.)
- A.D. 340—In favour of St. Athanasius. Deputies were sent from the council to Rome and Tyre in that sense. Its synodical letter is given by St. Athanasius in his 2nd Apology.
- A.D. 352—Called "Egyptian;" in favour of St. Athanasius again.
- A.D. 362—under St. Athanasius, on his return from exile, concerning those who had Arianised. It published a synodical letter. On its wise and temperate decisions, see Newman's *Arians*, v. 1.
- A.D. 363—under St. Athanasius on the death of Julian; published a synodical letter to the new emperor Jovian.
- A.D. 371—Of 90 bishops, under St. Athanasius; to protest against Auxentius continuing in the see of Milan. This is one of those called "Egyptian."
- A.D. 371—under St. Athanasius the same year; to receive a profession of faith from Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, which turned out orthodox.
- A.D. 399—Against the followers of Origen, who were condemned. Part of its synodical letter is preserved in that of the emperor Justinian to Mennas on the same subject long afterwards.
- A.D. 430—under St. Cyril against Nestorius; where St. Cyril indited his celebrated epistle with the twelve anathemas.
- A.D. 457—under Timothy, surnamed Aelurus, or the Cat, at which the Council of Chalcedon was condemned. This was repeated, A.D. 477.
- A.D. 482—At which John Tabenniosites was consecrated bishop; he was ejected at once by the emperor Zeno, when Peter Mogus re-

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turned, and in a subsequent synod the same year condemned the 4th council, having first caused a schism amongst his own followers by subscribing to the Henotonicon (Evag. lii. 12-14).

- A.D. 485—under Quintian, to pronounce Peter the Fuller deposed from Antioch.
- A.D. 578—The last of those called Egyptian; it was composed of Jacobites, to consider the case of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, Paul.
- A.D. 589—under Eulogius; against the Samaritans.

A.D. 633—under Cyrus, the Monothelite patriarch: the acts and synodical letter of which are preserved in the 13th action of the 6th general council. This is the last on record.

The interests of the Church History of Alexandria are so great, that a few words may be added respecting its patriarchate.

The patriarchate of Alexandria grew out of the see founded there by St. Mark, "according to the constant and unvarying tradition both of the East and West" (Neale's *Patriarch of Alex.* l. i.); to which jurisdiction was assigned, as of ancient custom appertaining, by the 6th Nicene canon, over "Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis." This was, in effect, what was already known as the Egyptian diocese, being one of five placed under the jurisdiction of the prefect of the East, and comprehending itself six provinces. Of these, Augustanica was subdivided into Augustanica prima, and secunda: the first stretching upon the coast from Rhinocorura on the borders of Palestine to Diospolis on the east of the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, with the second immediately under it inland; Egypt proper was likewise subdivided into prima and secunda, of which secunda stretched westwards of the same mouth of the Nile along the coast, with prima lying immediately under it inland. Then Arcadia at Heptanomis, forming the 3rd province, lay under Augustanica secunda and Aegyptus prima on both sides of the Nile; and south of this Thebais, or the 4th province, whose subdivisions, prima comprehended all the rest of the country lying north, and secunda all the country lying south of Thebes, included in Egypt. Returning towards the coast, westwards of Aegyptus secunda, the 5th province, Libya inferior or secunda, was also called Narmarica; and to the west of it was the 6th province, Libya Pentapolis, also called Cyrenaica. The ecclesiastical arrangements in each of these provinces have yet to be given. For this purpose the "Notitia" published by Beveridge (Synod. li. 143-4) might have been transcribed at length; but as the sites of so many of the sees are unknown, their mere names, which are often uncouth and of doubtful spelling, would be devoid of interest. It may suffice to enumerate them, with their metropolis in each case. Thus Augustanica prima contained 14 episcopal sees, of which Pelusium was the metropolis; Augustanica secunda 6, at the head of which was Leonto; Aegyptus prima 20, at the head of which was Alexandria; Aegyptus secunda 12, at the head of which was Cabasa. The province of Arcadia contained 6, under the metropolitan of Oxyrinchus; but 7 are given subsequently, corresponding to the 7 mouths of the Nile, of which Alexandria is placed first.

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There were 8 sees in Thebais prima, under the metropolitan of Antino; and twice that number in Thebais secunda, under the metropolitan of Ptolemais. Libya secunda, or Marmarica, contained 8, under the metropolitan of Drancoen; and Libya Pentapolis 6, at the head of which was Soziza. Tripoli was a later acquisition, including 3 sees only. They may have been placed under Alexandria subsequently to the time of the 4th Council, when all to the west of them lay in confusion under the Vannals; and possibly may have been intended to compensate for those two sees of Berytus and Babba bordering on Palestine, of which Alexandria was then robbed to swell the patriarchate of Jerusalem on the south-west (Cave, *Ch. Hist.* iv, 11). The list of sees in Le Quien (*Oriens Christianus*, vol. II, p. 330-640), illustrated by a map of the patriarchate from D'Anville, agrees with the above in most respects, only that it is shorter.

Alexandria had been synonymous with orthodoxy while St. Athanasius lived; shortly after his death, however, the next place after Rome, which it had ever enjoyed from Apostolic times, was given by the 2nd General Council to Constantinople. For this it seemed to have received ample compensation in the humiliation of the Constantinopolitan patriarch Nestorius, at the 3rd Council under St. Cyril; when the want of tact and perverseness of his successor Dioscorus enabled the more orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople to help themselves at its expense, and obtain sanction for their proceedings at the 4th Council. For a time, it is true, Rome peremptorily refused assenting to them; and charged their authors with having infringed the Nicene canons. But Alexandria falling into the hands of those by whom the doctrinal decisions of the 4th Council were called in question and even condemned, Rome naturally ceased taking any further steps in its favour; and under Jacobite patriarchs principally, and sometimes exclusively, Alexandria gradually came to exercise no palpable influence whatever, even as 3rd see of the world, on the rest of the Church. Le Quien reckons 48 patriarchs in all, down to Eustathius, who was consecrated A.D. 801, but several of them were heretical; and there were numerous anti-patriarchs, both heretical and schismatical, from time to time disputing their claims. The 'Art de vérifier les Dates' makes this Eustathius the 66th patriarch. Dr. Neale makes him the 40th, and contemporary with Mark II., the 49th Jacobite patriarch.

There were several peculiarities connected with the see of Alexandria, which have been variously explained. One rests upon the authority of Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria in the 10th century, and of St. Jerome. The words of Eutychius are as follows: "St. Mark along with Ananias ordained 12 presbyters to remain with the patriarch; so that when the chair should become vacant, they might elect one out of the 12 on whose head the other 11 should lay their hands, give him benediction, and constitute him patriarch; and should after this choose some other man to supply the place of the promoted presbyter, in such sort that the presbytery should always consist of 12. This custom continued at Alexandria till the time of the patriarch Alexander, one of the 318 (Fathers of

None) who forbade the presbyters in future to ordain their patriarch; but decreed that on a vacancy of the see, the neighbouring bishops should convene for the purpose of filling it with a proper patriarch, whether elected from those 12 presbyters or from any others." Eutychius adds, "that during the time of the first 10 patriarchs, there were no bishops in Egypt; Demetrius the 11th having been the first to consecrate them." (Taken from Neale, p. 9.) This perhaps may serve to explain the extreme offence taken by Demetrius at the ordination of Origen to the priesthood out of the diocese, if a priest in Alexandria was so much more to the bishop than a priest elsewhere. It may also serve to explain the haste with which Alexander instituted proceedings against Arius. The passage of St. Jerome seems conclusive as to the interpretation to be given to that of Eutychius. This Father in an epistle to Evagrius, while dwelling on the dignity of the priesthood, thus expresses himself: "At Alexandria, from the time of St. Mark the Evangelist to that of the bishops Heraclas and Dionysius (in the middle of the 3rd century), it was the custom of the presbyters to nominate one, elected from among themselves, to the higher dignity of the bishopric; just as the army makes an emperor, or the deacons nominate as archdeacon any man whom they know to be of active habits in their own body." (*Ibid.*). St. Jerome would be talking nonsense, if the 12 of whom he is speaking had been bishops themselves; that is, of the same rank as their nominee was to be. Hence the theory of an episcopal college, to which Dr. Neale seems to incline, falls to the ground at once. On the other hand, it seems unquestionable that St. Jerome must have meant election, not ordination, from the marked emphasis with which he lays down elsewhere that presbyters cannot ordain. Otherwise, from the age in which Eutychius lived, and still more the language in which he wrote, it would hardly be possible to prove that he meant election only, when he certainly seems to be describing consecration. But again, if there were "no bishops in Egypt during the time of the first ten patriarchs," how could episcopal consecration be had, when once the patriarch had ceased to live? To this no satisfactory answer has ever been returned. Eutychius, though he lived in the 10th century, may be supposed to have known more about the ancient customs of his see, in a land like Egypt, than those who have decried him. And certainly, though we know there were bishops in Egypt under Demetrius, for two synods of bishops (Phot. *Bibl.* s. 118 and Huet. *Origen.* i. 12) we are told, met under him to condemn Origen; it would be difficult to produce any conclusive testimony to the fact that there were any episcopal sees there, besides that of Alexandria, before then. The vague statement of the Emperor Adrian, "Illi qui Serapim colunt Christiani sunt; et devoti sunt Serapi, qui se Christi episcopos dicunt," speaking of Egypt, clearly warrants no such inference, standing alone; nor does it appear to have ever been suggested that each of the first ten patriarchs consecrated his successor during his own life-time. Yet there was a strange haste in electing a new patriarch of Alexandria, that seems to require some explanation. The new patriarch, we learn from Libe-

ratus, always entered his predecessor; and before doing so, placed his dead hand on his own head. Can it have been in this way, during that early period, extraordinary as it may seem, that episcopal consecration was supposed to be obtained, as it were, in one continuous chain from St. Mark himself? The position of the patriarch after consecration was so exceptional, that it would be no wonder at all if his consecration differed materially from all others. In civil matters his authority was very great; in ecclesiastical matters it was quite despotic. All bishops in Egypt were ordained by him as their sole metropolitan. If any other bishop ever performed metropolitan functions, it was as his delegate. The Egyptian bishops themselves, in the 4th action of the Council of Chalcedon, professed loudly that they were impotent to act but at his bidding; and hence they excused themselves from even subscribing to the letter of St. Leo while they were without a patriarch, after Dioscorus had been deposed; and that so obstinately, that their subscription was allowed to stand over, till the new patriarch had been consecrated. The patriarch could moreover ordain presbyters and deacons throughout Egypt in any number, where he would; and it is thought probable that the presbyters, his assessors, had power given them by him to confirm. All the episcopal sees in Egypt seem to have originated with him alone. As early as the 3rd century we find him called "papa," archbishop in the next, and patriarch in the 5th century, but not till after St. Cyril. In later times, "judge of the whole world" was a title given him, on account of his having formerly fixed Easter. On the liturgies in use in the Egyptian diocese, Dr. Neale says (*General Introduct.* i. 323-4), "The Alexandrine family contains 4 liturgies: St. Mark, which is the normal form. St. Basil, St. Cyril, and St. Gregory. . . . St. Mark's was the rite of the orthodox Church of Alexandria. . . . The other three are used by the Monophysites. St. Basil (i. e. the Copto-Jacobite) is the normal and usual form; St. Gregory is employed in Lent; St. Cyril on festivals. . . . Why the first of these liturgies bears the name of Basil" is uncertain. "It is not possible now to discover its origin, though it would appear to have been originally Catholic; to have been translated from the Greek into Coptic, and thence after many ages into Arabic. The liturgy of St. Cyril is to all intents and purposes the same as that of St. Mark. . . . and in both that, and in the office of St. Gregory, the first part is taken from the normal liturgy of St. Basil." Both the proanaphoral and anaphoral parts of the Copto-Jacobite liturgy of St. Basil, together with the anaphoral part of that of St. Mark are given in parallel columns further on in the same work. And the Copto-Jacobite patriarchal church at Alexandria, said to be the burial-place of the head of St. Mark, and of 72 of the patriarchs, is described there likewise, p. 277. Between the two works of Dr. Neale already cited, and the *Oriens Christianus* of Le Quien, everything further that has yet been discovered on the subject of this patriarchate may be obtained.

[E. S. F.]

ALEXIUS. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, commemorated March 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*); July 17 (*Mart. Rom.*).

[C.]

ALIENATION

ALIENATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

—In treating of a subject like that of the alienation of Church property, the canons and other authorities cited as evidence of the law concerning it might either be arranged according to the various descriptions of property to which they refer, or else the entire legislation of each church and nation might be exhibited in chronological order apart from the rest. The latter plan has been here adopted, both as being more suitable to a general article, and also because in matters of church order and discipline the canons of councils were not in force beyond the limits of the churches in which they were authoritatively promulgated.

The alienation—by which is to be understood the transference by gift, sale, exchange, or perpetual emphyteusis—of Church property [see PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH] was from early times restrained by special enactments.

It is a much debated question amongst Canonists whether or not alienation, except in extraordinary cases, was absolutely prohibited in the first ages of the Church, by reason of the sacred character impressed upon property given to God (see Balsamon in can. 12, Conc. VII. ap. Beveridge *Pand. Can.* i. 303). As, however, the property of the Church must in those times, have consisted only of the offerings and oblations of the faithful, which were placed in the hands of the bishops,^a it would appear most probable that they were free to make such use of it as they might think would be productive of the greatest benefit to their several dioceses.

The general law of the Church has been well epitomised in the Commentary of Balsamon (ap. Beveridge *Pand. Can.* ii. 177). "Unusquisque nostrorum Episcoporum rationem administrationis rerum sue Ecclesie Deo reddet. Vasa enim pretiosa Ecclesiarum, seu sacra, et reliqua Deo consecrata, et possessiones immobiles, non sunt alienabilia, et Ecclesie servantur. Ecclesiasticorum autem relictuum administratio secure crediti auctoritate committi debere illis, qui statim temporibus sunt Episcopi." Its history, as it is found in the councils of different churches, has now to be traced.

In the East.—The earliest canon which refers to the subject is the 15th canon of the Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314), which provides that the Church (on the expression τὸ κληροῦν see Beveridge, *Advoc.* in loc.) may resume possession of whatever property the presbyters of a diocese may have sold during the vacancy of the see; but this canon does not limit any power which the bishop himself may previously have possessed, and is simply an application of the well-known rule "sede vacante nihil innovatur."

The Council of Antioch (A.D. 341) has two canons, the 24th and 25th, bearing upon this

^a On the nature of this tenure see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, sub voce, "Emphyteusis." It may be described in brief as the right to use another person's land as one's own, on condition of cultivating it, and paying a fixed rent at fixed times.

^b The oath now taken by bishops consecrated according to the Roman ordinal, contains a clause relating to the alienation of Church property. In what words and at what time a clause of this nature was first introduced into the ordinal is a question which has given rise to much controversy.

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ALIENATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY

question, which are either imitated from the 39th and 40th Apostolic Canons, or have been imitated by the authors of that collection [AROSTOLIC CANONS]. The 24th directs that Church property, which ought to be administered subject to the judgment and authority of the bishop, should be distinguished in such a way that the presbyters and deacons may know of what it consists, so that at the bishop's death it may not be embezzled, or lost, or mixed up with his private property. That part of this canon in which reference is made to the duties imposed on presbyters and deacons is not contained in the Apostolic canon. This omission would seem to point to the conclusion that this council is later in date than the 39th Apostolic canon; and Beveridge (*Cod. Can.* l. 45) draws the same inference to the date of the 40th Apostolic canon from its not making mention of *ο τῶν ἀρχιεπισκοπικῶν κληρικῶν* which are to be found in the 25th Canon of Antioch. By the 25th canon it is provided that the Provincial Synod should have jurisdiction in cases where the bishop is accused of converting Church property to his own use, which was also forbidden by the 37th Apostolic canon, *ὑποδύσθαι* of the presbyters and deacons, and also in cases where the bishop or the presbyters who are associated with him are accused of any misappropriation for their own benefit. Here again it will be noted that the effect of this canon is to make provision for the better and more careful management of Church property, and that it does not abridge any right of alienation which the bishop may have before possessed. It must, however, be observed that the power of the bishop to manage (*χειρίζειν*) Church property (an expression which would doubtless include the act of alienation) is qualified by the proviso that it must be exercised with the consent of his presbyters and deacons.

The 7th and 8th canons of the Council of Gangra (the date of this council is uncertain, some writers placing it as early as A.D. 324, and others as late as A.D. 371; see Van Espen, *Dissertatio in Synodum Gangrænsium*, Op. iii. 120, ed. Lovani. 1753, and Beveridge, *Adnot.* in id. Conc., who inclines to the opinion that it was held a short time before the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341), prohibit under pain of anathema all persons from alienating (*διδόναι ἕξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας*) produce belonging to the Church, except they first obtain the consent of the bishop or his oecumenus, or officer entrusted with the care of Church property.

The enactments contained in the second Council of Nicea (or as it is generally styled the 7th Oecumenical Council) A.D. 787, will be more conveniently considered below.

The African Church seems to have found it necessary to place special restrictions upon the power of alienating Church property possessed by bishops under the general law. By the 31st canon of the code known as the *Statuta Ecclesie Antiqua*, promulgated (according to Bruns, *Canonnes*, l. 140) at the 4th Council of Carthage (A.D. 398), the bishop is enjoined to use the possessions of the Church as trustee, and not as if they were his own property; and by the next canon all gifts, sales, or exchanges of Church property made by bishops without the consent in writing ("*absque conniventia et subscriptione*")

of their clergy are pronounced invalid. In the 31st canon there are further provisions against the unauthorized alienation of Church property by the inferior clergy. If convicted in the synod of this offence they are to make restitution out of their own property.

Again by the 26th (ap. *Ben.* 29th) canon of the *Codex Ecclesie Africanae* promulgated A.D. 419, which repeats the 4th canon of the 5th Council of Carthage (A.D. 401), it is ordained that no one sell the real property belonging to the Church; but if some very urgent reason for doing so should arise, it is to be communicated to the Primate of the Province, who is to determine in council with the proper number of bishops (*i.e.* twelve) whether a sale is to be made or not; but if the necessity for action is so great that the bishop cannot wait to consult the synod, then he is to summon as witnesses the neighbouring bishops at least, and to be careful afterwards to report the matter to the synod. The penalty of disobedience to this canon was deposition. By the 33rd canon (ap. *Ben.* 36th) presbyters are forbidden to sell any Church property without the consent of their bishops; and in like manner the bishops are forbidden to sell any Church lands (*praedia*) without the privy consent of their Synod or presbyters. (See on these canons Van Espen, Op. iii. 299, &c.; and the *Scholion* of Balsamon ap. *Ben. Pand. Can.* l. 551.)

Passing from Asia Minor and Africa to Italy, the earliest provisions with reference to alienation to be found in the councils are in the council held at Rome by Pope Symmachus in A.D. 502. The circumstances under which the canons of this council were passed (and which relate solely to the question of alienation) are thus described by Dean Milman: "On the vacancy of the see [by the death of Pope Simplicius, A.D. 483] occurred a singular scene. The clergy were assembled in St. Peter's. In the midst of them stood up Basilius, the Patrician and Prefect of Rome, acting as Vicegerent of Odoacer the barbarian King. He appeared by the command of his master, and by the admonition of his master, and to take care that the peace of the city was not disturbed by any sedition or tumult during the election. . . . He proceeded, as the protector of the Church from loss and injury by churchmen, to proclaim the following edict: 'That no one under the penalty of anathema should alienate any farm, buildings, or ornaments of the churches; that such alienation by any bishop present or future was null and void.' So important did this precedent appear, so dangerous even in those days limit the sacerdotal power, that nearly twenty years after, a fortunate occasion was seized by the Pope Symmachus to annul this decree. In a Synod of bishops at Rome the edict was rehearsed, interrupted by protests of the bishops at this presumptuous interference of the laity with affairs of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The authenticity of the decree was not called in question; it was declared invalid as being contrary to the usages of the Fathers enacted on lay authority, and as not being ratified by the signature of any Bishop at Rome. The same council, however, acknowledged its wisdom by re-enacting its ordinances against the alienation of Church property" (*History of Latin Christianity*, vol. i, p. 221, 2nd ed.). On this

Connell Boehmer notes that it has not more authority than belongs to it as a Council of the Italian Church, and that therefore its decrees (which go far beyond any yet promulgated elsewhere) were not binding upon other Churches. Previously, however, to this date Pope Leo the Great (A.D. 447) had written to the bishops of Sicily and forbidden the alienation of Church property by the bishops except for the benefit of the Church, and with the consent of the whole clergy (*Ep. 17*). Pope Gelasius also (A.D. 492-493), writing to Justianus and Faustus (who were acting in the place of their bishop), directed the restitution of all property belonging to the Church of Volterra which had been alienated up to that time; and in another letter he forbade the appropriation of Church lands for the payment of any particular stipend (*Fragg.* 23 and 24, *ap. Thiel*).

In the history of the *Gallican Church* the earliest reference to alienation is to be found in a letter from Pope Hilarius (A.D. 462) to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne, Lyons, Narbonne, and the Maritime Alps, in which he prohibits the alienation of such Church lands as are neither waste nor unproductive ("nec deserta nec damnosa") except with the consent of a council (*Ep.* 8 sec. ult.).

The Council of Agle (A.D. 506) contains several canons on alienation. The 22nd canon, while declaring that it is superfluous to define anything afresh concerning a matter so well known, and a practice forbidden by so many ancient canons, prohibits the clergy from selling or giving away any Church property under pain of being excommunicated and having to indemnify the Church out of their private resources for any loss, the transaction being at the same time declared void. The 26th canon inflicts the like punishment on those who suppress or conceal or give to the unlawful possessor any document by which the title of the Church to any property is secured. The 48th canon reserves to the Church any property left on the death of a bishop, which he had received from ecclesiastical sources. The 49th canon repeats almost in the same words the above cited 31st canon of the *Statuta Ecclesiarum Antiqua*; the 53rd canon prohibits, and pronounces void, any alienation by parish priests; while by the 56th canon abbots are forbidden to sell Church property without the bishop's consent, or to manumit slaves, "as it would be unjust for monks to be engaged in their daily labours in the field while their slaves were enjoying the ease of liberty."

The 1st Council of Orleans (A.D. 511) places all the immovable property of the Church in the power of the bishop "that the decrees of the ancient canons may be observed" (canons 14 and 15).

Pope Symmachus, A.D. 513 (who died A.D. 514), in answering certain questions put to him by Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, forbids Church property to be alienated under any pretence, but he permits a life rent to be enjoyed by clerks worthy of reward (*Ep.* 15).

By the 5th canon of the 1st Council of Clermont (A.D. 535) all persons are excommunicated who obtain any Church property from kings.

In the same year Pope Agapetus writing to Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, says, that he is unwillingly obliged to refuse the bishop permission

to alienate some Church lands, "revocant nos veneranda Patrum manifestissima constituta, quibus specialiter prohibetur pœdia juris ecclesiae quolibet titulo ad aliena jura transferre" (*Conc. Gall.* i. 240).

The 12th canon of the 3rd Council of Orleans (A.D. 538) allows the recovery of Church property within 30 years, and ordains that if the possessor should refuse to obey the judgment of the Council ordering him to surrender, he is excommunicated.

The 23rd canon renews the prohibition against the alienation of Church property by abbots or other clergy without the written consent of the bishop; and by the 9th canon of the 4th Council held at the same city (A.D. 541) it is provided that Church property which has been alienated or encumbered by the bishop contrary to the canons shall, if he has left nothing to the Church, be returned to it; but slaves whom he may have manumitted shall retain their freedom, though they must remain in the service of the Church. The 11th, 18th, 30th, and 34th canons contain further provisions on the subject.

The 1st canon of the 3rd Council of Paris (A.D. 557) is directed against the alienation of Church property, but this canon, as well as those next mentioned, would appear to refer to seizure by force rather than to possession by any quasi-legal process. Alienation is forbidden by the 2nd canon of the 2nd Council of Lyons (A.D. 567).

In the 2nd Council of Tours (A.D. 567) there are two canons—the 24th and 25th—relating to the recovery of Church property from the hands of unlawful possessors.

In Spain the Council held A.D. 589 at Narbonne, which in its ecclesiastical relations must be considered in Spain (*Wiltsh. Geog. of the Church*, i. 100), prohibits the alienation of Church property by the inferior clergy, without the consent of the bishop, under pain of suspension for two years and perpetual inability to serve in the church in which the offence was committed (can. 8).

By the 3rd Council of Toledo (held in the same year), can. 3, bishops are forbidden to alienate Church property, but gifts which, in the judgment of the monks of the diocese, are not detrimental to the interests of the Church cannot be disturbed; by the next canon bishops may assign Church property for the support of a monastery established with the consent of his Synod.

By the 37th canon of the 4th Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) the bishop is permitted (subject to the confirmation of a Provincial Council) to redeem any promise of reward made for services to the Church.

The 9th Council of Toledo (A.D. 655) contains provisions very similar to the above cited canons of the 3rd Council held at the same place.

In England, Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury (A.D. 668-690) forbids abbots to make exchanges without the consent of the bishop and their brethren (*Pœnitentiale—De Abbatibus*).

The *Excoꝛtion*es ascribed erroneously to Archbishop Egbert of York (who held that metropolitan see from A.D. 732 to 766) declare that gifts, sales, or exchanges of Church property by bishops without the consent and written permission of the clergy shall be void (cap. 144). The *Pœnitentiale*, also attributed wrongly to the

same prelate, permits exchanges between monasteries with the consent of both communities (addit 25).

The last Council which passed canons on the subject of alienation during the period covered by this article, is the 2d Council of Nicaea (the "Seventh Oecumenical Council") held A.D. 787. The 12th canon making mention of the 39th Apostolic Canon forbids the alienation or transfer of Church lands by bishops and abbots in favour of princes or other secular potentates; and it also, like many of the canons hereinbefore cited, prohibits bishops from appropriating any ecclesiastical property to their own use or to that of their relatives. Even when the retention of any Church lands is unprofitable they may not be sold to magistrates or princes, but to the clergy or to farmers; and these again may not sell them to magistrates, and so contravene the spirit of the canon. Such deceitful transactions are invalid, and the bishop or abbot who is guilty of taking part in them is to be deposed.—See the elaborate *Schönon* of Balsamon on this canon, ap. *Ben. Pand. Can. i. 303*.

Having now gone through the principal canons passed by the ecclesiastical assemblies of the first eight centuries, there remain to be considered the laws by which the Christian emperors limited the power of the Church as regards the alienation of its property.

Constantine the Great had in a decree of the year A.D. 323 (secs. 16, 18) assured to the Church the safe enjoyment of its property, and had commanded the restitution as well by the State as by private individuals of all such property as they might have got possession of; but it does not appear that there was any imperial legislation concerning the alienation of Church property until after the promulgation of the *Codex Theodosianus* in A.D. 438.

The *Codex Repetitæ Prælectionis* promulgated by Justinian in December A.D. 529 contains in the 2d title of the 1st Book various provisions, made by his predecessors and re-enacted by him, on the subject of alienation.

In the 14th section there is a constitution of the Emperor Leo (A.D. 470) which prohibits the Archbishop of Constantinople, or any of his stewards (oeconomi) from alienating in any way the land or other immovable property or the coloni or slaves or state allowances (civiles annone) belonging to his Church, not even if all the clergy agreed with the Archbishop and his steward as to the propriety of the transaction. The reason given for this stringent law is that as the Church which is the mother of Religion and Faith, is changeless, her property ought to be preserved also without change. Any transactions completed in defiance of this constitution were given to the Church, and all profits resulting therefrom were parties to the act were to be dismissed, and might arise from this infringement of the law. The notaries employed were to be sent into perpetual exile, and the judge who ratified the proceeding was punished by the loss of his office and the confiscation of his property. There the case of a usufruct, the creation of which was permitted for a term of years or for the life of the usufructuary. (The editions of the

Corpus Juris Civilis generally contain after this section a series of extracts from the Novells on the same subject.)

The 17th section contains a constitution of the Emperor Anastasius to which no precise date has been promulgated between the years A.D. 491 and 517 (Hacnel, *Indices ad Corpus Legum* 1857). This constitution, like the last cited, applies solely to the Church of Constantinople, and relates to monasteries, orphanages and other eleemosynary institutions whose property might in cases of necessity be sold, exchanged, mortgaged, or leased in perpetual emphyteusis; provided that the transaction be effected in the manner therein prescribed and in the presence of the civil authorities and the representatives of the particular body whose property is about to be dealt with. It is, however, decreed that there be moveable property (the sacred vessels excepted) sufficient to meet the sum required, the immovable property shall not be touched.

In the 21st section is given a constitution of Justinian himself (A.D. 529) in which he forbids any sale or other alienation of sacred vessels or vestments except only with the object of redeeming captives (and, according to some editions, relieving famine); "quoniam non absurdum est animas hominum quibuscumque vasibus vel vestimentis præferre."

The rule which permitted the sale or melting down of Church plate for the redemption of captives is one of great antiquity. Its propriety is nowhere more eloquently defended than in the following passage from the 2d Book of St. Ambrose *De Officiis Ministrorum* (cir. A.D. 391) "Quid enim diceres? Timui ne templo Dei ornatus desisset? Responderet: Aurum Sacramenta non quaerunt; neque auro placent, quæ auro non emuntur. Ornatus sacramentorum redemptio captivorum est. Vere illa sunt vasa pretiosa, quæ redimunt animas a morte, ille vero thesaurus est Damii qui operatur quod sanguis Ejus operatus est. . . . Opus est ut quis fide sinceræ et perspicaci providentia munus hoc implet. Sane si in sua aliquis derivat emolumenta, crimen est; sin vero pauperibus erogat, captivum redimit, misericordia est." He concludes by directing that vessels which are not consecrated should be taken in preference to those which have been consecrated; and that both must be broken up and melted within the precinct of the Church (cap. 28). The supreme claims of charity over all other considerations are insisted upon in the same strain by St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Nepotianum*, A.D. 394) and St. Chrysostom (Hom. 52 in St. Mattheum), while at the same time the proper respect due to the sacred vessels is always emphatically enjoined, as, for example, in St. Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum* vi. 2. An example of the precautions taken against the abuse of this privilege is to be found in one of the letters of Gregory the Great (vii. 13) in which writing (A.D. 597) to Fortunatus, Bishop of Fano, he gives permission for the sale of Church plate in order to redeem captives, but directs, with the view of avoiding all suspicion, that the sale and the payment over of the money received therefrom should be made in the presence of the "defensor."

Passing to the *Novells* of Justinian—the 7th

Novell (A.D. 535) relates to the question of alienation of Church property, and professes to amend and consolidate the then existing laws, and to extend their operation to the whole of the empire. In the first chapter the alienation, either by sale, gift, exchange, or lease on perpetual emphyteusis, of immovables or quasi-immovables belonging to churches or eleemosynary institutions, was forbidden under the penalties prescribed by the above-cited constitution of Leo.

Under the 2nd chapter alienation is permitted in favour of the emperor when the proper forms are observed and ample compensation made, and when the transaction is for the public benefit. The reason given for this exception is not without significance. In the Latin version it is as follows: "Nec multum differant ab altarato sacerdotium et imperium, et res sacrae a communibus et publicis; quando omnis sacralisimae ecclesiis abundantia et status ex imperialibus magnificentiis perpetuo praebentur."

The third and four succeeding chapters contain regulations for the lease of Church estates by emphyteusis. Their provisions are too elaborate to be set out at length, but may be briefly stated thus: "The usual conditions of these emphyteuses are for three lives—that of the original emphyteuta and of two of his or her heirs, being children or grandchildren, or the husband or wife of the emphyteuta if there be a special clause to that effect (though about this power there is some doubt) in succession. Thus the duration of the lease is indeterminate and contingent. The contract was invalidated by default in payment of the quit rent (canon) for two instead of for three years as was the case with lay emphyteuses" (Colquhoun, *Roman Civil Law*, § 1709).

The 8th chapter renews the prohibition against the sale, pledge, or melting down of Church plate, except with the object of redeeming captives.

The 12th chapter sanctions the abandonment of all contracts made on behalf of the Church for the acquisition by gift or purchase of unprofitable land.

The 40th Novell (promulgated the following year, A.D. 536) gives to the "Church of the Holy Resurrection" at Jerusalem the privilege of alienating buildings belonging to it, notwithstanding the general prohibition contained in the 7th Novell.

The 46th Novell (A.D. 536 or 537) relaxed the law against the alienation of immovable Church property when there was not sufficient moveable property to pay debts owing to the State or to private creditors. But this step could not be taken except after investigation by the clergy, the bishop, and the metropolitan, and under a decree of the "judex provinciae."

The 2nd chapter of the 54th Novell (A.D. 537) permits exchanges between ecclesiastical and eleemosynary corporations, but the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople is excepted from the operation of this law as it is also from that of the 46th Novell.

The 55th Novell (A.D. 537) forbids alienation made ostensibly in favour of the emperor, but really for the benefit of private individuals. It also permits churches and other religious bodies (with the exception of the Church of St. Sophia)

to lease their lands to one another in perpetual emphyteusis.

The 65th Novell has reference to the alienation of property belonging to the Church of Mysia, but being only of local importance it need not be further considered.

In the 67th Novell (A.D. 538) the number of persons appointed under the 46th Novell to enquire into the propriety of any alienation is increased by the addition of two bishops chosen by the metropolitan from his Synod.

The 10th chapter of the 119th Novell (A.D. 544) permits the alienation by the emperor of Church property which had been transferred to him.

The last of the numerous edicts promulgated by Justinian on the alienation of Church property is contained in the 120th Novell (A.D. 544) in which he again undertakes the task of consolidating the law on this subject.

The first four chapters concern only the Church of Constantinople. The alienation of immovables is forbidden, except in favour of the emperor.

The 5th chapter relates to the property of other Churches. The provisions therein contained, and those contained in the previous chapters on emphyteusis are thus briefly summarized by Colquhoun (*Roman Civil Law*, § 1709):—"The 120th Novell was promulgated by Justinian in order to modify the rigour of the prohibition against creating perpetual emphyteuses on ecclesiastical property by restricting it to the estates of the Church of Constantinople, leaving the property of other Churches to be regulated by the common law. It is, however, very doubtful whether or not the emphyteusis on Church property can be perpetual without the express stipulation for a term. Nor does the prohibition appear to be absolute even as regards the Church of Constantinople, which had permission to grant perpetual emphyteuses in cases where it owned ruined edifices without the means of restoring them. The Novell fixes the amount at a third of the revenue which such edifices produced before their then ruined state, payable from the date of the emphyteutical title, or at a half of the revenue which the buildings actually produced after their restoration. What is doubtful with respect to the law is clear with regard to ecclesiastical emphyteuses, viz., that they must be reduced to writing. As before, the contract was invalidated by default to pay the quit rent for two instead of three years, as was the case with lay emphyteuses. The point open to discussion, in respect to lay emphyteuses, of whether the rent in arrear may be recovered and the expulsion of the tenant also insisted on, is clear in the case of ecclesiastical emphyteuses in the affirmative. Lastly, the Churches enjoyed a right of resumption entirely exceptional to the common law when the estate accrued 'aut in imperialem domum, aut in sacrum nostrum aerarium, aut in civitatem aliquam, aut in curiam, aut in aliquam venerabilem aliam domum.' This right of resumption applied equally in the case of all transmission of the right, whether inter vivos or mortis causa, without reference to the title of acquisition, and the time for its exercise was two years instead of two months as in lay cases."

The remaining chapters of this Novell relate

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to the exchange of ecclesiastical property and
the sale of immovables and Church plate for
the redemption of captives. The provisions
therein contained do not differ in any important
particular from the previous laws above cited on
the same subject, and they need not be repeated.

The provisions of the Civil Law (which have
now been examined) have been usefully arranged
by the glossator on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*,
Nov. 7 and Nov. 120 (ed. Lugd. 1627). Im-
movable property belonging to the Church en-
falls within the following classes—1. If it had
been given by the emperor (Nov. 120, 7). 2. If
the thing to be alienated is the church or mo-
nastery itself (ib.). 3. When the proposed trans-
ference is the oecumenus or other church (ib.).

4. When the property was given to the
Church subject to a condition that it should
not be alienated (Nov. 120, 9). 5. If the pro-
posed transference be a heretic (131, 14). But
subject to the above restrictions, immovable
property may be alienated under the following
circumstances, viz.:—1. For debt (Nov. 46).

2. By way of emphyteusis for a term (var.).
3. In exchange with another church (Nov. 54, 2).

4. If the transferee be the emperor (Nov. 7, 2).

5. For the redemption of captives (Nov. 120, 9).

On the other hand movable property can be
freely alienated if it be for the advantage of the
Church that such a step should be taken. The
exception to this rule is in the case of Church
plate, which cannot be alienated except for the
redemption of captives (Nov. 7, 8 and Nov. 120,

10), and for the payment of debt when it is not
necessary for the proper performance of Divine
Service (Nov. 120, 10).

The *Barbarian Codes* contain, as might be
expected, many laws directed against the forcible
seizure of Church property, but such acts can
hardly be considered to fall under the head
of alienation. There are, however, a few pro-
visions on the subject anterior in date to the
death of Charlemagne.

By the 3rd chapter of the 5th Book of the
Leges Visigothorum (cir. A.D. 700; see Davoud
Oghlou, *Histoire de la Legislation des Anciens*
Germanais, i. 2) if any bishop or clerk alienate
by sale or gift any Church property without the
consent of the rest of the clergy, such sale or
gift is void, unless it be made according to the
ancient canons.

Again in the 20th chapter of the *Lex Alaman-
norum* (which in its present shape was prob-
ably compiled about the beginning of the 8th
century—see Davoud Oghlou, *op. cit.* i. 304) the
liferous clergy are forbidden to sell Church lands
or slaves except by way of exchange.

In the collection entitled *Capitularia Regum
Francorum* there is a Capitulary of the date A.D.
814, forbidding all persons whatsoever to ask
for or receive any Church property under pain of
excommunication (8, 135).

There are also two Capitularies which are
probably not later in date than the one last
cited. By the first of these presbyters are for-
bidden to sell Church property without the con-
sent of the bishop (7, 27); to which in the
second is added the consent of other priests of
good reputation (7, 214).

(The following authorities may be consulted:
—Du Roussseau de la Combe, *Recueil de Juris-*

prudencia Canonique [Paris 1735], sub voce *Ali-
nation*; Boehmer, *Jus Ecclesiasticum Prototan-
tica* [Halle Mgnd. 1738, &c.] in *Decret.* iii. 13;
Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica* [ed. Migne], sub
voce *Alienatio*; Sylvester Manzoini da Prieiro
[Lugd. 1533] sub voce *Alienatio*; Baldoanus, *De
Reus Ecclesiae non alienandis* [printed in the 2nd
part of the 15th volume of the *Tractatus Uni-
versi Juris*, Venice, 1584]; and the *Commentari-
um Juris Civilis*, and on the following passages from
the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, *Decreti Secunda
Pars*, Causa xii. Questio 2; and *Decretal. lib.*
iii. 13).

[I. B.]

ALLELUIA (Greek Ἀλληλούια). The litur-
gical form of the Hebrew אֱלֹהֵינוּ, "Sing ye
praises to Jehovah;" a formula found in Psalm
117, and in the headings of several Psalms, espe-
cially Psalms 113-118, which formed the "Hal-
lel," or Alleluia Magnum, sung at all the greater
Jewish feasts. Alleluia and Amen, says the
Pseudo-Augustine (*Ep.* 178, ii. 1160, Migne),
neither Latin nor barbarian has ventured to
translate from the sacred tongue into his own;
in all lands the mystic sound of the Hebrew is
heard.

1. It is thought by some that the early Church
transferred to the Christian Paschal feast the
custom of singing Psalms with Alleluia at the
Paschal sacrifice; and this conjecture derives
some probability from the fact, that in the most
ancient sacramentaries the Alleluia precedes and
follows a verse, as in the Jewish usage it precedes
and follows a Psalm. Yet we can hardly doubt
that the use of the Alleluia in the Church was
confirmed, if not originated, by St. John's vision
(*Apoc.* 19, 6) of the heavenly choir, who sang
Alleluia to the Lord God Omnipotent. By the
4th century it seems to have been well known as
the Christian shout of joy or victory; for Sozomen
(*H. E.* vii. 15, p. 298) tells of a voice
heard (an. 389) in the temple of Serapis at
Alexandria chanting Alleluia, which was taken
for a sign of its coming destruction by the
Christians. The victory which the Christian Britons,
under the guidance of Germanus of Auxerre, with
their loud shout of Alleluia, gained over the
pagan Picts and Scots (an. 429) is another instance
of the use of Alleluia for encouragement and
triumph (Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i. c. 20,
p. 49); and Sidorius Apollinaris (*lib.* ii. *Ep.* 10,
p. 53) speaks as if he had heard the long lines of
baiters by the river side, as they towed the
boats, chanting Alleluia as a "celestium," to make
them pull together. These instances are of course
not altogether free from suspicion; but they
serve to show that in early times the Alleluia
was regarded as a natural expression of Christian
exultation or encouragement.

2. A special use of the Alleluia is found in the
liturgies both of East and West. In most Eastern
liturgies it follows immediately upon the CRE-
DENDO HYMN, which precedes the greater EN-
TRANCE; as, for instance, in those of St. James,
St. Mark, and St. Chrysostom (Neale's *Tetratolia*,
pp. 54, 55). In the Mozarabic, which has many
Oriental characteristics, it is sung after the
Gospel, while the priest is making the oblation:
"Interim quod chorus dicit Alleluia, offerat sacer-
dos hostiam cum calice" (Neale's *Tetratolia*,
p. 60). In the West, it follows the GRADUAL,

at. so immediately precedes the reading of the Gospel. In early times it seems to have been simply intoned by the cantor who had sung the Gradual, standing on the steps of the Ambo, and repeated by the choir; but before the 8th century the custom arose of prolonging the last syllable of the Alleluia, and singing it to musical notes (Ordo Romanus II. in Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, vol. ii. p. 44). This was called *Alleluia*. The jubilant sound of the Alleluia, however, was felt to be fitting only for seasons of joy; hence its use was in many churches limited to the interval between Easter and Whitsunday. Sozomen, indeed (*H. E.* vii. 13, p. 307) seems to say that in the Roman Church it was used only on Easter-day; but we cannot help suspecting that he must have misunderstood his informant, who may have used the word "Pascha" to denote the whole of the seven weeks following Easter-day; for St. Augustine distinctly says (*Ep. ad Januarium*; *Ep.* 119 [al. 55] p. 220 Migne) that the custom of singing Alleluia during those fifty days was universal, though in several churches it was used on other days also. In the Rule of St. Benedict (c. 15, p. 297) the use of Alleluia in the responses of the mass seems to be limited to the season from Easter to Whitsunday; but soon after Benedict's time it was probably more common in the West to intermit its use only from Septuagesima to Easter. For at the end of the 6th century, Gregory the Great writes to John of Syracuse (*Epist.* ix. 12, p. 940) that some murmured because he (Gregory) was overmuch given to following the customs of the Greek Church, and in particular because he had ordered the Alleluia to be said at mass beyond the Pentecostal season (extra tempora Pentecostes); so far, he continues, is this from being the case, that whereas the Church of Rome in the time of Pope Damasus had adopted, through Jerome's influence, from the Church of Jerusalem the limitation of the Alleluia to the season before Pentecost, he had actually innovated on this Greek custom in ordering the Alleluia to be said at other seasons also. This seems the most probable sense of this much-reverted passage, as to the reading and interpretation of which there is much difference of opinion. (See Baronius, *Ann.* 384, n. 27, vol. v., p. 578; and Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii. xcvi.) The 4th Council of Toledo (canon 11) orders that (in accordance with the universal custom of Christendom) the Alleluia should not be said in the Spanish and Gaulish churches during Lent—an injunction which seems to imply that its use was permitted during the rest of the year. The same canon (in some MSS.) also forbids the Alleluia on the Kalends of January, "quæ propter errorem gentilium aguntur," but on which Christians ought to fast.

The intermission of Alleluia during a particular season is expressed by the phrase "Alleluia clausum" (Du Cange, s. v.).

3. We have already seen that St. Benedict prescribed the use of the Alleluia in the responses of the Mass from Pasch to Pentecost. He prescribed it also in the ordinary offices (*Regula*, c. 12, p. 286). From Pentecost to Ash-Wednesday, however, it was to be said in the nocturnal office only with the six last Psalms: "A Pentecoste autem ad caput quadragesime omnibus noctibus cum sex posterioribus Psalmis tan-

tum ad nocturnas dicitur" (*Regula*, c. 15, p. 297).

In the Roman arrangement of the ordinary offices, the Alleluia follows the "Invocatio" in all the hours; but from Septuagesima to the Thursday in Holy Week the verse, "Laus tibi Domine; Rex æternæ gloriæ," is substituted.

4. We learn from Jerome (*Ep.* 27 [108], § 19, p. 712, ad Eustochium; cf. 23 [38], § 4, p. 175) that the sound of the Alleluia summoned monks to say their offices: "Post Alleluia cantatum, quo signo vocabantur ad collectam, nulli residue licitum erat."

5. It was chanted at funerals; as, for instance, at that of Fabiola (Jerome, *Ep. ad Oceanum*, 30 [77], p. 466); at that of Pope Agapetus in Constantinople (Baronius, *ann.* 536, § 64, vol. ix., p. 544).

This usage is found in the Mozarabic rite, and perhaps once existed in the ancient Gallican (Baronius, *ann.* 590, § 39, vol. x., p. 485).

(Bona, *De Divina Psalmodia*, c. xvi. § 7; *De Rebus Liturgiis*, lib. ii., c. 6, § 5; Krazer, *De Liturgiis*, p. 419.) [C.]

ALL SAINTS, FESTIVAL OF (*Omnia Sanctorum Natalis, Festivitas, Solemnitas*).—In the Roman Church a particular Sunday, the first after Pentecost, was appropriated in ancient times to the commemoration of all martyrs. Chrysostom, in the *Ἐγκόμιον εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἔτει τῷ κόσμῳ μαρτυρήσαντας*, says that on the Octave of Pentecost they find themselves in the midst of the band of martyrs; *παράθεον ἡμᾶς μαρτύρων χόρος* (Opp. ii. 711); and there is a similar allusion in *Orat. contra Judæos*, vi. (Opp. ii. p. 650). This Festival of All Martyrs became in later times a Festival of All Saints, and the Sunday next after Pentecost appears in the Calendar of the Greek Menologion as *Κυριακὴ τῶν Ἁγίων πάντων*. The intention in so placing this commemoration probably was to crown the ecclesiastical year with a solemnity dedicated to the whole glorious band of saints and martyrs.

In the West, the institution of this festival is intimately connected with the dedication to Christian purposes of the Pantheon or Rotunda at Rome. This temple, built in honour of the victory of Augustus at Actium, was dedicated by M. Agrippa to Jupiter Vindex, and was called the Pantheon, probably from the number of statues of the gods which it contained, though other reasons are assigned for the name.

Up to the time of St. Gregory the Great, idol-temples were generally thrown down, or, if they were suffered to remain, were thought unworthy to be used in the service of God. Gregory himself at first maintained this principle, but in the latter part of his life, thought it would conduce more to the conversion of the heathen if they were allowed to worship in the accustomed spot with new rites (see his well-known letter to Mellitus, in Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 30; Opp. vi. p. 79); and from this time, the principle of converting heathen temples to Christian uses seems to have become fixed. In the beginning of the 7th century, it was at Rome retained almost the solitary monument of the old heathen worship in Rome. In the year 777 Boniface III. obtained from the Emperor Focas the important recognition of the supremacy of Rome over all

ment of the ordinary
"the Invocation" in
Septuagesima to the
verse, "Lans tibi
ne," is substituted.
(Ep. 27 [108], § 19,
23 [38], § 4, p. 175)
in summoned monks
leluia antatum, quo
tam, nulli reside

als; as, for instance,
Ep. ad Oceanum, 30
Agapetus in Com-
536, § 64, vol. ix.,

Mozarabic rite, and
ancient Gallian (Ba-
p. 482).
u., c. xvi. § 7; De
§ 8; Krazer, De
[C.]

OF (Omnium Sanc-
tommis).—In the
Sunday, the first
anted in ancient
of all martyrs.
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Pentecost they find
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ALL SAINTS

other churches; and in the same year his suc-
cessor, Boniface IV., having cleansed and restored
the Pantheon, obtained the emperor's permission
to dedicate it to the service of God, in the name
"S. Mariae semper Virginis et omnium Martyr-
um;" (*Libor Pontif. in Muratori, Rer. Ital. Scriptores*, iii. 1, 135). This dedication is com-
memorated, and is believed to have taken place,
on May 13. On this day we find in the old Ro-
man Martyry edited by Rosweyd, "S. Mariae
ad Martyres dedicatiois dies agitur a Bonifacio
Papa statutus." Baronius tells us, that he found
it recorded in an ancient MS. belonging to the
Church itself, that it was first dedicated "In
honorem S. Mariae, Dei Genetrix, et omnium
SS. Martyrum et Confessorum;" and that at the
time of dedication the bones of martyrs from
the various cemeteries of the city were borne in
a procession of twenty-eight carriages to the
church. (*Martyrol. Rom.* p. 204.) The technical
use of the word "confessor" seems, however, to
indicate a somewhat later date than that of the
dedicat on; and Paulus Diaconus (*Hist. Longo-
bard.* iv. 37, p. 570) tells us simply that Phocas
granted Boniface permission, "Ecclesiam beatae
semper Virginis Mariae et omnium Martyrum
feri, ut ubi quondam omnium non deorum sed
demonum cultus erat, ibi deinceps omnium fieret
memoria sanctorum;" and the church bears to
this day the name of "S. Maria dei Martiri."
This festival of the 13th May was not wholly
confined to the city of Rome, yet it seems to have
been little more than a dedication-festival of the
Rotunda, corresponding to the dedication-festivals
of other churches, but of higher celebrity, as the
commemoration of the final victory of Christianity
over Paganism.

The history of the establishment of the
festival of All Saints on Nov. 1 is somewhat
obscure. The *Martyrologium Rom.* Vct., al-
ready quoted, gives under "Kal. Novembr." a
"Festivitas Sanctorum, quae celebris et gene-
ralis agitur Romae." The very terms here used
show that this "Festivitas Sanctorum" was a
specially Roman festival, and it was probably
simply the dedication-feast of an oratory dedi-
cated by Gregory III. "In honorem Omnium
Sanctorum." But in the 8th century, the ob-
servance of the festival was by no means con-
fined to Rome. Beda's *Metrical Martyrology* has

"Multiplex rutilat gemma eae in fronte November,
Sanctorum fulget Sanctorum laude decoris."

In the ancient Hieronymian calendar in
D'Achery (*Spicleg.* tom. ii.), it appears under
Kal. Novemb., but only in the third place;
"Natalis St. Caesarii; St. Andomari Episcopi;
sive Omnium Sanctorum." The list of festivals
in the *Penitential* of Boniface gives "In solemnitate
Omnium Sanctorum;" but the feast is not
found in the list given by Chrodegang (an. 762),
or in Charlemagne's Capitulary (*Opp. Caroli
Magni*, i. 326) on the subject of festivals. It
appears then to have been observed by some
churches in Germany, France, and England in
the middle of the 8th century, but not univer-
sally. It was perhaps this diversity of practice
which induced Gregory IV., in the year 835, to
suggest to the Emperor Lewis the Pious, a general
ordinance on the subject. Siegbert, in his
Chronicon (in Pistorius, *Script. Germ.* tom. i.),
tells us, under that year, "Tunc monente Gre-

ALL SOULS

gorio Papa, et omnibus episcopis assentientibus,
Ludovicus Imperator statuit, ut in Gallia et
Germania Festivitas Omnium Sanctorum in Kal.
Novemb. celebraretur, quam Romani ex Instituto
Bonifacii Papae celebrant." (*Compare Adonis
Martyrol.* ed. Rosweyd, p. 180.) It would seem
from this, that the festivals of the latter day
and Nov. 1 had already coalesced on May 13 and
that the one festival then observed was
referred to Boniface IV., who, in fact, instituted
that of May 13. The time was perhaps chosen
as being, in a large part of Lewis's dominions,
the time of leisure after harvest, when men's
hearts are disposed to thankfulness to the Giver
of all good. From this time, All Saints' day be-
came one of the great festivals of the Church,
and its observance general throughout Europe.

It probably had a Vigil from the first, as be-
fore the time of its general observance a Vigil
and Fast preceded the great festivals of the
Church. It may, perhaps, have had an octave
from its first institution in Rome itself; but this
was not the case in other churches, for an octave
of All Saints does not seem to be found in any
calendar earlier than the 13th century. Proper
 collects, preface, and benediction for the "Natalis
Omnium Sanctorum" are found in some, but not
the most ancient, MSS. of the Gregorian Sacra-
mentary (p. 138).

(Baronius in *Martyrologio Romano*, May 13
and Nov. 1; Binterlin's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol.
v. pt. 1, p. 487 ff.; Alt in Herzog's *Real-Encyclo-
pædie*, i. 247.)

[C.]

ALL SOULS, FESTIVAL OF (*Omnium fide-
lium defunctorum memoria* or *commemoratio*).
Very ancient traces of the observance of a day
for the commemoration of "the souls of all
those who have died in the communion of the
body and blood of our Lord" (according to
Cyprian) appear in the Fathers of the Church.
Tertullian (*De Corona Militis*, c. 3) says,
"Oblationes pro defunctis annua die facimus."
And to the same effect he speaks (*De Exhort.
Castitatis*, c. 11, and *De Monogam.* c. 10) of
annual offerings (oblationes) for the souls of
the departed. These were probably made on the an-
niversary of the death, and were especially the
business of surviving relatives. So Chrysostom
(*Hom.* 29 in *Acta Apost.*), speaks of those who
made commemoration of a mother, a wife or a
child. Similarly Augustine (*De Cura pro Mor-
tuis*, ch. 4).

It appears from an allusion in Amalarius of
Metz (before 837) that in his time a day was
specially dedicated to the commemoration of all
souls of the departed, and it seems probable that
this was the d. following All Saints' Day.
Amalarius says expressly (*De Eccl. Officiis*, lib.
iii. c. 44) "Anniversaria dies idae repetitur
pro defunctis, quoniam necessarius qualiter eorum
causa habentur in altera vita." And in c. 65,
he says "Post officium Sanctorum inserui of-
ficium pro mortuis; multi enim transierunt de
praesenti saeculo qui non illico sanctis conjun-
guntur, pro quibus solito more officium agitur."
The festival of All Souls is here regarded as a
kind of supplement to that of All Saints, and
may very probably have taken place on the
morrow of that day. But the earliest definite
injunction for the observance of a commemoration
of all souls of the departed on Nov. 2 appears to

he that of Odilo, Abbot of Clugny, in the 10th century. A pilgrim returning from Jerusalem, says Peter Damiani (*Vita Odilonis*, Opp. ii. 410), reported to Odilo a woful vision which he had had on his journey of the suffering of souls in purgatorial fire; Odilo thereupon instituted in the churches under his control a general commemoration of the souls of the faithful departed on the day following All Saints' Day: "per omnia monasteria sua constituit generale decretum, ut sicut primo die Mensis Novembris juxta universalis Ecclesie regulam omnium Sanctorum solemnitas nigitur; ita sequenti die in psalmis, elemosynis et praeipue Missarum solemnibus, omnium in Christo quiescentium memoria celebraretur." This order was soon adopted, not only by other monastic congregations, but by bishops for their dioceses; for instance, by the contemporary Bishop Notger of Liège (*Chronicon Belgicum*, in Pistorius's *Scriptores Germani*, iii. 92). The observance appens, in fact, in a short time to have become general, without any ordinance of the Church at large on the subject.

But even after the observance of a commemoration of All Souls on Nov. 2 became common, we find (*Statutus of Calors*, in Murten, *Theaurus Anecd.* iv. 766) that in some places the morrow of St. Hilary's Day (Jan. 14), and in others the morrow of the Octaves of Easter and Pentecost were appropriated to the special commemoration of the souls of the departed (*Binterim's Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. v. pt. 1, p. 492 ff.).

ALMACHIUS, martyr at Rome, commemorated Jan. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae*). [C.]

ALMS (*Ἐλεμοσύνη*, non-classical in this sense, either word or thing; although for the thing, see Seneca, *De Benefic.* vi. 3, and *M. Atrial*, *Épigr.* v. 42; and for the word also, *Diog. Laert.* v. 17: first found in the special meaning of alms in LXX., Dan. iv. 24 [27 Heb.], where the original reads "righteousness;" so also *Tobit* xii. 9, xiv. 11 [and elsewhere], *Ecclesi.* iii. 30, iv. 2, vii. 10, xix. 15, 16, xxxv. 2). Alms recognized as a duty throughout the O. T., but brought into prominence in the later Jewish period (cf. Buxtorf, *Forl. Hebr.* p. 68; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in *Mat.* vi. 2, *Luc.* ii. 8), when they were formally and regularly given in the synagogues (*Vitring. De Syn. Vet.*) to be distributed by appointed officers, as also by putting them into certain trumpet-shaped alms-boxes in the temple, called *γαβροφιλάνια* (*Le Moyne, Not. in Var. Sac.* ii. 75; *Deyling, Observ. Sac.* iii. 175; distinct from the *γαβροφιλάνιον* or treasury of St. Luke xxi. 1). They were regarded also as a work specially acceptable to God (*Prov.* xix. 17, xxii. 9, &c.; *Tobit*, and *Ecclesi.*, *passim*; *St. Luke* xi. 41, *Acts* x. 2). In like manner they became in the Christian Church—

1. A fundamental law of Christian morality (*St. Matt.* x. 42, xix. 21, xxv. 35; *St. Luke* xii. 33; *Acts* ii. 44, iv. 34-37, xi. 29, 30; *Rom.* xii. 13, xv. 25; *2 Cor.* viii. 12, ix. 7; *Gal.* ii. 1, vi. 10; *Ephes.* iv. 28; *1 Tim.* vi. 18; *Hebr.* xiii. 16; *1 Pet.* iv. 8, 9; *1 John* iii. 17), so thoroughly recognized as to make it both superfluous and impossible to enumerate patristic allusions to it. Special acts on almsgiving, by *St. Cyprian*, *De Opere et Elemos.*; *St. Greg.*

Nyss., *De Pauperibus Amandis Orat.* II. *St. Greg. Naz.*, *De Pauperum Amore Orat.*; *St. Basil M.*, *Serm. de Elemos.* inter *Serm.* non. *XXII.*; *St. Ephraem Syrus*, *De Amore Pauperum*; *St. Leo M.*, *Sermones VI. De Coelestibus et Elemos.*; *St. Maximus*, *Ad Joann. Chalc.*, *Épist.* II. (*De Elemos.*); and among the sermons attributed to *St. Chrysostom*, one *De Spon.*, *2 Elemos.*, and three *De Elemos.*, &c. (and see a collection of patristic citations in *Drexelius, De Elemosynis*). Even *Julian the Apostate*, c. A.D. 355, bears testimony that the almsgiving of "the Galileans" overflowed beyond their own poor to the heathen (as quoted below); and thinks it expedient to boast of his own kindness (*Ad Themist.*). Compare also such notable examples as those, e.g., of *Pope Soter* as described by his contemporary *Dionysius Bishop of Corinth*, c. A.D. 160 (sp. *Euseb. II. E.* iv. 23); of *Paulinus of Nola*; of *Deo Gratias Bishop of Carthage* towards *Genesius's captives* (see *Illmin, L. C.* i. 265, and *Gibbon*); of *Johannes "Eleemosynarius"*, Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 606-616; and the occurrence of such expressions as, "Hoc praeestat elemosynas quod et Baptisma" (*St. Hieron.* in *Ps. cxviii.*), "Christiani sacrificium est elemosyna in pauperem" (*St. Aug. Serm. xlii.*, from *Heb.* xiii. 16); or again, that almsgiving is the "characteristic mark of a Christian,"—*χαριστηριακὸν Χριστιανῶν*, and that it is *ἡγήρω ἀγάπης, φάρμακον ἀμαρτημάτων, κλημα ἐστὶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐστηρικμένον* (*St. Chrys.* in *Heb.* *Hom.* xxiii., and in *Tit. Hon.* vi.); or again, that "res ecclesiae" are "patrimonia pauperum."

II. An integral part of Christian worship (*Acts* ii. 42, vi. 1; *1 Cor.* xiii. 1; *1 Tim.* v. 3, 16); alms for the poor, to be distributed by the clergy (*Acts* xi. 30), being a regular portion of the offerings made in church, among those for the support of the clergy, and oblations in kind for the Church services (*Justin M.*, *Apol. I.* p. 98, *Thirly*; *St. Greg. Naz.*, *Orat.* xx, *Opp.* i. 351; *Constit. Apostol.* iv. 6, 8; *St. Chrys.*, *Hom.* l. in *S. Matth.* *Opp.* vii. 518, *Ben.*; *Conc. Gangrens.*, circ. A.D. 324, c. 8; for the East:—*St. Iren.*, *Adv. Haer.* iv. 18; *St. Cyr.*, *De Op. et Elemos.* 203, *Fell*; *Tertull.*, *Apol.* 39; *Arnob.*, *Adv. Valent.* *Opp.* ii. 827, *Ben.*; *Conc. Elber.*, A.D. 304, cc. 28, 29; *Conc. Carthag.* iv., A.D. 398, cc. 93, 94; *Optatus, De Schism. Donat.* vi. p. 93, *Albaspin.*; *Conc. Matiscon.* ii., A.D. 585, c. 4; *Hom.* cclxv. in *Append. ad S. Aug.* *Opp.* v.; *Resp. Greg. M.* ad *Qu. Aug.* op. *Baed. II. E.* i. 27; for the West: *Psalms* being sung, at least in Carthage, during the collection and distribution, *St. Aug. Retract.* ii. 11); and this as a privilege, the names of considerable donors being recited (*Constit. Apostol.* iii. 4; *St. Cyr.*, *Épist.* ix. ad xvii., ix. ad lxiii.; *St. Hieron.*, in *Jerm.* xi. *Ep.* ii., in *Épist.* xviii.; *St. Chrys.*, *Hom.* xviii. in *Act.*; *Const. Caecil.* et *Felix.* ad *in. Optat.* p. 95), and the offerings of evil-doers, enervement, ex-communicate persons, &c., and of those at enmity with their brethren, being rejected (*St. Iren.*, *Adv. Haer.* iv. 3; *Tertull.*, *De Praescr.* 30; *Constit. Apostol.* i. 7; *St. Athan.*, *Ep. ad Solitar.*, p. 36; *St. Basil*, *Épist.* ad *Bonifac.* in *App. ad Opp.*, &c.; *Conc. Hier.*, A.D. 524, c. 13; and *Actis* of the Synod of A.D. 578, c. 17; the Irish synods assigned to *St. Patrick*, c. 12, *Wilk.* i. 3,

mundis Oratt. 17. St. Amore Orat.; St. Basil or Sozom. XXVI.; St. Leo P. P. in *Epist. II.* (*De Eleemos.*); St. Leo P. P. in *Epist. II.* (*De Eleemos.*); and three collections of patriarchal *Eleemosyn.* Even in 355, bears testimony the Gallileans "over-poor to the heathen"; and compare Lucian, *Ad Themi.*), *Com-* plices as those, *e.g.*, by his contemporary *th.*, c. AD. 160 (sp. Paulinus of Nola; of things towards Gen. *U. L. c.* 265, and *monasteriis*). Patri- *6-116*; and the *ocis* as, "Hoc praestat *aniculum*" (St. Hieron. in *crificium* est *eleemo-* *gism.* *Serm. xlii.*, from *alms* giving is the *Christian*,—"χαρὰκ" that it is *ἀφ' ἑνὸς* *τῶν, κλητὰς εἰς τὸν* *τῶν* in *Heb. Hom.*); or again, that *unia pauperum*, "in- *tion* worship (St. *im.* v. 3, 16); Acts by the clergy (Acts on of the offerings for the support of and for the Church p. 98, Thirby; St. *i.* 351; *Constit.* *Hom.* 1. in *S.* *Conc. Gangrens.* *East*—St. Iren., *De Op. et Eleem.* 39; Arnob., *Adv.* *ros.* *Ep.* xvii. *Ad* *Conc. Eliber.* A.D. *aj.* iv., A.D. 382. *a. Donat.* vi. p. 93, *S. Aug.* *Opp.* v.; *A. D.* 585, c. 4; *op. Bued.* II. *E.* *eing* sung, at least and distrib- and this as a pri- able donors being St. Cypr., *Epist.* *ron.* in *Jerem.* *ri.* *arys.* *Hom.* xviii. *fin.* *Opitii* p. 95) *energumeni*, ex- and of those at- ing rejected (St. *l.* *De Praescrip.* *Athan.*, *Ep.* *ad* *ad. Bonifac.* in *Merid.* A.D. 524, c. 17.); the Irish c. 12, Wilk. i. 3,

ALMS

and c. 2, lb. 4; and St. Ambrose, Optatus, and the Councils of Lerida and Carthage, above quoted; or later still, *Capit. Howard. Archiep. Turon.* 116, in Baluz. *Capit.* l. 1294, and repeatedly in the *Capitularies*. There was also an alms-box (*χαρτοφύλακτον, κοινάριον*, see St. Cypr., *De Op. et Eleemos.*, and St. Hieron., *Epist.* 27, c. 14), placed monthly (Tertull., *Apol.* 39). And Paulinus (*Epist.* 32) speaks of a table (*mensa*) for receiving the offerings. Collections for the poor in church both on Sundays and on week days are mentioned by St. Leo the Great (*Serm. de Collectis*). The poor also habitually sat at the church door, at least in the East, to receive alms (St. Chrys., *Hom.* xxvii. *De Verb. Apost.*, *Hom.* i. in 2 Tim., *Hom.* iii. *De Poenit.*).

III. An institution having a formal list of recipients, mainly widows and orphans (St. Ignat., *Ad Polycarp.* iv.; *Constit. Apost.* iv. 4, &c.); or, upon occasion, martyrs in prison or in the mines, or other prisoners, or shipwrecked persons (Dion. Corinth. ap. Euseb. II. *E.* iv. 23; Tertull., *De Jejun.* 13; Lucian, *De Morte Peregrin.* § 11, *Op.* viii. 279, Bipont.; Liban., A.D. 387, *Orat.* xlv. in *Tisamen.*, *Orat. de Victis*, ii. 258, 445, ed. Reiske); and special officers, as for other directly ecclesiastical functions, so also for managing the church alms, viz. deacons (*Constit. Apost.* ii. 31, 32, il. 19; Dionys. Alex. ap. Euseb. II. *E.* vii. 11; St. Cypr., *Epist.* xli., and xlix. al. lii., Full.; St. Hieron., *Ad Nepot. Epist.* xxxiv.); and among women, deaconesses, commonly widows of advanced age (*Constit. Apost.* iii. 15; St. Hieron., *Ad Nepot. Epist.* xxxiv.; and Lucian and Libanias as above). See also Tertullian (*Ad Uxor.* ii. 4 and 8) for the charitable works of married Christian matrons.

IV. These arrangements were supplemented when necessary by special collections appointed by the bishop (Tertull., *De Jejun.* 13), after the pattern of St. Paul, for extraordinary emergencies, whether at home or among brethren or others elsewhere; *e.g.* St. Cyprian's collection of "sestertia centum millia nummorum" for the redemption of Numidiana captives from the barbarians (St. Cyp., *Epist.* ix.); mostly accompanied by fast days (Tertull. *ib.*—and so, long after, Theodulph, A.D. 787 [*Capit.* 38], enjoins almsgiving continually, but specially on fast days), but sometimes at the ordinary Church service (St. Leo M., *De Collectis*); a practice which grew sometimes into the abuse which was remedied by the Council of Tours (ii. A.D. 567, c. 5), enacting that each city should provide for its own poor, and by Gregory the Great, desiring the Bishop of Milan to protect a poor man at Genoa from being compelled to contribute to such a collection (St. Greg., *Epist.* ix. 126). See also St. Hieron., *Ad. Vigilantium*.

The *ἀγάραι* also may be mentioned in this connection (1 Cor. xi. 20, Jude 12; Tertull., *Conc. Laod.*, A.D. 364, c. 5, and see *Conc. Quini-* *act.* A.D. 762, c. 74; and under *AGAPAE*). Also the *ἐξωδὸς* or *ἐξωδοχέαι* (St. Chrys., *Hom.* xlv. in *Act. Apostol.*; St. Aug., *Tract.* xxvii. in *Joh.* § 4); the *πρωτοτροφεία*, managed by the "κληρ- *ικὸν* or *ἀφ' ἑνὸς τῶν πτωχῶν*" (*Conc.* *Chalced.* A.D. 451, c. 8; and Pallad., *Hist. Laus.* v.); the *γυροκομεία*, the *νοσοκομεία* (Pallad., *V. Chrye.* p. 19), the *ὀφθαλμοτροφεία*: of which the

ALMS

names explain themselves (and see abundant references in Suicer, *sub voc.*, and Justinian also enacts laws respecting such institutions and the clergy who manage them), and which came into being with the Christian Church. *E. g.*, the *βασιλικὴ* of St. Basil at Caesarea stands as a notable example of a Christian hospital, at once for sick and strangers (St. Basil, M., *Epist.* 94; 34), with its smaller offshoots in the neighbour- ing country (St. Basil, M., *Epist.* 142, 143); and so also the hospital of St. Chrysostom, with his advice on the subject to the faithful of Con- stantinople (St. Chrys., *Hom.* xlv. in *Act. Apost.*, "in portu Romano" by Pammachius and Fabiola (St. Hieron., *Ad Ocean.* *Ep.* lxxxiv.). Add also the alms given at marriage and at funerals (St. Chrys., *Hom.* xxxii. in *S. Matth.*; St. Hieron., *Ad Pammach. de Obitu Uxor.* *Ep.* liv.; Pseudo- Origen., *Comment.* in *Job.* lib. iii. p. 437; St. Aug., *Cont. Faust.* xx. 20; and see Bingham). Our own Council of Ceredythy, in A.D. 810 (c. 10), directs the tenth of a bishop's substance to be given in alms upon his death. The Man- ichaeans appear to have refused alms to needy persons not Manichaeans on some reconditte principle of their connection with the principle or evil, for which they are condemned by St. Aug. (*De Mor. Manich.* ii. 15, 16) and Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 26).

There was apparently no specified rule for division of ecclesiastical revenues, originally of course entirely voluntary offerings, anterior to the 5th century; the bishop being throughout their chief administrator, but by the hands of the deacons (see *e.g.* St. Cypr., about Felicis- simus, *Epist.* xli.; and *Conc. Gangr.*, c. 8, and Epiphani., *Haer.* xl., condemning the Enstatianes for withdrawing their alms from the bishop or the officer appointed by him). In the Western Church in the 5th century (setting aside the questionable decree of the Synod of Rome under Sylvester in 324) we find a fourfold division of them: 1, for the bishop; 2, for the clergy; 3, for the poor; 4, for the fabric and sustentation of the churches. Or again, for 1. Churches; 2. Clergy; 3. Poor; 4. Strangers. This originated with the Popes Simplicius (*Epist.* 3, A.D. 467) and Gelasius (in *Gratian. Caus.* 12, q. 2, by St. Gregory the Great at the end of the 6th century (*e.g.* *Ep.* iv. 11, v. 44, vii. 8, xlii. 44; *J. c.* 5), was varied in Charlemagne's and Lud- wig's *Capitularies* (i. 80, Baluz. 718), as re- garded voluntary offerings, into two-thirds to the poor and one-third to the clergy in rich places, and half to each in poor ones; but was repeated in the old form by the *Cypat.* of Charle- magne himself respecting tithes (Baluz. i. 356) and by the *Counc. f. Worms.* A.D. 868, c. 7; *Tribur.*, A.D. 895, c. 13; and *Nantes.* A.D. 895 (?), c. 10 (if at least this last is not to be referred to the Council of Nantes in 638).

The special office of *Almonarius* or *Almoner* occurs in later times, afterwards the name of the superintendent of the alms-house or hospital, but at first a distributor of alms: both in monas- teries (described at length by Du Cange, from MS of St. Victor of Paris), although the office in the older Egyptian monasteries belonged to the

œconomus, under the special name of *διακονία* (Cassin, *Collat.* xviii. 7, xxi. 9); and afterwards, in England at least, as an officer attached to each bishop (Conc. Oron., A.D. 1222; Lyndw., *Provinc.* i. 13, p. 67); and lastly to the king, as e.g. in England, and notably to the Kings of France (see a list in Du Cange).

In the history of doctrine, the subject of almsgiving is connected—I. With the notions of community of goods, voluntary poverty, and the difficulty of salvation to the rich; and the current voice of fathers, as e.g. Tertull., *Apol.* 39, Justin M., *Apol.* 1, Arab. *Adv. Gent.* iv. in fin., magnifying the temper indicated by τὰ τῶν πτωχῶν ἄρα καὶ, while others, as St. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* iii. 6, p. 336, Potter), rejected its literal and narrow pervasion (see also his tract at length, *Quis Dices Sacerdotis?*); which perversion indeed the Church condemned in the cases of the *Apostolici* or *Apostaticæ* (St. Aug., *De Haer.* xi. Opp. viii. 9; St. Epiph., *Hæc.* lxi.), and of the Massilians (St. Epiph., *Haer.* lxx.), and again in that of the Pelagians, who maintained that rich men must give up their wealth in order to be saved (so at least Pseudo-Sixtus III., *De Divitiis*; and see St. Aug., *Epist.* civ. ad Paulin., and Conc. *Diospolit.* § 6, A.D. 415). Compare Mosheim's *Diss. de Vera Nat. Commun. Bonorum* in *Ecol. Hæres.* II. With the relation of good works to justification; alms and fasting standing prominently in the question, i. as comparatively outward and positive acts, ii. as being specially urged from early times as parts of repentance and charity (e.g. Hermas, *Pastor* x. 4; Salvian, *Adv. Avarit.* ii. p. 205; Lactant., *Div. Inst.* vi. 13, tom. i. p. 470; *Constit. S. Clem.* vii. 12; St. Ambros., *De Elia et Jejun.* xx.; St. Chrys., *Hom.* vii. de *Pœnit.* § 6, Opp. ii. 336 C). "Date et dabitur vobis," found its answer in the repeated occurrence of the words (e.g. St. Caesar, *Arel.*, *Hom.* xv.; St. Eligius, in *Vita* ii. 15, ap. D'Ach., *Spicil.* ii. 96), "Da, Domine, quia dæmus;" but the whole doctrine derived its colour in each case from the successive phases of the doctrine of merit. III. With (in time) the idea of compounding for other sins by alms, a feeling strengthened by the imposition of alms by way of satisfaction and of commutation of penance. The introduction of the practice is attributed to Theodore of Canterbury, c. A.D. 700, but upon the ground only of the Penitentials hitherto falsely attributed to him; while the abuse of it is severely condemned by the Council of Cloveshoe, A.D. 747 (c. 26), and by Theodulph (*Capit.* 32, A.D. 787). Its grossest instance is probably to be found in the ledger-like calculation of the payments, by which "powerful men" could redeem their penances, in Eadgar's canons, in fin. (Thorpe, ii. 286-289), about A.D. 963. See also Morinus, *De Pœnit.* lib. x. c. 17, who treats the question at length. IV. With alms for the dead. See Conc. *Carth.* iv., A.D. 398, c. 79; St. Chrys., as before quoted, and Bingham. See also for later times, Car. M., *Capit.* v. 364, ap. Baluz. i. 902.

Plough-alms in England (*elem. carucarum, Suhl-alm-sson*), viz., a penny for every plough used in tillage, to be paid annually fifteen days after Easter (*Laws of Eadgar and Guthrun*, A.D. 906, c. 6; *Eadgar's Laws* i. 2, and can. 54, A.D. 959 and 975; *Ethelred's*, ix. 12, A.D. 1014; *Can't's*, c. 8, c. A.D. 1030; *Rectit. Sing. Pers.*, § de

Villanis), were rather a church due than alms properly so called. As was also St. Peter's penny, *Elemos. S. Petri*. And *Libera Elemosyna*, or Frank-Almoign, is the tenure of most Church lands from Saxon times (i.e. tenure on condition, not of specified religious services, but of Divine Service generally), although now incapable of being created de novo (*Stat. Quia Emptores*, 18 Edw. I.). See Stephen's *Blackstone*, i., Bk. II. Pt. i. c. 2, in fin. [A. W. H.]

ALBENSE CONCILIIUM. [ALCHESTER, COUNCIL OF.]

ALTAR.—The table or raised surface on which the Eucharist is consecrated.

I. Names of the Altar.

1. *Τράπεζα*, a table; as *τράπεζα Κυρίου*, 1 Cor. x. 21. This is the term most commonly used by the Greek Fathers and in Greek Liturgies; sometimes simply, ἡ *τράπεζα*, as the Table by pre-eminence (Chrysost., in *Ephes.* Hom. 3), but more frequently with epithets expressive of awe and reverence; *μυστικὴ, πνευματικὴ, φοβερά, φρικτὴ, φρικώδης, βασιλικὴ ἀθάνατος, ἁγία, θεία*, and the like (see Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v.). St. Basil in one passage (*Ep.* 73, Opp. ii. 870) appears to contrast the Tables (*τράπεζαι*) of the orthodox with the Altars (*θυσιαστήρια*) of Basilides. Sozomen (*Ecol. Hist.* ix. 2, p. 368) says of a slab which covered a tomb, that it was fashioned as if for a Holy Table (*ὡστερ εἰς τὴν ἑψησκείτο τράπεζαν*), a passage which seems to show that he was familiar with stone tables.

2. *Θυσιαστήριον*, the place of Sacrifice; the word used in the Septuagint for Noah's altar (*Gen.* viii. 20), and both for the Altar of Burnt-sacrifice and the Altar of Incense under the Levitical law, but not for heathen altars.

The word *θυσιαστήριον* in Heb. xii. 10, is referred by some commentators to the Lord's Table, though it seems to relate rather to the heavenly than to the earthly sanctuary (Thomas Aquinas). The *θυσιαστήριον* of Ignatius, too (*ad Philad.* 4; compare *Magn.* 7; *Trall.* 7), can scarcely designate the Table used in the Eucharist (see Lightfoot on *Philippians*, p. 263, n. 2). But by this word Eusebius (*Hist. Ecol.* x. 4, § 44) describes the altar of the great church in Tyre, and again (*Panogr.* sub fin.) he speaks of altars (*θυσιαστήρια*) erected throughout the world. Athanasius, or Pseudo-Athanasius (*Disp. cont. Arium*, Opp. i. 90), explains the word *τράπεζα* by *θυσιαστήριον*. This name rarely occurs in the liturgies. *Θυσιαστήριον* not unfrequently designates the enclosure within which the altar stood, or BEMA (see Mele, *On the Name Altar or Θυσιαστήριον*, Works, p. 382 ff.).

3. The Copts call the altar *ἱεραστήριον*, the word applied in the Greek Scriptures to the Mercy-Seat, or covering of the Ark [compare *ANCA*]; but in the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil they use the ancient Egyptian word *Pianer-schooschi*, which in Coptic versions of Scripture answers to the Heb. *כַּפֹּת* and the Greek *θυσιαστήριον* (Renaudot, *Lit. Orient.* i. 181).

4. The word *Βωμὸς* (see Nitzsch on the *Odyssey*, vol. ii. p. 15) is used in Scripture and in Christian writers generally for a heathen altar. Thus in 1 Maccab. i. 54, we read that in the persecution under Antiochus an "abomination of desolation" was built on the Temple-altar

(Θυσιαστήριον), while idol-altars (Βωμοί) were set up in the cities of Judah; and, again (1. 59), sacrifices were offered "ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ὅς ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θυσιαστηρίου." The word βωμός is, however, applied to the Levitical altar in Ecclesiasticus 1. 12, the work of a gentile writer. It is generally repudiated by early Christian writers, except in a figurative sense; thus Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. p. 717) and Origen (*c. Celsus* vii. p. 389) declare that the soul is the true Christian altar (βωμός), the latter expressly admitting the charge of Celsus, that the Christians had no material altars. Yet in later times βωμός was sometimes used for the Christian altar; Synesius, for instance (*Kardaras*, c. 19, p. 303), speaks of flying for refuge to the unbloody altar (βωμός).

5. The expression "Mensa Domini," or "Mensa Domini," is not uncommon in the Latin Fathers, especially St. Augustine (e.g. *Sermo* 21, c. 5, on Ps. lxxiii. 11). And an altar raised in honour of a martyr frequently bore his name; as "Mensa Cypriani" (Augustine, *Sermo* 310). The word "mensa" is frequently used for the slab which formed the top of the altar (v. infra).

6. Ara, the Vulgate rendering of βωμός (1 Maccab. i. 54 [57], etc.), is frequently applied by Tertullian to the Christian altar, though not without some qualification; for instance, "ara Dei" (*de Oratione*, c. 14). Yet ara, like βωμός, is repudiated by the early Christian apologists on account of its heathen associations; thus Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, c. 32) admits that "Delubrum ararum non habemus;" compare Arnobius (*adv. Gentes* vi. 1) and Lactantius (*Divin. Instit.* ii. 2). In rubrics, Ara designates a portable altar or consecrated slab. (Maeri *Hierozolicon*, s.v. "Altare.") Ara is also used for the substructure on which the mensa, or altar proper, was placed; "Altaris aram funditus pessumdam" (Prudentius, *Peristeph.* xiv. 49). Compare Ara Sinaargus, quoted below.

7. But by far the most common name in the Latin Fathers and in Liturgical diction is altare, a "high altar," from altus (Isidore, *Origines*. xv. 4, p. 1197; compare alveare, collar). This is the Vulgate equivalent of θυσιαστήριον. Tertullian (*de Exhort. Castitatis* c. 10) speaks of the Lord's Table as "altare" simply; so also Cyprian (*Epist.* 45, § 3, *ed. Goldhorn*), who, by the phrase "altari positus," indicates that the church-altar in his time was moveable; and who, in another place (*Epist.* 59, § 25), contrasts the Lord's Altar ("Domini Altare") with the "ara" of idols. So again (*Epist.* 65, § 1) he contrasts "aras diaboli" with "Altare Dei." So Augustine (*Sermo* 159, § 1) speaks of "Altare Dei." Yet Cyprian speaks (*Ep.* 59, § 15) of "diaboli altaria," so uncertain was the usage. In the Latin liturgies scarcely any other name of the altar occurs but altare. The plural altaria is also occasionally used by ecclesiastical writers, as invariably by classical authors, to designate an altar; thus Cæcilius of Arles (*Hom.* 7) says that the elements (eucaruræ) to be consecrated "sacris altaribus impendantur." (Mone's *Griech. u. Lat. Messen.* p. 6.)

The singular "altarium" is also used in late writers; as in the Canon of the Council of Auxerre quoted below, mass is not to be said more than once a day, "super uno altario." Altarium is also used in a wider sense, like

θυσιαστήριον, for the BEMA or Sanctuary; so also altaria.

8. In most European languages, not only of the Romanesque family, but also of the Teutonic and Slavonic, the word used for the Lord's Table is derived, with but slight change, from altare. In Russian, however, another word, *prestol*, properly a throne, is in general use. [C.]

II. *Parts composing altars.*—Although in strictness the table or tomb-like structure constitutes the altar, the steps on which it is placed, and the ciborium or canopy which covered it, may be considered parts of the altar in a larger sense, or, at least, were so closely connected with it, as to make it more convenient to treat of them under the same head.

The altar itself was composed of two portions, the supports, whether legs or columns, in the table form, or slabs in the tomb-like, and the "mensa" or slab which formed the top.

The expression "cornu altaris," horn of the altar, often used in rituals (as in the *Sacrament. Gelasianum* 1, c. lxxviii.), appears to mean merely the corner or angle of the altar, no known example showing any protuberance at the angles or elsewhere above the general level of the mensa, although in some instances (as in that in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Ravenna hereafter mentioned) the central part of the surface of the mensa is slightly hollowed. By the Cornu Evangelii is meant the angle to the left of the priest celebrating, by Cornu Epistolæ that to the right. These phrases must, however, it would seem, date from a period subsequent to that when the Gospel was read from the ambo.

III. *Material and form of altars.*—It is admitted by all that the earliest altars were tables of wood; in the high altar of the church of S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome is enclosed an altar of the tomb-like form, the mensa and sides formed of wooden planks, on which St. Peter is asserted to have celebrated the Lord's Supper, and at another are preserved to which the same tradition attaches. [ARCA.]

This shows an ancient belief that altars were of wood. And there is abundant proof that in Africa at least the Holy Table was commonly of wood up to the end of the fourth century. Athanasius, speaking of an outrage of the Arians in an orthodox church (*Ad Monachos*, *Opp.* i. 847), says that they burnt the Table (ἐξόλησαν τὴν ἁγίαν) with other fittings of the church. Optatus of Mileve, describing the violence of the Donatists, mentions their plaining afresh, or breaking up and using for firewood, the Holy Tables in the churches of their rivals (*De Schismate Donatistarum* vi. 1, p. 90 ff.); and St. Augustine (*Epist.* 185, c. 27) declares that they bent the orthodox Bishop Maximianus with the wood of the altar under which he had taken refuge. In England, at a much later date, if we may trust William of Malmesbury (*Vita S. Wulstani*, in *De Gestis Pontif. Angl.* iii. 14), Wulstan, bishop of Worcester (1062-1095), demolished throughout his diocese the wooden altars which were still in existence in England as in ancient days, "altaria lignea jam inde a prisca diebus in Angliâ." Martene (*De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus* i. 3) and Mabillon (*Acta SS. Benedict. Saec. vi.*, pars 2, p. 860) have shown that wooden altars were anciently used in Gaul.

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 [A. W. II.]

UM. [ALCOSTER,
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Yet there is distinct evidence of the existence of stone altars in the fourth century. Gregory of Nyssa (*De Christi Baptismate*, Opp. III. 295) speaks of the stone on which the altar was made being consecrated. To the same effect St. Chrysostom (on I Cor. Hom. 20). And stone became at the time the usual canonical material of an altar. The assertion that Pope Sylvester (314-335) first decreed that altars should be of stone rests upon no ancient authority (Brun, *De Rēv. Lit. i.*, c. 20, § 1). The earliest decree of a council bearing on the subject is one of the provincial council of Epauona (Pauzier in France) in 517, the 26th Canon of which (Brun's *Canones* II. 170) forbids any other than stone altars to be consecrated by the application of Chrism.

As this council was only provincial, its decrees were no doubt only partially received. The 14th chap. of the Capitularies of Charles the Great, A.D. 769 (Migne's *Patrologia*, xvii. 124), orders that priests should not celebrate unless "in mensis lapideis ab Episcopis consecratis." This seems to mark a period when the use of wooden altars, although disapproved of, was by no means unknown. In the Eastern churches the material of the altar has been deemed a matter of less importance, and at all times down to the present day altars have been made of wood, stone, or metal.

Asseman (*Bibl. Orient.* III. 238) cites a Canon of a Synod of the Syro-Jacobites, held circa A.D. 908, which orders the use of fixed altars of stone, and the disuse of wood; he adds that in the churches of the Maronites and of the Jacobites the altars were sometimes of wood, sometimes of stone (compare Neale, *Eastern Ch. Int.* 181). In some instances at the present day pillars of stone are used to support a mensa of wood.

This change of material was in some degree occasioned or accompanied by the adoption of a different type of form, that of the tomb. Such adoption has been usually accounted for by the supposition that the tombs in the Roman catacombs known as "arrosolia" were used during the period of persecution as altars. These arrosolia were formed by cutting in the wall of the chamber or oratory, at a height of about three feet from the floor, an opening covered by an arch. In the wall below this opening an excavation was made sufficiently large to receive one or sometimes two bodies, and this was covered by a slab of marble.

Such tombs would evidently furnish sufficiently convenient altars, but there appears to be some deficiency of proof that they were actually so used during the period of persecution, to which, indeed, the far greater number are by some centuries posterior. Some writers assert that up to the time of St. Sylvester the only altars in use were wooden chests (see *Antiq. Anc.*) carried about from place to place wherever the Roman bishop had his habitation. Whether this opinion be or be not well-founded, it is certain that traces of altars occupying the normal position, viz., the centre of the apse, have been found in the oratories of the catacombs. Bosio and Boldetti state that they had met with such, the one in the cemetery of Priscilla, the other in that of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* p. 58), adds that he had been shown by the Cav. de Rossi in

the cemetery of Callistus the traces left by the four pillars which had supported an altar. The date of the altars in question does not, however, appear to have been clearly ascertained.

It was, however, not only in Rome that the memorials of martyrs and altars were closely associated; the 83rd Canon of the *Codes Can. Eccl. Afric.* A.D. 419 (in Brun's *Canones*, I. 176) orders that the altaria which had been raised everywhere by the roads and in the fields as "Memoriae Martyrum," should be overturned when there was no proof that a martyr lay beneath them; and blames the practice of erecting altars in consequence of dreams and "vanas coniectiones."

In the *Liber Pontificalis* it is stated that Pope Felix I. (A.D. 269-274) "constituit supra sepulcra martyrum missas celebrari," but perhaps the most clear proofs of the prevalence of the practice of placing altars over the remains of martyrs and saints at an early period, are furnished by passages in Prudentius, particularly that so often quoted (*Peristeph.* Hymn XI. v. 169-174):—

"Talibus Hippolyti corpus madator obertis
Propter ubi apposita est a diacono, Deo,
Illa sacramenti donatrix sacra cadum.
Custos fita sub altaris cippietis,
Servat ad aeterni spem Judice ossa sepulcro
Pascit item sanctis tuberculos dapibus."

The practice of placing the altar over the remains of martyrs or saints may probably have arisen from a disposition to look upon the sufferings of those confessors of the faith as analogous with that sacrifice which is commemorated in the Eucharist; and the passage in the Revelation (chap. vi. v. 9), "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God," no doubt encouraged or instigated the observance. The increasing disposition to venerate martyrs and their relics fostered this practice, by which, as Prudentius says (*Peristeph.* Hymn. III. v. 211)—

"Sic venerat ossa Ibat
Ossibus altar et impositum."

And it took firm root in the Western Church; so much so that a rule has long been established that every altar must contain a relic or relics, among which should be one of the saint in whose honour it was consecrated. [CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES; RELICS.]

This practice, no doubt, conduced to the change of material from wood to stone, and also to a change of form from that of a table to that of a chest or tomb, or to the combination of the two. The table-form seems to have been still common in Africa in the early part of the 5th century: for Synesius (*Karaktēras*, c. 19, p. 303), says that, in the territories of the Vandal invasion, he would cast himself beneath the altar, and clasp the columns that supported it. The annexed woodcut furnishes an example of the combination of the table-form with the tomb-form. It was discovered in the ruins of the so-called basilica of S. Alessandro on the Via Nomentana, about seven miles from Rome, and may with all probability be ascribed to the fifth century. The mensa is a slab of porphyry, the rest is of marble. The small columns were not placed as represented in the woodcut at the time when the sketch from which it is taken was made; they were, however, found close by

the traces left by the reported altar. The ion does not, however, ascertained.

ly in Rome that the d altars were closely on of the *Codex Cuias*. A Brun's *Cinones*, 1. Maria which had been roads and in the fields should be overturned f that a martyr lay the practice of erect- f dreams and "inanes

it is stated that Pope constitute supra sepul- aril," but perhaps the prevalence of the practice remains of martyrs ed, are furnished by cularly that so often l. v. 169—174):—

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ena cadem;
ypostita,
eis ossa sepulero
blas duplitas."

altar over the re- may probably have ook upon the suffer- e faith as analogous commemorated in sage in the Reve- vnder the altar slain for the world or instigated the disposition to vene- fostered this prac- says (*Peristeph*,

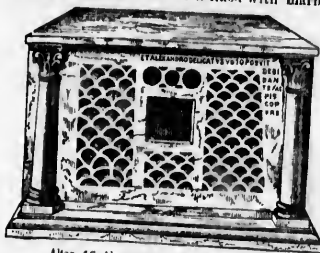
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Western Church; ing been established a relic or relics, the saint in whose CONSECRATION OF

used to the change ne, and also to a table to that of ombination of the o have been still y part of the 6th *Praxis*, c. 19, p. sers of the Vandal self beneath the that supported it. s an example of -form with the in the ruins of essandro on the ales from Rome, e ascribed to the slab of porphyry, all columns were woodent at the hich it is taken , found close by

ALTAR

the altar, and there can be little doubt but that they were originally so placed. Beneath the altar is a shallow excavation lined with marble,



Altar of St. Alessandro on the Via Nomentana.

in which the bones of St. Alexander are believed to have been deposited. The square opening in the cancellated slab was probably used for the purpose of introducing cloths [BRANDEA], which were laid on the tomb of a saint, and afterwards preserved as relics. A part of the inscription on the front has been lost: what remains reads "et Alexandro Delicatus voto posuit dedicante Aepiscopo Urs...". The name wanting at the beginning is supposed to be that of Eventius, also buried in the same cemetery. Ursus is believed to have been bishop of Nomentum.

The altar in the sepulchral chapel at Ravenna, known as "SS. Nazaro e Celso," is an example of the simple tomb-like form. The chapel was built about A.D. 450, and this altar may be of about the same date. According to the Rev. B. Webb (*Sketches of Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 429) it is composed of three slabs of alabaster supporting a mensa; on the ends are carved crosses; on the front is a cross between two creep; and on each side of it the device of a crown suspended from a wreath. It is shewn in the engraving of the chapel in Gally Knight's *Ecol. Arch. Italy*.

In the somewhat earlier mosaics in the baptistry of the cathedral of Ravenna, altars are represented as tables supported by columns with capitals; the tables are represented rod and the columns gold, indicating perhaps the use of porphyry and gilt bronze as the materials. Nor, although the tomb-like form eventually became in the Western Church the ruling one, was the table-form disused, for examples of it of a date even as late as the thirteenth century are still extant.



Altar, from Auriole in France.

A variety of the table-form, in which the mensa is supported by only one leg, is shown in

ALTAR

the accompanying woodcut. This altar was found in the neighbourhood of Auriole, in the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône, in France, and may be attributed to the fifth or sixth century.

Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*, p. 59) mentions other examples in which the mensa is supported by five columns, one being in the centre. One of these found at S. Agriola is supposed to have been erected by S. Agriola in 580. Another, in the Musée at Marseilles, he attributes to the 5th century, and a third he says exists in the crypt of the church of St. Martha, at Tarascon.

In the baptistry of the cathedral of Ravenna is an altar composed of a mensa with two columns in front, and a quadrangular block of marble, in which is a recess or cavity now closed by a modern brass door; the front of this block has some decoration of an architectural character, a small cross, doves, ears of wheat, and bunches of grapes. This central block would appear to be an altar (or part of one) of the 6th century. A very similar block is at Parezano, in Istria, and is engraved in Heider and Eislerberger's *Mittelalterliche Künstlerwerke des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates* (l. 109); the writer of that work is, however, disposed to consider it not an altar but a tabernacle.

Mr. Webb (*Sketches of Cont. Ecclesiology*, pp. 430, 440) mentions two altars at Ravenna, one in the crypt of S. Giovanni Evangelista, the other in the nave of S. Apollinare in Classe, of the same form as that of the baptistry of the Cathedral described above, and seems to consider this arrangement as original; but says of the altar of the baptistry that it was the tabernacle of the old Cathedral. He remarks that the mensa of the altar in S. Giovanni is not level, but slightly hollowed so as to leave a rim all round.

Many notices of altars may be found in the *Liber Pontificali*: (otherwise known as *Anastasius Bibliothecarius de Vita Pontificum*), as that Pope Hilarius (A.D. 461-467) made at S. Lorenzo f. l. m. "altare argenteum pensans libras quadraginta," that Leo III. (A.D. 795-816) made at S. Giovanni Laterano "altare majus mirae magnitudinis decoratum ex argento purissimo pensans libras sexaginta et novem."

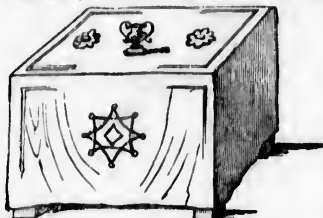
In these and in the numerous like instances it is either expressly stated that the altar was decorated with gold or silver, or the quantity of the metal employed is evidently quite insufficient to furnish the sole material; but we are not told whether the altar was constructed of stone or of wood.

In a mosaic at S. Vitale, at Ravenna, dating from the 6th century (engraved in Webb's *Cont. Eccles.* p. 437), an altar doubtless is represented as standing on feet at the angles, and therefore of the table form. It has, according to Mr. Webb, an ornamental covering of white linen with a hanging beneath.

The annexed woodcut taken from the same work (p. 440) shows an altar similarly represented in a mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna. This church was commenced between 534 and 538, and dedicated between 548 and 552, but much of the mosaic was not executed until between 671 and 677 (*Hübsch, Altchristlichen Kirchen*).

Paul the Silentiary, in his poetical description

of St. Sophia at Constantinople, as rebuilt by Justinian (between A.D. 532 and A.D. 563),



Altar, from a mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna.

describes the altar as of gold, decorated with precious stones and supported on golden columns. This has of course long since been destroyed, but there still exists an altar of almost equal splendour, though of the other type, viz., that of the tomb, and more recent by three hundred years. This is the high altar of S. Ambrogio, at Milan, made in A.D. 835, measuring 7 ft. 3 in. in length and 4 ft. 1 in. in height, the mensa being 4 ft. 4 in. wide. The front is of gold, the back and sides of silver. It is covered with subjects in relief in panels divided by bands of ornament, and many small ornaments in cloisonné enamel are interspersed. The subjects on the back are chiefly incidents in the life of St. Ambrose; those of the front are Christ seated within an oval compartment within a cross, in the branches of which are the symbols of the Evangelists, figures of the Apostles being placed above and below. On the right and left are subjects from the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles. On the ends of the altar are crosses in compartments, surrounding which are angels in various attitudes of adoration. It is represented in the woodcut.



Altar of S. Ambrogio, at Milan.

Two examples of the tomb-like form, of stone and of earlier date, may be seen in the lateral apses of the basilican church which forms part of S. Stefano at Bologna. These perhaps date from the 7th or 8th century. On one are a cross and two peacocks, and an inscription in honour of S. Vitalis; on the other, figures of a lion and a stag or ox. It is not clear whether these were constructed to serve as altars, or are tombs converted to that use; but the first seems the more probable suggestion.

The account given by Ardo Smaragdus, in his life of St. Benedict of Aniane (*Act. Sanct.* Feb. vol. ii. die 12. p. 614), of one of the altars constructed by the latter in the church of that place (in A.D. 782?), is, though somewhat obscure, too remarkable to be passed over; the altar was hollow within, having at the back a little door; in

the cavity boxes (capsae) containing relics were preserved on non-festive days. This "altare," which was the high altar, was so constructed (in altari . . . tres aras causavit. subponi) as to symbolize the Trinity.

It is difficult to find the date at which it became customary to incise crosses, usually five in number, on the mensa of an altar; they do not appear to exist on the mensa of the wooden altar in S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome, which is no doubt of an early date, on that of the altar of S. Alessandro, near Rome, or on those of the early altars at Ravenna, or Auriol, or even on the altar of S. Ambrogio. Crosses are however found on the portable altar which was buried with St. Cuthbert (A.D. 687). The very fragmentary state of this object makes it impossible to determine with certainty how many crosses were on it. Two are to be seen on the oaken board to which the plating of silver was attached, and two on the plating itself, but it is quite possible that originally there were five on each. In the order for the dedication of a church in the *Sacramentary* of Gregory the Great (p. 148), the bishop consecrating is desired to make crosses with holy water on the four corners of the altar; but nothing is said of incised crosses.

The practice of making below the mensa a cavity to contain relics, and covering this by a separate stone let into the mensa, does not appear to be of an early date. [CONSECRATION.]

IV. *Structural accessories of the altar.*— Usually, though not invariably, the altar was raised on steps, one, two, or three in number. From these steps the bishop sometimes preached; hence Sidenius Apoll., addressing Faustus, Bishop of Riez, says (*Carm.* XVI. v. 124).—

"Sed te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aras
Conclonaturum plebs seculi circumstitit."

Beneath the steps it became customary, from the fourth century at least, at Rome and wherever the usages of Rome were followed, to construct a small vault called confessio; this was originally a mere grave or repository for a body, as at S. Alessandro near Rome, but gradually expanded into a vault, a window or grating below the altar allowing the sarcophagus in which the body of the saint was placed to be visible. [CONFESSION.]

In the Eastern Church a piscina is usually found under the altar (Neale, *Eastern Church Introd.* 189), called *χωνί*, *χωνίον* or more commonly *θάλασσα* or *θάλασσιδιον*. What the antiquity of this practice may be does not seem to be ascertained, but it may have existed in the Western Church, as appears from the Frankish missal published by Mabillon (*Liturg. Gall.* lit. § 12, p. 314), where, in consecrating an altar, holy water is to be poured "ad basem." So the Gregorian *Sacramentary*, p. 149.

The altar was often enclosed within railings of wood or metal, or low walls of marble slabs; these enclosures were often mentioned by early writers under the names "ambitus altaris," "circuitus altaris"; the railings were called "cancelli," and the slabs "transenne." Some further account of these will be found under the words.

Upon these enclosures columns and arches of silver were often fixed, and veils or curtains of rich stuffs suspended from the arches; they are frequently mentioned in the *Lib. Pontif.*, as in

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[CONSECRATION.]

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the instance where Pope Leo III. gave 96 veils, some highly ornamented, to be so placed round the "ambitus altaris" and the "presbyterium" of St. Peter's at Rome.

V. Ciborium, otherwise umbraculum, Gr. κισβόριον. Ital. baldachino.—Down to the end of the period with which we are now concerned, and even later, the altar was usually covered by a canopy supported by columns, the ciborium. The word is no doubt derived from the Greek κισβόριον, the primary meaning of which is the cup-like seed-vessel of the Egyptian water-lily.

It does not appear when the ciborium came first to be in use, though this was probably as early a date as that in which architectural splendour was employed in the construction of churches. Augusti quotes Eusebins (*Vit. Const. M. lib. iii. c. 38*) as using the word κισβόριον when describing the church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and connecting it with the word ἡνακαρίον; but in this there seems to be a mistake, as neither word occurs in cap. 38, while in cap. 37 the latter occurs in connection with ἀεθδαριον; by which last it would seem that the spse was meant.

Paulinus of Nola has been thought to allude to the ciborium in the verses (*Lib. ii. Epig. 2*):

"Divina veneranda tegunt altaria lectus,
Compositioque sacra cum cruce martyribus."



Ciborium, from mosaic in the church of St. George at Thessalonica.

Veils are mentioned by St. Chrysostom (*Hom. iii. in Ephes.*) as withdrawn at the consecration of the Eucharist, and it is probable that these were attached to the ciborium in the fashion represented by the accompanying woodcut, where a ciborium is shown with the veils concealing the altar. This representation, taken

CHRIST. ANT.

from Messrs. Texier and Pullan's work on Byzantine Architecture, is found in the mosaic of St. George at Thessalonica, works certainly not later than A.D. 500, and perhaps much earlier; the authors are indeed disposed to refer them to the era of Constantine the Great.

Ciboria are not mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the long catalogue of altars erected in and gifts made to churches erected in Rome and Naples by Constantine, unless the "fastigium" of silver weighing 2025 lbs. in the basilica of St. John Lateran was, as some have thought, a ciborium. Much doubt, it must be remembered, has been thrown on the trustworthiness of this part of the *Liber Pontificalis*, nor does any mention of one occur until the time of Pope Symmachus (498—514), who, it is stated, made at S. Silvestro a ciborium of silver weighing 120 lbs. Mention is made in the same work of many other ciboria; they are generally described as of silver or decorated with silver. The quantity of metal varies very much; one at S. Paulo f. l. m. is said to have been decorated with 2015 lbs. of silver, that of St. Peter's, of silver-gilt, weighed 2704 lbs. 3 oz., and that at S. Giovanni Laterano only 1227 lbs. All these were erected by Pope Leo III. (795—816). The last is described as "cyboryum cum columnis suis quatuor ex argento purissimo diversis depictum historijs cum cancellis et columnellis suis mirae magnitudinis et pulchritudinis decoratum." The "cancelli" were, no doubt, railings running from column to column and enclosing the altar. The ciborium in St. Sophia's, as erected by Justinian, is described by Paul the Silentiary as having four columns of silver which supported an octagonal pyramidal dome or blunt spire crowned by a globe bearing a cross. From the arches hung rich veils woven with figures of Christ, St. Paul, St. Peter, &c.

Ciboria were constructed not only of metal, or of wood covered with metal, but of marble; the alabaster columns of the ciborium of the high altar of St. Mark's at Venice are said to have occupied the same position in the chapel of the Greek Emperor at Constantinople. They are entirely covered with subjects from Biblical history, sculptured in relief, and appear to be of as early a date as the fifth century; but perhaps the earliest ciborium now existing is one in the church of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, which is shown by the inscription engraved upon it to have been erected between A.D. 806 and A.D. 810.

Various ornaments, as vases, crowns, and baskets (cophini) of silver, were placed as decorations upon or suspended from the ciboria; and, as has been already said, veils or curtains were attached to them; these last were withdrawn after the consecration but before the elevation of the Eucharist. These curtains are mentioned repeatedly in the *Liber Pontif.* as gifts made by various popes of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, e. g., "Vela alba holoserica rosata quae pendunt in arcu de cyborio numero quatuor," given to S. Maria Maggiore by Pope Leo III. (A.D. 795—816).

It does not appear when the use of these veils was discontinued in the Western Church; in the Eastern a screen (*εικονοστάσις*) with doors now serves the like purpose. Some of the ciboria at Rome, according to Martigny (*Art. Colombe*

Eucharistic), having a ring fixed in the centre of the vault, from which he conceives a receptacle for the host to have been suspended. [PERISFERIUM]. No ciborium now existing at Rome seems to be of earlier date than the twelfth century, but the practice of suspending such receptacles is no doubt much earlier.

Martigny is of opinion that besides the ciborium, the columns of which rested on the ground, there was sometimes a lesser one, the columns of which rested on the altar, and that these last were more properly called "peristeria," as enclosing a vessel in the form of a dove, in which the host was contained. [CIBORIUM, TURRIS, PERISTERIUM.]



Ciborium of St. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna.

VI. *Appendages of the Altar.*—In ancient times nothing was placed upon the altar but the ALTAR-CLOTHS and the sacred vessels with the ELEMENTS. A feeling of reverence, says Martene (*de Antiq. Eccl. Lit.* i. 112), permitted not the presence of anything on the altar, except the things used in the Holy Oblation. Hence there were no candlesticks on the altar, nor (unless on the columns, arches, and curtains of the ciborium) any images or pictures. Even in the ninth century we find Leo IV. (an. 855) limiting the objects which might lawfully be placed on the altar to the shrine containing relics, or perchance the codex of the Gospels, and the pyx or tabernacle in which the Lord's body was reserved for the viaticum of the sick. (*De Cura Pastoralis*, § 8, in Migne's *Patrologia*, cxx. 677.)

The Book of the Gospels seems anciently to have been frequently placed on the altar, even when the Liturgy was not being celebrated (Neale, *Eastern Ch. Introd.* 188). An example may be seen in the frescoes of the Baptistery at Ravenna (Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*, 427).

With regard to the relics of saints, the ancient rule was, as St. Ambrose tells us (*Ad Marcellinam, Epist.* 85) "Ih[esu]s [Christus] super altare . . . is[te] [martyr] sub [t]ari;" and this was the practice not only of the age of St. Ambrose, but

of much later times, even up to the middle of the ninth century, as Mabillon (*Acta SS. Benedict. Saec. iii. Praefatio* § 105), assures us; for the anonymous author of the Life of Servatius of Tongres says expressly that the relics of this saint, when translated by command of Charles the Great, were laid *before* the altar, as men did not yet presume to lay anything except the sacrifice on the altar, which is the Table of the Lord of Hosts. And even later, Odo of Clugny tells us (*Collationes* ii. 28) that when Berno (an. 895) laid the relics of St. Walburgis on the altar, they ceased to work miracles, resenting the being placed "ubi majestas divini Mysterii sollemnmodo debet celebrari." The passage of Leo IV., quoted above, seems in fact the first permission to place a shrine containing relics on the altar, and that permission was evidently not in accordance with the general religious feeling of that age.

In the early centuries of the Christian Church, the consecrated bread was generally reserved in a vessel made in the form of a dove and suspended from the ciborium [PERISFERIUM], or perhaps in some cases placed on a tower on the altar itself (*Liber Pontif.*, Innocent I. c. 57, and Hilary, c. 70). Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Martyrum* i. 86) speaks distinctly of the deacon taking the turrus from the sacristy and placing it on the altar, but this seems to have contained the unconsecrated elements [TURRIS], and to have been placed on the altar only during celebration; nor does the reservation of the consecrated bread in the turrus, capsula or pyxis on the altar appear to be distinctly mentioned by any earlier authority than the decree of Leo IV., quoted above (*Binterim's Denkwürdigkeiten*, ii. 2. 167 ff.).

No instance of a Cross placed permanently on the mensa of an altar is found in the first eight centuries, as we should expect from the decree of Leo IV. The vision of Probianus (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3. p. 49) shows that crosses were seen in the sanctuary (*βωσιαετρησιον*) in the fourth century; the cross was found on the summit of the ciborium, as in the great church of St. Sophia at Constantinople (Paul the Silentary, *Descr.* . *S. Sophia*, 737 [al. ii. 320]), and, in some churches both at Rome and in Gaul, suspended from the ciborium over the altar (Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Mart.* ii. 20), but not on the mensa of the altar itself. A cross was, however, placed on the altar during celebration. See *Sacram. Celas*, i. 41.

The third Canon of the Second Council of Tours (an. 567, Brun's *Canones* ii. 226), "ut corpus Domini in altari non in imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur," which has been thought to mean, that the Body of the Lord should not be reserved among the images in a receptacle on the reredos, but under the cross on the altar itself, might possibly refer to a suspended cross; but it is probably rightly explained by Dr. Neale (*Eastern Ch. Introd.* 520) to mean that the particles consecrated should not be arranged according to each man's fancy, but in the form of a cross, according to the rubric.

Tapers were not placed on the altar within the period which we are considering, though it is a very ancient practice to place lights about the altar, especially on festivals. [LIGHTS.]

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(*Carmina* viii. 9) says, addressing St. Rhadegund,
"Texitula variis altaria festa coronis."

They appear as decorations of churches as
early as the fourth century.

VII. *Number of altars in a Church.*—There was
in primitive times but one altar in a church, and
the arrangements of the most ancient Basilicas
testify to the fact. (See Pagi on Baronius, ann.
313, No. 15.) Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* x. 4, § 45),
in the description of the great church at Tyre,
mentions only one altar. St. Augustine (on
1 *John*, Tract. 3) speaks of the existence of two
altars in one city (civitate) as a visible sign of
the Donatist schism. But his words should per-
haps not be taken in their literal sense; for in
the time of St. Basil, there was more than one
altar in Neo-Cæsarea; for he, speaking (Hom. 19,
in *Gordium*) of a persecution of Christians in that
city, says that "altars (*θυσιαστήρια*) were over-
thrown."

The Greek and other oriental churches have
even now but one altar in each church (Renau-
dot, *Lit. Orient.* i. 182); nor do they consecrate
the Eucharist more than once on the same day
in the same place. They have, however, and have
had for several centuries, minor altars in *παρε-*
κλήσια or side-chapels, which are really dis-
tinct buildings. Such side-chapels are generally
found where there has been considerable contact
with the Latin Church (Neale, *Eastern Church*,
Introd. 183).

Some writers, as Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq.*
Chrét., art. *Autel*), rely upon the "arcosolia"
or altar-tombs in the catacombs as proving the
early use of many altars: two, three, and more
such tombs are often found in one crypt, and in
one case, a crypt in the cemetery of St. Agnes
near Rome, there are as many as eleven arco-
solia (Marchi, *Mon. delle Arti prin. Crist.*, tav.
xxv., xxxvi., xxxvii.), eight of which, according
to Padre Marchi, might have been used as altars
(p. 191); but there seems to be generally a
deficiency of proof that such tombs were actually
so used, nor is their date at all a matter of
certainty in the great majority of cases.

It would appear probable that the practice of
considering the tomb of a martyr as a holy place
fitted for the celebration of the Eucharistic
sacrifice, and such celebration as an honour and
consolation to the martyr who lay below, led first
to the use of several altars in a crypt in the
catacombs where more than one martyr might
rest, and then, when the bodies of several martyrs
had been transferred to one church above ground,
to the construction of an altar over each, from
a wish to leave none unhonoured by the celebra-
tion of the Eucharist above his remains. Such
plans were prevalent as early as the beginning of
the fifth century, as may be seen in the writings
of Prudentius (*Peristeph.* Hymn. XI. v. 169-
174; Hymn. III. v. 211), Pope Damasus, and St.
Maximus, Bishop of Turin (*Sermo* LXIII. *De na-*
tis sanctorum; v. Marchi, p. 142 et seq.). At
that period, and indeed long after, the disturbance
of the relics of saints was held a daring and
scarcely allowable act, and was prohibited by
Theodosius and much disapproved of by Pope
Gregory the Great; nor was it until some cen-
turies later that the increasing engerness for the

possession of such memorials was gratified by the
dismemberment of the holy bodies.

It has been contended that more than one
altar existed in the Cathedral of Milan in the
latter part of the fourth century. That St.
Ambrose more than once uses the plural "al-
taria" in connection with the church proves
nothing; for "altaria" frequently means no
altar; but in describing the restoration of the
church to the orthodox (an. 385), after the
attempt of the Arians to occupy it, he has been
understood to say that the soldiers rushing in
kissed the altar; hence it is argued that, as they
could not reach the altar of the Bema or sanc-
tuary, which was closed to the people, there
must have been at least one altar in the nave.
But the words "militēs irruentes in Altaria oc-
culis significare pacis signum" (*ad Marcellin.*,
Ep. 33) seem rather to imply that the soldiers
rushing into the Bema signified by their kisses
the making of peace. Altaria is used in the
same sense, as equivalent to "sanctuary," in the

Theodosian Codex. [ALTARIUM.] However this
may be, at the end of the sixth century we find
distinct traces of a plurality of altars in Western
churches. Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Mar-*
tyrum i. 33) speaks of saying masses on three
altars in a church at Braine near Soissons; and
Gregory the Great (*Epist.* v. 50) says that he
heard that his correspondent Palladius, bishop
of Saintonge, had placed in a church thirteen
altars, of which four remained unconsecrated
for defect of relics. Now certainly Palladius
would not have begged of the Pope, as he did,
relics for his altars, if the plurality of altars
had not been generally allowed. Moreover, the
Council of Auxerre of the year 578 (Can. 10;
Brun's *Canones* ii. 238) forbade two masses to
be said on the same day on one altar, a prohi-
bition which probably contributed to the multi-
plication of altars, which was still further acce-
lerated by the disuse of the ancient custom of
the priests communicating with the bishop or
principal minister of the church, and the intro-
duction of private masses, more than one of
which was frequently said by the same priest on
the same day (Walafrid Strabo, *De Reb. Eccl.*
c. 21). Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 20) mentions that
Aeca, bishop of Hexham (deposed an. 732), col-
lected for his church many relics of apostles
and martyrs, and placed altars for their vena-
ration, "distinctis porticibus ad hoc ipsum intra-
muros ejusdem ecclesiae," placing a separate
canopy over each altar within the walls of the
church. There were several altars in the church
built by St. Benedict at Aniane (*Acta Sanctorum*,
Feb. ii. 614).

In the seventh and eighth centuries the num-
ber of altars had so increased that Charlemagne,
in a Capitulary of the years 805-6 at Thionville,
attempted to restrain their excessive multiplication.
See *Capitula infra Ecclesiam*, c. 6 (Migne's
Patrol. 97, 283).

This was not very effectual, and in the ninth
century the multiplication of altars attained a
high point, as may be seen by the plan of the
church of St. Gall in Switzerland [CHURCH],
prepared in the beginning of that century. In
this are no less than seventeen altars. The
will of Fortunatus Patriarch of Grado (*deu.*
c. A. D. 825) also affords proof of the increase in
the number of altars then in active progress in

one oratory he placed three altars, and five others in another (*Marin. Com. dei Veneziani*, t. i. p. 270).

VIII. *Places of Altars in Churches.*—From the earliest period of which we have any knowledge, the altar was usually placed, not against the wall as in modern times, but on the chord of the apse, when, as was almost invariably the case, the church ended in an apse; when the end of the church was square, the altar occupied a corresponding position. St. Augustine therefore says (*Sermo* 46, c. 1.) "Mensa Christi est illa in medio posita." The officiating priest stood with his back to the apse and thus faced the congregation. In St. Peter's at Rome, and a very few other churches, the priest still officiates thus placed; but though in very many churches, particularly in Italy, the altar retains its ancient position, it is very rarely that the celebrant does so.

That such was the normal position of the altar is shown by many ancient examples, and by the constant usage of the Eastern churches. The ancient rituals invariably contemplate a detached altar as when, in the *Sacramentary* of Gregory, in the order for the dedication of a church (p. 148), the bishop is directed to go round the altar (*vadit in circuitu altaris*), or in the *Sacramentary* of Gelasius where the subdeacon (L. 1, cxlvi.) is directed, after having placed the Cross on the altar, to go behind it (*vadit retro altare*).

Exceptions at an early date to the rule that the altar should be detached, are of the greatest rarity, if we except the tombs in the catacombs, which have been supposed to have been used as altars. It is possible, also, that in small chapels with rectangular terminations, as the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, annexed to the baptistery of the Lateran, the altar may for convenience have been placed against the wall. When, however, it became usual to place many altars in a church it was found convenient to place one or more against a wall; this was done in the Cathedral of Canterbury [CHURCH], where the altar enclosing the body of St. Wilfrid was placed against the wall of the eastern apse; another altar, however, in this case occupied the normal position in the eastern apse, and the original high altar was placed in the same manner in the western apse.

In the plan of the church of St. Gall, prepared in the beginning of the ninth century, the places of seventeen altars are shown, but of these only two are placed against walls.

In a few instances the altar was placed not on the centre of the chord of the arc of the apse but mere towards the middle of the church; such was the case in S. Paolo f. l. m. at Rome, if the altar occupies the original position. In this instance it stands in the transept. In some other early churches at Rome, the altar occupies a position more or less advanced. The *Lit. Pontif.* tells us that in the time of Pope Gregory IV. (A.D. 827-844) the altar at S. Maria in Trastevere stood in a low place, almost in the middle of the nave (in humili loco pene in media testudine), the Pope therefore removed it to the apse, and the altar at S. Maria Maggiore seems to have been in the time of Pope Hadrian I. (A.D. 772-795), as appears from the account in the same book of the alterations, effected by that Pope in that church. It is thought by some that in the large circular

or octagonal churches of the fourth and fifth centuries, as S. Lorenzo Maggiore at Milan, and S. Stefano Rotondo at Rome, the altar was placed in the centre.

In the churches of Justinian's period constructed with domes, there is usually, as at St. Sophia's Constantinople and S. Vitale, Ravenna, a sort of chancel intervening between the central dome and the apse; when such is the case, the altar was placed therein.

IX. *Use of Pagan Altars for Christian purposes.*—Pagan altars, having a very small superficies, are evidently ill suited for the celebration of the Eucharist; nor would it appear probable that a Christian would be willing to use them for that purpose; nevertheless, traditions allege that in some cases pagan altars were so used (v. Martigny art. *Autel*), and in the church of Arilje in Servia, a heathen altar sculptured with a figure of Atys forms the lower part of the altar. (*Mittheil. der K. K. Central Comm. zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, Vienna, 1865, p. 6.) Such altars, or fragments of them, were, however, employed as materials (particularly in the bases) in the construction of Christian altars. Instances are stated by Martigny to have been observed in the churches of St. Michele in Vaticane and of St. Nicholas de' Cesarini at Rome.

X. *PORTABLE ALTARS (altaria portatilia, gestatoria, hística)* are probably of considerable antiquity; indeed, it is evident that from the time when the opinion prevailed that the Eucharist could not be fitly celebrated unless on a consecrated mensa or table, a portable altar became a necessity. Constantine the Great (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 8) carried with him on his campaigns a church-tent, the fittings of which no doubt included a portable altar, as the participation of the mysteries is especially mentioned. Beke (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 10) tells us that the two Hernalds, the English missionaries to the continental Saxons (an. 692), took with them sacred vessels and a consecrated slab to serve as an altar (*tabulam altaris vice dedicatam*); and bishop Wulfman, the apostle of Friesland (before 740), was accustomed to carry with him on his journeys a portable altar, in the midst and at the four corners of which were placed relics of saints (Jonas in Surius's *Hist. Sanctoria* ii. 294). The portable altar of St. Willebrord is described by Brower (*Annal. Trevires.* an. 718, § 112, p. 364); it bore the inscription: "Hoc altare Willebrordus in honore Domini Salvatoris consecravit, supra quod in itinere missarum oblationes Deo offerre consuevit, in quo et continetur de ligno crucis Christi! et de sudario capitis ejus." This, however, is probably not a contemporary inscription, and the genuineness of the relic may perhaps be doubtful. St. Boniface also carried an altar with him in his journeys. And the monks of St. Denys, when accompanying Charles the Great in his campaign against the Saxons, carried with them a wooden board, which, covered with a linen cloth, served as an altar (*Anonymus de Mirac. S. Dionysii* i. 20, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ben. saec. iii. pt. 2, p. 350*).

These portable altars seem to have been in almost all cases of wood. Not until the latter part of the eighth century do we find instances of such altars being made of any other material. The capitulary of 796 (quoted above) seems to

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enjoin the use of stone tablets for portable as well as fixed altars. Hinemar, bishop of Reims (*Capitulare* iii. c. 3; in Hardouin's *Concilia* v. 408), forbids any priest to celebrate mass except on a regular altar, or on a "tabula ab episcopo consecrata," which table might be "de marmore vel nigra petra aut licio honestissimo." If the reading is correct, the last term certainly seems to indicate a consecrated cloth [ANTIMENSURIUM] of very rich material; though some (Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten* iv. 1, 109) connect "licium" with "sublicius," and suppose that it means a thick piece of wood. An "altare portatile" is said to have been given by Charles the Bald to the monastery of St. Denis at Paris, square in shape, made of porphyry set in gold, and containing relics of St. James the Less, St. Stephen, and St. Vincent (ib. 107).

A portable altar of wood is preserved in the church of S. Maria in Campitelli at Rome, which is said to have belonged to St. Gregory Nazianzen, but it does not appear to have a legitimate claim to so high an antiquity. Probably no earlier existing example is to be found than that which was found with the bones of St. Cuthbert (dec. A.D. 687) in the cathedral of Durham, and doubtless belonged to him: it is now preserved in the chapter library. The annexed woodcut will render any detailed de-



Portable Altar of St. Cuthbert.

scription needless: it measures 6 inches by 5 1/2, and is composed of wood covered with very thin silver: on the wood is inscribed IN HONOR . . . S. PETRI . . . and two crosses. The sense of the letters on the silver has not been satisfactorily made out (v. *St. Cuthbert*, by James Haime, p. 200). A similar portable altar is recorded by Simeon of Durham (*Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 659) to have been found on the breast of St. Aeca, Bishop of Hexham (ob. A.D. 740), when his body was exhumed more than 300 years afterwards. It was of two pieces of wood joined by silver nails, and on it was cut the inscription, "Alme Trinitati agle Sophie Sanctae Mariae." Whether relics were placed in it, the writer adds, is not known.

The "taboot" still in use in the Abyssinian

churches is a square slab of wood, stone or metal, on which the elements are consecrated, in fact, a portable altar. [ARCA.]

In the Greek Church the substitute for a portable altar was the ANTIMENSURIUM.

For the consecration of altars, see CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

XI. Literature.—Besides the works quoted in this article, the following may be mentioned:—J. B. Thiers, *Dissertation sur les Principaux Autels, la Clôture du Chœur et les Jubés des Églises*; Paris, 1688. J. Fabricius, *De Aris Veterum Christianorum*: Ilemstadt, 1698. G. Voigt, *Thysioerologia, seu De Altariis Veterum Christianorum*: Ed. J. A. Fabricius; Iamburg, 1709. S. T. Schönland, *Histor. Nachricht von Altären*: Leipzig, 1716. J. G. Geret, *De Veterum Christianorum Altariis*: Anspach, 1755. J. T. Treiber, *De Situ Altarium versus Orientem*: Jena, 1668. Kaiser, *Dissertatio De Altariis Iordaniensibus*: Jena, 1695. Heideloff, *Der Christl. Altar*: Nürnberg, 1838.

[A. N.]

ALTAR CLOTHS (*lintermina, pallia* or *pallae altaris*. In Greek writers, ἄμφια, ἀμφισακτα, ἐσθρῆτα, and authors "infimae actatis," ἄ καθόρακα, and ἄ τραπεζοφόρον). Cloths of different kinds, and of various materials (in the earliest ages, probably of linen only), must have been used in connection with the celebration of Holy Communion from the very earliest times. They were needed partly for the covering of the holy table, and of the oblations, and of the consecrated elements [CORPORATE]; partly also for the cleansing of the sacred vessels, and the like [MAPPA]. The first of these uses, of which we have now more particularly to speak, is referred to by St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis in Africa (circ. 370 A.D.) as matter of general notoriety. "Who is there," he asks, "among the faithful, who knows not that during the celebration of the mysteries the wood of the altar is covered with a linen cloth ('ipsa ligna linteamine cooperiri,' *De Schism. Donat.* lib. vi. c. i. p. 92.) With this we may compare the allusion made by Victor Vitensis (*De Persec. Afric.* lib. i. cap. 12). Writing in the year 487, he says that Genserici, the Vandal, some sixty years before, sent Preculus into Zeugitana, and the latter received the vessels used in holy ministry, and the books, to be given up; and when these were refused they were violently seized by the Vandals, who "rupaci manu cuncta depopulabantur, atque de palliis altaris pro nefas! camisis (shirts) sibi et femoralia faciebant." In the 6th century St. Gregory of Tours speaks of an altar, with the oblations upon it, being covered with a silken cloth during the celebration of mass. "Cum jam altarium cum oblationibus pallio serico operatum esset" (*Hiss. Franc.* vii. 22; compare Mabillon, *Liturgia Gallicana*, p. 41). A little later in the same passage he speaks of one claiming right of sanctuary in the church, and laying hold on the "pallae altaris" for his protection. It is remarkable that at Rome no mention is found of any *pallia altaris* among the many donations to churches recorded by Anastasius, till after the close of the 6th century. Writing of Vitinianus Papa (sed. 658-672), Anastasius says that in his time the Emperor Constans came to Rome and went to St. Peter's in state, "cum

exercitu suo," attended by his guards, the clergy coming out to meet him with wax tapers in their hands; and he offered upon the altar "pallium auro textile," or, according to another reading, "pallium auro textilem," after which mass was celebrated (Anast. *Bibl.* 135, l. 15; Migne, *P. C. C.* tom. 128, p. 775). The same writer, speaking of Zacharias Papa (sed. 741-752), says that he "fecit vestem super altare beati Petri ex auro textam, habentem nativitatem Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, ornavitque eam gemmis pretiosis." The earliest monument in the west, showing an altar (or holy table) set out for the celebration of "mass," is of the 10th or 11th century (*Vestiarium Christianum*, Pl. xliii.), one of the frescoes in the hypogean church of S. Clemente at Rome. The holy table is there covered with a white cloth, which is pendent in front, but apparently not so on the two sides. A richly ornamented border, several inches in breadth, appears on the lower edge of this "lineteam" (if such be intended) as it hangs down in front of the altar.

The allusions in Greek writers of early date correspond in character with those above quoted. In the collection of Canons Ecclesiastical (*Σύνταγμα Κανόνων*) formed by Photius of Constantinople, the earliest in date, bearing upon this point, is one of the so-called "Canons of the Apostles" (Καν. 73) to this effect: "Let no one alienate for his own private use any vessel of gold or of silver, which has been set apart for holy use" (*ἁγιασθέν*), "or any linen" (*ἰδόνην*); and the inference we naturally draw that the "linen" here spoken of has reference to altar linen (perhaps also to ministering vestments) is confirmed by the subsequent language of the First and Second Councils of Constantinople. In Canons 1 and 10, after quoting the "Canon of the Apostles" above mentioned, the Council identifies the *ἰδόνην* of that earlier canon with *ἡ σεβασμία τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ἐνδοῦς*, "the sacred covering of the holy table." On the other hand a passage of Theodoret, which has been alleged (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrétiennes*, in voc. 'Autel') as proving the use of rich cloths for the altar early in the 4th century, has probably a very different meaning from that attributed to it. The word *θειαστήριον* in early ecclesiastical Greek is more frequently used in the sense of the whole space immediately about the holy table, the "sanctuary," than of the "altar" itself. When therefore Theodoret states (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. cap. xix. *al.* cap. xxxi.) that at the consecration of a church at Jerusalem, in the case of Constantine the Great, *διοκομείτο τὸ θεῖον θειαστήριον βασιλικοῖς τε παρατέταρμασιν καὶ κερμηλίοις λιθοκαλλήτοις χρυσοῖς*, the reference is in all probability to rich curtains, or "veils," hung about the sanctuary, not to altar-cloths properly so called. Much more certainly to the purpose is a passage of St. Chrysostom (*Hom. l. al. li.* in Matt. cap. xiv. 23, 24), part of a homily originally delivered at Antioch, in which he draws a contrast between the coverings of silk, often ornamented with gold (*χρυσόπαστα ἐπιπέλαρα*), bestowed upon the holy table, and the scanty covering grudgingly given, or altogether refused, to Christ in the person of His poor members upon earth. Among the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, held in the year 538, is preserved (Labbe's *Concilia*, by Mansi,

tom. ix. pp. 1102, 3) a curious letter drawn up by the clergy of the church of Apamea in Syria Secunda. They complain of the iniquitous conduct of Severus, bishop of Antioch, and of their own bishop Petrus; and amid many grave charges brought against the latter, one is that owing to the gross carelessness (worse than carelessness is charged by the letter) with which he celebrated the Holy Liturgy, the purple covering of the altar was defiled (*κατέχρωσε πρῶματι τὸ σπτοῦ θειαστήριον τῆν ἀλουρίδα*). In the 7th and 8th centuries we find evidence that these richer coverings of the altar were in some cases adorned with symbolic ornaments and with pictures of saints (the *χαρταῖρες ἁγίων*), which incurred the condemnation of the Iconoclasts, who carried them away together with images and pictures of other kinds. So we learn from Germanus of Constantinople, early in the 8th century (Scti. Germani Patriarchae de Sanctis Synodus, &c. apud *Spicilieg. Rom.* A. Mai, tom. vii. p. 62). On the other hand, in times of grievous public calamity, we read, in one instance at least, of the altar as well as the person of the bishop and his episcopal throne being robed in black. So Theodorus Lector records of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople: *καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὸ θειαστήριον μελανοῖς ἐνδύμασιν ἠμφίσεσεν*. In the later liturgical offices (see *Goar, Euchol. Graec.* pp. 623, 627, sqq.), and in writers such as Symeon of Thessalonica (circa 1420 A.D.), we find mention of an inner covering of linen, known as *κατάσαρκα*, and of a second and more costly covering without. Patriarch Symeon makes further mention of four pieces of cloth on each of the four corners of the altar. "The holy table hath four pieces of woven cloth (*τέσσαρα μέρη ὑφάσματων*) upon the four corners thereof; and that because the fulness of the Church was formed out of all the quarters of the world; and on these four pieces are the names of the four Evangelists, because it was by their instrumentality that the Church was gathered, and the Gospel made circuit of the whole compass of the world. But the [inner cover] called *κατάσαρκα*, has an outer covering (*τραπέσοφόρον*) immediately above it. For here is at once the tomb, and the throne, of Jesus. The first of these coverings is as it were the linen wherein the dead body was wrapped; but the second is as an outer garment (*περιβολή*) of glory according to that of the psalm, said at the putting on thereof, 'The Lord is king: he hath put on beauteous apparel'" (Symeon of Thessalonica, apud *Goar, Euchol. Graec.* p. 216). Of the two words here and elsewhere employed as the technical designation of these two altar-cloths, the first, *κατάσαρκα*, was originally used of an inner chiton, or tunic, worn "next the skin" (*κατὰ σάρκα*). Thence its secondary usage as a compound word (*τὸ κατάσαρκα*) in speaking of any inner covering, as here of an inner covering, of linen, for the holy table. The use of the word *τραπέσοφόρον*, as a designation for the more costly outer cover, belongs in all probability to a comparatively late date. The word does occur in earlier writers, but in a wholly different sense, and one more in accordance with classical analogy. [W. B. M.]

ALTARIUM (compare ALTAR). This word is sometimes used to designate not merely an altar, but the space within which the altar stood. For

us letta drawn up of Apamea in Syria the iniquitous con- tention, and of their many grave charges ne is flint owing to than carelessness is which he celebrated able covering of the πτόματι τοῦ α- ρρηθῆα). In the 7th evidence that these were in some cases ements and with pic- ἄγων), which in- the Iconoclasts, who r with images and we learn from Ger- y in the 8th century Sanctis Synodis, &c. , tom. vii. p. 62), of grievous public nce at least, of the bishop and his in black. So Theoc- acius, patriarch of καὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ ὀδομασιν ἠφιέρων. (see Goar, *Evcholo.* and in writers such irc. 1420 A.D.), we ring of linen, known and more costly ch Symeon makes es of cloth on each altar. "The holy ven cloth (τέσσαρα orners thereof; of the Church was of the world; and names of the four r their instrument- gathered, and the ole compass of the e called κατάσαρκα, ε(σοφόρου) imme- at once the tomb, first of these cover- wherein the dead eod is as an outer e according to that utting on thereof, put on beauteous onica, apud Goar, two words here and chinal designation e first, κατάσαρκα, er chiton, or tunic, ἄρκα). Thence its and word (τὸ κατὰ- r covering, as here for the holy table. οφόρου, as a desig- ter cover, belong- ratively late date. r writers, but in a e more in accord- [W. B. M.]

instance, Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours, built a basilica in honour of St. Martin, which had "fenestras in altiro triginta duas, in capso viginti" "œtia octo, tria in altario, quinque in capso" (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 14). Ruinart remarks upon the passage that by "altarium" we are to understand the presbytery, by "capsum" the nave. Compare Mabillon, *de Lit. Gall.* i. 8, § 1, p. 69. [REMA.]

The plural "altaria" is also used in a similar sense; as by St. Ambrose in the passage (*Epist.* 33) quoted under ALTAR; and in the Theodosian Codex, where (Lih. ix. tit. 45, *De Spatio Ecclesiastici Asyli*) it is provided: "Pateant summi Dei templa timentibus; nec sola altaria," etc. The equivalent word in the Greek version is θυσιαστήρια.

The same extended sense is found in some modern languages, e.g. in Portuguese "altar mór" (great or high altar) is used in the sense of choir or chancel (Burton, *Highlands of the Brazil*, i. 128). [A. N.]

ALTINO (near Aquileia), COUNCIL OF (ALTINENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 802; considered as fictitious by Mansi (xiii. 1099-1102); said to have been held by the Patriarch of Aquileia to appeal to Charlemagne for protection against the Doge of Venice. [A. W. H.]

ALYPPIUS, Holy Father, commemorated Nov. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

AMA (*Amula, Hama, Hamula*; compare Ger. *Ahm, Ohme*).

"Amæ vasa sunt in quibus sacra oblatio continetur, ut vinum. . . . Amula, vas vinarium. Amulæ dicuntur quibus offertur devotio sive oblatio, simile arceolis" (Papias, in Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v.). The vessel in which wine for the celebration of the Eucharist was offered by the worshippers.

The word Ama is used by Columella and other classical authors, but the earliest instance of its use as a liturgical vessel which has been noticed is in the Charta Cornutianna of the year 471 (*Mabillon de Re Dipl.* vi. 262), where "hamulæ oblativæ" are mentioned. "Amæ argenteæ" are mentioned in the *Ordo Romanus I.* (p. 5) among the vessels which were to be brought from the Church of the Saviour, now known as St. John Lateran, for the Pontifical Mass on Easter-Day; and in the directions for the Pontifical Mass itself in the same *Ordo* (p. 10), we find that after the Pope had entered the seatorium or presbytery, the archdeacon following him received the amulæ, and poured the wine into the larger chalice (calicem majorem) which was held by the subdeacon; and again (c. 14, p. 11) after the altar was decked, the archdeacon took the Pope's amula (compare Amalarius, *Ecloga*, 554) from the oblationary subdeacon, and poured the wine through the strainer (super colum) into the chalice [CHALICE]; then those of the deacons, of the primicerius, and the others. Whether the "amæ argenteæ" are identical with the "amulæ" may perhaps be doubted; but at any rate the amulæ seem to have been church-vessels provided for the purpose of the offertory. Among the presents which Pope Adrian (772-795) made to the church of St. Adrian at Rome, the *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 346) mentions "annam unam," and also an "amulam offertorium"

of silver which weighed sixty-seven pounds. They were, however, often of much smaller size, and the small silver vessels (see woodcuts) preserved in the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican are deemed to be amulæ. They measure only about 7 inches in height, and may probably date from the 5th or 6th century. Bianchini in his edition of the *Lit. Pontif.* has given an engraving of a similar vessel of larger size. On this the miracle of Cana is represented in a tolerably good style. Bianchini supposes this to be of the fourth century.



Amæ from the Vatican Museum.

The material of these vessels was usually silver, but sometimes gold, and they were often adorned with gems. Gregory the Great (*Epist.* i. 42, p. 539) mentions "amulæ onychinæ," meaning probably vessels of onyx, or glass imitating onyx. [A. N.]

AMACIUS, bishop, deposition of, July 14 (*Mart. Bedæ*). [C.]

AMANDUS, Bishop and confessor. *Natalis*, Feb. 6 (*Mart. Bedæ*); translation, Oct. 26 (*Id.*). His name is recited in the Canon in one MS. of the Gregorian *Sacramentary*. (See Méhard's ed. p. 284.) [C.]

AMANTIUS. (1) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Feb. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). (2) Of Nyon, commemorated June 6 (*Mart. Hieron., Bedæ*). [C.]

AMATOR, Bishop of Auxerre, commemorated Nov. 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

AMATUS, confessor, commemorated Sept. 13 (*Mart. Bedæ*). [C.]

AMBITUS, compass, in music. (*Toni debitus ascensus et descensus*.) The compass of the earliest Church melodies did not in some instances reach, in few did it exceed, a fifth. "Principio cantilæ ad simplices fufere apud primos Ecclesie, ad vix disparte ascensu ac descensu implerent. Cui consuetudini proxime accessisset diatona Ambrosiani. Deinde paulatim diatona devanum, verum omnium Modorum systema." (Glennus, *Dodecachordon*, lib. i. cap. xiv.) In Gregorian music the octave was th-

TAR). This word not merely an altar, e altar stood. For

limit; the four authentic scales [AUTHENTIC] moving from the key-note to its 8ve, the four plagal [PLAGAL] from the 4th below the key-note to the 5th above it. In later times this compass (*ambitus*) was much extended. A melody occupying or employing its whole compass was called *Cantus Perfectus*; falling short of it, *Cantus Imperfectus*; exceeding it, *Cantus Plusquamperfectus*. Subsequently other interpretations (such as the course of modulation permitted in fugue) have been given to the word *ambitus*. With these we are not now concerned. (Gerbert, *Script. Mus.*; Forkel; Kock, *Mus. Lex.*) [J. H.]

AMBITUS ALTARIS (*Ἱερατεῖον*, Renaudot, *Lit. Orient.* i. 182). This expression is sometimes used, as apparently by Anastasius (*Lit. Pontif.* in *Vita Sergii II.*), for the enclosure which surrounded the altar. Pope Sergius II. (A.D. 844-877), he says, constructed at St. John Lateran an "ambitus altaris" of ampler size than that which had before existed.

It would seem that it was, in some cases and perhaps in most, distinct from the presbyterium or "chorus cantorum;" and according to Sarnelli (*Antica Basilicographia*, p. 84) there was usually between the presbyterium and the altar a raised space called "colea." Various passages in the *Lit. Pontif.*—e.g. those in which the alterations made by Pope Hadrian I. (A.D. 772-795) at S. Paolo f. l. M., and by Pope Gregory IV. (A.D. 827-844) at S. Maria in Trastevere, are described—show that the position of the altar and the arrangement of the enclosures were not alike in all cases. It seems not improbable but that in the lesser churches one enclosure served both to fence round the altar and to form the "chorus."

In the plan prepared for the church of St. Gall in the beginning of the 9th century (v. woodcut, s. v. CHURCH) an enclosure is marked "chorus," and a small space or passage intervenes between this and an enclosure shutting off the apse, within which stands the altar. This is at the west end of the church; at the east end the apse is in like manner enclosed, but the enclosure of the "chorus" is brought up to the steps leading to the raised apse without a break. A small enclosure is shown round all the altars, except those which are within the enclosures of the apses.

It appears not unlikely that the square enclosure in the church at Djemla in Algeria [CHURCH] may be such an "ambitus;" Mr. Fergusson considers this enclosure a cella or choir, and says that it seems to have been enclosed up to the roof, but that the building is so ruined that this cannot be known for a certainty. A choir enclosed by solid walls would be a plan so anomalous in a Christian church that very strong evidence would be required to prove its having existed. The building in question may, from the purely classical character of the mosaic floor, be safely assigned to an early date, probably anterior to the fourth century.

It is doubtful whether any early example of an "Ambitus altaris" now exists. We may learn from the *Lit. Pontif.* that they were usually of stone or marble, no doubt arranged in posts or uprights alternating with slabs variously sculptured, and pierced in like manner with the presbyterium at S. Clemente in Rome. The *Lit.*

Pontif. tells us of the *Ambitus* which is above mentioned Pope Sergius II. constructed at St. John Lateran, that he "pulchris columnis cum marmoribus desuper in gyro sculptis splendide decoravit;" many fragments of marble slabs with the plaited and knotted ornament characteristic of this period are preserved in the cloister of that church, and may probably be fragments of this "Ambitus."

In the richer churches silver columns bearing arches of the same metal were often erected on the marble enclosure, and from these arches hung rich curtains, and frequently vessels or crowns of the precious metals; repeated mention of such decorations may be found in the *Lit. Pontif.*, and a passage in the will of Fortunatus Patrinch of Grado (Hazlitt, *Hist. of the Republic of Venice*, vol. i. App.), who died in the early part of the 9th century, describes a like arrangement very clearly in the following words: "Post ipsum altare alium parietem deauratum et deargentatum similitur longitudine pedum xv. et in altitudine pedes iv. et super ipso pariete arcus voluites de argento et super ipsos arcus imagines de auro et de argento."

This expression "ambitus altaris" may perhaps also sometimes stand for the apse as surrounding the altar. [A. N.]

AMBO (Gr. ἄμβων, from ἀναβαίνειν). The raised desk in a church from which certain parts of the service were read. It has been also called *πόρπυς*, pulpitum, suggestus. By Sozomen (*Eccl. Hist.* ix. 2, p. 367) the ambo is explained to be the "βῆμα τῶν ἀναγινωσκτῶν"—the pulpit of the readers. From it were read, or chanted, the gospel, the epistle, the lists of names inscribed on the diptychs, edicts of bishops, and in general any communications to be made to the congregation by presbyters, deacons, or subdeacons; the bishop in the earlier centuries being accustomed to deliver his addresses from the cathedra in the centre of the apse, or from a chair placed in front of the altar; St. John Chrysostom was, however, in the habit of preaching sitting on the ambo (ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, Sozomen *Eccl. Hist.* vi. 5), in order that he might be better heard. Full details as to the use of the ambo will be found in Sarnelli (*Antica Basilicographia*, p. 72), and Ciampini (*Vet. Mon.*, t. i. p. 21 et seq.); but the examples which they describe are probably later by several centuries than the period with which we are now concerned, and the various refinements of reading the gospel from a higher elevation than the epistle, and the like, are probably by no means of very early introduction. Two and even three ambones sometimes existed; one was then used for the gospel, one for the epistle, and one for the reading of the prophetic or other books of the Old Testament (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*). In the old church of St. Peter's there was, however, but one, which Platner (*Beschreibung von Rom*) thinks was a continuance of the ancient usage.

Something in the nature of an ambo or desk no doubt was in use from a very early period. Bunsen (*Basiliken des Christlichen Roms*, p. 48) expresses his opinion that the ambo was originally moveable. In the earlier centuries much of the church furniture was of wood, and the ambones were probably of the same material. Wherever a "presbyterium" or "chorus cantorum" (i.e. an enclosed space in front of the

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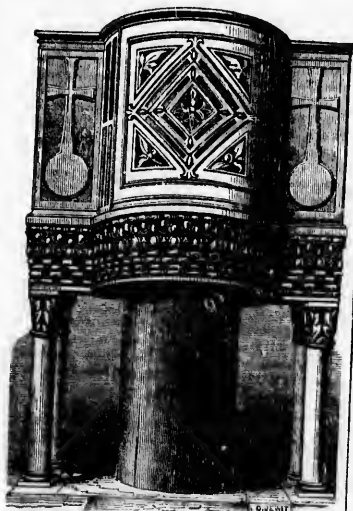
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[A. N.]

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altar reserved for the use of the inferior clergy) existed, an ambo was probably connected with it, being placed usually on one side of the enclosure. Where no “chorus” existed, the ambo was probably placed in the centre.

At St. Sophia's in Constantinople the ambo constructed by Justinian stood nearly in the middle of the church, but more towards the east. A full account of it is given by Paul the Silentary in a poem in hexameter verse upon it. From this we learn that it was ascended by two flights of stairs, one from the west, the other from the east; and that it was covered by a canopy resting on eight columns. It was constructed of the most precious marbles, and adorned with gold and precious stones. The area at the top of the stairs was sufficiently spacious for the coronation of the Emperor, and the space below enclosed by railings was occupied by the singers. During the services the gospels and epistles were no doubt read from the raised part.

Pope Pelagius (555-559) erected an ambo in St. Peter's (*Lib. Pontif.*), and in the cathedral of Ravenna are the remains of one erected by Archbishop Agnellus (558-566). This last is ornamented with figures of lambs, peacocks, doves, fishes, &c., within panels, the design and execution being poor and rude.



Ambo of S. Apollinare Nuovo, at Ravenna.

The ambo represented in the woodcut is in the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, the date of its erection has not been ascertained with certainty, but it would seem not improbable that it formed a part of the original fittings of the church built between A.D. 493 and A.D. 525. The pillars on which it is now elevated were doubtless added at some later period, when it was arranged in order to be employed as a pulpit

The ambones in S. Clemente at Rome are of different periods: the smaller and earlier may perhaps be of the same date as the circus with which it is connected (8th century?), but there is some difference in the character of the work. The larger dates probably from the 12th century, as no doubt does also that in S. Lorenzo f. l. M. at Rome. The circumstance upon which the Abbé Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*) relies as proving the high antiquity of this last, viz. that a part of its base is formed from a bas-relief relating to pagan sacrifices, cannot be considered as having much weight, as a part of the superstructure is formed from a slab bearing an early Christian inscription, and as the whole style and character of the work are so evidently those in use at Rome during the 12th and 13th centuries.

The lesser and earlier ambo at S. Clemente has two desks—one, the most elevated, looking towards the altar, the other in the contrary direction; the later ambo has a semi-hexagonal projection on each side, and is ascended by a stair at each end. This latter plan seems to have been the more usual; the ambones at Ravenna and those at Rome of the 12th and 13th centuries are all thus planned.

In the plan for the church of St. Gall (c. A.D. 820), the ambo is placed in the middle of the nave but near its eastern end, in front of the enclosure marked “chorus,” and is within an enclosure.

A tall ornamented column is often found attached to the ambo; on this the paschal candle was fixed. This usage may have existed from an early period, but perhaps the earliest existing example of such a column is one preserved in the museum of the Lateran at Rome, which however is probably not older than the 11th century. It is engraved by Ciampini (*Vet. Mon.*, t. i. pl. xiv.).

According to Sarnelli (*Ant. Bas.*, p. 84), the word ambo is the proper expression for the raised platform or chorus cantorium; he however gives no authorities for this use of the word. [A. N.]

AMBROSE. (1) Bishop of Milan, confessor, commemorated April 4 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Hieron.*, *Bedae*); Dec. 7 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Bishop, commemorated Nov. 30 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

AMBROSIAN MUSIC, the earliest music used in the Christian Church of which we have any account, and so named after Ambrose, bishop of Milan (374-398), who introduced it to his diocese about the year 386, during the reign of Constantine.

The notions prevailing among musical and other writers respecting the peculiarities of Ambrosian music are based rather on conjecture than on knowledge. It may be considered certain that it was more simple and less varied than the Gregorian music which, about two centuries later, almost everywhere superseded it. Indeed it has been doubted whether actual melody at all entered into it, and conjectured that it was only a kind of musical speech—monotone with melodic closes, or ACCENTUS ECCLESIASTICUS, a kind of music, or mode of musical utterance, which Gregory retained for collects and responses, but which he rejected as too simple for psalms and hymns. On the other hand, it has been argued more plausibly that, to whatever extent the *Accentus* or *Modus chorali*ter *legendi* may

nave been used in Ambrosian music, an element more distinctly musical entered largely into it; that a decided *cantus*, as in Gregorian music, was used for the psalms; and that something which might even now be called melody was employed for (especially metrical) hymns. That this melody was narrow in compass [AMBITUS], and little varied in its intervals, is probable or certain. The question however is not of quality, but of kind. Good melody does not of necessity involve many notes; Rousseau has composed a very sweet one on only three (*Consolations des Misères de ma Vie*, No. 53).

The probability that this last view of Ambrosian music is the right one is increased by the accounts of its effect in performance, given in the Benedictine Life of St. Ambrose, drawn from his own works, wherein one especial occasion is mentioned on which the whole congregation sang certain hymns with such fervour and unction that many could not restrain their tears—an incident confirmed by an eye-witness, St. Augustine. "How did I weep," he says, "in Thy hymns and canticles, touched to the quick by the voices of Thy sweet attuned Church! The voices flowed into mine ears, and the truth distilled into my heart, whence the affections of my devotions overflowed, and tears ran down, and happy was I therein."* It is difficult to attribute to mere "musical speech," however employed, such effects as these, even upon the rudest and least instructed people, *à fortiori*, on persons like Augustine, accomplished in all the learning and the arts of his time. The hymns and canticles must surely have been conjoined, and the voices attuned to a sweeter and more expressive song. "Dulcis est cantilena," says Ambrose (*Op. t. l. p. 1052*) himself, "quae non corpus effeminat, sed mentem animamque confirmat." Whatever its properties, its usefulness, or its dignity, no one would apply the epithet *dulcis* to the *Accentus Ecclesiasticus*, or speak of it, or anything like it, as *cantilena*.

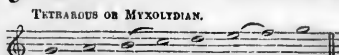
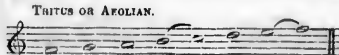
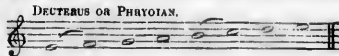
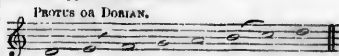
That neither Augustine nor any contemporary writer has described particularly, or given us any technical account of, the music practised by the Milanese congregations of the end of the 4th century, however much we may regret it, need hardly cause us any surprise. We are very imperfectly informed about many things nearer to us in point of time, and practically of more importance. Augustine has indeed told us in what manner the psalms and hymns were sung in the church of St. Ambrose, and that this manner was exotic and new.^b But of the character of the song itself—in what the peculiarity of the *Cantus Ambrosianus* consisted—he tells us nothing. Possibly there was little to tell; and the only peculiarity consisted in the employment in psalmody of more melodious strains than heretofore—strains not in themselves new, but never before

* "Quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter! Voces illae infundebant auribus meis, et aliquantulum veritas in cor meum; et exarscebat inde affectus pietatis, et eurrebant lacrimae, et bene nihil erat cum eis."—*S. Augustini Confessionum*, lib. ix. cap. vi. c. 14.

^b "Tunc hymni et psalmi ut 'cancerentur' secundum morem orientaliū partium, ne populus maioris tædio cantabesceret, institutum est; et ex illo in hodiernum reventum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis, et per cetera orbis militantiibus."—*Conf.*, lib. ix. cap. 7-15.

so employed; for, "in the first ages of Christianity," says St. Isidore, "the psalms were recited in a manner more approaching speech than song."^c In this view most writers on Ambrosian music have concurred; that it was veritable song, in the proper musical sense of the word, not musical speech or "half-song;" and that, not only was it based on a scale system or tonality perfectly well understood, but that its rhythmus was subject to recognised laws. S. Ubaldo, the author of a work (*Disquisitio de cantu a D. Ambrosio in Mediolanensem ecclesiam introducto*, Mediolani, 1695) especially devoted to Ambrosian music, says expressly that St. Ambrose was not the first to introduce antiphonal singing into the West, but that he did introduce what the ancients called *Cantus Harmonicus*, on account of its determined tonality and variety of intervals, properties not needed in, and indeed incongruous with, musical speech. With this *Cantus Harmonicus* was inseparably connected the *Cantus Rhythmicus* or *Metricus*; so that, by the application of harmonic (i. e. in the modern sense, *melodic*) rule, a kind of melody was produced in some degree like our own. That Ambrosian music was rhythmical is irrefragably attested by the variety of metres employed by Ambrose in his own hymns, and that such was held to have been the case for many centuries is confirmed by Guido Aretinus and John Cotton (11th century).

The first requisite of melody is that the sounds composing it be not only in the same "system," but also in some particular scale or succession, based upon and moving about a given sound. The oldest scales consisted at the most of four sounds, whence called tetrachords. The influence of the tetrachord was of long duration; it is the theoretical basis even of modern tonality. Eventually scales extended in practice to pentachords, hexachords, heptachords, and ultimately octachords, as with us. The modern scale may be defined as a succession of sounds connecting a given sound with its octave. The theory and practice of the octachord were familiar to the Greeks, from whose system it is believed Ambrose took the first four octachords or modes, viz. the Phrygian, Dorian, Hypolydian, and Hypophrygian, called by the first Christian writers on music Protus, Deuterus, Tritus, and Tetrardus. Subsequently the Greek provincial names got to be misapplied, and the Ambrosian system appeared as follows:



These scales differ essentially from our scales,

^c "Ita, ut pronuntianti vicioris esset, quam psallenti."—*De Offic.*, cap. vii.

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writers on Ambrosian
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terus, Tritus, and
Greek provincial
and the Ambrosian

ly from our scales,
sset, quam psallunt."

major or minor, of D, E, F, G, which are virtu-
ally transpositions of one another, or identical
scales at a higher or lower pitch, the seats of
whose two semitones are always in the same
places—between the 3rd and 4th and the 7th
and 8th sounds severally. Whereas the Greek
and Ambrosian scales above are not only unlike
one another (the seats of the semitones being in
all different), but they are also unlike either our
modern typical major scale of C, which has its
semitones between the 3rd and 4th and 7th and
8th sounds, or our typical minor scale of A,
which has one of its semitones always between
the 2nd and 3rd sounds, another between the 5th
and 6th or the 7th and 8th, and in its chromatic
form between both.



The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Ambrosian scales
or tones therefore are not what we now call
"keys," but "modes," differing from one another
as the modern major and minor modes differ, in
the places of their semitones. Melodies there-
fore in this or that Ambrosian "tone" have a
variety of character analogous to that which
distinguishes our major and minor modes so very
widely. Thus tenderness is the popular attri-
bute of the minor mode; strength and clearness
are those of the major. In like manner one
Ambrosian tone was supposed to be characterised
by dignity, another by languor, and so on.

The rhythm of Ambrosian melody is thought
by some to have consisted only in the adaptation
to long and short syllables of long and short
notes. "Of what we call time," says Forkel
(*Gesch. der Musik*, ii. 168),—the proportion
between the different divisions of the same
melody,—the ancients had no conception." He
does not tell us how they contrived to march
or to dance to timeless melodies—melodies with
two beats in one foot and three in another, or
three feet in one phrase and four in another, nor
how vast congregations were enabled to sing
them; and if anything is certain about Ambrosian
song it is that it was above all things congrega-
tional.

Whether Ambrose was acquainted with the
use of musical characters is uncertain. Probably
he was. The system he adopted was Greek, and
he could hardly make himself acquainted with
Greek music without having acquired some
knowledge of Greek notation, which, though in-
tricate in its detail, was simple in its principles.
But even the invention, were it needed, of char-
acters capable of representing the compara-
tively few sounds of Ambrosian melody could
have been a matter of no difficulty. Such char-
acters needed only to represent the pitch of
these sounds; their duration was dependent on,

and sufficiently indicated by, the metre. Copies
of Ambrosian music-books are preserved in some
libraries, which present indications of what may
however these are musical characters. Possibly
it is certain that, in the time of Charlemagne, Am-
brosian song was finally superseded, except in the
Milanese, by Gregorian. The knowledge of
the Ambrosian musical alphabet, if it ever
existed, may, in such circumstances, and in such
an age, have easily been lost, though the melo-
dies themselves were long preserved tradition-
ally.

[J. H.]

AMBROSIANUM.—This word in old litur-
gical writings often denotes a *hymn*, from S.
Ambrose having been the first to introduce
metrical hymns into the service of the Church.
Originally the word may have indicated that
the particular hymn was the composition of S.
Ambrose, and hence it came to signify any hymn.
Thus S. Benedict, in his directions for Nocturns,
says, "Post hunc psalmum 94 (Vente) cum anti-
phona, aut certe decantandus." Inde sequatur
Ambrosianum: Deinde sex psalmi cum anti-
phonia." Also, S. Isidore de *Diein*, off. lib. i.
c. 1, § 2, speaking of hymns, mentions S.
Ambrose of Milan, whom he calls "a most illu-
strious Doctor of the Church, and a copious
composer of this kind of poetry. Whence (he adds)
from his name hymns are called *Ambrosians*,"
(unde ex ejus nomine hymni *Ambrosiani* appel-
lantur).

[H. J. H.]

AMEN (Heb. אָמֵן). The formula by which
one expresses his concurrence in the prayer of
another, as for instance in Deut. xxvii. 15.

1. This word, which was used in the services
of the synagogue, was transferred unchanged in
the very earliest age of the Church to the
Christian services [compare ALLELUIA]; for the
Apostle (1 Cor. xiv. 16) speaks of the Amen of
the assembly which followed the *εὐχαριστία*, or
thanksgiving. And the same custom is traced
in a series of authorities. Justin Martyr (*Apol.*
i. c. 65, p. 127) notices that the people present
say the Amen after prayer and thanksgiving;
Dionysius of Alexandria (in *Euseb. H. E.* vii. 9, p.
253, Schwegler) speaks of one who had often
listened to the thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*), and
joined in the Amen which followed. Cyril of
Jerusalem (*Catechismus Mystag.* 5, p. 331) says
that the Lord's Prayer is sealed with an Amen.
Jerome, in a well-known passage (Prooemium in
lib. ii. *Comment. Ep. Gal.* p. 428) speaks of the
thundering sound of the Amen of the Roman
congregations.

2. The formula of consecration in the Holy
Eucharist is in most ancient liturgies ordered to
be said aloud, and the people respond Amen. Pro-
bably, however, the custom of saying this part
of the service *secretly*—afterwards universal in
the West—had already begun to insinuate itself
in the time of Justinian; for that emperor ordered
(*Novella* 123, in Migne's *Patrol.* tom. 72, p. 1026),
that the consecration-formula should be said
aloud, expressly on the ground that the people
might respond Amen at its termination. [Com-
pare CANON.] In most Greek liturgies also,

* This is explained as "omnino protrahendo et sub uno
aut a pluribus in voce" or as "in directum sine Anti-
phona." *Manuale de Ant. Mon. rit.*, Lib. I. cap. ii. 22

when the priest in administering says, "σάμω Χριστοῦ," the receiver answers *Amen*. So, too, in the Clementine Liturgy, after the ascription of glory to God (*Apost. Const.* viii. 13, p. 215, [Ützen]). (Bona, *De Rebus Liturgicis*, l. ii. c. 5, 12, 17.) [C.]

AMENESIUS, deacon, commemorated Nov. 10 (*Mart. Bedae*). [C.]

AMICE (*Amictus, Humeralis, Superhumeralis* or *Ephod, Anaboladium, Anaboligium, Anagolium*). § 1. The word *Amictus* is employed in classical writers as a general term for any outer garment. Thus Virgil employs it (*Aen.* iii. 405) in speaking of the toga, ornamented with purple, the end of which was thrown about the head by priests and other official persons when engaged in acts of sacrifice. (See for example "the Emperor sacrificing," from the column of Trajan, *Vest. Christ.* pl. vi.) The same general usage may be traced in the earlier ecclesiastical writers, as in St. Jerome, and in Gregory of Tours, who uses the word in speaking of a bride's veil. St. Isidore of Seville (circ. 630 A.D.) nowhere employs the word as the designation of any particular garment, sacred or otherwise. But in defining the meaning of *anabolidium* (a Greek word which at a later time was identified with *amictus* as the name of a sacred vestment), he describes it as "amictorium lineum feminarum quo humeri operiuntur, quod Graeci et Latini *sindonem* vocant." (*Origines*, xix. 25.) With this may be compared St. Jerome on Isaiah, cap. iii, where in referring to the dress of Hebrew women, he says, "Habeat sindones quae vocantur *amictoria*." This usage of "amictorium," and its equivalent "anabolidium," in speaking of a linen garment worn by women as a covering for the shoulders, will prepare us for the first reference to the "amictus" as a vestment early in the 9th century, when it is compared by Rabanus Maurus (such seems to be his meaning) with the "superhumeralis" of Levitical use (*De Instit. Cler. Lib.* i. cap. 15). Rabanus, however, does not use the word "amictus," though he seems evidently to refer to the vestment elsewhere so called. Amalarius of Metz, writing about the same time (circ. 825 A.D.), speaks of the "amictus" as being the first in order of the vestments of the Church, "primum vestimentum nostrum quo collum undique cingimus." Hence its symbolism in his eyes as implying "castigatio vocis," the due restraint of the voice, whose organs are in the throat (*De Eccl. Off.* ii. 17.). Walafrid Strabo writing some few years later (he was a pupil of Rabanus), enumerates the eight vestments of the Church, but without including in them the amice (*De Res. Eccl.* c. 24.). But in all the later liturgical writers the vestment is named under some one or other of the various designations enumerated at the head of this article. As to its use in this country there is no evidence till nearly the close of the Saxon period. It is not mentioned in the Pontifical of Egbert. In a later Anglo-Saxon Pontifical (of the 10th century, Dr. Rock says,) among the vestments enumerated occurs mention of the "superhumeralis seu poderem," an expression which has been supposed to point to the amice, though the use of "poderis" as an alternative name, seems to make this somewhat doubtful. (Quoted by

Dr. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, vol. i. p. 465; from the *Archaeologia*, vol. xxv. p. 28.)

§ 2. *Shape of the Amice, its Material, and ornamentation.* The amice was originally a square or oblong piece of linen, somewhat such as that which forms the background in the accompanying woodcut, and was probably worn nearly as shown in Fig. 1, so as to cover the neck and



Amice.

shoulders. Early in the 10th century (A.D. 925) we hear, for the first time, of ornaments of gold on the amice. (*Testamentum Recti Episcopi* in Migne's *Patrologia*, tom. xxxii. p. 468, "caligas et sandallas parla duo, amictos [sic] cum auro quattuor.") This ornament was probably an "aurifrigium" or "orriey." From the 11th century onwards the richer amices were adorned with embroidery, and at times even with precious stones. These ornaments were attached to a portion only of the amice, a comparatively small patch, known as a *plaga*, or *parura* (i. e., *paratura*) being fastened on (see Fig. 4 in wool-

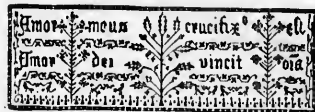


Fig. 4.

cut) so as to appear as a kind of collar above the alb (see Fig. 5). An example is given of late date, to show the shape of the *parura*, as, from the nature of the material, very early amices are not extant. These *parurae* were known in later times as "collaria" or "colleria" (see Rock, *Ch. of our Fathers*, l. 470).

§ 3. *How worn.*—All the earlier notices of the amice are such as to imply that it was worn on the neck and shoulders only. Honorius of Autun (writing circ. 1125 A.D.) is the first who speaks of it as being placed on the head. "Humeralis quod in Lege Ephod, apud nos Amictus dicitur, sibi imponit et illo caput et collum et humeros (unde et Humeralis dicitur) cooperit, et in pectore copulatum duabus vltis ad mammillas cingit. Per Humeralis quod capiti imponitur spes caelestium intelligitur." (*Genma animae*, l. c. 201.) It appears to have been temporarily placed on the head (as shown in Fig. 2 of the above woodcut) till the other vestments were arranged, after which it was turned down so that the *parura* might appear in its proper place. To this position on the head it is to be referred its later symbolism as a *helmet* of

thers, vol. i. p. 465; xv. p. 28.)

Material, and ornamentally a square or oblong such as that in the accompanying drawing nearly as to cover the neck and



century (A.D. 925) ornaments of gold Reculfi Episcopi in ii. p. 468, "caligas [sic] cum auro was probably an From the 11th centuries were adorned with ornaments even with prests were attached to a comparatively few, or parura (i.e., see Fig. 4 in wool-



of collar above the is given of late the parura, as, from the very early amplexes were known in or "colleria" (see 0). earlier notices of that it was worn by Honorius of (i.e.) is the first who is the head. "Hupud nos Amictus caput et collum et leitur) cooperit, et ittitis ad mammillas capiti imponitur (Gemina animae, i. been temporarily in Fig. 2 of the vestments were turned down so near in its proper the head is to be as a helmet of

salvation. "Amictus pro gales caput obnubuit." Durandi Rationale iii. 1. For other symbols see Innocent III. De Sacro Altaris Mysterio, l. ca. 35 and 50. (The woodcut above is from Dr. Böck's Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder, B. ii. Taf. II.) [W. B. M.]

AMICUS, confessor at Lyons, commemorated July 14 (Mart. Hieron.). [C.]

AMMON. (1) Commemorated Feb. 7 (Mart. Hieron.). [C.]

(2) Commemorated Feb. 9 (M. Hieron., Bedae). [C.]

(3) "Ammon, the deacon, with the forty women his disciples, martyrs, commemorated Sept. 1 (Cal. Byzant.). [C.]

(4) Commemorated Sept. 10 (M. Hieron., Bedae). [C.]

(5) Martyr at Alexandria, Dec. 20 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae). [C.]

AMMONARIA, martyr at Alexandria, commemorated Dec. 12 (Mart. Rom. Vet.). [C.]

AMMONIUS. (1) Martyr, Jan. 31 (Mart. Hieron., Bedae). [C.]

(2) Infant of Alexandria, commemorated Feb. 12 (Mart. Rom. Vet.). [C.]

(3) Commemorated Oct. 6 (M. Hieron.). [C.]

AMOS, the prophet, commemorated June 15 (Cal. Byzant.). [C.]

AMPULUS of Messana, commemorated Nov. 20 (Mart. Rom. Vet.). [C.]

AMPHIBALUM or AMPHIBALUS. § 1. This word appears to be confined to Gallican writers. And this fact, coupled with its Greek derivation, pointing as this does to a very early period for its introduction, is noticeable, as one among many instances of diversities of usage in minor matters, characteristic of the Gallican church, and indicating an origin distinct from that of other western churches.

§ 2. Form of the vestment, and its prevailing use. There are three passages to which reference may here be made as determining all that can with certainty be known with regard to the vestment now in question. St. Remigius, Archbishop of Arles, dying about 500 A.D., left to his successor in the see "Amphibalum album paschalem," a white amphibalus for use on Sundays and high festivals. (For "paschalis" see Duceange in voc.) We cannot here conclude with absolute certainty that it is of a vestment for church use that he is speaking, though the context seems to imply this. (The quotation is from the Testamentum S. Remigii Remensis, apud Galland, Bibliothec. Pat., tom. x. p. 806.) But in the passages that follow this meaning is beyond doubt. In a life of S. Bonitus (alias S. Bonus), † circ. 710, A.D. written, as it is supposed, by a contemporary (Acta Sanctorum Januar., d. xv. p. 1071 sqq.), we are told that the saint was much given to weeping even in church; so much so, that the upper part of his amphibalus, which served as a covering for his head, was found to be wet with the tears he shed. "Lacrimarum ei gratia in sacro non deerat officio ita ut amphibalus summis, qua caput tegebatur, ex profusione earum madida videretur." This "upper part" of the amphibalus was evidently a kind of hood (like that of

the casula), separable, in some sort, from the rest of the garment. For the saint is represented as appearing after death, in a vision, to a certain maiden, devoted to God's service, and sending through her a message to the "mother" of the neighbouring monastery, bidding her keep by her (no doubt as a relic) that part of his amphibalus which covered his head. "Ut partem amphibalus mei qua caput tegitur, secum retineat."

Even in this passage, however, though it is evidently spoken of as worn in church, and during the "holy office," it does not follow that a sacerdotal vestment, distinctively so called, is there intended. The mention of the hood (or hood-like appendage) as worn over the head points rather to use in the choir. But in a fragmentary notice of the Gallican rite, of uncertain date, probably of the 9th or 10th century, the word amphibalus is used as equivalent to the "casula," then regarded as specially belonging to sacerdotal ministry. "The casula, known as amphibalus," the writer says, "which the priest puts upon him, is united from top to bottom . . . It is without sleeves . . . joined in front without slit or opening . . . Casula, quam amphibalum vocant, quod sacerdos induitur (sic), tota unita . . . Ideo sine manicis (sic) quia sacerdos potius benedicit quam ministrat. Ideo unita princeps, non scissa, non aperta." &c. (See Martene, Thesaurus Anecdotorum, tom. v.)

From the above passages we may infer that "amphibalus" was a name, in the Gallican church of the first eight or nine centuries, for the more solemn habit of ecclesiastics, and particularly for that which they wore in offices of holy ministration. Having regard to its (probably) Eastern origin, and to its subsequent identification with the casula, we shall probably be right in thinking that it resembled in shape the white phenolin, in which Eastern bishops are represented in mosaics of the 6th century, in the great church (now Mosque) of St. Sophia at Constantinople. For these last see the article VESTMENTS (Greek), later in this work, and Salzenberg's Altkristliche Baudenkmale, plates xxviii. and xxix. [W. B. M.]

AMPHILOCHIUS, bishop of Iconium, commemorated Nov. 23 (Cal. Byzant.). [C.]

AMPIDIUS, commemorated at Rome Oct. 14 (Mart. Hieron.). [C.]

AMPLIAS, "Apostle," commemorated Oct. 31 (Cal. Byzant.). [C.]

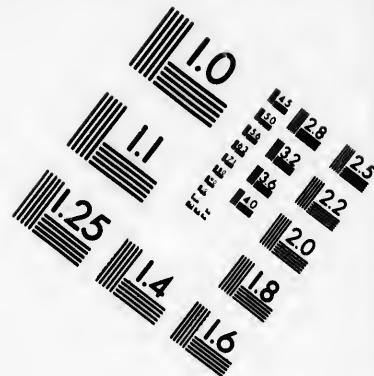
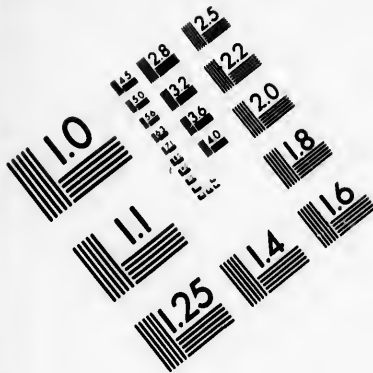
AMPIDIUS, commemorated Oct. 11 (Mart. Hieron.). [C.]

AMPULLA (Probably for amb-olla, from its swelling out in every direction), a globular vessel for holding liquid. In ecclesiastical language the word denotes —

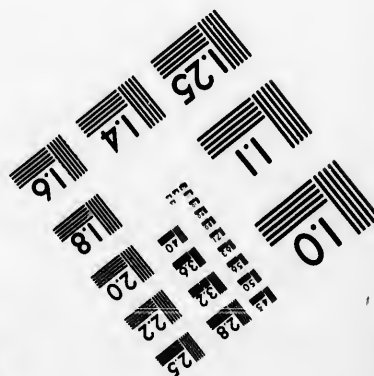
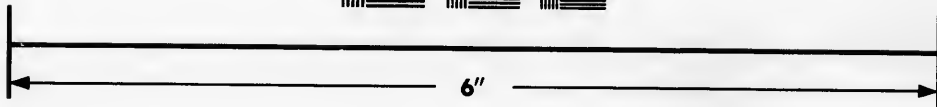
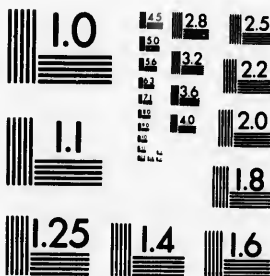
1. The flasks or cruets, generally of precious metal, which contain the wine and water used at the altar. The word "pollen," used in some districts of Germany to designate these vessels (Binterim's Denkwürdigkeiten iv. 1. 183) is probably derived from "Ampulle."

When the custom of making offerings of wine for the Holy Communion ceased, ampullae seem to have taken the place of the larger AMAP





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The notion of the ampullae themselves having been large vessels is probably founded on the ancient etymology, "ampulla, quasi vas ampullum," an etymology which Walafrid Strabo (*De Hel. Eccl. c. 24*) adapts to the facts of his own time by reversing it, "ampulla quasi parum ampla." The first mention of ampullae as altar-vessels, appears to be in the *Liber Pontificalis* (c. 110) in the life of John III. (559-573), who is said to have ordered that the oratories of the martyrs in the city of Rome should be supplied with altar-plate, including ampullae [al. amulae] from the Lateran church.

2. More commonly the word ampulla denotes a vessel, *ἀμφοῦς*, used for holding consecrated oil or chrism. In this sense it is used by Optatus Milevitanus (*contra Donatistas* ii. 19, p. 42), when he tells us that an "ampulla christiana" thrown from a window by the Donatists miraculously remained unbroken. In the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (p. 65), in the directions for the benediction of Chrism on the "Feria V. post Palmas," or Thursday in Holy Week, "ampullae duo cum olea" are ordered to be prepared, the better of which is to be presented to the Pope. [CHRISM.]



Ampulla at Monza.

By far the most renowned ampulla of this kind is that which was said to have been brought by a dove from heaven at the baptism of Clovis, and which was used at the coronation of the Frank kings. Hincmar, in the service which he drew up for the coronation of Charles the Bald (840), speaks of the first Christian king of the Franks having been anointed and consecrated with the heaven-descended chrism, whence that which he himself used was derived ("caelitus sumpto chrismate, unde nunc habemus, perunctus et in regem sacratum"), as if of a thing well known. In Flodard, who wrote in the first half of the 10th century, we find the legend fully developed. He tells us (*Hist. Eccles. Remensis*, l. 13, in Migne's *Patrol.* vol. 133, p. 52 c.) that at the Baptism of Clovis, the clerk who bore the chrism was prevented by the crowd from reaching his proper station; and that when the moment for unction arrived, St. Remi raised his

eyes to heaven and prayed, when "ecce subito columba ceu nix adnotat candida rostro defersens ampullam caelestis doni chrismate repletam." This sacred ampulla (the "Sainte Ampouille") was preserved in the abbey of St. Remi, at Reims, and used at the coronation of the successive kings of France. It was broken in 1793, but even then a fragment was said to have been preserved, and was used at the coronation of Charles X. The ampulla represented in the woodcut, from Monza, is said to be of the 7th century. It is of a metal resembling tin, and has engraved upon it a representation of the Adoration of the Magi and of the Shepherds, with the inscription, *ΚΑΘΩΣ ΕΥΑΛΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΓΛΩΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΩΝ*, having been used for preserving Holy Oil. [OIL, HOLY.] [C.]

AMULETS. The earliest writer in whom the word occurs is Pliny (*H. N.* xix. 4, 19; xxx. 15, 47, et al.), and is used by him in the sense of a "charm" against poisons, witchcraft, and the like ("veneficiorum amuleta"). A Latin derivation has been suggested for it as being that "quod malum amolitur." Modern etymologists, however, connect both the word as well as the thing with the East, and derive it from the Arabic *hamulet* (= a thing suspended). The practice which the word implies had been in the Christian Church, if not from the first, yet as soon as the Paganism and Judaism out of which it had emerged began again to find their way into it as by a process of infiltration, and the history of amulets presents a strange picture of the ineradicable tendency of mankind to fall back into the basest superstitions which seem to belong only to the savage bowing before his *fetiché*. Man has a dread of unseen powers around him—demons, spectres, an evil eye—and he believes that certain objects have power to preserve him from them. That belief fastens sometimes upon symbolic forms or solemn words that have once served as representatives of higher thoughts, sometimes upon associations which seem altogether arbitrary. When the Israelites left Egypt, they came from a people who had carried this idea to an almost unequalled extent. The scarabaeus, the hawk, the serpent, the uraeus, or hooded snake, an open eye, outspread wings, with or without formulae of prayer, deprecating or invoking, are found in countless variety in all our museums, and seem to have been borne, some on the breast, some suspended by a chala round the neck. The law of Moses, by ordering the *Zizith*, or blue fringe on the garments which men wore, or the papyrus scrolls with texts (Exod. xiii. 2-10, 11-17; Deut. vi. 4-9, 13-22), which were to be as frontlets on their brows, and bound upon their arms, known by later Jews as the *Tephillin*, or when nailed on their door posts or the walls of their houses as the *Messua*, sought, as by a wise "economy," to raise men who had been accustomed to such usages to higher thoughts, and to turn what had been a superstition into a witness for the truth. The old tendency, however, crept in, and it seems clear that some at least of the ornaments named by Isaiah (iii. 23), especially the *ἄμυνή*, were of the nature of amulets (*Bib. Dict.* AMULETS). And the later *φλακέρηρα* of the N. T., though an attempt has been made by some archaeologists to explain the name as though they reminded

* This (Berach. on Phyl. & The. amulet) is old Egypt. century

ed, when "erce subito
andia rostro defereus
chrismate repletam."
"Salute Ampouille"
of St. Remi, at Reims,
of the successive kings
in 1793, but even
to have been preserved,
onation of Charles X.
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the 7th century. It is
n, and has engraved
the Adoration of the
with the inscription,
N AFIΩN XPICTOV
for preserving Holy
[C.]

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the papyrus scrolls
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ισαεν φυλάσσει τον νόμον (Schöttgen) were, there can be little doubt, so called as "preservatives" against demons, magic, and the evil eye.* Through the whole history of Rabbinism, the tendency was on the increase, and few Jews believed themselves free from evil spirits, unless the bed on which they slept was guarded by the *Messua*. Mystic figures—the sacred tetragrammaton, the shield of David, the seal of Solomon—with cabalistic words, AGLA (an acrostic formed from the initial letters of the Hebrew words for "Thou art mighty for everlasting, O Lord"), Abracalan, and the like, shot up as a rank after-growth. Greek, Latin, Eastern Heathenism, in like manner, supplied various forms of the same usage. Everywhere men lived in the dread of the fascination of the "evil eye." Sometimes individual men, sometimes whole races (e.g. the Tibbii of Pontus) were thought to possess the power of smiting youth and health, and causing them to waste away (Plutarch, *Sympos.* v. 7). And against this, men used remedies of various kinds, the *Ἐπίστια γράμματα*, the *phallos* or *fascinum*. The latter was believed to operate as diverting the gaze which would otherwise be fixed on that which kept it spell-bound (Plutarch, *l. c.*; Varr. de *Ling. Lat.* vi. 5), but was probably connected also with its use as the symbol of life as against the evil power that was working to destroy life. It is obvious that superstitions of this kind would be foreign to Christian life in its first purity. The "bonfire" at Ephesus was a protest against them and all like usages (Acts xix. 19). They crept in, however, probably in the first instance through the influence of Judaizing or Orientalizing Gnostics. The followers of Basilides had their mystical Abraxas and Jaldabaoth, which they wrote on parchment and used as a charm (*Chr. Biogr.* art. BASILIDES). Scarabæi have been found, with inscriptions (Jao, Sabaoth, the names of angels, Bellerman, *Ueber die Scarabæen*, i. 10), indicating Christian associations of this nature.† The entombs of Rome have yielded small objects of various kinds that were used apparently for the same purpose, a bronze fish (connected, of course, with the mystic anagram of ΙΧΘΥΣ), with the word ΣΩΖΑΙΣ on it, a hand holding a tablet with ΖΗΧΕΣ, medals with the monogram which had figured on the *labarum* of Constantine (Ariughi, *Roma Subterranea*, vi. 23; Costadoni, *Del Pesce*, pl. ii, iii, 19; Martigny, s. v. Poisson). In the East we find the practice of carrying the Gospels (*Βιβλία* or *εὐαγγέλια μικρά*) round the neck as *φυλακτήρια* (Chrysost. *Hom.* lxxiii. in Matt.); and Jerome (in Matt. iv. 24) confesses that he had himself done so to guard against disease. When the passion for relics set in they too were employed, and even Gregory the Great sent to Theodolinda two of these *φυλακτήρια*, one a cross containing a fragment of the true cross, the other a box containing a copy of the Gospels, each with Greek invocations, as a charm against the evil spirits or *lamiae* that beset children (*Epp.* xii. 7). In all these cases we trace some Christian asso-

* This is distinctly stated in the Jerusalem Gemara (Berach. fol. 2. 4). Comp. the exhaustive article by L. Yrca on "Phylakterien" in Herog.

† The mention of "the horns of the Scarabæens" as an amulet by Pliny (*H. N.* xxvii. 4) shows how widely the old Egyptian feeling about it had spread in the first century of the Christian era.

ciations. Symbolism passes into superstition. In other instances the old heathen leaven was more conspicuous. Strange words, *περίεργοι χαρακτήρες* (Basil. in Pa. xl. v., p. 229 A), names of rivers, and the like (Chrysost. *Hom.* lxxiii. in Matt.), "*lygature*" of all kinds (August. Tract vii. in *Joann.*), are spoken of as frequent. Even a child's caul (it is curious to note at once the antiquity and the persistency of the superstition), and the *ἐγκόλιον ἔδωμα* became an *ἐγκόλιον* in another sense, and was used by midwives to counteract the "evil eye" and the words of evil omen of which men were still afraid (Balsamon, in *Conc. Trull.* c. 61). Even the strange prohibition of "leading about she bears and other like beasts to the delusion (*ἐπὶς παλγίων*) and injury of the simple," has been referred by the same writer (*ibid.*), not to their being a show as in later times, but to the fact that those who did so carried on a trade in the *φυλακτήρια*, which they made from their hair, and which were in request as a cure for sore eyes.

Christian legislation and teaching had to carry on a perpetual warfare against these abuses. Constantine indeed, in the transition stage which he represented, had allowed "remedia humanis quaesita corporibus" (*Cod. Theodos.* ix. tit. 16, s. 3), as well as incantations for rain, but the Council of Laodicea (c. 36) forbade the clergy to make *φυλακτήρια*, which were in reality "*δερμῆτριά* for their own souls." Chrysostom frequently denounces them in all their forms, and lays bare the plea that the old women who sold them were devout Christians, and that the practice therefore could not be so very wrong (*Hom.* viii. in Coloss. p. 1374; *Hom.* vi. c. Jud.; *Hom.* lxiii. p. 536, in Matt. p. 722). Basil (*l. c.*) speaks in the same tone. Augustine (*l. c.* and *Serm.* exv. *De Temp.*) warns men against all such "diabolica phylacteria." Other names by which such amulets were known were *περίπαιτα*, *περιδωμάτια*. We may infer from the silence of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian that the earlier days of the Church were comparatively free from these superstitions, and from the tone of the writers just referred to that the canon of the Council of Laodicea had been so far effectual that the clergy were no longer ministering to them. [E. H. P.]

ANACHORETAE. [HERMIT.]

ANACLETUS, the pope, martyr at Rome, commemorated April 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*) [C.]

ANACTORON (*Ἀνακτορον* from *ἄνακτορ*), the dwelling of a king or ruler. In classical authors, generally a house of a god, especially a temple of the Eleusian Demeter or of the Dioscuri; also, the innermost recess of a temple, in which oracles were given (Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, i. pp. 59, 62). Eusebius (*Præpar.* c. 9) applies the word to the church built by Constantine at Antioch, whether as equivalent to *βασιλική*, or with reference to the unusual size and splendour of the church, or with a reminiscence of the classical use of the word, is difficult to say. (Bingham's *Antiquities*, viii. 1. § 5.) [C.]

ANAGNOSTES—LECTOR—READER.—Tertullian is the earliest writer who mentions this office as a distinct order in the Church (*De Præscr.* c. 41). It would seem that, at first, the public reading of the Scriptures was performed

indifferently by presbyters and deacons, and possibly at times by a layman specially appointed by the bishop. From Tertullian's time, however, it was included among the minor orders, and as such is frequently referred to by Cyprian (*Ep.* 29, 38, &c.). It is also one of the three minor orders mentioned in the so-called Apostolical Canons, the other two being the *σποδίκος* and the *ψαλτης*. The Scriptures were read by the Anagnostes, from the pulpitum or tribunal ecclesiae. If any portion of the sacred writings was read from the altar, or more properly from the bema or tribunal of the sanctuary, this was done by one of the higher clergy. By one of Justinian's Novels it was directed that no one should be ordained reader before the age of eighteen; but previously young boys were admitted to the office, at the instance of their parents, as introductory to the higher functions of the sacred ministry (Biagham, Thorndike). [D. B.]

ANANIAS. (1) Of Damascus (Acts ix. 10), commemorated Jan. 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); Oct. 1 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Oct. 15 (*C. Armen.*).

(2) Martyr in Persia, April 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(3) Martyr, with Azarias and Misael, Dec. 18 (*Id.*); April 23 (*Mart. Bedae*); Dec. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ANAPHORA. (*Ἀναφορά*). The word *ἀναφέρειν* acquired in later Greek the sense of "lifting up" or "offering;" as *ἀναφέρειν θυσίας*, Heb. vii. 27; 1 Pet. ii. 5; *ἀναφέρειν εὐχαριστίας, εὐρημάτων, θεολογίας*, Chrysostom in Suidas, s. v. *Ἀναφορά* was also used in a corresponding sense; in Ps. l. 21, [LXX], it is the equivalent of the Hebrew *הָרַם*, "that which goeth up on the altar.")

1. In the sense of "lifting up" Anaphora came to be applied to the celebration of the Holy Eucharist; whether from the "lifting up" of the heart which is required in that service, or from the "oblation" which takes place in it; probably the latter.

In the liturgical diction of the Copts, which has borrowed much from the Greeks, the word Anaphora is used, instead of liturgy, to designate the whole of the Eucharistic service, and the book which contains it; but more commonly its use is restricted to that more solemn part of the Eucharistic office which includes the Consecration, Oblation, Communion, and Thanksgiving. It begins with the "Sursum Corda," or rather with the benediction which precedes it, and extends to the end of the office, thus corresponding with the PREFACE and CANON of Western rituals.

The general structure of the Anaphora of Oriental liturgies is thus exhibited by Dr. Neale (*Eastern Church*, Introduction, l. 463).

The Great Eucharistic Prayer—

1. The Preface. [SURSUM CORDA.]
2. The Prayer of the Triumphal Hymn. [PREFACE.]
3. The Triumphal Hymn. [SANCTUS.]
4. Commemoration of our Lord's Life.
5. Commemoration of Institution.

The Consecration—

6. Words of Institution of the Bread.
7. Words of Institution of the Wine.
8. Oblation of the Body and Blood.
9. Introductory Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Ghost.
10. Prayer for the Change of Elements.

ANASTASIS

The Great Intercessory Prayer—

11. General Intercession for Quick and Dead.
12. Prayer before the Lord's Prayer.
13. The Lord's Prayer
14. The Embolismus.

The Communion—

15. The Prayer of Inclination (*πρὸς ἀφάλας κλίωμεν*).
16. *Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις* and Elevation of Host.
17. The Fraction.
18. The Confession.
19. The Communion.
20. The Antidoron; and Prayers of Thanksgiving.

This table exhibits the component parts of the Anaphorae of all, or nearly all, the Eastern liturgies, in the state in which they have come down to us; but different parts are variously developed in different liturgies, and even the order is not always preserved; for instance, in the existing Nestorian liturgies, the general intercession is placed before the invocation of the Holy Ghost, and other minor variations are found. The principal of these will be noticed under their proper headings.

It is in the Anaphorae that the characteristics are found which distinguish different liturgies of the same family; in the introductory or pro-anaphoral portion of the liturgies there is much less variety. "In every liturgical family there is one liturgy, or at most two, which supplies the former or pro-anaphoral portion to all the others, and such liturgies we may call the normal offices of that family; the others, both in MSS. and printed editions, commence with the 'Prayer of the Kiss of Peace,' the preface to the Anaphora" (Neale, *Eastern Church*, i. 319). Thus, when the liturgy of Gregory Theologus or of Cyril is used, the pro-anaphoral portion is taken from that of St. Basil; the Ethiopian Church has twelve liturgies, which have the introductory portion in common; the numerous Syro-Jacobite liturgies all take the introductory portion from that of St. James; the three *ἁγίων* from that of the Apostles. Further particulars will be found under CANON and COMMUNION.

2. The word *ἀναφορά* is sometimes used in liturgical writings as equivalent to the *ἄψα* or Chalice-veil; and has found its way in this sense, corrupted in form (*Ἀψφίρ*) into the Syrian liturgies. (Renaudot, *Lit. Orient.* ii. 61.) [C.]

ANASTASIA. (1) Martyr under Diocletian. Her *Natalis*, an ancient and famous festival, falls on Dec. 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Hieron. Bedae*). Her name is recited in the Gregorian Canon. The proper office for her festival, in the Gregorian Sacram. (p. 7), is headed, in Méhard's text, *Missa in Mane prima Nat. Dom.*, see *S. Anastasie*; and is inserted between the *Missa In Vigilia Domini in Nocte* and the *Missa In Die Natalis Domini*. The titles in the other MSS. are equivalent. In the *Byzantine Calendar* she is commemorated as *φάρμακοθήρη*, dissolver of spells on Dec. 22 (see Neale's *Eastern Church*, *Introd.* 786).

(2) Of Rome, *δισυμύδρις*, commemorated Oct. 29 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ANASTASIS.—The Orthodox Greek Church commemorates the dedication of the Church of the Anastasis by Constantine the Great (*Ἐγκαίνια τοῦ Ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσεως*) on Sep. 13. (Daniel, *Codes*

Liturgy, iv. 268.) This festival refers to the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or of the Resurrection of the Lord, at Jerusalem, A.D. 335. (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, iii. 26 ff.) A similar name was given to the room where Gregory of Nazianzus preached at Constantinople, afterwards converted into a magnificent church. (Gibbon's *Rome*, iii. 367, ed. Smith.) [C.]

ANASTASIUS. (1) The monk, martyr in Persia, commemorated Jan. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*, *Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Hieron.*).

(2) Saint, April 1 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(3) The pope, April 27 (*Mart. R. V.*, *Bedae*); Oct. 28 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(4) Saint, May 2 (*M. Bedae*).

(5) The Cornicularius, martyr, Aug. 21 (*Mart. R. V.*).

(6) Commemorated Aug. 26 (*M. Hieron.*).

(7) Bishop, Oct. 13 (*M. Bedae, Hieron.*). [C.]

ANATHEMA, the greater excommunication, answering to Cherem in the Synagogue, as the lesser form did to Niddai, i. e. Separation; this latter is called ἀποσιτισμός in the *Constitutions of the Apostles*.

The excommunication of obstinate offenders from the Christian fellowship was grounded upon the words of Christ—"If he will not hear the Church, let him be as a heathen man and a publican." So St. Gregory interprets them—"let him not be esteemed for a brother or a Christian"—"videlicet peccator gravis et scandalosus, notorius aut accusatus et convictus"; being reproved by the bishop in the public assemblies of the Church, if he will not be humbled but remains incorrigible and perseveres in his scandalous sins—"tam anathemate feriendus est et corpore Ecclesie separandus" (St. Gregory in Ps. v.), and St. Augustine (*Tract xvii.* in Johan.) vindicates this severity of discipline on the Church's part in such a case—"quia neque inflexum habet a capite, neque participat de Spiritu Christi."

This application of the word Anathema to the "greater excommunication" was warranted, in the belief of the ancient Church, by St. Paul's use of it (Gal. i. 8, 9), and the discipline itself being distinctly warranted by our Lord's words, as well as by other passages in the New Testament, the anathema was regarded as cutting a man off from the way of salvation; so that unless he received the grace of repentance he would certainly perish.

A milder sense, however, of the word Anathema, as used by St. Paul, has not been without its defenders, both among our own Divines as Hammond and Waterland, and by Grotius. The latter writer, commenting on Rom. ix. 3, gives the following interpretation: "Hoc dicit: Velim non modo carere honore Apostolatus, verum etiam contemptissimus esse inter Christianos, quales sunt qui excommunicati sunt."

And as to the effect of the Ecclesiastical Anathema—it is maintained by Vincentius Lirinensis that it did not bear the sense of cursing among the ancient Christians, as Cherem did among the Jews.

It is certain, however, that the word Anathema is uniformly employed by the LXX as the equivalent of Cherem; and it can hardly be questioned, therefore, that where it occurs in the N. T. it must be understood in the deeper sense—as relating to the spiritual condition—

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and not merely to exclusion from Church privileges, whatever may have been the force subsequently attached to the word, as expressing the most solemn form of ecclesiastical excommunication. On this point and on the history of the word in general, the reader is referred to Lightfoot on *Galatians*; Thordike, vol. ii. 338; Bp. Jeremy Taylor (*Ductor Luitantium*); J. Lightfoot, *De Anathemate Maranatha*. [D. B.]

ANATOLIA, martyr, commemorated July 9 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ANATOLIUS, bishop, commemorated July 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ANAXARBE (SYNOPOS OF), A.D. 431, to confirm the deposition of St. Cyril, and those who held with him. Another was held there two years later, as at Antioch, to make peace with St. Cyril. [E. S. F.]

ANCHOR (AS SYMBOL). The anchor is an emblem very frequently used, from the earliest ages of Christianity, in symbolism. As the anchor is the hope and often the sole resource of the sailor, the ancients called it *saeculi*; to weigh anchor was, "Anchoram saeculi solvere." St. Paul adopts an obvious symbolism, when he says (Heb. vi. 19) that we have hope as "an anchor of the soul both sure and steadfast," so that, in its special Christian sense, the anchor would seem to be an emblem of hope.

By the early Christians we find it used, sometimes with reference to the stormy ocean of human life, but more often to the tempests and the fierce blasts of persecution which threatened to engulf the ship of the Church. Thus the anchor is one of the most ancient of emblems; and we find it engraved on rings, and depicted on monuments and on the walls of cemeteries in the Catacombs, as a type of the hope by which the Church stood firm in the midst of the storms which surrounded it. In this, as in other cases, Christianity adopted a symbol from Paganism, with merely the change of application.

The symbols on sepulchral tablets often contain allusions to the name of the deceased. The Chevalier de Rossi (*De Monum. IXOTN exhib. p. 18*) states that he has three times found an anchor upon *tituli* bearing names derived from Spes or *Ἐλπίς*; upon the tablet of a certain ELPIDIVS (Mai, *Collect. Vatican.*, v. 449), and upon two others, hitherto unpublished, in the cemetery of Priscilla, of two women, ELPIDVSA and SPES. In some cases, above the transverse bar of the anchor stands the letter E, which is probably the abbreviation of the letter *Ἐλπίς*. Further, we find the anchor associated with the fish, the symbol of the Saviour [ΙΧΘΥΣ]. It is clear that the union of the two symbols expresses "hope in Jesus Christ," and is equivalent to the formula so common on Christian tablets, "Spes in Christo," "Spes in Deo," "Spes in Deo Christo."

The transverse bar below the ring gives the upper part of the anchor the appearance of a *crux ansata* [Cross], and perhaps this form may have had as much influence in determining the choice of this symbol by the Christians as the words of St. Paul. The anchor appears, as is natural, very frequently upon the tombs of martyrs. (See Lupi, *Sæcæne Epitaphium*, pp. 131, 137; Boldetti, *Osservazioni*, 360, 370, &c.; Fabretti, *Inscrip-*

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ANCYRA.—Two synods of Ancyra are recorded, the first of which stands at the head of those provincial synods whose canons form part of the code of the universal Church. It was held under Vitalis of Antioch, who signs first; and of the 18 bishops composing it, several attended the Nicene Council subsequently. Twenty-five canons were passed, about half of which relate to the lapsed, and the rest to discipline generally (v. Beveridge, *Synod. ii. ad l.*). The date usually assigned to it is A.D. 314. Another synod met there, A.D. 358, composed of semi-Arians. They condemned the second Synod of Sirmium, accepted the term *homoiousion*, and published 12 anathemas against all who rejected it, together with a long synodical letter. Another synod of semi-Arians was held there, A.D. 375, at which Hipsius, Bishop of Parnassus, was deposed. [E. S. F.]

ANCYRA, THE SEVEN VIRGINS OF, are commemorated by the Armenian Church on June 20, as fellow-martyrs with Theodotus, or Theodorus, of Salatia, the first Bishop of Ancyra of whom we have any account. (Neale, *Eastern Church, Introd.* p. 800.) [C.]

ANDEGAVENTSE CONCILIUM. [ANGERS, COUNCIL OF.]

ANDELAENSE CONCILIUM. [ANDELOT, COUNCIL OF.]

ANDELOT, COUNCIL OF (ANDELAENSE CONCILIUM), near Langres; summoned by Guntram, King of Orleans (at a meeting to ratify a compact, also called at Andelot, between himself and Childbert, Nov. 28 or 29, 587), for March 1, A.D. 588, but nothing further is recorded of it, and possibly it was never held at all (Greg. Taron, *Hist. Fr.* ix. 20, Mansi, ix. 967-970). [A. W. H.]

ANDOCHIUS or ANDOCIUS, presbyter, commemorated Sept. 24 (*Mart. Hieron., Bede*). [C.]

ANDREAS. (1) Martyr, commemorated Aug. 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) King, Hedra 19 = Nov. 12 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(3) The general, with 2953 companion martyrs, commemorated Aug. 19 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Of Crete, *Isouaprus*, Oct. 17 (*Cal. Byz.*).

ANDREW, SAINT, FESTIVAL OF.—As was natural, the name of the "brother fisherman" of St. Peter was early held in great honour. He is invoked by name as an intercessor in the prayer "Libera nos" of the Roman Canon, with the Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Paul; and his principal festival was anciently placed on the same level as that of St. Peter himself (Krazer, *De Liturgia*, p. 529). His "Dies Natalis," or martyrdom, is placed in all the Martyrologies, agreeing in this with the apocryphal *Acta Andree*, on Nov. 30. It is found in the Calendar of Carthage, in which no other apostles are specially commemorated except St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. James the Great; and in St. Boniface's list of Festivals, where no other apostles are named except St. Peter and St. Paul (Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, v. i. 299). The hymn "Nunc Andree solemnia," for the festival of St. Andrew, is attributed to Venerable Bede. Proper offices

for the Vigil and Festival of St. Andrew are found in the *Sacramentaries* of Leo and Gregory. In the latter (p. 144) there is a clear allusion to the *Acta* (see Tischenorff's *Acta Apost. Apocrypha*, p. 127), where it is said that the saint frankly proclaimed the truth, "nec pendens taceret in cruce;" and in the ancient *Liber Responsalis*, which bears the name of Gregory, is one equally clear to the same *Acta* in the words of St. Andrew's prayer, "Ne me patiaris ab impio iudice deponi, quia virtutem sanctae crucis agnovi" (p. 838). A trace of the influence of these same *Acta* is found again in the Gallo-Gothic Missal (probably of the 8th century), published by Mabillon, in which the "contestatio," or preface (*Liturgia Gall.* lib. lii. p. 222), sets forth that the Apostle, "post iniqua verbera, post carceris sœpta, alligatus suspendo se purum sacrificium obtulit. . . Absolve se non patitur a cruce . . . turba . . . laxari postulat iustum, ne percat populus hoc delicto; interea fundit martyri spiritum." The Armenian Church commemorates St. Andrew with St. Philip on Nov. 16.

The relics of the apostle were translated, probably in the reign of Constantius, though some authorities place the translation in that of Constantine (compare Jerome, c. *Vigilantium*, c. 6, p. 391, who says that Constantius translated the relics, with Paulinus, *Carm.* 26, p. 628), to Constantine's great "Church of the Apostles" at Constantinople, where they rested with those of St. Luke; the church was indeed sometimes called, from these two great saints, the church of St. Andrew and St. Luke. Justinian built over their remains, to which those of St. Timothy had been added, a splendid tomb.

The *Martyrologium Hieronymi* places the translation of St. Andrew on Sept. 3, and has a "Dedicatio Basilicæ S. Andree" on Nov. 3; but most Martyrologies agree with the *Martyrologium Romanum* in placing the translation on May 9. Several Martyrologies have on Feb. 5 an "Ordinatio Episcopatus Andree Apostoli," in commemoration of the saint's consecration to the see of Patras (Florentinus, in *Martyrol. Hieron.* p. 300; Baronius, in *Martyrol. Romano*, Nov. 30, p. 502; Tillmont, *Mem. Eccles.* i. 320, 589; Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, v. i. 503, ff.).

As was natural in the case of so distinguished a saint as the first-called Apostle, churches were dedicated in honour of St. Andrew in early times. Pope Simplicius (c. 470) is said to have dedicated a basilica at Rome in his honour (Ciampini, *Ict. Monum.* i. 242); and somewhat later (c. 500) Pope Symmachus converted the "Vestiarium Neronis" into a church, which bore the name "S. Andree ad Crucem." This was not far from the Vatican (Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedif.* p. 80). Later examples are frequent.

The representation of St. Andrew with the decussate cross (X) as the instrument of his martyrdom belongs to the Middle Ages. In ancient examples he appears, like most of the other apostles, simply as a dignified figure in the ancient Roman dress, sometimes bearing a crown, as in a 5th-century Mosaic in the church of St. John at Ravenna (Ciampini, *Fœdera Monumenta*, tom. i. tab. lxx. p. 235), sometimes a roll of a book, as in a 9th-century Mosaic figured by Ciampini (u. a. tom. ii. tab. iii. p. 162), where he is joined with the favoured disciples, SS. Peter, and James, and John. [C.]

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ANDRONICUS. (1) Saint, April 5 (*M. Bedae*).

(2) May 13 (*M. Hieron.*).

(3) "Apostle," with Junia (Rom. xvi. 7), commemorated May 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*); invention of their relics, Feb. 22 (*D., Neale*).

(4) Commemorated Sept. 27 (*M. Hieron.*).

(5) "Holy Father," Oct. 9 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(6) Martyr, commemorated Oct. 10 (*Mart. Hieron.*); Oct. 11 (*M. Rom. Vet.*); Oct. 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

ANESIUS, of Africa, commemorated March 31 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

ANGARIENSE CONCILIIUM. [SANGARIENSE CONCILIIUM.]

ANGELS and ARCHANGELS, in CHRISTIAN ART. The representations of angels in Christian art, at various periods, reproduce in a remarkable manner the ideas concerning them, which from time to time have prevailed in the Church. In one and all, however, we may trace, though with various modifications of treatment, an embodied commentary upon the brief but expressive declaration concerning their nature and office which is given in the Epistle to the Hebrews (I. 14). Worship of service rendered unto God (*Λειτουργία*),^a and work of mislustration (*διακοιλία*) done on God's behalf to man, these are the two spheres of angelic operation suggested in Holy Scripture, and these, under various modifications^b curiously characteristic of the successive ages in which they are found, come before us in a series of monuments extending from the fourth to the close of the 14th century.

§ 2. *First three Centuries.* Existing monuments of early Christian art, illustrative of our present subject, are, for the first 500 years, or more, almost exclusively of the West, and, with one or two doubtful exceptions, all these are of a date subsequent to the "Peace of the Church," under Constantine the Great, and probably, not earlier than 400 A.D. As a special interest attaches to these earliest monuments, it may be well here to enumerate them. The earliest of them all, if D'Agincourt's judgment (*Histoire, etc. vol. v. Peinture, Pl. vii. No. 3.*) may be trusted, is a monument in the cemetery of St. Priscilla,^c

^a Heb. I. 14. *Λειτουργικά πνεύματα ἀποσταλάμενα εἰς διακονίαν.* The distinction of the two words noticed above is lost to our English version. It is well brought out by Origen, *cont. Celsum*, lib. v. (quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.*, book xiii. cap. iii. § 2, note 2). See this further illustrated in the description of woodcut in § 6 below.

^b Absent (almost, if not altogether) for the first four centuries (see § 2), they assume purposes of dogma (§ 3) in the 5th century; they are Scriptural still, but also in one case legendary (§ 4) in the 6th. From that time forward canonical and apocryphal Scripture and mediæval legend are mixed up together. We find them imperial in character, or sacerdotal and liturgical, as the case may be; while in the later middle ages even feudal notions were characteristically mixed up with the traditions concerning them derived from Holy Scripture. (For this last see Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 3rd edit. vol. i. p. 85, quoting from *Il Trovato Leggendario*.)

^c The Abbé Martigny (*Dictionnaire, &c. in voc.* 'Anges') speaks with evident doubt of the date assigned to this fresco. D'Agincourt himself in his description gives no particulars as to the source from which his drawing was derived. Neither earlier nor later antiquaries know anything of its history. And this being so, an unsupported opinion as to its date, resting on the authority of D'Agin-

court alone, carries but little weight. The same subject is reproduced in the Cemetery of SS. Petrus and Saturninus (Verret, vol. lit. pl. xxvi.).
^a The 37th canon forbids the painting upon walls the objects of religious worship and adoration. "Piscit pisci in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur." Roman writers, for obvious reasons, seek to explain away the apparent meaning of this prohibition. As to this, see Bingham, *G. A., book viii. cap. viii. § 6.*
^b Paulinus, bishop of Nola, early in the 5th century, describes at much length in a letter (Ep. xii.) to his friend Severus the decorations with which he had adorned his own church. His descriptions accord closely with some of the actual monuments (sarcophagi and mosaic pictures) of nearly contemporary date, which have been preserved to our own time.
^c The form of the Nimbus here assigned to our Lord seems to indicate a later date.
^d By the "triumphal arch" of a Roman church is meant what will correspond most nearly with the chancel arch of our own churches. It was full in view of the assembled people on entering the church. And for the first six centuries (or nearly that time) it was reserved exclusively for such subjects as had immediate reference to our Lord; more particularly to His triumph over sin and death, and His session as King in heaven. See farther on this subject Clampini, *V. M. tom. i. p. 198, 200.*

dating, as he thinks, from the second century. It is a representation of Tobias and the angel. (This same subject, suggestive of the "Guardian Angel," reappears in some of the Vetri Antichi, of the 4th and 5th century.) Another fresco of early but uncertain date in the cemetery of St. Priscilla (Airinghi, *R. S. ii. p. 297*) has been generally interpreted as representing the Annunciation. The angel Gabriel (if such be the intention of the painter) has a human figure, and the cross commonly assigned to Apostles and other Scriptural personages, but is without wings, or any other special designations. With these doubtful exceptions, no representations of angels, now remaining, are earlier than the fourth century, and probably not earlier than the fifth.
§ 3. *Fourth and fifth Centuries.* There was an interval of transition from this earlier period, the limits of which are indicated by the Council of Hliberis,^d A.D. 305, on the one hand, and on the other by the Christian mosaics of which we first hear at the close of that century, or early in the next. The first representation of angels in mosaic work is supposed (by Ciampinus and others) to be that of the Church of S. Agatha at Ravenna. These mosaics Ciampinus admits to be of very uncertain date, but he believes them to be of the beginning of the 5th century. (See his *Vetera Monumenta*, vol. i. Tab. xvi.) The first representations of the kind to which a date can with any certainty be assigned, are those in the Church of S. Maria Major at Rome, put up by Xystus III. between the years 432 and 440 A.D. In those of the Nave of this Church (Ciampini *V. M. tom. i. Pl. I. to lixiv.*) various subjects from the Old Testament have their place; and amongst others the appearance of the three angels to Abraham (Pl. II.) and of the "Captain of the Lord's Hosts" (by tradition the archangel Michael) to Joshua (Pl. lxii.). But on the "Arcus Triumphalis" of this same Church, there is a series of mosaics, of the greatest possible interest to the history of dogmatic theology; and in these angels have a prominent part. This series was evidently intended to be an em-

bodiment in art of the doctrine decreed just previously in the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. The angels represented in the scenes of "The Annunciation," the Worship of the Magi (see woodcut annexed), and the Presentation in the Temple, are here made to serve to the declaration of what had just before been proclaimed, viz.: that He who was born of Mary was not a mere man in whom the Word of God might afterward take up his abode,¹ but was himself God, as well as man, two natures united in one person. The angels throughout are represented as ministering as it were in homage to a king. Even in the Annunciation, not Gabriel only is represented, but two other angels are seen standing behind the seat on which the Virgin Mary is placed. Of these Clampusius rightly says, that they are to be regarded as doing homage to the Word then become incarnate. "Dun illi . . . nstant, sive Gabrielis associate, sine Deiparæ custodes, aut potius incarnate tunc Verbo obsequium exhibentes." They embody, as he observes, the thought expressed by St. Augustine. "All

angels are created beings, doing service unto Christ. Angels could be sent to do Him homage, (ad obsequium) could be sent to do Him service, but not to bring help (as to one weak or helpless in himself); and so it is written that angels ministered to Him, not as pitying one that needed help, but as subject unto Him who is Almighty." (St. Aug. in *Psal.* lvi.)

§ 4. *Sixth Century.* Between 500 A.D. and 600 A.D., the following examples may be cited: the triumphal arch of the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus at Rome (Ciampini *V. M.* tom. ii. Tab. xv.) ere. 530 A.D., and fifteen years later the mosaics of S. Michael the archangel at Ravenna, *ibid.* Tab. xvii.). In the apex of the tribune is a representation of Our Lord, holding a lofty cross, with Michael r. and Gabriel (sic) l. On the wall above, the two archangels are again seen on either side of a throne, and of one seated thereon. These two bear long rods or staves, but on either side are seven other angels (four r. and three l.) playing upon trumpets. There is here an evident allusion to Rev. viii. 2, 6, "I saw



Worship of the Magi, from S. Maria Major at Rome.

the seven angels, which stand before God, and to them were given seven trumpets." Comp. Ezek. x. 10, Tobit xii. 15, and Rev. i. 4; iv. 5. (Ciampini *V. M.* ii, xvii., comp. Tab. xix.) Michael and Gabriel appear yet again on the arch of the Tribune of S. Apollinaris in Classe (*ibid.* Tab. xxiv.); and there are representations of the four archangels, as present at the Worship of the Magi, in the S. Apollinaris Novus (*ibid.* Tab. xxvii.) towards the close of that century. To this period also is to be assigned the diptych of Milan,² which is remarkable as containing an

embodiment (probably the first in Christian art) of legends concerning the appearance of Gabriel to the Virgin Mary, derived from the Apocryphal Gospels.

§ 5. From 600 to 800 A.D. Art monuments of this period are but few in number. For examples, bearing upon our present subject, see Ciampini *V. M.* vol. ii. Tab. xxxi. and xxxviii. and D'Agincourt's *Peinture*, tom. v. Pl. xvi. and xvii. They contain nothing to call for special remark, save that, in the 8th century particularly, the wings of angels become more and more curtailed in proportion to the body; a peculiarity which may serve as an indication of date where others are wanting. One such example in sculpture, of Michael and the Dragon, is referred to below, § 10.

§ 6. *Eastern and Greek Representations.* Early monuments of Christian art in the East are un-

¹ For further particulars as to this see § 15 below.

² See Cyril. Alex. *Epist. ad Monachos*, in which the patriarch of Alexandria, the chief opponent of Nestorius, represents in these terms the doctrine condemned at Ephesus.

³ Figured and described in Bogart, *Memorie di S. Celso Martire*, Append. tab. i. and ii. The particular group above referred to is figured in Martigny, *Dictionnaire, &c.*, under 'Annunciation.' The whole diptych is published in facsimile of tittle ivory by the Arundel Society.

⁴ See also his pl. x. and xii., containing frescoes of late but uncertain date from the catacombs.

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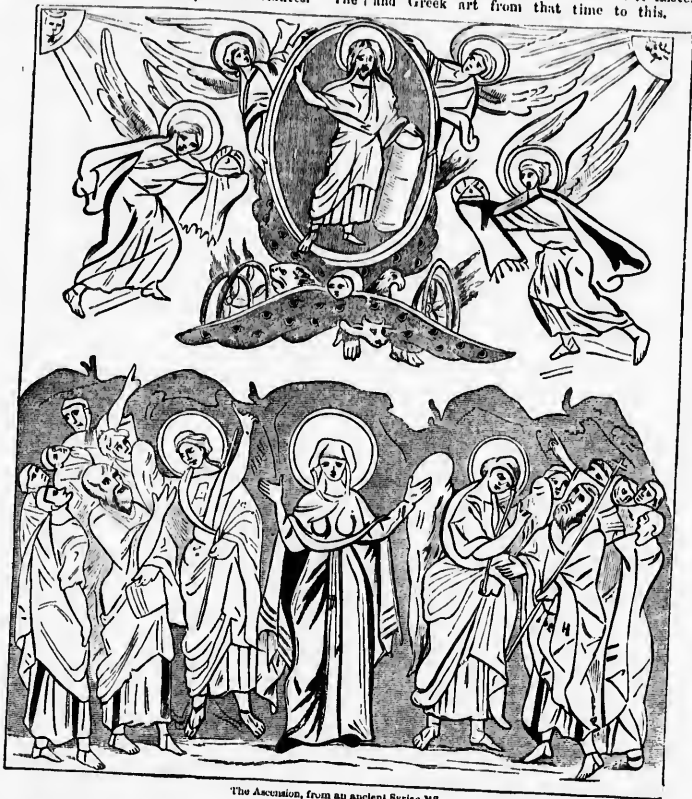
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fortunately, very rare, the seal of the Iconoclasts, and at a later period of Saracens and Turks, having been fatal to many, which might otherwise have been preserved. The earliest example in Greek art is a representation of an angel in a MS. of Genesis in the Imperial Library at Vienna, believed to be of the 11th or 5th century. It is figured by Seroux D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, Pl. xix. It is a human figure, winged, and without nimbus or other special attributes. The

fiery sword, etc., spoken of in Gen. iii. is there represented not as a sword, in the hand of the angel, but as a great wheel^h of fire beside him. Next in date to this is an interesting picture of the Ascension, in a Syriac MS. of the Gospel, written and illuminated in the year 586 A.D. at Zagba in Mesopotamia. We have engraved this, as embodying those Oriental types of the angel form which have been characteristic of Eastern and Greek art from that time to this. It



The Ascension, from an ancient Syriac MS.

will be seen that the Saviour is here represented in glory. And the various angelic powers appear in three different capacities. Beneath the feet of the Saviour, and forming as it were a chariot upon which He rises to Heaven, is what the Greeks call the Tetramorphon. The head and the hand of a man (or rather, according to Greek tradition, of an angel), the heads of an eagle, a lion, and an ox, are united by wings that are full of eyes (comp. Ezekiel i. 18). On either side of these again are two pairs of fiery wheels, "wheel within wheel," as suggested again by the description in Ezek. i. 16. These serve as

symbolic representations of the order of angels known as "thrones" (comp. § 7 below), and of the cherubim. Of the six other angels, here represented in human form, and winged, four are ministering to Our Lord (*Λειτουργοὶ*), either by active service, as the two who bear Him up in

^h Compare the mosaic of the S. Vitale at Ravenna (Ciaopp. V. M. ii. tab. xix.), in the upper part of which two angels are seen upholding a mystic "wheel." Ciampini, apparently without understanding what was the symbolism intended, rightly describes it in the words (p. 72) "duo angeli . . . quamdam rotam præ manibus tenentes."

their hands, or by adoration, as two others who are offering Him crowns of victory (*στίβανοι*). Two others, lastly, have been sent on work of ministry to men (comp. note ^a above), and are seen, as St. Luke's narrative suggests, asking of the eleven disciples, "Why stand ye here gazing up into heaven?" and the rest. (The central figure of the lower group is that of the Virgin Mary.)

§ 7. *The Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius.* The best comment on the picture last described is to be found in the 'Celestial Hierarchy' of Dionysius. The whole number of celestial beings are to be divided (so he tells us), into three orders, in each of which a triple gradation is contained. In the first order are contained the "thrones," the seraphim and cherubim. And these are continually in the immediate presence of God, nearer than all others to Him, reflecting, without intervention of any other created being, the direct effulgence of His glory. Next to these, and of the second order, are dominions, authorities, powers (*κυριότητες, εξουσίας, δυνάμεις*), forming a link between the first and the third order. To these last (principalities [*ἀρχαί*], archangels and angels) he assigns that more immediate execution of the divine purposes in the sphere of creation, and towards mankind, which is the belief of religious minds is generally associated with the idea of angelic agency.

This teaching of Dionysius, regarded as it was both in East and West as of all but apostolic authority, has served as a foundation upon which all the later traditions have been built up. And this language, with the additional comments quoted in the next section, will give the reader the key to much that would be otherwise obscure in the allusions of Greek fathers, and in the forms of Greek art.

§ 8. *Angels in later Greek Art.* The language of the *Ἐπιπέλα τῆς Ὑγραφικῆς*,^o or 'Painter's Guide' of Panselinos, a monk of Mount Athos in the 11th century, may be regarded [see under APOSTLES] as embodying the unchanging rules of Greek religious art from the 8th century to the present time. Taking up the division quoted above, the writer says, as to the first order, that "the thrones are represented as wheels of fire, compassed about with wings. Their wings are full of eyes, and the whole is so arranged as to produce the semblance of a royal throne. The cherubim are represented by a head and two wings. The seraphim as having six wings, whereof two rise upward to the head, and two droop to the feet, and two are outspread as if for flight. They carry in either hand a hexapteryx,^p inscribed with the words 'Holy, Holy, Holy.' It is thus that they were seen by Isaiah." Then, after describing the "Tetramorphi," he proceeds to speak of angels of the second order.^q These are dominions, virtues, powers. "These," he says, "are clothed in white tunics reaching to the feet, with golden girdles and green outer robes.^r They hold in the right hand staves of

gold, and in the left a seal formed thus ⊗."⁷¹ Then, of the third order, (principalities, archangels, angels), he writes thus. "These are represented vested as warriors, and with golden girdles. They hold in their hands javelins and axes; the javelins are tipped with iron, as lances."

§ 9. *Attributes of Angels.* There are two sources from which we may infer the attributes regarded as proper to angels in early times; the description given of them in the treatise of Dionysius already quoted, and the actual monuments of early date which have been preserved to our times. As to these Dionysius writes that angels are represented as of human form in regard of the intellectual qualities of man, and of his heavenward gaze, and the impassive and dominant which are naturally his. He adds that bright vesture, and that which is of the colour of fire, are symbolical of light and of the divine likeness, while sacerdotal vesture serves to denote their office in leading to divine and mystical contemplations, and the consecration of their whole life unto God. He mentions, also, girdles, staves or rods (significant of royal or princely power), spears and axes, instruments for measurement or of constructive art (*τὰ γεωμετρικὰ καὶ τεκτονικὰ σκεῦη*), among the insignia occasionally attributed to angels. If, from the pages of Dionysius, we turn to actual monuments, we find the exact counterpart of his descriptions. They may be enumerated as follows:—1. *The human form.* In all the earlier monuments (enumerated above, §§ 3, 4), angels are represented as men, and either with or without wings. In this Christian art did but follow the suggestions of Holy Scripture. But St. Chrysostom expresses what was the prevailing (but not the universal) opinion of early Christian writers, when he says (*De Sacerd.* lib. vi. p. 424 D) that although angels, and even God Himself, have oftentimes appeared in the form of man, yet what was then manifested was not actual flesh, but a semblance assumed in condescension to the weakness of mankind^a (*οὐ σαρκὸς ἀλθθία ἀλλὰ σγκατάβασις*). Both in ancient and in modern art examples are occasionally found of angels thus represented as men, without any of the special attributes enumerated below. 2. *Wings.* As heavenly messengers ascending and descending between heaven and earth, angels have, with a natural propriety^b as well as on Scriptural

But we suspect that in the original he found *στολαί*, a word which Greek writers never use in the technical sense of "stoles" (the ecclesiastical vestment known as *stola* in the West since the 8th century).

^a This is what was known in mediæval times as the "Signaculum Dei," or Seal of God. Such a seal is represented in the hand of Lucifer before his fall, in the *Jortus Delictarum*, a MS. once in the Library of Strasbourg.

^b With this agrees the language of Tertullian, *De Insuperatione Carnis*, cap. xlvi. "Angeli aliquid tanquam homines merunt, edendo et bibendo, et pedes lavacro porrigendo, humanam enim indumentum superficiem, salva intus substantia propria. Igitur si angeli, facti tanquam homines, in eadem substantia spiritus permunerantur," &c. Similar language reappears in other Latin Fathers.

^c Comp. Philo, *Quæst.* in *Exod.* xxv. 20, αὐ τοῦ θεοῦ πάσαι δυνάμεις πτεροφόροι τῆς αἰῶνός τῶν Πατέρα θεοῦ γλιχόμεναι τε καὶ ἐπίβουλοι. And very beautifully elsewhere he speaks of the angels as going up and down between heaven and earth, and conveying (διαγγέλλ-

^o Obtained by M. Didron in MS. at Mount Athos, and published by him in a French translation.

^p The "hebetum" or "fan" of the Greeks was called *ἑξαπτερυξ*, as containing the representation of a six-winged seraph. The "thrones," represented as wheels (with wings of flame), described by Panselinos, may be seen in the second of the illustrations of this article.

^q *Outer robes.* "Des étoles vertes," says M. Didron.

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ANGELS AND ARCHANGELS

authority," been represented in all ages of the church as furnished with wings. We may add that this mode of expressing the idea of ubiquity and power, as superhuman attributes, had prevailed in heathen art from the earliest times, and that in East and West alike. Example of this in Assyrian art are now familiar to us. Similar figures are found in Egypt. They were less common in classical art. Yet Mercury, as the messenger of the gods, had wings upon his feet; and little winged genii were commonly represented in decorative work, and thence were transferred (probably as mere decorations) into early Christian works of art. As to the number of these wings, two only are to be found in all the earlier representations. We do not know of any example of four, or of six wings, earlier than the 9th century, though the descriptions given in Holy Scripture of the "Living Creatures," with six wings, and the four-winged deities of primitive Eastern art, might naturally have suggested such representations. As to later representations of cherubim and seraphim, and the like, see below, section 14. 3. *Vesture.* The vesture assigned to angels, in various ages of the Church, has ever been such as was associated in men's minds with the ideas of religious solemnity, and in the later centuries, of sacerdotal ministry. In Holy Scripture the vesture of angels is described as white (Matt. xxviii. 3; John xx. 12; Rev. iv. 4; xv. 6), and in mosaics of the 5th and 6th centuries, at Rome and Ravenna (where first we can determine questions of colour with any accuracy), we find white vestments generally assigned to them (long tunic and pallium), exactly resembling those of apostles. But in mosaics, believed to be of the 7th century (St. Sophia at Thessalonica)* angels have coloured himatia (outer robes) over the long white tunic, and their wings, too, are coloured, red and blue being the prevailing tints. And these two colours had, long ere that time, been recognised as invested with a special significance, red as the colour of flame, and symbolical of holy love (caritas), blue as significant of heaven, and of heavenly contemplation or divine knowledge. And in the later traditions of Christian art (from the 9th century onwards)† these two colours were as a general rule assigned, red more especially to the seraphim as the spirits of love, and blue to the cherubim as spirits of knowledge or of contemplation; while the two colours combined, as they often are found, are regarded as

Λουρα) the biddings of the Father to His children, and the wants of the children to their Father.

* See the passages in Exodus, Isaiah, and Ezekiel already referred to; and compare the expression in Rev. xiv. 6, of an angel flying (φερόμενος) there.

† For examples see Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, tom. i. pp. 323, 615; tom. ii. p. 167. Compare p. 29, where smaller figures, without wings, are introduced in an ornamental design.

‡ See Ciampini, *V. M.* li. pp. 58 and 64. He speaks of "tunicæ" and "pallia" as being white; and of "stoles" (really stripes on the tunic), and wings of violet.

§ Vexier and Pailan, *Hyzantine Architecture*, pl. xi. Compare the curious picture of the Holy Family, a bishop (or other ecclesiastic), and two angels, from Urgut, figured in plate v., where the robes of the angels are white, their wings blue and reddish yellow.

¶ "The distinction of hue in the red and blue angels was first wholly omitted towards the end of the 15th century" (Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*).

ANGELS AND ARCHANGELS 87

suggesting the union of the two qualities of love and knowledge, the perfection of the angelic nature. It should be added that the vestments of angels have not unfrequently such ornament appended to them as was of ordinary usage from time to time in ecclesiastical dress, viz., coloured stripes on the tunic, in the earlier centuries, afterwards orarion or stoles, and even "omophoria," the distinctive insignia of episcopal office in the already noticed, § 6, and in one or two early representations in the catacombs at Rome, angels are represented without the Nimbus. But from the middle of the 5th century onward, this ornament is almost invariably assigned to them. [NIMBUS.] 5. *The Wand of Power.* Only in exceptional instances during the first eight centuries, are angels represented as bearing anything in the hand. Three examples may be cited, in which angels attendant on our Lord (see § 3) hold wands in their hands, which may either represent the rod of divine power, or, as some have thought, the "golden reed"—the "measuring reed," assigned to the angel in Rev. xxi. 15, as in Ezek. xl. 3. The representations of archangels, particularly of Michael, as warriors with sword, or spear, and girdle, are of later date. 6. *Instruments of Music.* One early example has been already referred to (§ 4) of a Ravenna mosaic, in which the "Seven Angels" are represented holding trumpets in their hands. In the later traditions of Christian art, representations of angels as the "Choristers of Heaven" have been far more common, various instruments of music being assigned to them.

§ 10. *Michael.*—The archangel Michael is first designated by name in mosaics of the 5th century, at Ravenna (Ciampini, vol. ii. pl. xvii. and xxiv.). And in other cases where we see two angels specially marked out as in attendance on our Lord, we may infer that Michael and Gabriel are designated. For the names of these two alone are prominent in Holy Scripture. And according to a very ancient tradition, traced back to Rabbinical belief, perpetuated as many such traditions were in the East, and thence handed on to Western Christendom, these two archangels personified respectively the judgment

‡ Ciampini, *V. M.* li. tab. xviii., xix., and xxiv. Compare in his plate xvi. of vol. i. the mosaic at S. Agatha, which we believe to be of nearly the same date.

• In the church dedicated in the name of the archangel Michael at Ravenna, in the year 845, an indication of special honour is given to him by the small cross upon his wand, which is wanting in that of Gabriel (Ciamp. *V. M.* li. tab. xvii.).

• In yet other traditions the mercy of God, and more particularly His healing grace, is ministered by Raphael. There is great variety in the older Jewish traditions. According to one (Joma, p. 37, quoted by Eilmer in Herzog's *Encycl.*), when the three angels appeared to Abraham, Michael, as first in rank, occupied the central place, having Gabriel, as second, on his right hand, and Raphael, as third in rank, on his left. This place on the right hand of God is elsewhere assigned to Gabriel, as i. 8, and to Raphael that on the left (near the heart), as in Gen. iii. 24). And again in Philo (*Quest.* in Gen. iii. 24), the two cherubim on either side of the mercy-seat represent respectively the messengers of the Wrath, and of the Mercy, of the Lord (comp. E. cod. xxix. 5-7).

and the mercy of God, and were therefore fitly placed, Michael, as the angel of power, on the right hand, Gabriel, nearer to the heart, on the left hand. For the special traditions concerning "St. Michael," his appearances in vision at Mount Gargano in Apulia, to St. Gregory the Great on the mole of Hadrian, now the castle of *St. Angelo*, and to Aubert, Bishop of Avranches in 700, A.D., at "Mount St. Michel" in Normandy (to this our own St. Michael's Mount owes its designation), see Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, pp. 94 sqq. The oldest example in sculpture of St. Michael treading under foot the dragon (see Rev. xii. 7, 8), is on the porch of the Cathedral of Catania, believed to be



St. Michael.

of the 7th century. [Figured above.] Later pictures often represent St. Michael as the angel of judgment, holding scales in his hand, in which souls are weighed.

§ 11. *Gabriel* (Heb. "Man of God,") as the messenger more especially of comfort and of good tidings, occupies a prominent place in the New Testament, as announcing the birth both of John the Baptist to Zacharias and of our Lord to the Virgin Mary. (In apocryphal legend he is represented as foretelling to Joachim the birth of the Virgin Mary.) In the language of Tasso he is "l'Angelo Annunziatore." Though only twice (as far as I have observed) designated by name in early Christian Art (Clampini, *V. M.* ii., Tab. xvii. and xxiv.), yet in the various pictures of the Annunciation, which are many, it is he, of course, who is to be understood. By a singular fate, having been regarded by Mahomet as his immediate inspirer, he is looked upon in many parts of the East as the great protecting angel of Islamism, and, as such, in direct opposition to Michael the protector of Jews and Christians.

§ 12. *Raphael* (Heb. the Healer who is from God, or "Divine Healer") is mentioned in the book of Tobit as "one of the seven holy angels which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One," chap. xii. 15. Through the influence of this beautiful Hebrew story of Tobias and Raphael, his name became associated in early times with the idea of the guardian angel. As

such he is twice figured in the Roman catacombs, and allusions to the same story are frequent in the *Vetri Antichi*. [GLASS, CHRISTIAN.] In mediæval Greek art the three archangels, nobody named are sometimes represented together, designated by their initial letters M, G, and P, Michael as a warrior, Gabriel as a prince, and Raphael as a priest—the three supporting beside them a youthful figure of our Lord, himself represented with wings as the "angelus" or messenger of the will of God. (Figured in Jameson's *S. L. A.*, p. 93.)

§ 13. *Uriel* (The Fire of God.) The fourth archangel, named Uriel in *Ezra* ii. 4, has been much less prominent in legend and in art than the three already named.* He is regarded as charged more particularly with the interpretation of God's will, of judgments and prophecies (with reference, doubtless, to *Ezra* ii.). These "archangels" of Christian tradition are to the Jews the first four of those "Seven Angels" who see the glory of God (*Tobias* xxii. 15); the other three being Chamuel (he who sees God), Jophiel (the beauty of God), and Zulkriel (the righteousness of God). But these last three names have never been generally recognised either in East or West. And in the first example of the representation of these Seven Angels in Christian art they are distinguished from the two archangels Michael and Gabriel, who hold wands, while to the seven, as already noticed, § 4, trumpets are assigned. (Clampini, *V. M.* ii., pl. xvii.)

§ 14. *Seraphim and Cherubim*. These two names appear, the first in *Isaiah* vi. 2 (there only), and the latter in *Exodus* xxv. 18, where *two* are spoken of, and in *Ezekiel* i. 4-14, who speaks of *four* (compare the four "living creatures" of *Rev.* iv. 6). They have been perpetuated in



Seraphim and Cherubim

Christian usage, and the descriptions given of them in Holy Scripture have been embodied (those of the cherubim or four "living creatures," first, and somewhat later those of the seraphim) in Christian art from the 5th century onwards. They were regarded (see above § 9) as the spirits of love and of knowledge respectively. For fuller details concerning the two in Holy Scripture see

* From the name of Uriel being little known, the fourth archangel is designated in some mediæval monuments (Jameson, *S. and L. Art*, p. 92) as "St. *Aerubim*."

of its foreseen corruption. 3. Of the messengers sent from the several churches to St. John. It hardly falls within the scope of this article to discuss these interpretations. To unprejudiced readers it will probably be enough to state them, to make their weakness manifest. It is difficult to account for them, except as the suggestions of a foregone conclusion.

On the other hand, as St. John is believed on other grounds to have been pre-eminently the organiser of Episcopacy throughout the Church, so here in this wonderful vision the holy Apostle comes before us, it would seem, very remarkably in this special character; and in the message which he delivers, under divine direction, to each of the seven churches through its angel, we recognize a most important confirmation of the evidence on which we claim for episcopal government, the precedent, sanction, and authority of the apostolic age. (Bingham, Thorndike, Archbishop Trench on *Epp. to Seven Churches.*) [D. B.]

ANGERS, COUNCIL OF (ANDEGAVENSE CONCILIIUM), A. D. 453, Oct. 4; wherein, after consecrating Talisius, Bishop of Angers, there were passed 12 canons respecting submission of presbyters to bishops, the inability of "dignam" to be ordained, &c. (Mansi, vii. 899-902). [A. W. H.]

ANGLICAN COUNCILS (*Concilia Anglicana*); a designation given to English general councils, of which the precise locality is unknown; e. g. A. D. 756, one of bishops, presbyters, and abbats, held by Archbishop Cuthbert to appoint June 5 to be kept in memory of the martyrdom of St. Boniface and his companions (Cuthb. *ad Ludlum*, intr. *Epist. S. Bonif.* 70; Wilk. i. 144; Mansi, xii. 585-590); A. D. 797 (Alford), 798 (Spelman), held by Ethelheard preparatory to his journey to Rome to oppose the archbishopric of Lichfield (W. Malm. *G. P. A. lib. i.*; Pagi *ad an.* 796, n. 27; Mansi, xiii. 991, 992). [A. W. H.]

ANIANUS. (1) Patriarch, commemorated Hedar 20 = Nov. 16 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(2) Bishop; translation, June 14 (*Mart. Beccæ, Hieron.*); deposition at Orleans, Nov. 17 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

ANICETUS, martyr, commemorated Aug. 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ANNA, the prophetess, commemorated Sept. 1 (*Ado, De Festiv., Martyrol.*); Jekatit 8 = Feb. 2 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [C.]

ANNATES: lit. the revenues or profits of one year, and therefore synonymous with first-fruits so far; but being, in their strict and technical sense, a development of the Middle Ages, the only explanation that can be given of them here is how they arose. Anciently, the entire revenues of each diocese were placed in the hands of its bishop, as Bingham shews (v. 6. 1-3), who with the advice and consent of his senate of presbyters distributed, and in the Western Church usually divided them into 4 parts. One part went to himself; a 2nd to his clergy; a 3rd to the poor; a 4th to the maintenance of the fabric and requirements of the diocesan churches. Of these the 3rd and 4th were claimants, so to speak, that never died; but in the case of the two former, when offices became vacant by death or removal, what was

to be done with the stipend attaching to them, till they were filled up? Naturally, when endowments became fixed and considerable, and promotions, from not having been allowed at all, the rule, large sums constantly fell to the disposal of some one in this way; of the bishop, when any of his clergy died or were removed; and of whom, when the bishop died or was removed, by deposition or by translation, as time went on, but of the metropolitan or primate at last, though, perhaps, at first of the presbytery? And then came the temptation to keep bishoprics vacant, and appropriate "the annates," or else require them from the bishop elect in return for consecrating him. It was but a step further in the same direction for Rome to lay claim to what primates and archbishops had enjoyed so long, when the appointment of both, so far as the Church was concerned, became vested in Rome. But, on the other hand, it is equally certain, that had the primitive rule, founded as it was in strict justice, been maintained intact, each parish, or at least each diocese, would have preserved its own emoluments, or, which comes to the same thing, would have seen them applied to its own spiritual exigencies in all cases. The 34th Apostolical canon, the 15th of Ancyra, and the 25th of Antioch, alike testify to the old rule of the Church, and to what abuses it succumbed. Still, De Marca seems hardly justified in ascribing the origin of annates to direct simony (*De Concord. Sac. et Imp.* vi. 10). [E. S. F.]

ANNÉ (Ἄννα, ἡ Πῆ). Mother of the Virgin Mary. July 25 is observed by the Orthodox Greek Church as the commemoration of the "Dormitio S. Annæ," a Festival with abstinence from labour (*ἀργία*). The same day is said to have been anciently dedicated to S. Anne in the West also, and the feast was probably transferred in the Roman Calendar to the 26th (the day on which it is at present held) from a desire to give greater prominence to S. Anne than was possible on S. James's Day. In the Greek Calendar, also, Joachim and Anna, "Θεοπατρὲς," have a festival on Sep. 9, the day following the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Both the Armenian and the Greek Calendars have on Dec. 9 a "Festival of the Conception of the Virgin Mary," or (as it is called in the latter) Ἡ σύλληψις τῆς ἁγίας καὶ θεοστρατηγῆρος Ἄννης, i. e. S. Anne's Conception of the Virgin, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ ἀπεκίνησε τὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον τὸν λόγον κησαρᾶν. In the Ethiopic, "Joachim, nvsus Christi," has April 7; and on July 20 is commemorated the "Ingressus Annæ Matris Mariæ in Templum" or "Purificatio Annæ." (Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus*, tom. iv.; Alt's *Kirchenjahr.*) There is no evidence of any public recognition of S. Anne as a patron saint until about the beginning of the 6th century, when Justinian I. had a temple built in her honour, which is described by Procopius (*De Aedific. Justin.* ch. iii.) as ἱεροσκευές τε καὶ ἀγαστὸν ἕλωσ ἕδος Ἄννης ἁγίας, "whom," he adds, "some believe to be μητέρα Θεοτόκου and grandmother of Christ;" and we are informed by Codinus that Justinian II. founded another in 705.

Her body was brought from Palestine to Constantinople in 740, and her "Inventio Corporis" was celebrated with all the honour due to a saint. [C.]

ANNOTINUM PASCHA. In the Gregorian *Liber Responsalis*, and in some MSS. of the *Sacramentary*, following the *Domnica in Albis* (First after Easter), we find an office in *Pascha Annotina*. That it was not, however, invariably on the day following the Octave of Easter is shown by Martene (quoted by Binterim, v. l. 240), who found it placed on the Thursday before Ascension Day in an ancient ritual of Vienna. And it is mentioned in later authorities as having been celebrated on various days, as on the *Sabbatum in Albis*, the Saturday after Easter-Day.

As to the meaning of the expression there are various opinions. Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Eccl. Diss. ii. quæst. 2*), with several of the older authorities, supposed it to be the anniversary of the Easter of the preceding year. If this anniversary was specially observed, when it fell in the Lent of the actual year it would naturally be omitted, or transferred to a period when the Fast was over; for the services of the *Pascha annotinum* were of a Paschal character, and consequently unsuited for a season of mourning.

Probably, however, the nature of the *Pascha annotinum* is correctly stated by the *Micrologus* (c. 56); Annotine Pascha is a term equivalent to anniversary Pascha; and it is so called because in olden time at Rome those who had been baptized at Easter celebrated the anniversary of their baptism in the next year by solemn services. Honorius of Autun, Durand, and Belet, Thomasius, Martene, and Mabillon. To this calling to mind of baptismal vows the collects of the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (p. 82) refer. The words of the *Micrologus*, that this was observed in olden time (antiquitus) seem to imply that even at the time when that treatise was written (about 1100), it had become obsolete (Gregorian *Sacram.* Ed. Méharn, p. 399; Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, v. i. 245 ff.).

[C.]

ANNUNCIATION. [MARY THE VIRGIN, FESTIVALS OF.]

ANOINTING. [UNCTION.]

ANOVIUS, of Alexandria, commemorated July 7 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

ANSENIUS. Commemorated August 7 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ANTEMPNUS, bishop, commemorated April 27 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ANTEPENDIUM (or Antependium), a veil or hanging in front of an altar. The use of such a piece of drapery no doubt began at a period when altars, as that at S. Alessandro on the Via Nomentana near Rome [ALTAR], began to be constructed with cancellated fronts: the veil hanging in front would protect the interior from dust and from profane or irreverent curiosity. Ciampini (*1^{ct.} Mon. t. ii. p. 57*) says that in a crypt below the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano at Rome there was in his time an ancient altar "cum duabus columnis ac epistilio et corona; nec non sub ipso epistillio anuli sunt ferrei e quibus vela pendebant." (Compare t. l. p. 64.)

In the 7th and 8th centuries veils of rich and costly stuffs are often mentioned in the *Lib. Pontif.* as suspended "ante altare," as in the

case where Pope Leo III. gave to the church of St. Paul at Rome "velum rubrum quod pendet ante altare habens in medio cruce[m] de clarysoclavo et periclysin de chrysoclavo," a red veil which hangs before the altar, having in the middle a cross of gold embroidery and a border of the same. It is possible, however, that in this and like cases the veil was not attached to the altar, but hung before it from the ciborium or from arches or railings raised upon the altar enclosure.

[A. N.]

ANTEROS, the pope, martyr at Rome, commemorated Jan. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Beldæ*). [C.]

ANTHEM. [ANTIPHON.]

ANTHEMIUS, commemorated Sept. 26 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

ANTHIA, mother of Eleutherius, commemorated April 18 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ANTHIMUS. (1) Bishop, martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated April 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) Presbyter, martyr at Rome, May 11 (*Id. et Beldæ*).

(3) Martyr at Aegæa, Sept. 27 (*Mart. R. V.*). [C.]

ANTHOLOGIUM (*Ἀνθολόγιον*), a compilation from the Paraclete, Menæa, and Horologium, of such portions of the services as are most frequently required by ordinary worshippers. It generally contains the offices for the Festivals of the Lord, of the Virgin Mary, and of the principal saints who have festivals (*τῶν ἑορταζομένων ἁγίων*), and those ordinary offices which most constantly recur. (Neale, *Eastern Church, Introd.* 890.) This book, which was intended to be a convenient manual, has been so swollen by the zeal of successive editors, that it has become, says Leo Allatius, a very monstrous of a book. (*De Libris Ecclesiasticis Græcorum*, p. 89.) [C.]

ANTIGONUS, of Alexandria, commemorated Feb. 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ANTIMENSIMUM, a consecrated altar-cloth, "cujus dominis ratio hæc est, quod ea adhibent loco mensæ sive altaris" (Bona, *De Lebus Lit. l. xx. § 2*). This seems the natural derivation, especially if, as Suidas says (in *Suicer's Thesaurus* s. v.) the word was a Latin one, meaning a table placed before a tribunal (*πρὸ δικαστηρίου κειμένη*). Nevertheless, the Greeks always write the word *ἀντιμίσσιον*, and derive it from *μισσος*, a canister (Neale, *Eastern Church, Introd.* p. 186).

These Antimensia were, and are, consecrated only at the consecration of a church (Gor's *Euchology*, p. 648), when a piece of cloth large enough to form several antimensia was placed on the altar, consecrated, and afterwards divided and distributed as occasion required. "Relics being pounded up with fragrant gum, oil is poured over them by the bishop, and distilling on to the corporals, is supposed to convey to them the mysterious virtues of the relics themselves. The Holy Eucharist must then be celebrated on them for seven days, after which they are sent forth as they may be wanted" (Neale, u. s. p. 187). As to the antiquity of these ceremonies it is difficult to speak with certainty.

Theodore Balsamon (in *Suicer*, s. v.) says that these Antimensia were for use on the Tables of

attaching to them, naturally, when end considerable, and been allowed at all, partly-fell to the dis- way; or the bishop, or were removed; op died or was re- translation, as time dition or primate at of the presbytery? ion to keep bishop- "the annates," or bishop elect in return is but a step further come to lay claim to ops had enjoyed so of both, so far as became vested in hand, it is equally ve rule, founded as a maintained intact, diocese, would have ents, or, which comes e seen them applied as in all cases. The 15th of Anycra, and stify to the old rule buses it succumbed. y justified in ascrib- direct among (De [E. S. F.]

mother of the Virgin by the Orthodox commemoration of the ival with abstinence e day is said to have . Anne in the West ly transferred in the a (the day on which n a desire to give e than was possible reek Calendar, also, es," have a festival the Nativity of the onian and the Greek Festival of the Con- or (as it is called is ἁγίας καὶ θεοτρο- ne's Conception of ἁγίας τῆς ὑπερ- in the Ethiopic, as April 7; and on "Agnessus Annæ " or "Purificatio utyrius," tom. iv.; e no evidence of any e as a patron salar of the 6th century, mple built in her by Procopius (*De ἱεροπεπέ τρε καὶ ἁγία*, "whom," he ἡγτέρα Θεοτόκου and d we are informed founded another in in Palestine to Con- Inventio Corporis" a honour due to a [C.]

Oratories (τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν), which were probably for the most part unconsecrated; and Manuel Chritopulus (in Bona, u. s.) says that they were for use in cases where it was doubtful whether the altar was consecrated or not. They were required to be sufficiently large to cover the spot occupied by the paten and chalice at the time of consecration.

The Syrians do not use those cloth antimensia, but in their stead consecrate slabs of wood, which appear to be used even on altars which are consecrated (compare the Ethiopic Arca [ARCA]). The Syriac Nomocanon quoted by Renaudot (*Lit. Orient.* i. 182) in the absence of an Antimensium of any kind permits consecration of the Eucharist on a leaf of the Gospels, or, in the desert and in case of urgent necessity, on the hands of the deacons. [C.]

ANTIOCH, COUNCILS OF. Cave reckons only 13 Councils of Antioch between A.D. 252 and 800, at which date the first vol. of his *Hist. Literaria* stops; Sir H. Nicolas as many as 33, and Mansi nearly the same number. Numbering them, however, is unnecessary, as there are no first, second, and third Councils of Antioch as of Carthage and elsewhere. They may be set down briefly in chronological order, only three of them requiring any special notice.

A.D. 252—under Fabian, against the followers of Novatus (Euseb. vi. 46).

—264, 269—On their dates see Mansi i. 1089-91: both against Paul of Samosata, who was also Bishop of Antioch after Demetrian (Euseb. vii. 27-9). For details, see below.

—331—Of Arians, to depose Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, for alleged Sabellianism (Soc. i. 24).

—339—Of Arians, to appoint Pistus to the see of Alexandria, to which St. Athanasius had just been restored by Constantine the younger (*Life of St. Athanasius* by his Benedictine editors).

—341—known as the Council of the Dedication: the bishops having met ostensibly to consecrate the great church of the metropolis of Syria, called the "Dominicum Aureum," the only council of Antioch whose canons have been preserved (Soc. ii. 8). For details, see below.

—345—Of Arians: when the creed called the "Macrosthiche," from its length, was put forth (Soc. ii. 18).

—348—Of Arians: at which, however, Stephen, Bishop of Antioch, himself an Arian, was deposed by order of Constantius for the monstrous plot organised by him against the deputies from Sardica (Newman's *Arians*, iv. 3, 4).

—354—Of Arians: against St. Athanasius.

—358—under Eudoxius: rejected the words Homousion and Hmoioousion equally: but "without venturing on the distinct Anomean doctrine" (Newman's *Arians*, iv. 4).

—361—To authorise the translation of St. Meletius under Sebaste to Antioch. A second was held shortly afterwards, by the same party, to expel him for having made proof of his orthodoxy.

—363—Of semi-Arians: addressed a sy-

nodical letter to the new emperor Julian, as had been done by the orthodox at Alexandria. St. Meletius presided, and signed first (Soc. iii. 25).

A.D. 367—Creed of the Council of the Dedication confirmed.

—379—under St. Meletius: condemned Marcellus, Photinus, and Apollinaris. Addressed a dogmatic letter to St. Damasus and the bishops of the West, who had sent a similar one to St. Paulinus.

—380—For healing the schism there: when it was agreed that whichever survived—St. Meletius or St. Paulinus—should be accepted by all. Here the τόμος or synodical letter of the Westerns was received (at least so says De Marca, *Explic. Can. V. Concil. Const.* A.D. 381, among his Dissertations). St. Meletius signed first of 146 others. St. Paulinus, apparently, was not present at all. A meeting of Arians took place there the same year on the death of their bishop Euzolus, when Dorotheus was elected to succeed him (Soc. iv. 35, and v. 3 and 5).

—389—To prevent the sons of Marcellus, Bishop of Apamene, from avenging his murder by the barbarians.

—391—Against the Messalians.

—424—or, as Mansi thinks (iv. 475) in 418: at which Pelagius was condemned.

—431—under John of Antioch, condemning and deposing St. Cyril and five others (Mansi, 5, 1147).

—432—under John also; for making peace with St. Cyril: after which he in this, or another synod of the same year, condemned Nestorius and his opinions.

—435—Respecting the works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus lately translated into Armenian.

—440—On the same subject: occasioned by a letter of Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople.

—445—under Domnus: in which a Syrian bishop named Athanasius was condemned.

—448—under Domnus also: when Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, was accused; but his accusers were excommunicated.

—471—At which Peter the Fuller was deposed, and Julian consecrated in his room; then Peter, having been restored by the usurper Basilicus in 476, was again ejected by a synod in 478 on the restoration of Zeno.

—482—At which the appointment of Callidius to that see was confirmed; but he in turn was ejected by the emperor Zeno in 485, and Peter the Fuller restored, who thereupon held a synod there the same year, and condemned the 4th Council.

—512—at which Severus was appointed patriarch.

—542—Against Origen.

—560—under Anastasius: condemning those who opposed the 4th Council.

—781—under Theodoric: condemning the Iconoclasts.

Of these, the two synods A.D. 264 and 269 against Paul of Samosata were conspicuous both from the fact that the accused was bishop of the city in which they were held, and from the novel

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condemned Marcellinus and Apollinaris. Addressed to St. Dumasus, Vest, who had sent letters.

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character of their proceedings. They came to the stern resolution of deposing him, yet had to apply to a pagan emperor to enforce their sentence, who, strange to say, did as they requested. No such case had occurred before: it was the gravity of their deliberations and the justice of their decisions that caused them to be respected. With the first of them, as we learn from Eusebius, there were some celebrated names associated. Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the well-known advocate for re-baptising heretics with St. Cyprian, St. Gregory the wonder-worker, and Athenodorus his brother, the bishops of Tarsus and Jerusalem, and others. Dionysius of Alexandria was invited, but sent excuses on account of his age; declaring his sentiments on the question in a letter addressed to the whole diocese, without so much as naming the accused, its bishop. Those who were present exposed his errors; but Paul, promising amendment, managed to cajole Firmilian, and the bishops separated without passing sentence. At the second council, having been convicted by a presbyter named Malchion, occupying the highest position in the schools of Antioch as a sophist, he was cut off from the communion of the Church; and a synodical letter was addressed in the name of those present, headed by the bishops of Tarsus and Jerusalem—Firmilian had died on his road to the council—and of the neighbouring churches, to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, and the whole Church generally, setting forth all that had been done in both synods, as well as all the false teaching and all the strange practices—so much in harmony with what is attributed to the sophists of Athens in Plato—for which Paul had been deposed, also that Domnus, son of Demetrian, his predecessor in the see, had been elected in his place. Still, condemned as he had been, Paul held his ground till the emperor Aurelian, having been besought to interfere, commanded that "the house in which the bishop lived should be given up to those with whom the bishops of Italy and of the city of Rome communicated as regards dogma." This settled his fate once for all.

The remaining council of Antioch to be specially noticed is that of the Dedicatio A.D. 341. It was attended by 90 bishops, says St. Athanasius, or by 97 as St. Hilary. Of these but 36 are said to have been Arian: yet they carried their point through Constantius so far as to substitute Eusebius of Hems for St. Athanasius, and, on his hesitating, to get George or Gregory of Cappadocia sent out to be put in possession of the see of Alexandria without delay.

Not content with this, they got their 12th canon levelled against those who, having been deposed in a synod, presume to submit their case to the emperor instead of a larger synod, averring that they deserved no pardon, and ought not ever to be restored again. In this way the restoration of St. Athanasius to Alexandria by Constantine the younger was virtually declared uncanonical and his see vacant. To this canon St. Chrysostom afterwards objected, when it was adduced against him, that it was framed by the Arians. Lastly, they managed to promulgate four different creeds, all intended to undermine that of Nicea. Yet, strange to say, the 25 canons passed by this council came to be among the most respected of any, and at length

admitted into the code of the Universal Church. They are termed by Pope Zacharias "the canons of the blessed Fathers;" by Nicholas I. "the venerable and holy canons of Antioch;" and by the Council of Chalcedon "the just rules of the councils." Hence some have supposed two who made the canons; another of 30 or 40 Arians, who superseded St. Athanasius (Inansi, ii. 1305, note). But canon 12 plainly was as much directed against St. Athanasius as anything else that was done there. On the other hand, it laid down a true principle no less than the rest; and this doubtless has been the ground on which they have been so widely esteemed. Among them there are five which cannot be passed over, for another reason. The 9th, for distinctly proving the high antiquity of one at least of the Apostolical canons, by referring to it as "the ancient canon which was in force in the age of our fathers," in connexion with the special honour now claimed for metropolitans—on which see Bever., *Synod. ii. ad loc.*—canons 4 and 5, for having been cited in the 4th action of the Council of Chalcedon, or rather read out there by Aetius, Archbishop of Constantinople, from a book as "canons 83 and 84 of the holy Fathers;" and likewise canons 16 and 17, for having been read out in the 11th action of the same council by Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, from a book as "canons 95 and 96;" being in each case the identical numbers assigned to them in the code of the Universal Church, thus proving this code to have been in existence and appealed to then, and therefore making it extremely probable, to say the least, that when the Chalcedonian bishops in their first canon "pronounced it to be fit and just that the canons of the holy Fathers made in every synod to this present time be in full force," they gave their authoritative sanction to this very collection. Hence a permanent and intrinsic interest has been imparted to this council irrespectively of the merits of its own canons in themselves, though there are few councils whose enactments are marked throughout by so much good sense. [E. S. F.]

ANTIPAS, Bishop of Pergamus, traditionally the "angel" of that church addressed in the Apocalypse, commemorated April 11 (*Cul. Byzant.*).

ANTIPHON—(Gr. Ἀντίφωνον; Lat. *Antiphona*: Old English, *Antefn*, *Antem* [Chaucer]; Modern English, *Anthem*. For the change of *Antefn* into *Antem*, compare O. E. *Stefn* [þrow] with modern *Stem*. French, *Antienne*.) "Antiphona ex Græco interpretatur vox recipiendæ; duobus scilicet choris alternatim psallentibus ordine commutato." (Isidore, *Origines* vi. 18.)

There are two kinds of responsive singing used in the Church; the Responsorial, when one singer or reader begins, and the whole choir answers in the alternate verses; and the present Anglican practice when the Psalms are not chanted; and the Antiphonal (described in Isidore's definition) when the choir is divided into two parts or sides, and each part or side sings alternate verses. Of these forms of ecclesiastical chant we are now concerned only with the second, the *Antiphonal*. We shall endeavour, as briefly as may be, to mention (1) Its origin. (2) The different usages of the term "Antiphon." (3) Its application in the

Mssal, and in the Breviary; pointing out as they occur any peculiarity or difference of usage between the Eastern and the Western Churches.

1. Its origin may be found in the Jewish Church. For we read (1 Chron. vi. 31 &c.), that David divided the Levites into three bands, and "set them over the service of song in the house of the Lord, after that the ark had rest. And they ministered before the dwelling-place of the tabernacle of the congregation with singing, until Salomon had built the house of the Lord in Jerusalem; and then they waited on their office according to their order." It appears further that the sons of the Kohathites, under "Heman a singer" (v. 33), stood in the centre while the Gershonites, led by Asaph, stood on the right hand, and the Merarites, led by Ethan (or Jeduthun), on the left. These arrangements, and the further details given in 1 Chron. xxv. clearly point to some definite assignment of the musical parts of the tabernacle and temple worship. Some of the psalms, moreover, as the xxiv. and the xxxiv. appear to be composed for antiphonal singing by two choirs.

It appears on the evidence of Philo, that this mode of singing was practised by the Essenes. Speaking of them he says: "In the first place two choirs are constituted; one of men, the other of women. They then sing hymns to the praise of God, composed in different kinds of metre and verse—now with one mouth, now with antiphonal hymns and harmonies, leading, and directing, and ruffing the choir with modulations of the hands and gestures of the body; at one time in motion, at another stationary; turning in one direction, and in the reverse, as the case requires. Then, when each choir by itself has satisfied itself with these delights, they all, as though exhilarated with divine love, combine from both choirs into one."

Phny appears to allude to antiphonal chanting when, in a well-known passage (*Epist.* x. 97), he says that the Christians sing a hymn to Christ as God, "by turns among themselves" (*secum invicem*).

The introduction of antiphonal singing among the Greeks is ascribed by an ancient tradition to Ignatius of Antioch (Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.* vi. 8), who saw a vision of antiphonal chanting in heaven. And this tradition probably represents the fact, that this manner of singing was early introduced into Antioch, and spread thence over the Eastern Church.

We learn from S. Basil that it was general in his time. He says (*Ep.* cviii. *ad Cleric. Neocæsar.*) prefacing that what he is going to speak of are the received institutions in all the churches (*τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότεν ἔθη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις συνέφθ' ἔστι καὶ σύμφωνον*), "that the people, resorting by night to the house of prayer . . . at length, rising from prayer, betake themselves to psalmody. And now, divided into two parts, they sing alternately to each other (*διεχθ' διαμεσηθέντες, ἀντιψάλλουσι ἀλλήλοις* . . .). Afterwards they commit the leading of the melody to one, and the rest follow him."

Theodoret (*Hist. Eccles.* li. 19) ascribes the introduction of antiphonal singing to Flavian and Diodorus, who, while still laymen, he says, were the first to divide the choirs of singers into two parts, and teach them to sing the songs of David alternately (*οἱ οὖτοι πρώτοι, διεχθ' διεσόντες*

τους τῶν ψαλλόντων χοροῦς. ἐν διαδοχῇ ἄδειον τὴν Δαυιδικὴν ὑμνασίαν μελοῦσαν), and then he adds that this custom, which thus took its rise at Antioch, spread thence in every direction.

In the Western Church the introduction of Antiphonal singing after the manner of the Orientals (*secundum morem Orientalium*), is attributed to S. Ambrose, as S. Augustine says (*Confess.* ix. c. 7, § 15), and he gives as a reason, that the people should not become weary.

A passage, indeed, is adduced from Tertullian (*ad Uxor.* ii.), from which it is argued that the practice of alternate singing was in vogue before the time of S. Ambrose. It has also been contended that Pope Damasus, or again Celestine, was its originator in the Western Church. As these opinions do not seem to be generally adopted, and as the arguments by which they are supported may easily admit of another interpretation, it does not appear to be necessary to occupy space by discussing them here.

II. The word Antiphon, however, has been used in several different senses.

1. Sometimes it appears to denote the psalm or hymn themselves, which were sung antiphonally. Thus Socrates (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 8) calls certain hymns which were thus sung "antiphonas." When the word is used in this sense there is generally a contrast expressed or implied with a "psalmus directus," or "directaneous." "Psallere cum antiphona" is a phrase much used in this connexion, to which "psallere in directum" is opposed. Thus S. Aurelian in the order for psalmody of his rule, "Dicite Matutinario, il est primo canticum in antiphona: deinde directaneum, *Judica me Deus* . . . in antiphona dicite hymmum, *Splendor potentie glorie*." It is not quite certain what is meant by these two expressions; the general opinion is that "psallere cum (or in) antiphona," means to sing alternately with the two sides of the choir; and "psallere directaneum" to sing either with the whole choir united, or else for one chanter to sing while the rest listened in silence (this latter mode of singing, however, is what is usually denoted by "tractus;") while some think that "psallere in" or "cum antiphona" means to sing with modulation of the voice; and that "psallere directaneum" denotes plain recitation without musical intonation. Thus Cassian (*De Instit.* Coenob. li. 2), speaking of psalms to be sung in the night office, says, "et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelas melodias, et adjunctione quarundam modulationum;" and S. Benedict directs that some psalms should be said "in directum," but many more "modulatis vocibus." A third opinion is that "psallere cum antiphona" means to sing psalms with certain sentences inserted between the verses, which sentences were called antiphons, from their being sung alternately with the verses of the psalm itself. Of this method of singing we shall speak more fully presently. In opposition to this sense, "psallere directum" would mean to sing a psalm straight through without any antiphon; and it may be remarked that the "psalmus directus," said daily at Lauds, in the Ambrosian office, has no Antiphon. The expression "ortio recta" seems also to be used in much the same sense.

2. The word Antiphona^a is also used to denote

^a A distinction is made by liturgical writers between

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antiphona, the neuter form denoting
a sentence or modulation sung as a preface or adjunct to a
given psalm "equal ex opposito respondentis."—Guar, *Eccl.*
p. 123.

lurgical writers between

a sacred composition, or compilation of verses
from the Psalms, or sometimes from other parts
of Scripture, or several consecutive verses of the
same psalm appropriate to a special subject or
festival. This was sung by one choir, and after
each verse an unvarying response was made by
the opposite choir; whence the name.

Compilations of this nature are to be found in
the old office books, *etc.*, in the Mozarabic office
for the dead, where, however, they are called "a
Psalm of David," as being said in the place of
psalms in the Nocturns; and they have this pecu-
liarity, that each verse (with very few excep-
tions) begins with the same word. Thus the
verses of one such "psalm" all begin with "Ad-
te;" those of another with "Miserere;" of
another with "Libera;" of another with "Tu
Domine;" and so on. They are also found in the
Ambrosian burial offices, where they are called
Antiphonae, each verse being considered as a
separate Antiphon, and are headed Antiph. i.
Antiph. ii. and so on. The Canticles, which were
appointed to be said instead of the "Venite" in
the English state services, there called "hymns,"
and directed to be said or sung "one verse by
the Priest, and another by the Clerk and people"
(i. e. antiphonally), are of this nature.

3. The word "Antiphona" denotes (and this
is the sense in which we are most familiar with
its use), a sentence usually, but by no means
invariably, taken from the psalm itself, and origi-
nally intercalated between each verse of a psalm,
but which, in process of time, came to be sung,
wholly or in part, at the beginning and end only.
We shall speak more at length on this head pre-
sently.

4. The word "Antiphona" came to denote
such a sentence taken by itself, and sung alone
without connexion with any psalm. These Anti-
phons were frequently original compositions.
(We thus arrive at our common use of the word
anthem as part of an Anglican choral service.)
Antiphons of this description are of common
occurrence in the Greek offices.

As an example take the following from the
office for the taking the greater monastic habit
(τῷ μεγάλῳ σχήματι). In the Liturgy, after
the entrance of the Gospels, the following Anti-
phons (*Ἀντιφωναί*) are said:—

Ant. 1. "Would that I could wipe out with tears the
handwriting of my offences, O Lord; and please Thee by
deceiving me, and wars against my soul. O Lord, before I
finally perish, save me.

"Who that is tossed by storms, and makes for it, does
not find safety in this part? Or who that is tormented
with pain and falls down before it, does not find a cure in
the place of healing? O thou Creator of all men, and
physician of the sick, O Lord, before I finally perish,
save me.

"I am a sheep of Thy rational flock; and I flee to Thee,
O good Shepherd; save me the wanderer from Thy fold,
O God, and have mercy on me."

Then follows "Gloria Patri" and a "Theotokion,"
which is a short Antiphon or invocation
addressed to the B. V. M. as "Theotokos." Then
Antiphon ii., after the model of the first, but in

antiphona, and antiphonum, the neuter form denoting
antiphons of the nature here described; and the feminine
a sentence or modulation sung as a preface or adjunct to a
given psalm "equal ex opposito respondentis."—Guar, *Eccl.*
p. 123.

two clauses only. So after another "Gloria"
and "Theotokion," Antiphon iii. in one clause.

III. We shall now refer to the principal uses
of Antiphons in the services of the Church.

1st. In the Liturgy, or office of the Mass.
We will take the Greek offices first. In these
(and we will confine ourselves to the two Litur-
gies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom) before the lesser
entrance (i. e. that of the Gospels) 3 psalms, or
parts of psalms are sung with a constant re-
sponse after each verse. These are called re-
spectively the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Antiphon, and
each is preceded by a prayer, which is called the
prayer of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Antiphon respec-
tively.

The Greek liturgical Antiphons consist each of
four verses with its response, though occasion-
ally, as on Christmas Day, the third Antiphon
has but three; that "Gloria Patri" is said after
the first and second Antiphons, but not after the
third. (This is doubtless because the office passes
on immediately after the third Antiphon to other
singing with which we are not now concerned.)
In the first Antiphon the antiphonal response
is always the same, and is that given in the
cases quoted; in the second it varies with the
day to the solemnity of which it has reference;
it always begins with the words "Save us," and
ends with "Who sing to Thee, Alleluia" (σῶσον
ἡμᾶς . . . ψάλλομέν σοι Ἄλληλουῖα); in the
third it varies likewise with the day, but is not
so uniform a type. It is, as a rule, the same
as the "Apolycicon," an Anthem which is sung
near the end of the preceding vespers. That
after the "Gloria" in the second Antiphon, in-
stead of repeating the proper response of the
Antiphon "O only begotten Son and Word of
God," &c., is sung as a response. (This invocation
occurs in the office of the "Typics.")

Other compositions, which are virtually Anti-
phons, are found in Greek offices, and will be
spoken of under their proper heads; see CONTA-
KION, THEOTOKION.

We turn now to the Liturgies of the Western
Church.

The three Antiphons of the Greek Liturgies
correspond both in structure and position with
the single Antiphon of the Western Church.
The chant which the Church uses at the begin-
ning of the Mass is commonly called "Introitus,"
or "Antiphona ad Introitum," from its being
sung antiphonally when the priest enters upon
the service, or mounts to the altar; for both ex-
planations are given [INTROIT]. It still retains
its name of "Introitus" in the Roman missal;
and the word "Introit" is frequently used among
ourselves at the present day with a similar mean-
ing.

In the Ambrosian Liturgy the corresponding
Antiphon was called "Ingressa" for the same
reason; while in the Mozarabic and Sarum Litur-
gies it was called "Officium." In the Gallican
rite it was called "Antiphona" or "Antiphona
ad praelegendum," or "de praelegere."

The institution of the Antiphon at the Introit
is almost universally ascribed to S. Caeclestine,
who was Pope A. D. 422, and who is said to have
borrowed this kind of singing from S. Ambrose,
and to have appointed that the cl. psalms of
David should be sung antiphonally before the
Sacrifice, which was not done previously, but
only the Epistles of S. Paul and the Gospel

were read, and thus the Mass was conducted.^b In the account given by S. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8 *sub fin.*) of a Mass which he celebrated, A.D. 425, there is no mention of such an Introit. After speaking of certain preliminary thanksgivings (as we should say occasional) for a recent miracle, he says, "I saluted the people" . . . when silence was at length established, the appointed lections of Holy Scripture were read as though that was the beginning of the Mass.

It seems, however, doubtful what we are to understand by the singing of Psalms thus instituted by Caesestine—whether an entire Psalm, varying with the office, was sung, or only certain verses taken from the Psalms, and used as an Antiphon. The former opinion is held by Honorius (*Gemma animae*, 87), who says that "Caesestine appointed Psalms to be sung at the Introit of the Mass, from which (de quibus) Gregory the Pope afterwards composed Antiphons for the Introit of the Mass with musical notations (modulando composit.)" Also by Priscus in his "Acts of the Popes," and by Cardinal Bona.

The latter opinion is held by Micrologus (*cap. i.*), and by Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* iii. 5), who, in explaining this addition of Caesestine's, says, "Which we understand to mean that he selected Antiphons out of all the Psalms, to be sung in the office of the Mass. For previously the Mass began with a lection, which custom is still retained in the vigils of Easter and Pentecost."

It has again been argued with much force that it was customary to sing Antiphons taken from the Psalms at the Mass before the time of Caesestine.^c S. Ambrose (*de Myst.* cap. 8) and the writer *de Sacr.* (iv. 2) speak as though the use of the verse "Introibo," &c., at the Introit were familiar. So, too, Gregory Nazian. says, When he (the priest) is vested, he comes to the altar saying the Antiphon "I will go unto the altar of God" (Introibo ad altare Dei). It is also noticeable that some of the verses said to have been used as Antiphons in early times differ somewhat from Jerome's version. This is strong evidence that the use of Antiphons at the Introit was anterior to the time of Caesestine. However this may be, Caesestine may well have so organized or altered, or developed the custom, as to be called its inventor. And on the whole the more probable opinion seems to be that he appointed entire Psalms to be sung before the Mass and that afterwards Gregory the Great selected from them verses as an Antiphon for the "Introit," and others for the "Responsory,"^d "Offertory," and "Communion," which he collected into the book which he called his Antiphony. In support of this view it may be observed that the Responsory &c. (which are really Antiphons, though the Introit soon monopolized that name) are often taken from the same Psalm as the Introit.

The form of the Antiphon at the Introit was as follows. After the Introit, properly so called, a psalm was sung, originally entire, but after-

^b *Liber pontificalis* in vita S. Caesestini. See also the Catalogue of the Roman Pontiffs, April, vol. I. (Henschen and Papebrock).

^c Vide Radulph. Tungren. *De Can. Observ.* prop. 23. Cassan. *Instit.* lib. 11.

^d Afterwards known as the "Gradual." In the Antiphony it is called "Responsorium gradale."

wards a single verse with "Gloria Patri." The Introit was then repeated, and some churches used to sing it three times on the more solemn days.

The Introit in the Antiphony of S. Gregory is taken from the Psalms, with a few exceptions, which Durandus (*Rat.* iv. 5) calls "Irregular Introits." These Introits, taken from other parts of Scripture, are in all cases followed by their appointed "Psalms." There are also a few Introits which are not taken from any part of Scripture. Such is that for Trinity Sunday in the Roman and Sarum missals.

"Blessed be the Holy Trinity, and the undivided Unity; we will give thanks to It, for It has dealt mercifully with us."

And that for All-Saints Day in the same Missal.

"Let us all rejoice celebrating the festival in honour of all the Saints, over whose solemnity the angels rejoice, and John in praising the Son of God."

These non-scriptural Introits, however, are mostly, as will be observed, for festivals of later date, and are not found in Gregory's Antiphony. A metrical Introit is sometimes found. Thus in the Roman Missal in Masses, "in Commemoratione B.V.M., a purific. usque ad pasch." the Introit is:—

Salve, sancta Parens, enixa puerpera Regem,
Qui cœlum terramque regit in secula seculorum.*
Psalmus.—Virgo Dei genitrix, quem totus non capit orbis
In tua se clausit viscera factus hono.
Gloria Patri.

Here the "Psalmus" is not from the Psalms, which is very unusual, though this is not a solitary case. That of Trinity Sunday is another. The lines are the beginning of an old hymn to the Virgin, which is used in her office in various Breviaries.

The different Sundays were often publicly distinguished by the first word of their "Officium," or "Introitus." Thus, the first four Sundays in Lent were severally known as, "Invocavit," "Reminiscere," "Oculi," "Laetare." Low Sunday as "Quasimodo," and so in other cases. So too we find week days designated, i.e. Wednesday in the third week in Lent called in Missals, "Feria quarta post Oculi." In rubrical directions this nomenclature is very frequent.

The Ambrosian "Ingressa" consists of one unbroken sentence, usually but by no means always, taken from Scripture, and not followed by a "Psalmus," or the "Gloria Patri." It is often the same as the Roman "Officium." It is never repeated except in Masses of the Dead, when its form approaches very nearly to that of the Roman "Introitus."

The form of the Mozarabic "Officium" though closely approaching that of the Roman "Introitus" differs somewhat from it. The Antiphon is followed by a "versus," corresponding to the Roman "Psalmus," with the "Gloria Patri," before and after which the second clause alone of the Antiphon is repeated.^f

Durandus (*Rat.* lib. iv. cap. 5) and Belet (*De Dic. Off.* cap. 35) state that in their time a Tropus was sung, in some churches, on the more solemn days before the Antiphon.

* The line is thus given in the Roman and Sarum Missals. It was probably read "in secula seculorum."

^f This is the Roman manner of repeating the "Responsories" at Matina.

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We now come to that use of Antiphons with which we are probably most familiar—a use as an accompaniment to Psalms and Canticles. In general terms an Antiphon in this sense is a sentence which precedes a Psalm or Canticle to the musical tone of which the whole Psalm or Canticle is sung, in alternate verses by the opposite sides of the choir which at the end unite in repeating the Antiphon. This sentence is usually, but by no means universally, taken from the Psalm itself, and it varies with the day and occasion. Originally the Psalm was said by one choir, and the Antiphon was intercalated between each verse by the opposite choir: whence the name. Ps. 136 (*Confitemini*) and the Canticle "Benedicite" are obvious examples of this method of singing. Indeed in Ps. 135 (v. 10–12) we have very nearly the same words, without what we may call the Antiphon ("for His mercy endureth for ever"), which occur in Ps. 136 with that Antiphon inserted after each clause, and the "Benedicite" is often recited without the repetition of its Antiphon after every verse. Ps. 42 and 43 (*Quemadmodum* and *Judica*), 80 (*Qui regis Israel*), and 107 (*Confitemini*) will at once suggest themselves as containing an Antiphonal verse which is repeated at intervals.

There are many examples of this earlier use of Antiphons in the Greek Services. For instance: at Vespers on the "Great Sabbath" (i. e. Easter Eve), Ps. 82 (*Deus stetit*) is said with the last verse, "Arise, O God, and judge Thou the earth, for Thou shalt take all heathen to Thine inheritance," repeated with beautiful application, as an Antiphon between each verse.

Again, in the Office for the Burial of a Priest, Pss. 23 (*Dominus regit me*), 24 (*Dominus est terra*), 84 (*Quam dilectam*), are said with "Alleluia, Alleluia," repeated as an Antiphon between each verse. Here the three Psalms are called respectively the first, second, and third Antiphons.

It appears that in the Roman Church the same custom of repeating the Antiphon after each verse of the Psalm originally prevailed. In an old mass, edited by Menard, in the Appendix to the *Sacramentary* of S. Gregory, we read, "Anno- nente Episcopo, incipiat psalmus a Cantore, cum Introitu reciprocante."¹

Amalarius, too (*De Ordine Antiphonarum*, cap. iii.), speaking of the Nocturns of weekdays, has the words, "Ex senis Antiphonis quas vicissim chori per singulos versus repetunt." We have evidence that this custom was not obsolete (in places at least) as late as the 10th century, in the life of Odo, Abbot of Cluny, where we are told that the monks of that house, wishing to prolong the office of the Vigils of S. Martin (Nov. 11), when the Antiphons of the office are short,²

¹ E.g. in the Lauds of the Ambrosian Breviary, and in a still more compressed form in the Mozarabic Lauds; where the word "Benedicite" is omitted from the beginning of each verse after the first.

² The use of "Alleluia" on this and on similar occasions of mourning (e.g. during Lent) is different from the usage of the Western Church.

³ This seems to point more to the mode of singing the Introit than Psalms in the daily office.

⁴ The circumstance of their frequent repetition has been suggested as a reason why the Antiphone to the Psalms in the daily office are, as a rule, so much shorter than that at the Introit of the Mass.

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and the nights long, till daybreak, used to repeat every Antiphon after each verse of the Psalms. We find also, in a letter by anonymous author to Batheric, who was appointed Bishop of Ratisbon, A.D. 814 (quoted by Thomastus), the writer complaining that he has in the course of his travels found some who, with a view to get through the office as rapidly as possible, that they may the quicker return to their worldly business, recite it "without Antiphons, in a perfunctory manner and with all haste" ("sine Antiphonis, cursim, et cum omni velocitate"). Theodorot also relates (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 10) that Julian, when singing the hymns of the impiety of David, added to each verse the clause, "Confounded be all they that worship carved images."

A similar instance of this older use of an Antiphon is found in the "Reproaches" ("versiculi improperii" or "improperia") of the Roman Missal for Good Friday.

These are Gregorian: the Introductory rubric as it stands in the Roman Missal is cited, as it is so precise as to the manner of singing them. It runs thus: "Versiculi sequentes improperii a binis alternatim cantantur, utrosque choro simul repetente post quemlibet versum *Leptule*, &c."

Sometimes metrical hymns were sung antiphonally after this manner. Thus at the "Salutation of the Cross" the verse of the hymn "*Pange lingua*," which begins "*Cruce fidelis*," is sung in the Sarum rite at the beginning, and after every verse of the hymn, the rubric being—

"Chorus idem repetat post unumquemque versum.

"Cruce fidelis Inter omnia," &c.

(... *Sacerdotes cantent hunc versum sequentem*.)

"Pange lingua gloriosum proelium certaminis," &c.

Chorus—"*Cruce fidelis*," &c.

And so on. So also before the Benediction of the Paschal Candles on Easter Eve, according to the Sarum rite, the hymn "*Invidiosus vituli*" is sung in the same manner, with the first stanza repeated antiphonally after each stanza.

A variation of this form of antiphonal interpolation is when the interpolated clause itself varies. The following is a striking example:—

On the morning of Easter Eve in the Greek office, the following Antiphons (*τροπαια*) are said with Ps. 118, "saying" (as the rubric directs) "one verse (*στίχον*) from the Psalm after each troparium." These are known as *τὰ τροπαια*.

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord, O teach me Thy statutes, Blessed are those that are undelled in the way, and walk in the law of the Lord."

"Thou, O Christ, the Life, wast laid low in the grave, and the angelic hosts were amazed, glorifying Thy confederation."

"Blessed are they that keep His testimonies, and seek Him with their whole heart."

"O Life, how is it that Thou dost die? How is it that Thou dost dwell in the grave? Thou payest the tribute of death, and raisest the dead out of Hades."

"For they who do no wickedness walk in His ways."

"We magnify Thee, O Jesu the King, and honour Thy burial, and Thy passion, by which Thou hast saved us from destruction."

And so on throughout the whole Psalm.

In the same manner at the burial of monks, the blessings at the beginning of the Sermon on

⁵ The rubrical directions with respect to the "Improperia" in the Mozarabic Missal are very full,

the Mount (*oi μακαρισμοί*) are recited with a varying antiphonal clause after each, beginning from the fifth.

As an example from the Western Church, we may refer to the following, which belongs to Vespers on Easter Eve. It is given in S. Gregory's Antiphonary, with the heading *Antiph.* and *Ps.* to the alternate verses.

Antiph. "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary to see the sepulchre." Alleluia.

Ps. "My soul doth magnify the Lord."

Antiph. "Aunt behold, there was a great earthquake, for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven." Alleluia.

Ps. "And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour."

And so the Magnificat is sung with the successive clauses of the Gospel for the day used as Antiphons after each of its verses.

The missal Litanies which are said in the Ambrosian Mass on Sundays in Lent, and the very beautiful *Preces* with which the Mozarabic Missal and Broviary abounds, are so far antiphonal that each petition is followed by an unvarying response. Their consideration, however interesting, scarcely belongs to our present subject.

The repetition of the Antiphon after each verse was called "Antiphonare." In the old Antiphonaries we frequently find such directions as "Hoc die Antiphonamus ad *Benedictus*," or simply "Hoc die antiphonamus." The word "antiphonare" is explained to mean to repeat the Antiphon after each verse of the Canticle. The "Greater Antiphons" (i. e. "O Sapientia," &c.) are directed to be sung at the *Benedictus*, with the rubric, "Quas antiphonamus ab *In Sanctitate*," which means that the repetition of the Antiphon begins from the verse of which those are the first words.⁴

At a later period the custom of repeating the Antiphon after each verse of the Psalm dropped, and its use was gradually limited to the beginning and end of the Psalm. A relic of the old usage still survives in the manner of singing the "Venite" at Nocturns, in which Psalm the Antiphon is repeated, either wholly or in part, several times during the course of the Psalm.

It remained a frequent custom, and more particularly in the monastic usages, at Lauds and Vespers on the greater feasts to sing the Antiphon three times at the end of *Benedictus* and of *Magnificat*, once before *Gloria Patri*, once before *Sicut erat*, and once again at the conclusion of the whole. This seems to have been the general use of the Church of Tours; and the Church of Rome retained the practice in the 12th century, at least in certain offices of the festivals of the Nativity, the Epiphany, and S. Peter. It was called "*Antiphonam triumphare*," which is explained by Martene (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. 4) as "ter fari." *Antiphonam levare*,⁵ or *imponere*, means to begin the Antiphon.

Other variations in the manner of singing the Antiphon are mentioned by other writers. Thus

⁴ This differs from the later (and the present) practice, according to which these Antiphons are said to the *Magnificat* at Vespers.

⁵ This is the manner in which the "*μακαρισμοί*" mentioned above are recited. The first four are followed by no antiphonal sentence.

⁶ Compare our English use of the word to raise.

we are told⁶ that sometimes the Antiphon was said twice before the Psalm; or at least, if only said once, the first half of it would be sung by one choir, and the second half by the other. This was called "responderet ad Antiphonam."⁷

It appears that this method of singing the Antiphon was confined to the beginning and end of the Psalm or Canticle. When repeated during the Psalm, the Antiphon was always sung by one choir, the other taking the verse.

The repetition of the Antiphons was in later times still further curtailed, and the opening words only sung at the beginning of the Psalm or Canticle, the entire Antiphon being recited at the close. Still later, two or more Psalms were said under the same Antiphon, itself abbreviated as just stated. This is the present custom of the Roman Breviary. When the Antiphon was taken from the beginning of the Psalm or Canticle, after the Antiphon the beginning of the Psalm or Canticle was not repeated, but the recitation was taken up from the place where the Antiphon ceases. For instance, the opening verses of the 92nd Psalm are said at Vespers on Saturday in the Ambrosian rite in this manner:—

Ant. "Bonum est."

Ps. "Et psallere non nisi Tuo Altissime." &c.

"Gloria Patri." &c.

Ant. "Bonum est confiteri Domino Deo nostro."

Where the recitation of the Psalm begins with the verse following the Antiphon, though the opening words *only* of the Antiphon are said at the beginning.

On the more important festivals the Antiphons at Vespers, Matins, and Lauds (but not at the other hours), were said entire before as well as after the Psalms and Canticles. These feasts were hence called "double;" those in which the Antiphons were not thus repeated, "simple."

There are a few peculiarities in the use of Antiphons to the Psalms and Canticles in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites which may be mentioned.

1. The Ambrosian Antiphons are divided into simple and double. The simple Antiphons are said in the same manner as the Roman Antiphons on days which are not "double." They are always so said whatever be the nature of the feast. In Eastertide the Antiphon is said entire before the Psalm, and instead of its repetition at the end, "Alleluia, Alleluia," is said.

The double Antiphons consist of two clauses, the second being distinguished by a *l.* (i. e. *versus*), and is said entire both before and after the Psalm. The following is a specimen which is said to be one of the Psalms on Good Friday:—

Ant. duplex. "Simon, sleepest thou? Couldst not thou watch with me one hour?"

l. "Or do ye see Judas, how he sleeps not, but hastens to deliver Me to the Jews?"

These double Antiphons occur occasionally and irregularly on days which have proper Psalms.

⁴ By Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.* iv. 7.

⁵ In the Vatican Antiphony we find the following direction on the Epiphany:—"Hodie ad omnes Antiphonas respondimus," and so in other instances. In a MS. of the church of Rouen the antiphon before and after the "Magnificat" at first Vespers of the Assumption is divided into four alternate parts between the two sides of the choir, and after the "Gloria Patri" is again sung by both sides together.

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Thus on Wednesday before Easter, out of nine Psalms, one was a double Antiphon; on Thursday, out of ten, none, and on Good Friday, out of eighteen, one; on Christmas Day, out of twenty-one, four; and on the Epiphany, out of twenty-one, six. Festivals are not divided into "double" and "simple" as distinguished by the Antiphons.

2. The Mozarabic Antiphons are said entire before as well as after their Psalm or Canticle. Occasionally two Antiphons are given for the same Canticle.* They are often divided into two clauses, distinguished by the letter *P*, in which case at the end of the Psalm the "Gloria" is intercalated between the two clauses.

Of the nature of the sentence adopted as an Antiphon little is to be said. It is, for the most part, a verse, or part of a verse, from the Psalm it accompanies, varying with the day and the occasion, and often with extreme beauty of application. Sometimes it is a slight variation of the verse; or it is taken from other parts of Scripture; sometimes it is an original composition, occasionally even in verse. *E. g.* in the 3rd Nocturn on Sundays between Trinity and Advent in the Sarum Diervary:

To Ps. 19 (*Uell enarvnd*).

"Sponsus ut et thalamo processit Christus in orbem;
Descendens coeli Jure saluffero."

The Antiphons for the Venite are technically called the INVITATORIA.

The corresponding Antiphons of the Eastern Church need not detain us, as they are less prominent and important, and present no special features. They are always taken from the Psalm itself, and are said *after* the Psalm *only*, and are prefaced by the words *καὶ ἔδωκεν* (and again), and are introduced before the "Gloria Patri."

Thus Ps. 104 (*Benedic animu meū*) is said daily at Vespers. It is called the *proemiac* Psalm; and the Antiphon at the end is—

And again.

"The sun knoweth his going down. Thou makest darkness that it may be night.

"O Lord, how manifold are Thy works. In wisdom hast Thou made them all."

"Glory be," &c. "As it was," &c.

Antiphona Post Evangelium.—An Antiphon said, as its name indicates, after the Gospel, in the Ambrosian rite. It consists of a simple unbroken clause, and is sometimes taken from the Psalms or other parts of Scripture; sometimes it is composed with reference to the day. One example will show its form, that for the *Christophory* or *return of Christ out of Egypt* (Jan. 7).

"Praise the Lord, all ye angels of His; praise Him all His host. Praise Him sun and moon; praise Him all ye stars and light."

There is nothing corresponding in the Roman Monastic and Sarum Missals, in which the Gospel

is immediately followed by the Creed. In the Mozarabic office the *Lauds* followed the Gospel. (The Creed, it will be remembered, is sung after the consecration.)

Antiphona ad Confractorem Paris.—An Antiphon said in the Mozarabic Mass on certain days at the breaking of the consecrated Host.² It occurs for the most part during Lent, and in votive Masses. Also on Whitsunday and on Corpus Christi. It is usually short and said in one clause. Thus from the 4th Sunday in Lent (*Mediante die Festo*), up to Maundy Thursday (*In coena Domini*), and also on Corpus Christi, it is—

"Do Thou, O Lord, give us our meat in due season Open Thine hand, and fill all things living with piety."

In the Ambrosian Missal the *Confractorem* corresponds to the *Antiph. ad Confrac.* There is no Antiphon appointed at the same place in the Roman and Sarum Missals.

Antiphona in Choro.—An Antiphon said in the Ambrosian rite at Vespers on certain days. It occurs near the beginning of the office, before the Hymn, and is said on Sundays, and at the second Vespers of festivals. It is also said at the first Vespers of those festivals which have the office not solemn (officium non solemne) and of some, but not of all, "Solemnities of the Lord." It is not said at first Vespers of a Solemn Office. This is the general rule, though there are occasional exceptions. It varies with the days, and is usually a verse of Scripture, in most cases from the Psalms, and has no Psalm belonging to it. Sometimes it is an adaptation of a passage of Scripture, or an original composition. Thus, on Easter Day, we have—

Ant. in ch. Hallel. Then believed they His words, and sang praise unto Him." *Hallel.*

Antiphona ad Crucem.—An Antiphon said in the Ambrosian rite at the beginning of *Lauds* after the *Benedictus*. It is said on Sundays (except in Lent), on Festivals which have the "Solemn Office" (except they fall on Saturday), in "Solemnities of the Lord" (even though they fall on Saturday), and during Octaves. It is usually a verse from Scripture, but sometimes an original composition with very much of the character of a Greek *ᾠδὴ*, and always ends with *Kyr. Kyr.* (*i. e.* Kyrie eleison, sometimes written *K. K. K.*). It is said five times, the Antiphon itself is repeated three times, then follows *Gloria Patri*, then the Antiphon again, then *Sicut erat*, and then the Antiphon once more. On Sundays in Advent, except the 6th, on Christmas Day, the Circumcision, and the Epiphany, it is said seven times, *i. e.*, is repeated five times before the *Gloria Patri*.

² In the Mozarabic rite the Host after consecration is divided, as is well known, into nine parts, which are arranged on the paten in a prescribed order, which it would be foreign to our present purpose to describe. In the Eastern Church the Host is broken into four parts by the Priest, who recites an unvarying form of words. But this is not an Antiphon, and therefore beyond our province.

³ Festivals are divided in the Ambrosian rite into *Solemnities of the Lord* (Solemnitates Domini), and those which have the office *solemn* (officium solemne), or not *solemn* (officium non solemne).

Thus on Ascension Day—

Ant. ad crucem quinquies. "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? As ye have seen Him go into heaven, so shall He come." *Hallel. Kyr. Kyr. KyR.*

"Ye men," &c.
"Glory be," &c.
"Ye men," &c.
"As it was," &c.
"Ye men," &c.

An *Antiphona ad crucem*, apparently recited once only, often occurs in the Antiphonary of Gregory the Great, after the Antiphons of Vespers or Lauds. The early writers on the offices of the Roman Church make no mention of it, so that it was probably peculiar to the monastic rites, which more readily admitted additions of this nature. It has been conjectured that the monastic orders derived it from the Church of Milan.

Antiphona ad Accedentes et ad Accedendum.—An Antiphon in the Mozarabic Mass, sung after the Benediction, and before the Communion of the Priest. They do not often change. There is one which is said from the Vigil of Pentecost to the first day of Lent inclusive, one which is said from Easter Eve to the Vigil of Pentecost. In Lent they vary with the Sunday, that for the first Sunday being said on weekdays up to Thursday before Easter exclusive. The first of these which is said during the greater part of the year, is as follows:—

"O taste and see how gracious the Lord is." *Allel. Allel. Allel.*

V. "I will always give thanks unto the Lord. His praise shall ever be in my mouth." *P. Allel. Allel. Allel.*

V. "The Lord delivereth the souls of His servants; and all they that put their trust in Him shall not be dejected." *P. Allel. Allel. Allel.*

C. "Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the It by thost, world without end." *Amen. P. Allel. Allel. Allel.*

In the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Pa. 24 (Benedicam), from which this Antiphon is taken, is appointed to be said during the Communion, as it is in the Armenian Liturgy during the distribution of the Azymes.* (During the communion of the people another Canticle is sung.) S. Ambrose alluded to the practice in the words "Unite et Ecclesiam videns tantum Gratiam, hortatur, Gustate et videte."

The second Antiphon, that used between Easter and Pentecost, has reference to the Resurrection. It is adapted from the words of the Gospel narrative, and we need not quote it.

That for Thursday before Easter is much longer, and is broken into many more antiphonal clauses, and is an abstract of the Gospel narrative of the Institution of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Those in use during Lent are of precisely the ordinary form.

There is nothing in the other Western Liturgies which exactly corresponds to this Antiphon. The Roman and Sarum *Communito*, and the Ambrosian *Transitorium*, which are the analogous parts of those offices, are said *after* the Reception. [H. J. H.]

ANTIPHONARIUM (also *Antiphonale*, *Antiphonarius*, *Antiphonarius liber*), an office book of the Latin Church, containing the Antiphons

* These correspond to the French *pain bénit*. [EULOGIÆ.]

and other portions of the Service, which were sung antiphonally.

The name *Antiphonarium* is applied to such books by John the Deacon, in his Life of Gregory the Great, who says that that Pontiff was the author of Antiphonaria. The complete collection, however, of Antiphons and Responsories, known by the general name of *Antiphonarium* or *Responsorium*, was usually divided into three parts in the Roman Church.

Amalarius writes: "It is to be observed that the volume which we call *Antiphonarium* has three names" (*triu habet nomina*) among the Romans. That part which we term *Graduale* (*Gradale*) they term *Cantatory* (*Cantatorium*), which is still, according to their old custom, in some churches bound in a separate volume. The following part they divide under two headings (in *duobus nominibus*). The part which contains the Responsories is called the *Responsorial* (*Responsoriale*); and the part which contains the Antiphons is called the *Antiphonary* (*Antiphonarius*)."

As to the name *Cantatorium*, we find in the "Ordo Romanus I." (§ 10) the direction:—"After he [the Subdeacon] has finished reading [the epistle], the singer (Cantor), with the *Cantatory*, mounts, and sings the Response." And Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* iii. 16) says: "The singer holds the *Tablets* (*Tabulas*)," where the word *Tabulas* is thought to mean the same thing as *Cantatorium*, i. e. the book itself.

The derivation of these words is obvious. The book was called *Cantatorium* from its containing the parts of the Service which were sung: *Gradale*, *Gradalis*, or *Graduale* (*Gradual* or *Gralle*), from their being sung at the steps of theambo or pulpit; and *Tabule* in all probability from the plates in which the book was contained, and which appear to have been of bone, or perhaps horn. Amalarius, in the context of the passage quoted, says that the *tabule* which the Cantor holds are usually made of bone (*solent fieri de osse*).

By whatever name this book was known, it contained those portions of the office of the Mass which were sung antiphonally, and was the first of the three divisions above alluded to. The second part, the *Responsoriale*, contained the Responsories after the lessons at Nocturns; and the third part, the *Antiphonarium*, the Antiphons for the Nocturns and diurnal offices.

The three parts together make up what is generally understood by the *Antiphonale* or *Antiphonarium*. The book is also sometimes called the *Official Book*, or the *Office Book* (*Liber officialis*). A MS. of the Monastery of St. Gall, of part of an Antiphonary and Responsorial of the usual type, is headed "Incipit officialis liber". It seems also to have been occasionally called the *Capitular Book* (*Capitulare*). In a MS. of St. Gall, of apparently about the beginning of the 11th century, we find the direction, "Responsoria et Antiphone sicut in *Capitulari* habetur"; and though, according to the old Roman use of words, "Capitulare" means the Book of Epistles and Gospels, the context in this place necessitates

a De ord. Antiph., Prologus.

b i. e. consists of three parts, as the context shows.

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the meaning of *Antiphony*. The word occurs, moreover, throughout the MS. in the same sense.

Antiphonaries are sometimes found in old MSS. divided into two parts—one beginning with Advent, and ending with Wednesday or some later day (for the practice is not uniform) in the Holy Week, and the other comprising the rest of the year. Sometimes, again, they were divided into two parts, containing respectively the services for the daily and the nocturnal offices. Among the books of the Monastery of Plaa (Muratori, *Ann. Ital.* iv.) we meet with "*Antiphonarius octo, quinque diurnas, tres nocturnas*," and in an old inventory of the church of Tarbes "*Antiphonarum de die*" and "*Antiphonarum de nocte* are mentioned. We have thus to distinguish between—

(1.) The *Antiphonarum* (properly so called), which contained the Antiphons (for the Mass) and daily office.

(2.) The *Liber Responsorialis et Antiphonarum*, frequently, and in the Roman Church usually, called for brevity *Antiphonarum*, which comprised the contents of the last-mentioned book, together with the Responsories, originally divided into two distinct parts, but afterwards united into one, and arranged in order of sequence.

(3.) The *Antiphonarum*, otherwise called *Graduale*, *Gradals*, or *Gradalls*, and which contains those portions of the missal which are sung antiphonally. This is what is called by some *Cantatorium*.

Those which are most frequently met with are of classes 2 and 3.

2. As to the origin of Antiphonaries.—St. Gregory the Great is, as we have stated, usually considered to have been the author of Antiphonaries. It is, however, maintained by some,^a and with much reason, that as the use of Antiphons and Responsories in the Roman Church was older than the time of Gregory, it is likely that books of Antiphons and Responsories existed likewise previously, and that that Pontiff merely revised and rearranged the Antiphonal and Responsorial books he found in use, much in the same manner as he recast the old *Sacramentary* of Gelasius into what is now universally known as the *Gregorian Sacramentary*.

It has been also questioned by some whether Gregory, the reputed author of Antiphonaries, may not be Pope Gregory II. A. D. 715. But as the title of the *Great* was not ascribed to Gregory I. till long after his death,^b the argument founded on the absence of that title, which is much relied on, does not seem of great force.

The Roman Antiphony, substantially, we may suppose, as Gregory compiled it, was sent by Pope Adrian I. (A. D. 772-795) to Charlemagne. The received story is that the Pope sent two Antiphonaries to the Emperor by two singers (Cantores) of the Roman Church.^c Of these, one fell ill on his journey, and was received at the Monastery of St. Gall, to which monastery

^a As by Thomasius, *Opera*, iv. p. xxxiv.

^b In the writings of Isid. *Gregory of Tours*, &c. &c., he is called *Gr. Gregorius*, or *Gregorius Paps*, &c. *Gregorius Ecclesiarum Doctor*, but not *Gregorius Magnus*.

^c It was after this, according to Thomasius (*Op. l. c.* and Schenk), that the Antiphony was divided into the parts above named.

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he left an Antiphony. The other book reached its destination, and was deposited at Metz. This Antiphony was held in high estimation, as we learn from St. Bernard, who says that the early Clisterians, who could find nothing more authentic, sent to Metz to transcribe the Antiphony, which was reputed to be Gregorian, for their use. It is also said that the clergy of Metz excelled the rest of the Gallic clergy in the Roman Church song (Romana Cantilena) as much as the Roman clergy excelled them sent by Pope Gregory IV. (A. D. 827-844) to the then Abbot of Corbie, which was known as the Corbie Antiphony; and as this often varies from that of Metz, it is inferred (as is probable) that certain changes and variations between different copies had by that time crept into the Antiphony as compiled by Gregory.

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After the Gregorian Antiphony was introduced into France, it soon underwent many alterations and modifications.

Walafrid Strabo, who lived in the 9th century, says that the Church of Gaul, which possessed both learned men and ample materials for the divine offices of its own, intermingled some of these with the Roman offices. Hence a great variety in the usages of the different French churches, on which we need not touch.

3. As examples of the contents of these books, we will give a sketch of two.

(1.) The Antiphony for the Mass, or Gradual, attributed to St. Gregory. This is headed "In Dei nomine incipit Antiphonarius ordinatus a St. Gregorio per circulum anni."

This title is followed in the St. Gall MS. by the well-known lines—

"Gregorius traxit merita et omnia digna,
Unde genus ducit Summum concedit Honorem," etc.

The book contains the various Antiphons sung at the Mass for the course of the ecclesiastical year, divided into two parts; that for the Sundays and movable feasts, and that for the Saints' days. The first part, corresponding to the *Temporale* of the Missals, has no special heading. It begins with a rule for finding Advent (that it must not begin before V. Kal. Dec., or after III. Non. Dec.) and then proceeds with the Sundays and Festivals in their course, beginning with the first Sunday in Advent (*Dom. 1^{us} do Adventu Domini*), giving for each day the *Station*, the *Antiphona ad Introitum*, with the *tone for the Psalm*; the *Responsorium Gradale*, the *Tractus*, when it occurs; the *Antiphona ad Offertium*, and the *Antiphona ad Communionem*, each with its *versus ad repetendum*, and the last with its *psalm* also.

In the arrangement of the year, there is little to be noticed. The Sundays during the summer are counted from the Octave of Pentecost, and are called *Dominica prima post Octavam Pentecostas*; and so on until the 5th, which is called in some MSS. *Dominica prima post Natale Apostolorum*, the numbering from the Octave of Pentecost being likewise continued till Advent. After six of these Sundays post-Natale, &c., comes

^a These are now called respectively the *Gradual* (*Graduale*, or *Gradale*), the *Offertory* (*Offertorium*), and the *Communion* (*Communio*), and the last two are shortened into a single verse.

^b St. Peter and Paul.

Dominica prima post St. Laurentii, and so on for six Sundays more, when we come to *Dominica prima post S. Anicij*, of which last set of Sundays seven are provided. Trinity Sunday does not appear at the last Sunday before Advent is called "*de SS. Trinitate*," [Lit.] Dom. xxiv. post Octav. Pentec. and the Antiphons are those now used in the Roman Church on Trinity Sunday, i.e., the Octave of Pentecost. The day being called *Oct. Domini*. There is also a second office provided for the same day, according to an old practice, called variously *In Natal. Sanctae Mariae* or *De Sancta Maria in Octava Dni*, or *Ad honorem Sanctae Mariae*.¹

The offices for Good Friday "*ad crucem adorandam*," and the Reproaches (called here simply *Ad crucem Antiphona*) and that for baptism on Easter Eve, as also various Litanies and other occasional additions to the usual office, are found in their proper places.

The second part is headed "*De natalitia Sanctorum*," and corresponds with the *Synaxaria* of later books. It begins with the festival of St. Lucy [Dec. 13], and ends with that of St. Andrew [Nov. 30]. This is followed in the St. Gall MS. by offices for St. Nicholas, the Octave of St. Andrew, St. Dismas [Dec. 11], and the Vigil of St. Thomas, and one for the Festival of St. Thomas, which differs from that previously given. There are also a variety of occasional and votive offices.

The Festival of *All Saints* is found in some MSS. There is one Festival of the *Chair of St. Peter* in one of the St. Gall copies on Jan. 18,^a and one in three MSS. on Feb. 22.^b There is no addition in either case of the words *Romae* or *Antiochie*, and both are not, it seems, found in the same MS.

As a specimen of the arrangement, take the first Mass for Christmas Day, that in *media nocte* or in *galli cantu*.

"VIII. Kalendas Januarii
Nativitas Domini nostri Jesu Christi.
Ad Sanctam Mariam.

Antiphona ad Introitum.

Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu, Ego hodie genui te. [Dominus dixit.]

Thm. II. oia. evonae.

Ps. 2. Quare fremuerunt gentes? et populi meditati sunt inania? [Dominus dixit.] [Gloria. Dominus dixit.]
V. *ad repetendum.* Postula a me, et dabo tibi gentes haereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae. [Dominus dixit.]

Then follow successively the *Responsorium gradale*, the *Antiphona ad offerendam*, and the *Antiphona ad Communionem*, each with its *versus*, and the last with its *psalm* and *versus ad repetendum*. All these Antiphons are repeated in the manner which has been explained in the article on Antiphons; and as they are of the

¹ *de. ABC. IV.*

² i.e. *Requiem* can be so sung.

³ This has been proposed as an argument for the Gregorian character of this Antiphony: it is said that St. Gregory was in the habit of celebrating two masses on this day, the second of which was "*de Sancta Maria*."

⁴ This corresponds with the present festival of the Chair of St. Peter at Rome.

⁵ This corresponds with the present festival of the Chair of St. Peter at Antioch.

ordinary form, it does not seem necessary to set them out at length here.

(2.) As an example of an Antiphony for the canonical hours, we will take the Antiphony of the Vatican Basilica. It is a MS. with musical notation differing from that adopted later. It represents the use of the Roman Church in the 12th century, and may be considered as embodying the substance of the Gregorian Antiphony, together with some later additions. It is headed:—"In nomine Domini Jesu Christi incipit Responsoriale et Antiphonarium Romanae Ecclesiae de circulo anni juxta veterem usum Canonico-rum de circulo anni juxta veterem usum Canonico-rum de Basilicæ Vaticanæ S. Petri." It begins with a calendar, with the usual couplets of hexameters at the head of each month, and then, without any further title, proceeds with the Antiphons at the first Vespers of the first Sunday in Advent, and thence onwards throughout the course of the year, giving the Antiphons at Nocturns and all the hours; and the Responses after the lessons at Nocturns. These Antiphons and Responses are so nearly the same as those in the present Roman Breviary that it is unnecessary to quote more than the following specimen of the manner in which they are set out:—

"Dominica I. de Adventu Domini.

Statu ad Sanctam Mariam Majorem ad Praesepe.
Istud Invitatorium cantandum eo die ad Matutinum usque in Vigil. Natal. Domini, exceptis Festivitatibus Sanctorum.

Regem veniurum Dominum, venit adoremus. Venite. In I. Nocturno.

Ant. Misere est Gabriel Angelus ad Mariam Virginem desponsatum Joseph. *Psal.* Beatus vir. Quare tremuerunt. Domine quid. Domine ne in.

Ant. Ave Maria, gratia plena, benedicta in inter mulieres. *Psal.* Domine Deus meus. Domine Dominus noster. Confitebor. In Domino confido.

Ant. Ne times Maria, invenisti gratiam apud Dominum; ecce concipies et paries Filium. *Alleluia. Psal.* Salvum me fac. Usquequo. Dixit insipiens. Domine quis.

V. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam Tuam.

R. Et salutem Tuam da nobis.

Then follows a long rubric, directing how the Responses should be sung, and the three well-known Responses:—

- (1) *Aspiclens a longe, &c.*
- (2) *Aspiclens in visu noctis, &c.*
- (3) *Misere est Gabriel, &c.*

The lessons are not indicated; but the Responses are usually taken from the book which is being read in its course. Thus, on the octave of Pentecost the Books of the Kings were begun; and we have the rubric, "*Historia Regum cantatur usque ad Kalendas Augusti*," followed by a series of Responses taken or adapted from those books for use during that time.^a

The Antiphone, &c., for ordinary week days (*Foriae*) are given after the Octave of the Epiphany. On days on which there are nine lessons, the nine Responses are given. According to the present Roman custom, the ninth is replaced by *Te Deum* on those days on which it is said.

There is also an Antiphony of this description

^a Including what we call the Books of Samuel.

^b The older Roman custom was to sing in the Octave of Pentecost and during the following week Responses from the Psalms (*de Psalmata*) after that from the Kings.

attributed to St. Gregory, which exists at St. Gall. It is headed by an introduction in verse, which begins thus—

"Hic quoque Gregorius Patres de more secutus,
Instauravit opus, auxit et in melius,
His vigili Clerus memem comanite substat
Ordinibus, pascens hoc sua corda fava."
(and so on for 14 lines.)

The MS. bears the heading—"Incipit Responsoria et Antiphona per circulum anni." These are in the main identical with those in the Antiphony just mentioned, but are arranged with reference to the monastic distribution of psalms and lessons.

Towards the end of the Antiphony is a large number of Antiphons, given for the *Benedicite*, the *Benedictus*, and the *Magnificat* respectively.

In a portion of an Antiphony ("ex vetustissimo codice MS. membrance Palatino signatum. 487 in Bibliotheca Vaticana, in quo continentur vetustiores, germanoticeque libelli Ordinis Romani"), containing the service for Easter week, one or more of the Antiphons to the psalms for each day is given in Greek, but written in Roman characters, the others remaining in Latin. Thus at Vespers on Easter Tuesday, the Antiphon to Ps. cxli. is thus given—

"Alleluia. Prosebet: hos mu to nono mu: cline te ue hymon is ta thimata in stonatos mu.
F. Adico en parabolas to stoma mu: pthenomae probnata aparche."

Those to the other psalms at the same Vespers are in Latin.

This may suffice to explain the general nature of Antiphonaries. The consideration of the many points of interest which their details present is beyond the scope of this article. [H. J. H.]

ANTISTES.—This title appears to have been common to bishops and presbyters in the Early Church. As the name "sacerdos" is common to both estates in respect of the offices of divine service which were performed by both, so in respect of the government of the Church in which they were associated, we find them designated alike, sometimes as "Presbyters," as marking their age and dignity—sometimes in respect of their "cure" or charge—as "antistes," προεστῶτες, prepositi. Thus in the first canon of the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, the bishop and presbyter are both expressly classed among the προεστῶτες, and the corresponding title of "Antistes" is evidently extended to the second order of the ministry by St. Augustine (*Serm. 351 de Penitentia*), as follows: "Venit (peccator) ad antistes, per quos illi in ecclesia claves ministrantur, et . . . a prepositis sacramentorum recipiunt satisfactionis suae modum." Here it is plain that "antistes in ecclesia" are not the bishop alone, but the bishop and the presbyters. This usage of the word agrees with that of Archisynagogus in the Jewish synagogue, and may have been suggested by it. (Thorndike, *Primitive Government of Churches*, vol. 1, p. 34.) [D. B.]

ANTONICUS, saint, commemorated April 19 (*Mart. Bedae*). [C.]

ἡ προσέτις λαός μου τῶ νόμου μου ἠλίαντες τὸ οὐκ ἴδον εἰς τὰ δόγματα τοῦ στόματος μου.
ἠλίαντες ἐν παραβολαῖς τὸ στόμα μου, φθόγγουμαι προεστῶτα ἀπ' ἄρχης.

ANTONINA, martyr, commemorated June 10 (*Cal. Byzant., Neale*). [C.]

ANTONINUS. (1) Abbat, Jan. 17 (*M. Hieron.*).

(2) Martyr at Nicomedia, May 4 (*M. Hieron.*).
(3) Martyr at Apamea, commemorated Sept. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); Sept. 3 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ANTONIUS. (1) The hermit, Jan. 17 (*Mart. Bedae, Cal. Byzant., Armen.*).

(2) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Aug. 22 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(3) In Piacenza, Sept. 30 (*M. Hieron.*).

(4) In Cesarea, commemorated Nov. 13 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ANYSIA, martyr of Thessalonica, commemorated Dec. 30 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

APEL, bishop, commemorated Sept. 15 (*Mart. Bedae, Hieron.*). [C.]

APOCREOS (Ἀποκρεως).—The Sunday in the Orthodox Greek Calendar, which corresponds to our Sexagesima Sunday, is called Κυριακή Ἀποκρεως, because from it the abstinence from flesh begins, though the more strict observance of the Lent fast does not commence until the following Sunday. [LENT.] The whole of the preceding week is also named from this Sunday, and is a kind of carnival. (Daniel, *Codez Liturgicus*, iv. 214; Suicer, *Theaurus*, s. v. Ἀποκρεως.) [C.]

APODOSIS (Ἀπόδοσις).—When the commemoration of a Festival is prolonged over several days, the last day of this period is called in the Greek Calendar the "Apodosis" of the Festival. For instance, on the Thursday before Pentecost is the Apodosis of the Ascension (Ἀποδοσις ἡ Ἐορτὴ τῆς Ἀναλήψεως). In this case, and in some others (for instance, the Exaltation of the Cross and the Transfiguration) the Apodosis coincides with the octave; but this is not always the case. Sometimes the period is more than an octave; Easter-day, for instance, has its Apodosis on the eve of the Ascension; but generally it is less; the Nativity of the Theotokos (Sept. 8), for instance, has its Apodosi Sept. 12. (Nenie's *Eastern Church*, *Introd.* 784; Daniel's *Codez Liturgicus*, iv. 230.) [C.]

APOLLINARIS. (1) Bishop, martyr at Ravenna, commemorated July 23 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae*). Antiphon for *Natalis Sancti Apollinaris* in *Liber Antiphon.* p. 704.

(2) Commemorated Aug. 23 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(3) "Avernus," Sept. 26 (*M. Hieron.*).

(4) Bishop, Oct. 5 (*ib. et Hieron.*). [C.]

APOLLINARIUS, martyr, commemorated June 5 (*Mart. Bedae*). [C.]

APOLLONIA, virgin, martyr at Alexandria, commemorated Feb. 9 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

APOLLON, bishop and martyr, commemorated Feb. 10 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

APOLLONIUS. (1) Commemorated March 19 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(2) Of Egypt, commemorated April 5 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); Dec. 14 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) Presbyter, of Alexandria, April 1 (*ib. et Hieron.*).

(4) Senator, martyr at Rome, April 18 (*ib. et Bedae*).

(5) Commemorated July 7 (*Mart. Bedae et Hieron.*).

(6) Commemorated Dec. 23 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

APOSTASY (*ἀποστασία, apostasia, praevariatio*) is of three kinds. 1. Apostasy *a fide, or perfidiae*; 2. Apostasy *a religione*; 3. Apostasy *ab ordine suscepto*. Of these the two last will be more appropriately considered under the articles **MONASTICISM** and **DESERPTION**.

Apostasy *a fide* is the voluntary and complete abandonment of the Faith by those who have been made members of the Church by baptism. It is *voluntary*, and herein to be distinguished from the sin of the lapsed [LAPSE], who fall away through compulsion or the fear of death; it is also *complete*, and consequently a graver crime than heresy, which is the denial of one or more of the articles of the Faith, but not an entire rejection of the Faith itself. Lastly, Apostasy is an *abandonment* of the Faith, and therefore an offence which could only be committed by members of the Church, by those who had in baptism taken the soldier's oath to fight under her standard. For this reason apostates were accounted to be traitors of their Master's cause, and deserters from the ranks in which they had sworn to serve. "Praevariatores eos existimamus, qui susceptam fidem et cogitationem Dei adeptam relinquunt; aliorum pollicitos, et aliud nunc agentes" (St. Hilary, *Pict. in Ps.* 118, *vers.* 119).

It would also appear that catechumens were by some considered capable of committing the sin of apostasy (Cod. Theod., *De Apostat.* xvi. 7, 2), although their guilt was not so great as that of the baptized apostate.

Apostates *a fide* were of two classes: those who became Jews, and those who became Pagans. Of the former class there were those who entirely abandoned the Christian Faith, and who therefore were properly called apostates; and those who did not altogether reject it, but mingled together Christianity and Judaism, and, as it were, made for themselves a new religion. Such were the Coelicolae, Cerinthiani, Ebionaei, Nazaraei, Elcesaei, and Samsaei. There were others, again, who were also called apostates, who, without embracing any distinctive Jewish doctrines, observed parts of the ceremonial law, such as resting on the Sabbath, or who kept the Jewish feasts and fasts, or consulted Jews with the object of procuring charms for the cure of sicknesses.

And, secondly, there were those who voluntarily abandoned Christianity and returned to heathenism. And persons, who without going to this length, accepted the office of flames, or who attended sacrifices (except in the discharge of duty), or joined as actors, stage players, or charioteers in the heathen games, or who sold animals or incense for sacrifice, or manufactured idols and the like, were considered to have betrayed their faith and to be guilty of a sin almost as grave as that of apostasy, and to merit the name of apostates (*Devoty. Inst. Can.* iv. 3; *Bingham, Antiq.* xvi. 6, 4).

The crime of apostasy was punished in the same way as heresy, though it was a graver offence. There are also special enactments in reference to it, both in the canons of Councils and in the constitutions of the Christian emperors.

By the 11th canon of the Oecumenical Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), those who had voluntarily denied Christ, if they gave proof of hearty repentance, were admitted for three years amongst the *audientes*. For the next seven years they were permitted to become *substrati*, and were obliged to leave the church at the same time as the catechumens. After the expiration of this term they were allowed to join as *consistentes* in the prayers of the faithful; but two years had still to elapse before they were permitted to make oblations, or to partake of the Holy Eucharist; then they were said *ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἑτάειον* (cf. Beveridge, *Pand. Can. Annotationes in loc.*, and *Bingham, Antiq.* viii. 3; xviii. 1).

These provisions were an amelioration of the earlier discipline of the Church, as we learn from St. Cyprian (A.D. 252). "Apostatae vero et desertores vel adversarii et hostes et Christi Ecclesiam dissipantes, nec, si accisi praenominata foris fuerint, admitti secundum Apostolum possunt ad ecclesiae pacem, quando: Spiritus nec Ecclesiae tenuerunt unitatem" (St. Cyprian, *Ep.* lv. ad fin.).

By the 63rd (or 64th) of the Canons of the Apostles, clerks who went into synagogues to pray were deposed and excommunicated; and if laymen committed a like offence they were excommunicated (on the interpretation of this canon with regard to the question whether or not clerks were to be excommunicated as well as deposed, see Beveridge, *Pand. Can. Annotationes, in loc.*). The same punishments were by the 65th (or 66th) canon inflicted on clerks and laymen who fasted on the Lord's Day, or upon any Sabbath Day except the Great Sabbath, Easter Eve; and by the 69th (or 70th) canon, those were included who observed Jewish fasts or feasts, or (canon 70 or 71) who gave oil for consumption in synagogues or heathen temples.

By the 11th canon of the "Concilium Quini- sextum," or "in Trullo" (A.D. 691 or 692), the clergy and laity were forbidden—the former under pain of deposition, and the latter under pain of excommunication—to eat unleavened bread with Jews, or to have any friendly intercourse with them, or to consult them in sickness, or even to enter the baths in their company.

In Africa, by the 35th canon of the 3rd Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) "Apostaticis conversis vel reversis ad Dominum gratia vel reconciliatio non negetur."

In the East, by the 29th canon of the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 365, according to Beveridge) Christians were forbidden to Judaize (*ἰουδαΐζειν*) under the penalty of anathema. By the 37th and following canons of the same Council they were forbidden to be present at Jewish or Pagan feasts.

In Spain, the Council of Eliberis (A.D. 305 or 306) contains several provisions for the suppression and punishment of apostasy; for example, by the first canon persons of full age, who after baptism went to a heathen temple and sacrificed to an idol were refused communion, even at the hour of death. By the 46th canon of the same Council apostates who have not been guilty of idolatry are admitted to communion after ten years' penance; by the 49th the blessing of the fruits of the earth by Jews is forbidden, and those who allow that ceremony to be performed are cast out altogether from the Church. Upon

this canon Hefele (*Concilien-geschichte*, i. 148) observes: "In Spain the Jews had become so numerous and powerful during the early ages of the Christian era that they believed they might venture to attempt to convert the whole country. . . There is no doubt that at that period many Christians in Spain of high standing became converts to Judaism."

Again, by the 59th canon of the 4th Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), apostate Jews who practise circumcision are punished; but (canon 81) their children, if believers, are not excluded from succession to their property. The next canon (62) forbids any intercourse between converted Jews and those who remain in their old faith; and there are several other canons which show that apostasy to Judaism was still a prevalent crime in Spain; as, for instance, the 64th canon, which ordains that the evidence of apostate Jews should not be received in a court of justice.

In the French Councils there are several canons relating to apostasy. By the 22nd canon of the 1st Council of Ayles (A.D. 314) it was forbidden to give communion to apostates who sought it in sickness, until they were restored to health, and had exhibited proper evidence of their repentance.

By the 12th canon of the Council of Vannes (A.D. 465) the clergy were forbidden to attend Jewish banquets or to invite Jews to their own tables—a prohibition which was repeated in the 40th canon of the Council of Agde (A.D. 506), and extended to laymen by the 15th canon of the Council of Epone (A.D. 517), and also by the 13th canon of the 3rd Council of Orleans (A.D. 538), and the 15th canon of the 1st Council of Macon (A.D. 581).

In the collections of the Imperial Law—the 'Codex Theodosianus' (which was promulgated A.D. 438) contains various provisions made by the Christian emperors for the punishment of apostasy. Constantine the Great ordained (A.D. 315) that apostates to Judaism should suffer "poenae meritis" (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 8, 1), which were defined by Constantius (A.D. 357) to be the confiscation of the property of the offender (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 8, 7). They were deprived by Valentinian the Younger (A.D. 383) of the *ius testandi*, but the action upsetting the will had to be brought within five years of the death of the testator, and by persons who had not in his lifetime known of his offence, and remained silent (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, 3). Apostates to Paganism were deprived by Theodosius the Great (A.D. 381) of the *ius testandi* (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, 1); but another constitution of the same emperor, promulgated A.D. 384, made a distinction between the baptized (*Christiani ac fideles*) and catechumens (*Christiani ac catechumeni*), and the latter were permitted to execute testamentary dispositions in favour of their sons and brothers german. By this constitution it was further provided that apostates should not only be unable, with the foregoing exceptions, to bequeath property by will, but should also be incapable of receiving property under the will of another person (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, 2). One day later Valentinian the Younger promulgated throughout the Western Empire the constitution cited above, which applied to all classes of apostates alike (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, 3). By a constitution of the year 391 the same emperor ordained that

baptized apostates professing Paganism should be deprived of the right of bequeathing by will, of receiving property under a will, of hearing witness in a court of justice, and of succeeding to an inheritance. They were also condemned "a consortio omnium segregari" (on the meaning of this expression see the note of Godefroi, *in loc.*), and were dismissed from all posts of civil dignity. It was also declared that these penalties remained in force even though the apostate repented of his sin—"perditis, hoc est sanctum Baptismum profanantibus, nullo remedio poenitentiae (quae solet aliis criminibus prodesse) succurritur" (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, 4-5). Arcadius (A.D. 396) extended the power which his father Theodosius the Great had given to apostate catechumens to make certain testamentary dispositions, and ordained that all apostates, whether baptized or catechumens, should have the power to bequeath property to their father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter, and grandson and granddaughter (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, 6). The last constitution contained in the Codex Theodosianus under this title is a very severe enactment of Valentinian the Third (A.D. 426), abrogating the provisions of the above-cited constitution of Valentinian the Younger of the year 323, as far as it related to apostates to Paganism. Under its provisions a person could be accused of apostasy at any time, although five years may have passed since his death, and it was immaterial whether the accuser had or had not been privy to the offence. Apostates were also prohibited from disposing of their property by will and from alienating it by sale or gift (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, ult.). The "Paratitulum" prefixed to this title in the edition of Godefroi (Leipzig, 1736, &c.) gives a brief but very useful summary of its contents.

The "Codex Repetitive Praelectionionis" promulgated by Justinian in December A.D. 534 contains a title, "De Apostatis" (Lib. i. tit. 7), the first four Sections of which relate to this subject, and consist of extracts from the "Codex Theodosianus."

The first section re-enacts the constitution of Constantius (A.D. 357), by which the property of apostate Jews is confiscated (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 8, 7). The second section contains that part of the constitution of Valentinian the younger (A.D. 383), which limits the time in which an accusation of apostasy could be brought (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, 3). In the third section the constitution of the same emperor (A.D. 391) is re-enacted, which is contained in the Codex Theodosianus (xvi. 7, 4), and is cited above. The fourth section repeats the enactment of Valentinian the Third (A.D. 426), by which very severe penalties were inflicted on apostates (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 7, ult. cited above). It appears, therefore, that the legislation of Justinian was not more tolerant than that of his predecessors in its treatment of this offence.

Although beyond the limits of this article, it may be noted that the title of the Decretals relating to apostasy is the 9th title of the fifth book ("De Apostatis et Reiterantibus Baptisma"). The subject is also considered by St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theol.* 2-2, quaestio 12). [I. B.]

APOSTATE (ἀποστάρτης, *apostata, praevicator*). See APOSTASY.

APOSTLE (in Hagiology). The word ἄπο-

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St. Cyprian, Ep. lv.

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in the Church. Upon

στολος is used in the Greek Calendar to designate not only those who are called Apostles in the New Testament, but the Seventy Disciples and others who were companions of the Apostles, strictly so called. It is applied, for instance, to Agabus, Rufus, Asyncretus, and others, supposed to be of the Seventy (April 8); and to Ananias of Damascus (Oct. 1). But the Apostles, in the narrower sense, are distinguished from others to whom the title is applied by some epithet or description. For instance, Nov. 30 is described as the Festival *ταῦ ἁγίου ἐνδοξου καὶ πανεσφύμου Ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Πρωτοκλήτου*, κ.τ.λ.; SS. Peter and Paul are described by the terms *πρωτοκροφηαῖοι*, in addition to the epithets applied to St. Andrew. It is noteworthy that the Constantinople "Typicum" expressly forbids St. Peter to be called the Apostle of Rome,

inasmuch as he was a teacher and enlightener of the whole world; and it hints that if any place is to be connected with his name, it should be Antioch (Daniel, *Culex Lit.* iv, 261).

The term *Ἰσαβήταλος*, the equal of the Apostles, is applied to

1. Bishops supposed to be consecrated by Apostles; as Abercius of Hierapolis (Oct. 22).

2. Holy women who were companions of the Apostles; as Mary Magdalene, Junia, and Thekla.

3. Princes who have aided the spread of the Faith; as Constantine and Helena in the Orthodox Greek Church, and Vladimir in the Russian Church.

4. The first preachers, or "Apostles," of the Faith in any country; as Nina, in the Georgian Calendar (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introduct. p. 761). [C.]



The Twelve Apostles on thrones, with Our Lord in centre.

APOSTLES IN CHRISTIAN ART. § 1.

In representations of the Twelve, antecedent to the year 1300 A.D. or thereabouts, only slight variations of treatment are to be observed, whether in Eastern or in Western monuments. It will be convenient to speak separately of these two classes.

§ 2. *Of the Eastern and Greek Churches.*—Eastern monuments of an early date are very limited in number, owing to the destructive zeal, first of the Iconoclasts, and afterwards, in many cases, of the Turks. And among these the only representations of the Twelve Apostles known to the present writer are the following. In an early Syriac manuscript of the Gospels written at Zagba in Mesopotamia in the year 585 A.D., now in the Library of the Medici at Florence, is a picture of the Ascension, in which twelve (not eleven only) Apostles are represented, the Virgin Mary standing in the midst of them (see this figure under ANAULS). Of about the same date are some mosaics in the church of St. Sophia at Thessalonica, figured by *Fexier and Pullan* in their 'Byzantine Architecture,' pl. xl., xli. Separate representations of many of the Apostles will be found among the illuminations of the *Menologium Græcorum* of the emperor Basil. These, though of considerably later date (10th or 11th century), are all but identical in character

with those above mentioned. Indeed the religious art of the Greeks, as everything else pertaining to religion, has been stereotyped once for all from the close of the 8th century until now. "Greek art," says M. Didron, "is wholly independent of time and place. The painter of the Morea reproduces at this day art such as it was at Venice in the 10th century; and those Venetians again reproduce the art of Mount Athos four or five centuries before. The costume of the personages represented is everywhere and at all times the same, not only in shape, but in colour and drawing, even to the very number and size of the folds of a dress." For in the eyes of the Greeks, at all times, religious art has been, what one of the Fathers of the Seventh General Council described it—not a matter to be regulated by the inventive power of painters, but by the prescriptions and tradition of the Church (*Labbe's Concil.* tom. vii. col. 831).

§ 3. *Early Monuments in the West.*—Representations of the Apostles in monuments of early date, still existing in Italy and in France, are very numerous, and of very various kinds; as, for example, in mosaics, frescoes, marble sarcophagi, and even in smaller objects of art, such as vessels of glass or ornaments of bronze. The principal works in which these are figured or described are enumerated in § 12 below.

and enlightener of that if any place name, it should be 261).

equal of the

consecrated by polis (Oct. 22). companions of the Julia, and Thelka. the spread of the sun in the Orthodox in the Russian

"Apostles," of the church, Intro. p. [C.]



Indeed the reli- every thing else per- stereotyped once for a century until now. n. "is wholly inde- The painter of the art such as it was very; and those Vene- of Mount Athos. The costume of is everywhere and only in shape, but to the very number." For in the eyes religious art has been. the Seventh General matter to be regu- of painters, but by tion of the Church l. 831).

in the West.—Repre- monuments of early y and in France, are ry various kinds; as y precious, marble sarcophagi, objects of art, such ents of bronze. The these are figured or de- § 12 below.

§ 4. *Costume and insignia.*—In all the early monuments above referred to, whether of the East or of the West, in which the Twelve are represented, almost exactly the same costume and insignia are attributed to them. Only St. Peter and St. Paul [see PAUL, and PETER below] have any special attributes. The dress assigned to them is a long tunic reaching to the feet (with rare exceptions, which are confined, as far as the writer knows, to some of the Roman catacombs) and with a pallium (*ladriov*) as an outer garment. The insignia by which they are designated are a roll of a book (*volumen*) generally in the left hand, indicative of their office as Preachers of the Divine Word, or a chaplet (*corona*), also held in the hand, significant either of the Martyr's crown, or of what is but a slight variation of the same idea, the crown of Victory which fully unto the end. The scroll above spoken of is sometimes replaced by a codex or book of more modern form (this latter is generally the distinctive mark of a bishop). In the mosaics of St. Sophia at Thessalonica above mentioned (§ 2) the roll is assigned to some, the codex to others, while others are represented without either. [For an example of the codex assigned to an apostle in Western Art, see Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tom. ii. tab. xliii., a monument of the 9th century.] They are occasionally represented as seated on 'thrones' or chairs of state (see woodcut, p. 106) in reference to their delegated authority (compare Luke xxii. 30) to rule in Christ's name over the Church. And in one mosaic, probably of the 5th century, in the church of St. John in Fonte at Ravenna, all the Twelve wear a kind of tiara or peaked cap, suggestive of the thought that the office of the Apostles in the Church corresponds to that of the High Priest under the Law. [See further under TIARA.] This monument is engraved by Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tom. i. tab. lxx.

§ 5. *Names of the Apostles in early Monuments.*—In early representations of the whole number of the Twelve the addition of names to each is of very exceptional occurrence. The only example known to the present writer is that of a mosaic referred to above in the church of St. John in Fonte at Ravenna. The arrangement there is a circular one, the figures being so disposed that St. Peter and St. Paul occupy the principal position, while the names, and figures, of the rest occur in the following order: ANDREAS—JACOBS—JOANNES—PHILIPUS—BARTOLOMEUS—SIMON—JUDAS THADEUS—JACOBUS III.—MATHEUS—THOMAS. It will be observed that the number Twelve is obtained, after inserting the name of St. Paul, by omitting that of Matthias. This last omission is generally made in similar enumerations of the Twelve in later centuries.

§ 6. *Mode of representation.*—In Western monuments of the first eight centuries (the period with which we are here principally concerned) the Twelve are almost invariably represented as standing, or as seated, on either side of our Lord, who is either figured in His human person, or (much more rarely) symbolically designated. In either case He is distinguished from the Apostles themselves by conventional designations of higher dignity. And in the case of the Apostles themselves symbolical designations sometimes take the

place of any more direct representation, while in other cases, as on many of the sarcophagi, the two modes of representation are combined.

§ 7. *Direct representation.*—In many early monuments (see under PAUL and PETER) there has been an evident attempt at portraiture in the case of the two "chiefest Apostles." Of the rest, some are represented as youthful appearance, and beardless, others as bearded, and of more advanced years. But beyond this no special traditional rules of representation can be traced in early monuments.

§ 8. *Symbolical designation.*—Of the symbols employed to represent the Twelve, the most common is that of twelve sheep, adopted (so it has been thought) with reference to those words of Our Lord, "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves." These twelve sheep are commonly represented six on either side of Our Lord (personally or symbolically represented), who is generally seen standing upon a rock, whence flow four streams. To such a representation Paulinus refers (in his Epist. xxxii. addressed to his friend Severus, bishop of Milevis in Africa; Migne, P. C. C. tom. lxi. p. 366) in speaking of his own church at Nola in Campania. He is writing circ. 400 A.D.

"Petram superstat Ipse petra Ecclesie,
De qua sonat quatuor fontes vivani,
Evangelicæ, viva Christ! flumina."

The two groups, each of six sheep, are generally represented as issuing from two towers representing Bethlehem and Jerusalem, the cities of the birth and the passion of Our Lord, the beginning and the end, as it were, of that Life upon earth, of which the Apostles were the chosen witnesses. Another symbol, founded also, in all probability on words of Our Lord ("Be ye . . . harmless as doves," Matt. x. 16) is that of twelve doves. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in the letter already quoted, speaks of a mosaic picture on the roof of the apse of his church, on which was represented, *inter alia*, a Cross surrounded with a 'Corona,' a circle of light, to use his own words, and round about this Corona the figures of twelve doves, emblematic of the twelve Apostles. Beneath this picture was the following inscription, descriptive of its meaning:—

"Pleno coruscant Trinitas mysterio;
Stat Christus acro; vox patris cælo tano;
Et per columbam spiritus æternus fluit,
Circum coronæ tunc dicit glorio,
Cui coronæ sunt corona Apostoli,
Quorum figura est in columbarum choro."

A representation* of the Twelve, nearly answering to this description, forms the frieze of an early sarcophagus preserved in the Museum at Marseilles, and figured below (after Millin, *Voyages*, etc. plate lvi. 6). Yet other symbols are



occasionally used in designation of Apostles, but these, as being less capable of definite interpretation, are rather accompaniments of personal

* A crucifix with twelve doves upon the four portions of the cross itself, in the apse of the church of St. Clement at Rome, is of the 13th century. So Didron, in the *Annales Archæologiques*, tom. xxvi. p. 17. This cross is figured by Altamura, *Spiegazione*, &c., tom. i. p. 118.

representations of the Twelve, than substitutes for them. Such are palm trees, vines, and other trees, to which a mystical reference was given in Christian art as well as in early Christian literature. St. Hilary of Poitou, commenting on Matt. xiii. (the parable of the 'Sinapis' or Mustard Plant), sees in the seed committed to the ground, and then springing up therefrom, a type of Christ, and in the branches of the tree, put forth by the Power of Christ, and embracing the whole earth beneath their shade, a type of the Apostles, branches to which the Gentiles, like birds of the air, should fly from the world's troubling storms, and find rest. St. Augustine uses nearly similar language in reference to the same parable. (*Sermo in Feste S. Laurentii.*) And this traditional application affords a pro-

bable interpretation of the small bush-like trees^b which are seen associated in some early frescoes with figures of Our Lord and the Apostles. The symbolism of the vine resulted naturally from the words addressed to His disciples by Our Lord ("I am the vine; ye are the branches," Joh. xv. 5). The palm-tree, as the recognised symbol of victory and of triumph, was suggestive of the same thoughts as those indicated by the victor's chaplet (*corona*) which Apostles often bear in their hands, or have bestowed upon them by a hand from heaven.

Yet one other symbol may be referred to, unique of its kind, adopted, so it has been ingeniously suggested,^c by some poor man who could not by any other more elaborate means express the Christian faith and hope in which he rested. On



Apostles.

the walls of the cemetery of St. Callistus is an inscription, in rude characters, much such as that here given:—



The central letters of the inscription are believed to represent the A and Ω, which frequently occur in early monuments as symbols of Our Lord; while the twelve letters on either side signify the twelve Apostles, who in early monuments, and especially on sarcophagi, are frequently represented, six on either hand.

§ 9. *Later conventional designations of the different Apostles.*—Christian art in the West for the last five centuries, or rather more, has assigned special attributes to each one of the Twelve, most of them having reference to late traditions concerning them, unknown to the early Church. These traditions, by their late date, lie beyond the range properly embraced by the present work. But for the sake of comparison and contrast with the older representations above described, it may be well very briefly to notice them. For fuller particulars, the reader should consult Didron's *Manuel d'Iconographie* (see below § 12) and Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*.

§ 10. *As Authors of separate Articles of the Creed.*—Probably the earliest of these later modes (after 1300 A.D.) of designating the several Apostles, is that of assigning to each (written on a scroll held in the hand) the particular article of the Creed of which each was, by tradition, the author. (For the tradition as to this authorship, see Durand, *Rationale*, lib. iv. cap. xxv.) In the cathedral church of Aibi (Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie*, p. 304) the Apostles are represented in this manner.

§ 11. *Distinguished by special Insignia.*—As an example of yet another mode of designating the Apostles individually, we may refer (with M. Didron) to a series of enameled figures in Limousin in the church of St. Peter at Chartrés. The Twelve are there represented with the following insignia:—St. Peter with the Keys; St. Paul with a Sword; St. Andrew with a Cross, saltier-wise; St. John with a Chalice; St. James the Less with a Book and a Club; St. James the Elder with a Pilgrim's Staff; a broad Hat with scallop-shells, and a Book; St. Thomas with an Architect's Square; St. Philip with a small

^b As, for example, in that of our Lord as the giver of the Divine Word, with two Apostles on either side, in the cemetery of St. Agnes at Rome. Arinchi, *R. S.* tom. II. p. 329; figured also in *Vestiarium Christianum*, pl. xii.

^c Lupi (Antonmaria), *Dizionario*, &c. Faenza, 1785, 4to.; tom. I. p. 260.

^d As the instrument by which he was believed to have suffered martyrdom: or (so Durandus, *Pat. l. cap. iii. 16*) as a soldier of Christ, armed (so he probably would suggest) with "the sword of the Spirit."

^e "In sautole;" the "crux decussata," shaped like an X, and generally known as St. Andrew's Cross. In Greek Martyrologies (and in one or two Western examples) St. Andrew is depicted as crucified on a cross of the ordinary form. See the *Menologium Græcorum*, vol. I. p. 221 (Nov. 30).

^f Or, "I shall perhaps with reference to the words (Matt. xx. 23), "Ye shall indeed drink of my cup." For the later legendary stories of a poisoned chalice given to him, see Jameson, *S. and L. Art*, vol. I. p. 159.

^g Equivalent to the scroll (see § 4) of primitive Christian art.

^h All the insignia here mentioned are assigned to St. James (the St. Iago of Spanish legend), as the patron of pilgrims. The pilgrimage to Compostella, the reputed place of St. Iago's burial, was a favourite object of medieval devotion.

ⁱ In allusion to a beautiful legendary story (Jameson, *S. and L. A.* p. 246), in respect of which St. Thomas is recognised as the patron of architects and builders.

small bush-like trees^b in some early frescos of the Apostles. The altered naturally from disciples by Our Lord the branches," Joh. xv. recognised symbol of as suggestive of the indicated by the victor's ostles often bear in vaded upon them by a

may be referred to, so it has been inge- poor man who could ate means express the which he rested. On



special *Insignia*.—As a mode of designating we may refer (with enameled by Leonard St. Peter at Chartres. presented with the fol- with the Keys; St. Andrew with a Cross, a Challice; St. James the Club; St. James the with a broad Hat^c with St. Thomas with an small

our Lord as the giver of sties on either side, in the e. Arnault, *R. S. tom. II. um Christianum*, pl. xii. azione, &c. Faenza, 1788,

he was believed to have ransus. *Nat.* 1. cap. III. 16) he probably would suggest)

ecus-sata," shaped like an andrew's Cross. In Greek two Western examples) fied on a cross of the orna- *Cruciatum*, vol. 1. p. 221

erence to the words (Matt. of my cup." For the latter chalice given to him, see p. 159.

(see § 4) of primitive

tioned are assigned to St. legend), as the patron of Compostella, the reputed favourite object of medi-

legendary story (Jameson, t of which St. Thomas is nfects and builder.

APOSTLES' FESTIVALS AND FASTS

Cross, the staff of which is knotted like a reed; St. Matthew with a Pike (or Spear); St. Matthias with an Axe; St. Bartholomew with a Book and a Knife; St. Simon with a Saw.

§ 12. *Antiquities referred to.*—In the following section are enumerated the principal works in which the monuments above referred to are figured or described. For the Syriac MS. referred to in § 2, see the *Bibliotheca Medicea* of S. E. Assmannus, Florentinae, fol. 1742. For the Greek Monuments, see Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, fol. London, 1864. The *Monologium Graecorum* referred to in § 2 was published at Urbino, 3 vols. fol. 1727. And on the subject of the later Greek Religious Art generally, see Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chretienne, Grecque, et Latine*, Paris, 1845. (This is a French translation of the *Ἐμπνεῖα τῶν ζωγραφικῶν*, or 'Painter's Guide' of Penselinos, a monk of Mount Athos in the 11th century, and the recognised authority in the school of Greek Art which has its centre in the same "holy mountain" to this day. It is enriched with very valuable notes by the editor. For what relates to the Apostles, see p. 299 *sqq.*) For early monuments at Rome and Ravenna—Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, Rome, fol. 1699; and for those of the Roman Catacombs more particularly—Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, 2 vols. fol. Romae, 1651, or Bottari, *Sculture e Istitue sagre*, etc., Romae, fol. 1737; Perrot, *Catacombes de Rome*, 6 vols. fol. Paris, 1851 (not always to be depended on in matters of detail); Alemannus, *de Varietinis Lateranensibus*, Rome, 4^o 1625; and for ancient ornaments in Glass, chiefly from the Roman Catacombs, Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, etc. Roma, 1864. For fol. 1732; and at Milan, Allegrezza (Giuseppe), *Spiegazione o Riferimenti*, etc., Milano, 4^o 1757. For early sarcophagi at Arles, Marseilles, Aix, and other towns in France, the chief authority is Millin, *Voyages dans les Départemens du Midi de la France*, 8^o and 4^o Paris, 1807-1811. One monument of special interest, that of the Sancta Pentecostiana at Rome (the figures of the Twelve, ten only of which now remain, are believed with good reason to be of the 4th century, though the upper part of the mosaic is of the 8th) may best be studied in the coloured drawing and description given by Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels*, etc., vol. iv. p. 166 *sqq.*, and the *Album of Plates*, vol. II. pl. cxxi. This mosaic is also represented in Gally Knight, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy* (London, 1842), vol. I. pl. xxiii.

[W. B. M.]

APOSTLES' FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

—1. *Festivals.*—1. In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 33, § 3) we find abstinence from labour enjoined on certain "days of the Apostles" (*τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀργεῖταιον*), but

« Petite croix de roseaux." So Didron. A reference given, suggests the explanation above given. The shape described is that of a *traveler's staff*; and the emblem marks the apostle as a preacher of Christ crucified to distant nations.

« See note 8, preceding page.

« See note 8, preceding page.

« According to Western tradition he was *sawn* and *ender*; but in the Greek representation of his martyrdom he is affixed to a cross exactly like that of our Saviour (Jameson, vol. I. p. 253).

what these days were does not appear, though the injunction to abstain from labour betokens a great festival.

2. As the services of Easter week, following the evangelic narrative of the events after the Resurrection, placed a commemoration of the solemn sending and consecration of the Apostles (St. John xx. 21-23) on the first Sunday after Easter, this day appears to have been sometimes called "the Sunday of the Apostles." This Sunday was one of the highest festivals in the Ethiopinn Calendar (Alt, *Christliche Cultus*, ii. 33, 184).

3. In the West the commemoration of all the Apostles was anciently joined with that of the two great Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul; and this festival appears to have been, at the time of the Apostles; the only festival in honour of the Apostles; for we find in the *Missa* for that festival in the *Leonine Sacramentary* (Migne's *Patrol.* vol. 55, p. 44) an "oratio super oblata," which runs, "Omnipotens sempiterno Deus, qui nos omnium apostolorum merita sub tua tribuisti celebrare venerari." And this seems to have been the case also when the "Epistola ad Chromatium" quoted by Casforus (in *Leonine Sacram.* p. 44) was written; for we there read that the Apostles were commemorated on one day, "ut dies varii non videantur dividere quos una dignitas Apostolorum in coequesti gloriâ fecit esse sublejos."

4. It was no doubt from this close connection with the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29) that the Festival of the Twelve Apostles (*Συναχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*) came to be celebrated in the orthodox Greek church on the morrow of that festival—June 30—as it is to this day. This is a great festival, with abstinence from labour (*Ἀργία*).

5. In the Armenian calendar, the Saturday of the sixth week after Pentecost is dedicated to the Twelve Holy Apostles, and their chiefs, Peter and Paul; and the Tuesday in the fifth week after the elevation of the Cross is dedicated to Ananias of Damascus, Matthias, Barnabas, Philip, Stephen, Silas and Silvanus, and the Twelve Apostles. (Alt, *Christliche Cultus*, ii. 242, 256.)

6. The *Micrologus* tells us (c. 55) that on May 1, "invenitur in Martyrologiis sive in Sacramentariis festivitas SS. Philippi et Jacob. et omnium Apostolorum." The existing Martyrologies and Sacramentaries, however, mention no commemoration on May 1, beyond that of SS. Philip and James; but the mention of a commemoration of all Apostles may have arisen from the "Deposition" of the bodies of SS. Philip and James in the "Basilica omnium Apostolorum." (Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, v. i. 365; Wetzer and Welte's *Archäologie*, xii. 57.)

7. The 15th of July is in the Roman calendar the Feast of the "Division of the Apostles," (Divisio SS. Apostolorum). This was probably intended to commemorate the traditional event related by Rufinus (*H. P.*, l. 9), that the Apostles, before leaving Jerusalem to begin their work of preaching the Gospel to all nations, determined by lot the portions of the world which each should evangelise. By others, however, the Feast is supposed to commemorate the "Divisio octavium Petri et Pauli." The legend to which this refers is as follows:—The remains of St. Peter and St. Paul were placed together after their

martyrdom, and when Pope Sylvester, at the consecration of the great church of St. Peter, desired to place the sacred remains of the patron saint in an altar, it was found impossible to distinguish them from those of St. Paul; but after fasting and prayer, a divine voice revealed that the larger bones were those of the Preacher, the smaller of the Fisherman; and they were consequently placed in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul respectively. (Clampii, *de Sacris Aedificiis*, p. 53, quoting Beleh, *Explicat. Divin. Offic. c.* 138.)

11. *Fasts*.—1. As early as the *Apostolical Constitutions* (v. 20, § 7) we find the week following the octave of Pentecost marked as a fast. The intention of this probably was, as no fast was allowable in the joyful season between Pasch and Pentecost, that men should endeavour to render themselves fit recipients of the gifts of the Holy Spirit by subsequent mortification. This fast was afterwards extended to the eve of the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, and as it now filled the whole space between the "Apostle Sunday" and the great commemorations of the Apostles on June 29 and June 30, it came to be called the "Apostles' Fast." *Ἡστέια τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων*. (Augusti, *Handbuch der Christl. Archæologie*, iii. 481.)

2. There is a collect for a Fast in the mass already referred to in the Leonine *Sacramentary*. This, perhaps, indicates that an extraordinary fast, instituted in the time of St. Leo for the relief of Rome, or for some other reason, concurred with the Festival of All Apostles. (Note in the Leonine *Sacram.* Migne's *Patrol.* vol. 55, p. 44.)

III. *Dedications*.—A church (*Ματρίσιον*), dedicated to the Twelve Apostles, second in splendor only to that of St. Sophia, was built at Constantinople by Constantine the Great, who intended it for the place of his own sepulture (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, lib. iv., cc. 58–60). He also dedicated at Capua, in honour of the Apostles, a church to which he gave the name of Constantinian (*Liber Pontif.*, under 'Sylvester,' Muratori *Scriptores*, iii. 1). The ancient church at Rome dedicated to the Apostles, is said to have been begun by Pope Pelagius I. (555–560), and completed by his successor John III. (560–573). (Clampii, *de Sacris Aedif.* p. 137.) [C.]

APOSTOLUS, the formal missive of the judge of a lower court, whereby a cause was transferred to a higher court to which appeal had been made from him. See Justinian, *Cod.* vii. 62, &c. &c., and under APPEALS. [A. W. H.]

APOSTOLICAL CANONS. About 500 A.D., Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman monk of great learning, at the request of Stephen, Bishop of Salona, made a collection of Greek canons, translating them into Latin. At the head of this collection he placed 50 canons, with this title, "Incipiunt Regule Ecclesiasticæ sanctorum Apostolorum, prolatae per Clementem Ecclesie Romanæ Pontificem." At the same time, however, Dionysius says in the preface to his work, "In principio itaque canones, qui dicuntur Apostolorum, de Græcæ translationibus, quibus quædam plurimi consensus non præbuere faciem, hoc ipsum vestram nolimus ignorare sanctitatem, quamvis postea quædam constituta pontificum ex ipsis canonibus assumpta esse videantur."

These words obviously point to a difference of opinion prevailing in the Church, though it has been doubted by some whether the dissentients spoken of rejected the canons altogether, or merely denied that they were the work of the apostles. And with regard to the last clause, it is much disputed whether previous popes can be shown to have known and cited these canons. Hefele denies that "Pontifices" means Popes, and would understand it of bishops in their synodical constitutions.^b

The subsequent course taken by the Church of Rome in relation to these canons is not altogether clear. In the last decade of the 5th century Pope Gelasius published a decree *De Libris non recipiendis*, and in the text of this decree as it now stands in the *Decretum Gratiani* there appears, amongst other rejected works, 'Liber canonum Apostolorum apocryphus.' But it is said that these words are not found in the most ancient MSS. of the decree, and Hincmar of Rheims, in speaking of it, expressly says that Gelasius is silent as to the Apostolical Canons. Moreover, Dionysius, who was by birth a Scythian, does not seem to have come to Rome until after the death of Gelasius, and consequently his collection cannot have appeared at the time of the decree.^c

Hefele therefore thinks that the words in question were for the first time inserted by Pope Hormisdas (514–523), when he republished the decree 'De Libris non recipiendis' (*Councils hiet.* i. 719).^d If so, the point is not very material. It is clear that Dionysius, in setting forth a later collection during the popedom of Hormisdas (of which the preface alone is now extant) left out these canons. He says: "Canones qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Sardicensis concilii atque Atricanæ provincie quos non admisit universitas, ego quoque in hoc opere prætermissi, &c."^e

^a Bishop Pearson contends that Leo, Innocent, and Gelasius himself, refer to them (*Vindice Ignat.*, part i. cap. iv.); but this has been as strongly denied. Bickell thinks that Dionysius may have had in view expressions of Siricius (*Ep. ad Dio. Episc.*, anno 388) and Innocent (*Ep. ad Victic.*, anno 404), which, however, he conceives him to have misunderstood (*Arch. der Kirchenrechtl.*, p. 74). Von Drey seems to think the canons were not known at Rome till the version of Dionysius; but Hefele observes that they might have been known in their Greek form. Dionysius in his preface says that he had been exhorted to the work of translation by his friend Laurentius, who was "confusio præcæ translationis offensus." Does this point to an existing version of the canons, or is it to be understood of the other matters contained in his collection? The latter seems most in accordance with the received theory.

^b See his *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. i. p. 767. But unless it can be limited to East-ru bishops, this view would equally admit that the canons so quoted or relied on must have been known in the Western Church.

^c Dionysius says in his preface: "Nos qui eum (Gelasium) præsentia corporali non vidimus." This in itself would not be conclusive as to the decree, though the only alternative would be to admit that the canons were known at Rome before Dionysius's translation. Bishop Pearson seeks to throw doubt on the decree (*Vindice Ignat.*, part i. cap. iv.); but much of his reasoning is not inconsistent with the theory of Hefele.

^d So too, apparently, Bickell, vol. i. p. 74.

^e Cited in Bickell (i. 75), who also mentions that they were omitted from the Spanish collection of canons in the 7th century, with these words: "Canones autem qui dicuntur Apostolorum, sed quia eodem nec sedes apostolica recipit, nec SS. patres illis consensum præbuerunt,

but to a difference of Church, though it has then the dissentients none altogether, or were the work of the to the last clause, it previous popes can be cited these canons."

ken by the Church of Rome is not altogether of the 5th century decree *De Libris non recitatis* as it now appears, "Liber canonum But it is said that in the most ancient memoir of Rheims, it says that Gelasius is the author of the Canons. Moreover, a Scythian, does not until after the death of his collection cannot of the decree."

that the words in question inserted by Pope Horre-ban inserted the decree *(Concilium hie, 1.*

not very material. It setting forth a later dom of Hormisdas (of no extent) left out Canones qui dicuntur concilii atque Afridmisi universitas, ego rmitis, &c."*

at Leo, Innocent, and Gelasius. *Ignat.*, part 1. cap. 1. is not only denied. Bickel thinks in view expressions of Innocent (Ep. ad Romanos, p. 74). Canons were not known at Antioch; but Hefele observes that he had been exhorted by his friend Laurentius, who is the author of the canons, or is it to be ascertained in his collection in accordance with the

vol. I. p. 767. But unless bishops, this view would be of no avail or relied on must be in Church.

"Nos qui cum (Gelasius) in his canones sunt in victimis." This in itself is to be decreed, though the only translation. Bishop Pearson in *Concilium hie, 1.*

vol. I. p. 74. He also mentions that they collection of canons in the translation. Bishop Pearson in *Concilium hie, 1.*

At all events it must be taken that the Church of Rome at the present day does not accept these canons as of apostolic authority. Though the citations made by Gratian under the head "De auctoritate et numero Canonum Apostolorum," are not very consistent with each other, yet the latest canonists speak more distinctly.

"Canones illi non sunt opus genuinum apostolorum, nec a' omni sacro immunes; merito tamen reputantur insigne monumentum disciplinae Ecclesiae per priora secula," says M. leard in his *Prælectiones Juris Canonici* at St. Sulpice (published with the approbation of the authorities of the Church) in 1852, and he then cites the Gelasian decree declaring them apocryphal.

Nevertheless great attention has been paid to them. Extracts were admitted by Gratian into the Decretum, and, in the words of Phillips ("Du Droit ecclésiastique dans ses Sources," Paris, 1852) "ils ont pris rang dans la législation canonique."

But we must turn to the 6th century. About fifty years after the work of Dionysius, John of Antioch, otherwise called Johannes Scholasticus, patriarch of Constantinople, set forth a *σύνταγμα κανόνων*, which contained not 50 but 85 Canons of the Apostles. And in the year 692 these were expressly recognized in the decrees of the Quinisextine Council, not only as binding canons, but (it would seem) as of apostolic origin.† They are therefore in force in the Greek Church.

How it came to pass that Dionysius translated only 50 does not appear. Some writers have supposed that he rejected what was not to be reconciled with the Roman practice.‡ But, as Hefele observes, this could hardly be his motive, inasmuch as he retains a canon as to the nullity of heretical baptism, which is at variance with the view of the Western Church. Hence it has been suggested that the MS. used by Dionysius was of a different class from that of John of Antioch (for they vary in some expressions, and have also a difference in the numbering of the canons), and that it may have had only the 50 translated by the former. And an inference has also been drawn that the 35 latter canons are of later date.§ Indeed, according to some, they are obviously of a different type, and were possibly added to the collection at the same time

pro eo quod ab hæreticis sub nomine Apostolorum compositi dignoscuntur, quamvis in eisdem quaedam inveniantur verba, auctoritate tamen canonica et apostolica eorum gesta constat esse remota et inter apocryphica deputata."

"Ἐβαδὲ καὶ ταῦτο τῇ ἁγίᾳ ταύτῃ συνόδῳ ἐκάλιστά τε καὶ σπουδαίωτα, ὥστε μένειν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου βασιλέως καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ πρὸς ψυχῶν θεραπεύειν καὶ λαοὺς παύειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἁγίων καὶ μακαρίων πατέρων θεοθέτους καὶ ἐπινοήσαντας, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ παραθεθέντας ἡμῖν ὀνόματι τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἑυδόκων ἀποστόλων ὑποθέσει. *Canon II.*, cited in Ülzen, Pref. p. ix.

Beveridge argues that the word *ὀνόματι* shows that, while their validity as canons of the Church was admitted, their apostolic origin was not decided.† Contra Hefele, *Concilium hie, 1.* 788.

The additional 35 canons in the collection of Scholasticus have not been in any way recognized by the Church of Rome.

* As, for instance, De Marca; and see Ayliffe's *Parergon*, Introduct., p. iv.

† See on this subject, Hefele, l. 768. Scholasticus says there were previous collections containing 85.

that the canons were appended to the Constitutions.

It is time to come to the Canons themselves. Both in the collection of John of Antioch and in that of Dionysius they are alleged to have been drawn up by Clement in the directions of the Apostles. In several places the Apostles speak in the first person, and in the 85th canon Clement uses the first person singular of himself.

Their subjects are briefly as follow:—
1 & 2 (I. & II.). Bishop to be ordained by two or three bishops; presbyters and deacons, and the rest of the clerical body by one.
3 & 4 (III.) relate to what is proper to be offered at the altar; mentioning new corn, grapes, and oil, and incense at the time of the holy oblation.

5 (IV.). First-fruits of other things are to be sent to the clergy at their home, not brought to the altar.

6 (V.). Bishop or presbyter or deacon not to put away his wife under pretence of piety.

7 (VI.). Clergy not to take secular cares on them.

8 (VII.). Nor to keep Easter before the vernal equinox, according to the Jewish system.

9 (VIII.). Nor to fail to communicate without some good reason.

10 (IX.). Laity not to be present at the reading of the Scriptures without remaining for prayer and the Communion.

11 (X.). None to join in prayer, even in a house, with an excommunicate person.

12 (XI.). Clergy not to join in prayer with a deposed man as if he were still a cleric.

13 (XII. & XIII.). Clergy or lay persons, being under excommunication or not admitted to Communion, going to another city not to be received without letters.

14 (XIV.). Bishop not to leave his own diocese and invade another, even on request, except for good reasons, as in case he can confer spiritual benefit; nor even then except by the judgment of many other bishops, and at pressing request.

15 (XV.). If clergy leave their own diocese, and take up their abode in another without consent of their own bishop, they are not to perform clerical functions there.

16 (XVI.). Bishop of such diocese not to treat them as clergy.

17 (XVII.). One twice married after baptism, or who has taken a concubine, not to be a cleric.

18 (XVIII.). One who has married a widow or divorced woman, or a courtesan or a slave, or an actress, not to be admitted into the clerical body.

* So Bickell, l. 26 and 235. For the Constitutions, see the next article.

† Beveridge however contends, from the variations and omissions in MSS. and versions, that the introduction of the first person is a mere interpolation of late date, in order to promote the fiction of apostolic origin (*cod. cau.* in Cotel., vol. ii. p. 73, Appendix). See instances in Canons XXIX., L., LXXXII., LXXXV. The various readings may be seen in Ülzen's edition, and in Lagarde's *Reliq. Jur. Ecclæs. Antiquæ*.

‡ The numbering varies. This Canon III. of the Greek text is divided into two by Dionysius. The Arabic numerals represent the order in Dionysius; the Roman that in the Greek of Johannes Scholasticus. Cotelierus, again, gives a different numbering, making the canons only 76 in all.

19 (XIX.). Nor one who has married two sisters or his niece.

20 (XX.). Clergy not to become sureties.

21 (XXI.). One who has been made a eunuch by violence, or in a persecution, or was so born, may be a bishop.

22 (XXII.). But if made so by his own act, cannot be cleric.

23 (XXIII.). A cleric making himself so, to be deposed.

24 (XXIV.). A layman making himself a eunuch to be shut out from Communion for three years.

25 & 26 (XXV.). Clerics guilty of incontinence, perjury, or theft, to be deposed, but not excommunicated (citing Nah. 1, 9 *οὐκ ἐδικήσας δις ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*).

27 (XXVI.). None to marry after entering the clerical body, except readers and singers.

28 (XXVII.). Clergy not to strike offenders.

29 (XXVIII.). Clergy deposed not to presume to act, on pain of being wholly cut off from the Church.

30 (XXIX.). Bishop, &c. obtaining ordination by money to be deposed, and, together with him who ordained him, cut off from communion, as was Simon Magus by me, Peter.

31 (XXX.). Bishop obtaining a church by means of secular rulers to be deposed, &c.

32 (XXXI.). Presbyters not to set up a separate congregation and altar in contempt of his bishop, when the bishop is just and godly.

33 (XXXII.). Presbyter or deacon under sentence of his own bishop not to be received elsewhere.

34 (XXXIII.). Clergy from a distance not to be received without letters of commendation, nor unless they be preachers of godliness are they to have anything beyond the supply of their wants.

35 (XXXIV.). The bishops of every nation are to know who is chief among them, and to consider him their head, and do nothing without his judgment, except the affairs of their own dioceses, nor must he do anything without their judgment.

36 (XXXV.). Bishop not to ordain out of his diocese.

37 (XXXVI.). Clergy not to neglect to enter on the charge to which they are appointed, nor the people to refuse to receive them.

38 (XXXVII.). Synod of bishops to be held twice a year to settle controversies.

39 (XXXVIII.). Bishop to have care of all ecclesiastical affairs, but not to appropriate anything for his own family, except to grant them relief if in poverty.

40 (XXXIX. & XL.). Clergy to do nothing without bishop. Bishop to keep his own affairs separate from those of the Church, and to provide for his family out of his own property.

41 (XLI.). Bishop to have power over all ecclesiastical affairs, and to distribute through the presbyters and deacons, and to have a share himself if required.

42 (XLII.). Cleric not to play dice or take to drinking.

43 (XLIII.). Same as to subdeacon, reader, singer, or layman.

44 (XLIV.). Clergy not to take usury.

45 (XLV.). Clergy not to pray with heretics, still less to allow them to act as clergy.

APOSTOLICAL CANONS

46 (XLVI.). Clergy not to recognize heretical baptism or sacrifice.

47 (XLVII.). Clergy not to rebaptize one truly baptized, nor to omit to baptize one polluted by the ungodly, unless otherwise he contemns the cross and death of the Lord, and does not distinguish true priests from false.

48 (XLVIII.). Layman who has taken away his wife not to take another, nor to take a divorced woman.

49 (XLIX.). Baptism to be in name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, not of three eternal, or three sons, or three paracletes.

50 (L.). Baptism to be performed by three immersions, making one inflation—not one single immersion into the Lord's death.

LI. Clergy not to hold marriage or the use of meat and wine things evil in themselves, or to abstain on any other than ascetic grounds.

LII. Bishop or presbyter to receive, not to reject penitents.

LIII. Clergy not to refuse to partake of meat and wine on feast days [as if evil, or on other than ascetic grounds].

LIV. Clerics not to eat in taverns except on a journey.

LV. Clerics not to insult bishop.

LVI. Nor presbyter or deacon.

LVII. Nor to mock the maimed, deaf, dumb, blind, or lame, nor must a layman do so.

LVIII. Bishops and presbyters not to neglect their clergy or people.

LIX. Nor to refuse succour to the needy clergy.

LX. Nor to publish in the church as sacred works forged by the ungodly in false names.

LXI. Those convicted of incontinence or other forbidden practices not to be admitted into the clerical body.

LXII. Clerics from fear of Jew or Gentile or heretic denying Christ to be excommunicated, or if only denying that they are clerics, to be deposed. On repentance, to be admitted as laymen.

LXIII. Cleric eating blood, or things toru by beasts, or dying of themselves, to be deposed, on account of the prohibition in the law. Laymen doing so to be excommunicated.

LXIV. Cleric or layman entering synagogue of Jews or heretics to pray, to be deposed and excommunicated.

LXV. Cleric in a struggle striking a single blow that proves mortal to be deposed for his precipitancy. Laymen to be excommunicated.

LXVI. Neither cleric nor layman to fast on Sunday or on any Saturday but one.

LXVII. Any one doing violence to an betrothed virgin to be excommunicated. He may not take another, but must keep her, though poor.

LXVIII. Clergy not to be ordained a second time, unless when ordained by heretics, for those baptized or ordained by heretics have not really been brought into the number of the faithful or of the clergy.

LXIX. Bishop, presbyter, deacon, reader, or singer, not fasting in the holy forty days, or on the fourth and sixth days, to be deposed, unless

= I. e. baptized by heretics. Heretical baptism is styled not an initiation, but a pollution. See *Apost. Const.* vi. 15.

= Nameley, that before Easter day. *Apost. Const.* v. 18 and 20.

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a pollution. See *Apost.*

er day. *Apost. Const. v.*

APOSTOLICAL CANONS

suffering from bodily weakness. Laymen to be
excommunicated.

LXX. None to keep fast or feast with the
Jews, or receive their feast-gifts, as unleavened
bread and so forth.

LXXI. No Christian to give oil for a heathen
temple or Jewish synagogue, or to light lamps at
their feast times.

LXXII. Nor to purloin wax or oil from the
Church.

LXXIII. Nor to convert to his own use any
consecrated gold or silver vessel or linen.

LXXIV. Bishop accused by credible men, to be
summoned by the bishops; and if he appear and
confess the charge, or be proved guilty, to have
appropriate sentence; but if he do not obey the
summons, then to be summoned a second and
third time by two bishops personally; and if he
still be contumacious, then the Synod is to make
the fit decree against him, that he may not ap-
pear to gain anything by evading justice.

LXXV. No heretic, nor less than two wit-
nesses, even of the faithful, to be received against
a bishop (*Deut. 19, 15*).

LXXVI. Bishop not to ordain relatives bishops
out of favour or affection.

LXXVII. One having an eye injured or lame
may still be a bishop, if worthy.

LXXVIII. But not one deaf, dumb, or blind, as
being practical hindrances.

LXXIX. One that has a devil not to be a cleric,
nor even to pray with the faithful, but when
cleansed he may, if worthy.

LXXX. A convert from the heathen or from a
vicious life not forthwith to be made a bishop;
for it is not right that while yet untried he
should be a teacher of others, unless this come
about in some way by the grace of God.^a

LXXXI. We declare that a bishop or presb-
yter is not to stoop to public [secular] offices, but to
give himself to the wants of the Church (*Matt.*
6, 24).

LXXXII. We do not allow slaves to be chosen
into the clerical body without consent of their
masters, to the injury of those who possess them,
for this would subvert households. But if a slave
seem worthy of ordination, as did our Onesimus,
and the masters consent and set him free, let him
be ordained.

LXXXIII. Clergy not to serve in the army, and
seek to hold both Roman command and priestly
duties (*Matt. 23, 21*).

LXXXIV. Those who unjustly insult a king or
ruler to be punished.

LXXXV. For you, both clergy and laity, let
there be, as books to be revered and held holy,
in the Old Testament—five of Moses, Genesis, Exo-
dus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy—of Jesus
the son of Nun, one; of Judges, one; Ruth, one; of
Kings, four; of Paralipomena the book of days,
two; of Esdras, two; of Esther, one; of Macca-
bees, three; of Job, one; of the Psalter, one; of
Solomon, three—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of
Songs; of the Prophets, thirteen; of Isaiah, one;
of Jeremiah, one; of Ezekiel, one; of Daniel, one.
Over and above is to be mentioned to you that
your young men study the Wisdom of the learned
Sirach. But of ours, that is of the New Testa-
ment, let there be four gospels, Matthew's,^b

^a *i. e.* unless he be designated as such in some special
way by the hand of God. Beveridge refers to the case
of Ambrose.

CHRIST. ANT.

APOSTOLICAL CANONS 113

Mark's, Luke's, John's; fourteen epistles of
Paul; two epistles of Peter; three of John; one
of James; one of Jude; two epistles of Clement;
and the regulations addressed to you bishops
through me, Clement, in eight books, which it is
not right to publish before all, on account of the
mysteries in them; and the Acts of us, the
Apostles.

The above is merely the substance of the
canons in an abridged form. It will not of course
supersede the necessity of referring to the original
in order to form an exact judgment. For the
sake of brevity the penalties have been in most
cases omitted. They are usually deposition for
the clergy, excommunication for laymen.

Turrianus attempted to maintain that these
canons really are what they profess to be, the
genuine work of the apostles. Duillé, on the
other hand, contended that they were a pro-
duction of the middle or end of the 5th century.
Against him Bishop Beveridge entered the field;
and in two treatises of great learning, acuteness,
and vigour, sought to show that though not the
work of the apostles themselves, they were yet
of great antiquity, being in substance the decrees
of primitive Synods convened in different places
and at different times during the latter part of the
2nd, or at latest the earlier part of the 3rd
century. And he further thinks that during the
3rd century they were brought together and
formed into a collection or Codex Canonum,
which was recognized, and cited as of authority
in the Church.^c

Bishop Pearson also holds the canons in a col-
lected form to have been in existence prior to the
Council of Nice (*Vindic. Inqut.* part i. cap. iv.
in *Cotel.* vol. ii. append. p. 295).

It will be well to endeavour to give some
samples of the evidence which Beveridge adduces
to show that the canons are quoted in all events
from the first part of the 4th century down-
wards.

George of Cappadocia buys the favour of the
Prefect of Egypt, and is thrust into the bishopric
of Alexandria. Athanasius thereupon says, τὸ
τοιοῦτον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνας παραλάσσει: (ad
ubique orthod. c. 1, p. 945). The reference, it is
alleged, is to *Apost. Can.* 30 (xxix.) and 31 (xxx.)

^b *Viz.* the *Apost. Constitutions*. See next article

^c *Judicium de Canonibus Apostolicis*, to be found in
Cotel. Patres Apost. vol. i. p. 432, edit. 1724; and *Codex
Canonum Ecclesie Primitivae Illustratus*, 4to. vol. ii.
Appendix, p. 1.

^d *Judicium* in *Cotel.* vol. i. pp. 436-441; and see *Cod.
Can.* in *Cotel.* vol. ii. Appendix, pp. 8-10, et alibi. He
appears to think that in many cases they may represent
apostolical traditions. They were called "apostolical"
from this feeling, and also because framed by apostolical
men. He allows, however, that they were probably col-
lected by divers persons, some of whom put together
more, some fewer. Irenæus Dionysius is found only 60 in
the Codex from which he translated, while Scostasticus
found 85. Hincmar of Rheims is cited by Beveridge as
on his side; but it would seem that he looked on the
Apostolical Canons as collections of apostolical tradi-
tions made by pious persons, rather than as decrees of
synods. He speaks of them as "antiquum episcoporum con-
silio liberè independent celebrata, a devotis quibusque collecta."
See *Cod. Can.* in *Cotel.* vol. ii. App. p. 12.

^e The question of the collection, however, stands on
very different grounds from that of the antiquity of par-
ticular canons, and the two points should be kept separate
in investigating the subject.

A.D., sent three bishops, Nestorius, in obedience to the Emperor of the East... καὶ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τὸν ἀποστολικῶν...

made against the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to subject to himself the decrees of the most Holy Synod of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, the decree of it say that...

in our extracts from the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, the decree of it say that...

declining to be subject to the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, the decree of it say that...

Constantine, Pope of Constantinople, in his letter to the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, the decree of it say that...

determined that the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, the decree of it say that...

has been done by the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, the decree of it say that...

to be proved, it would be necessary to refer to the original Greek text of the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D., to Dioscorus, the Bishop of Alexandria, the decree of it say that...

APOSTOLICAL CANONS

at the beginning of the 6th century, when the whole 85 were appended to the constitutions.

Bickell while adopting a similar theory does not press it so far. He believes the collection to have been made out of like materials to those specified by Drey, but to be not later than the end of the 4th century...

This Clem. Rom. speaks of τὸν ἀποστολικὸν τῆς λαειτουργίας αὐτοῦ κανόνα (Ep. l. 41), and it is not to be supposed that he can here allude to any synodical decree...

The following table gives what he supposes to be the original of the various Canons—

I, II, VI, VII, XVII, XVIII, XX, XXVI, XXXIII, XLVI, XLVII, XLIX, LI, LII, LIII, LIX, LXIV, are all taken from the Apostolical Constitutions; the first six books of which he considers as of later half of 3rd century.

LXXIX. is from the 8th book, which is later, but before the year 325.

XXI.-XXIV., and LXXX., are taken from the Nicene Decrees.

VIII.-XVI., and XXVIII., and XXXI.-XLI., from those of Antioch.

XLV., LXX., LXXI., from those of Laodicea.

LXXV. from those of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

XXVII. from those of Constantinople, A.D. 394.

XXIX., LXVIII., LXXXIV., LXXXI., LXXXIII., from those of Chalcedon.

XIX. from Neocaesarea.

XXV. from a canonical letter of Basil.

LXIX. and LXX., out of the supposed Epistle of Ignatius, Ad Philadelph.

About a third of the Canons Drey treats as of unknown origin. The subject matter of many of them he considers may be more ancient, but not in the form of canons.

As to the distinction said to be apparent between the first 50 Canons and the residu, see Bickell, l. 86 and 236.

For an examination of these instances from a contrary point of view, see Beveridge (Cod. Can. lib. l. cap. xl). But the reader should notice that in Nic. Can. 18, he inexactly translates ὡςπερ οὕτε ὁ κανὼν οὕτε ἡ συνήθεια παρῶντες by "ne canones nec consuetudinem esse," and neglects the words κατὰ κανόνα καὶ κατὰ τήν συνήθειαν at the end of the Canon. He understands the Canon of Neocaesarea, that there must be seven deacons, κατὰ τὸν κανόνα, to allude to Acts vi. (the written law of Scrip-

APOSTOLICAL CANONS 115

(Euseb. vi. 43) κατὰ τὸν τῆν ἐκκλησίαν κανόνα, and Firmilian Ad Cyprian. (ep. 75) and Conc. Arelat. canon 13, "ecclesiastica regula," and comp. Euseb. vi. 24. Bickell also thus interprets the letter of Alexander to Meletius, and that of Constantine, which as we have seen (vide, p. 114) Beveridge takes as allusions to the apostolical canons.

In short Von Drey and Bickell maintain that the instances brought forward by Beveridge are not really proofs that the set of canons called apostolical are there quoted or referred to, but rather that allusion is made to broad and generally acknowledged principles of ecclesiastical action and practice, whether written or unwritten; (see Bickell, l. p. 2, and p. 81, 82, and the notes). But they go further and proceed to allude on their side what they consider to be a positive and decisive argument. Many canons of the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, correspond not only in subject but to a very remarkable degree in actual phraseology with the apostolical canons. Yet they never quote them, at least nominally.

The following table gives the parallel cases:— Antioch I. compared with Can. Apost. VII.

Table with 4 columns: Antioch Canon, Apost. Canon, and corresponding references. Rows include: II. (IX, X, XI, XII, XIII), III. (XV, XVI), IV. (XXVII), V. (XXXI), VI. (XXXII), VII, VIII. (XII, XXXIII), IX. (XXXIV), X. (XXXV), XVII, XVIII. (XXXVI), XX. (XXXVII), XXI. (XIV), XXII. (XXXV), XXIII. (LXXVI), XXIV. (XL), XXV. (XLI).

On this state of facts Von Drey and Bickell maintain that the apostolical canons are obviously borrowed from those of Antioch, while Beveridge argues that the converse is the case. The argument turns too much on a close comparison of phrases, and of the respective omissions, additions, and modifications, to admit of being presented in an abridged form. It will be found on one side to some extent in Bickell, vol. i. p. 79, et seq., and p. 230, et seq. (who gives

ture). Some might possibly contend that the words of the Epistle of Alexander (supra, p. 114) refer to 2nd Epist. John 10. He also deals with a Canon of Ancyra (Can. 21), which mentions that ὁ παύσας ὄρος refused communion, except on the death-bed, to unchaste women guilty of abortion. This Beveridge argues does not mean a "Canon" at all, but rather a decision of Church discipline. Hefele, on the other hand, thinks it alludes to a Canon of Elvira, refusing the sacrament to such cases at death (Conciliengesch. l. 208).

As to a certain extent, Beveridge discusses this theory when put forward by "Observernt" (see Cod. Can. lib. c. 11, p. 44), and appears to contend that κανὼν is not used for unwritten law, at all events by Councils in their decrees. There certainly seems some apparent distinction drawn in Nic. Can. 18, οὕτε ὁ κανὼν οὕτε ἡ συνήθεια παρῶντες.

It will be observed that all the Apostolical Canons except one, for which parallels are here found in the Antioch decrees, fall within the first 50; and the parallel to the LXXVth Canon is very far-fetched.

the references to the corresponding parts of Von Dray's work); and on the other, in Beveridge's *Codex Canonum*, lib. l. cap. lv. and cap. xi., and elsewhere in that treatise.³

As a general rule the apostolical canons are shorter, the Antioch canons fuller and more express a circumstance which leads Bickell to see in the former a compendium or abridgment of the latter, but which, according to Beveridge, proves the former to be the brief originals, of which the latter are the subsequent expansion.

Beveridge observes with some force that though the apostolical canons are not quoted by name, the canons of Antioch repeatedly profess to be in accordance with previous ecclesiastical rules, whereas the apostolical canons never mention any rules previously existing.⁴ Still the same question must arise here as in relation to the canons of Nice, viz., whether the allusion really is to pre-existing canons of councils, or whether the terms used are to be otherwise explained. And as regards the silence of the apostolical canons as to anything older than themselves, it must be recollectcd that any other course would have been self-contradictory. They could not pretend to be apostolic and yet rely on older authorities. Hence even had such references been found in the materials of which they were composed, these must have been struck out when they were put together in their present shape.

The synod of Antioch lying under the reproach of Arianism, it may seem improbable that any decrees should have been borrowed from it. To meet this objection Bickell urges that though the Antioch clergy were Arian, the Bishop Meletius was not un-orthodox, and was much respected by the Catholics. And he throws out the theory that the apostolical canons, which shew traces of Syrian phraseology, may be a sort of corpus canonum made at that period in Syria, and drawn up in part from the Antioch decrees, in part from the apostolical constitutions (which shew like marks of Syrian origin), and in part from other sources.⁵ This work, it is conjectured, Meletius brought with him when he came to the Council of Constantinople (where he died) in 381 A.D., and introduced it to the favourable notice of the clergy: a hypothesis which is thought to account for the apostolical canons being cited (as Bickell thinks for the first time) at the Provincial Synod of Constantinople, A.D. 394.

The opinion of Hefele may be worth stating. He thinks that though there is a good deal to be said for the theory that many of the apostolical canons were borrowed from those of Antioch,

b The suggestion is there made that the Council studiously re-quoted certain orthodox canons, in order to gain a good reputation, while they thrust in here and there a canon of their own so framed as to tell against Athanasius and the Catholics. See *Cod. Can.* lib. l. cap. lv. *ad fin.*

³ However, it is to be observed that the 37-39 Canons of Laodicea, which closely resemble the LXX. and LXXXI. Apostolical Canons, do not in any way refer to them, though on Beveridge's theory the Apost. Canons must have been in the hands of the Fathers of Laodicea.

⁴ In Can. XXXVII. the Syro-Macedonian name of a month, *Hyperberctaus*, occurs in connexion with the time for the autumnal synod. Similar names of months occur in *Ap. Const.* v. 17, 20, and at viii. 10. Evadius, Bishop of Antioch, is prayed for as "our bishop."

the converse is quite possible, and the point by no means settled. In regard to the Council of Nice, it would appear, he thinks, that it refers to older canons on the like subjects with those which it was enacting. And it is by no means impossible that the allusion may be to those which are now found among the apostolical canons, and which might have existed in the Church before they were incorporated in that collection. This view he thinks is supported by a letter from certain Egyptian bishops to Meletius at the commencement of the 4th century,* in which they complain of his having ordained beyond the limits of his diocese, which they allege is contrary to "mos divinus" and to "regula ecclesiastica;" and remind him that it is the "lex patrum et propatrum. . . in alienis parocciis necesse alieni episcoporum ordinationes celebrare." The inference, Hefele thinks, is almost irresistible that this refers to what is now the 38th (xxxv.) Apostolical Canon. And at all events he appears to hold with Bickell that the apostolical canons are referred to at Ephesus, Constantinople (A.D. 448), and Chalcedon. But such a view falls short of that of Beveridge.

Coming to the internal evidence, we find great stress to have been laid by Duillé, Von Drey, Bickell, and others on the contents of the canons, as distinctly marking their late date. Thus the 8th (viii.) (as to Easter) is in harmony with the present interpolated text of the apostolical constitutions, but is at variance with what Epiphanius read there, and with the Syrian *didascalia* (see *infra*, pp. 122, 123). It relates to the settlement of a particular phase of the Easter controversy which did not, according to Hefele, spring up until the 3rd century (*Conciliengesch.* i. 305 and 776).⁶ Moreover, if known and recognized previous to the Council of Nice, it seems extraordinary that this canon should not have been mentioned in Constantine's famous letter to the Nicene Fathers on the Easter Controversy (*Ensch. Vita Const.* lii. 18-20).

Canon 27 (xxvi.) hardly savours of a very early time. On this canon Beveridge (*Annot. in Can. Apost.*, sub *canone xxvi.*) cites the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), as saying that in many provinces it was permitted to readers and singers to marry; and understands it of those provinces in which the apostolical canons had been put in force, they having been, he says, originally passed in different localities by provincial synods. (See also his *Not. de Can. Apost.* § xii. in *Cotel.* vol. i. p. 436.) This seems to derogate somewhat from the general reception which he elsewhere appears disposed to claim for them. So limited an operation even in the 5th century is scarcely what was to be expected if the whole collection had been made, and promulgated a century and a half before.

The 31st (xxx.), the lxxxi., and lxxxiii., all appear to speak of a time when the empire was Christian (see Hefele, vol. i. p. 783, 789; Bickell, i. 80).⁷

* Given in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* vol. iii. pp. 381, 382.

² If Hefele's view on this subject be accepted, Beveridge must be held to have confused the special point here ruled with other questions in dispute in the Easter controversy (*Cod. Can.* lib. 2, c. iii.).

⁷ Von Hefele, however, points out that it is difficult to suppose a council under the empire would act thus so openly against the emperor's interference. If so, some

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 Before concluding, the
 opinions of one or two
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 being composed out of
 precepts then in circula-
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 names, with many addi-
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 out of canons made in
 different places during
 the 2nd and 3rd centu-
 ries, with

APOSTOLICAL CANONS

The 35th (xxxiv.), recognizing a kind of metro-
 politan authority, has also been much insisted
 on by Von Drey and Bickell, as well as by Dullé,
 in proof of an origin not earlier than the 4th
 century (see contra, *Bev. Cod. Can. lib. 2, cap. v.*.)
 The 40th suggests the remark that if it were in
 existence at the time of Cyprian, it would surely
 have been cited in the controversy as to heretical
 baptism. It agrees with the doctrine of the apos-
 tolical constitutions vi. 15, and according to some
 has probably been taken thence. Beveridge indeed
 observes that Cyprian (*Epist. to Jubajanus*) does
 rely on the decree of a synod held under the
 presidency of Agrippinus (see *Jud. de Can. Ap.*
§ xi. and Cod. Can. lib. 3, cap. xii.). This de-
 cree he seems to think may be the original of
 canon 40. If so, however, it would seem to shew
 the local and partial character of the apostolical
 canons, for we know that the Roman Church
 held at this very time a contrary view (Comp.
 the admissions of Iley, in *Jud. de Can. § xli.*)
 Again, other orders besides bishop, priest, and
 deacon appear in the clerical body. We have sub-
 deacons, readers, and singers (canon 43). Though
 the second of these is found in Tertullian, the
 first and last are not to be traced further back
 than the middle of the third century.

Not to mention other instances, it may in con-
 clusion be observed that much contest has taken
 place over the list of canonical books in the last
 canon, and as to the reference therein to the con-
 stitutions, Beveridge thinks that the variation
 in that list from the canon of Scripture as eventu-
 ally settled, is a proof that it was drawn up at
 an early date and before the final settlement
 was made. But at the same time he (somewhat
 inconsistently) is inclined to take refuge in the
 theory that this last canon has been interpolated.
 Here again it would be vain to attempt an
 abridgement of the argument (see *Cod. Canon.*
lib. 2, c. ix. and Jud. de Can. Apost. § xvi. et seq.)
 Before concluding, the opinions of one or two
 other writers must be mentioned. Krabbe thinks
 that at the end of the 4th or early in the 5th
 century, a writer of Arias or Macedonian ten-
 dencies drew up both the 8th book of the con-
 stitutions and the collection of canons, the former
 being composed out of precepts then in circulation
 under the Apostles' names, with many additions of
 his own, the latter out of canons made in different
 places during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, with

any part might be hence gained for the theory that these
 canons (in the present form, at all events) did not really
 emanate from any council.

Beveridge observes that the Apostolical Canon merely
 speaks of τῶν πρώτων ἐπιστολῶν, whereas the corresponding
 Canon of Antioch has τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει
 προστάτη ἐπισκοπῆς; the latter being in conformity
 with the name metropolitan. This name did not arise till
 the 4th century; and he therefore thinks the Apostolical
 Canon is proved to be the older of the two, and to be
 before that era. Moreover the Canon of Antioch pro-
 fesses its enactment to be κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον κρη-
 τίσματα ἐν τῶν πατρῶν ἡμῶν κανόνα. It may be worth
 observing that there is no trace of a primacy among
 bishops in the Apostolical Constitutions, even in their
 present state.

Sometimes we find only a general expression, as in
 Can. 9 (viii.), which runs εἰ τις ἐπισκοπος ἢ presbiteros
 ἢ διάκονος ἢ ἐκ τῶν καναλόγων τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ; the latter
 words comprehending the other orders, and being appar-
 ently strictly equivalent to the phrase ἢ ἄλλος τοῦ κλη-
 ρικῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων in Can. 16.

APOSTOLICAL CANONS 117

the interpolation of the 7th and 85th canons
 forged by himself (see Ülzen, p. xvi. pref.).

Bunsen attaches much importance to the apo-
 stolical canons. He regards them as belonging
 to a class of ordinances which were "the local
 customs of the apostolical Church," i. e. if not
 of the Johannine age, at all events of that imme-
 diately succeeding. Yet such "never formed
 any real code of law, much less were they the
 decrees of synods or councils. Their collections
 nowhere had the force of law. Every ancient
 and great church presented modifications of the
 outlines and traditions here put together; but
 the constitutions and practices of all churches
 were built upon this groundwork" (*Christ. and
 Mankind*, vol. ii. 421). Our apostolical canon
 served this purpose in the Greek Church. The
 fiction which attributes them to the Apostles is
 probably ante-Nicene (vol. vii. p. 373); but they
 are now in an interpolated state.

Internal evidence shows, he thinks, that the
 original collection consisted of three chapters:—

- I. On ordination.
- II. On the oblation and communion.
- III. On acts which deprive of official rights or offices.

These comprise, with some exceptions, rather
 more than a third of the whole. To these, he
 says, were appended, but at an early date—
 IV. On the rights and duties of the bishop;
 and subsequently when the collection thus ex-
 tended had been formed—
 V. Other grounds of deprivation.

Canon 6 (v.), 27 (xxvi.), he considers from
 internal evidence to be interpolations. Relying
 on the fact that the Coptic version (to which he
 attaches much weight, calling it "The Apo-
 stolical Constitutions of Alexandria") omits
 canons xvii., xlviii., xlix., 1, he treats these
 also as of later date. Canon 35 (xxxiv.) he
 appears to consider as a genuine early form of
 what subsequently became the system of metro-
 politan authority.

Coming then to what he styles "The Second
 Collection, which is not recognized by the Roman
 Church," i. e. to the canons not translated by
 Dionysius, he says they "bear a more decided
 character of a law book for the internal dis-
 cipline of the clergy, with penal enactments."
 Canon lxxxi. is a repetition and confirmation
 of one in the first collection, viz., xi. compared
 with 31 (xxx.). This and canons lxxxi., lxxxi.,
 are post-Nicene. The canon of Scripture also is
 spurious, as contradicting in many points the
 authentic traditions and assumptions of the early
 Church. It is wanting in the oldest MS., the
 Codex Barberinus (*Christianity and Mankind*,
 vol. ii. p. 227).

Ülzen, though modestly declining to express
 a positive judgment, evidently leans to the view
 of Bickell that the Antiochene decrees were
 the foundation of many of the canons, and re-
 grets that Bunsen should have brought up again
 the theory of Beveridge, which, he considers,
 "receitiores omnes hujus rei indices refuta-
 verunt" (Pref. p. xvi. note, and p. xxi.).

There are Oriental versions of the apostolical
 canons. As Bunsen has observed, the Coptic and
 Aethiopic (the former being a very late but
 faithful translation from an old Sahidic version,
 see Tatam's Edition, 1848) omit certain of the
 canons relating to heretical baptism. Except in

vol. iii. pp. 381, 382.
 ought be accepted, Beveridge
 the special point here noted
 in the Easter controversy

is that that it is difficult to
 empire would set itself so
 interference. If so, some

this and in Can. lxxxv. they do not differ in any important degree.* Some account of these versions, and also of the Syriac, may be seen in Bickell, vol. I. append. iv. He considers even the last-named to be later than our Greek text, and that little assistance is to be derived from them (see p. 215); others, however, as Bansen, rate them highly. The subject deserves further inquiry.

To attempt to decide, or even to sum up so large a controversy, and one on which scholars have differed so widely, would savour of presumption. It must suffice to indicate a few points on which the decision seems principally to turn. The first question is, Can we come to Beveridge's conclusion that a corpus canonum corresponding to our present collection, and possessing a generally recognized authority, really existed in the 3rd century? If so, much weight would deservedly belong to it.

But if an impartial view of Beveridge's arguments should be thought to lead merely to the conclusion, that a number of canons substantially agreeing with certain of those now in our collection, are quoted in the 4th century, and presumably existed some considerable time previously, we find ourselves in a different position.

In this case the contents of our present collection may possibly be nothing more than decrees of synods held at different and unknown times, and in different and uncertain places, not necessarily agreeing with each other, and not necessarily acknowledged by the Church at large, at all events till a later period.¹⁰

Again, if our present collection as a whole be not shown to be of the 3rd century, the question at once arises when and how it was made, and whether any modification or interpolation took place in the component materials when they were so collected together.¹¹

If it be to be looked upon as a digest of pre-existing canons brought together from various sources, it is necessary to consider how far the fact that any particular canon is authenticated

* In Can. LXXXV the Copic omits Esther from the O. T. and puts Judith and Tobit in place of Macabees, and after mentioning the 16 Prophets, it goes on: "These also let your young persons learn. And out of the Wisdom of Solomon and Esther, the three Books of Macabees, and the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, there is much instruction." In N. T. it adds the Apocalypse, between Jude and the Epistles of Clement, and says nothing whatever about the eight books of regulations. "The Acts" are merely mentioned by that name, and follow the Gospels in the list.

¹ Some may, no doubt, be of an early date: thus Von Drey admits the probable antiquity of Can. I, Can. 10 (ix.), Can. 11 (x.), and others. See notes to the Canons in Hefele's *Concilien-geschichte*, vol. I. Append.; and comp. Bickell, vol. I. pp. 80, 81.

¹⁰ Beveridge speaks of the Apostolical Canons as the work "not of one but of many synods, and those held in divers places" (*Cod. Can. lib. I. cap. II.*). He thinks that the name of the month Hyperberetanus in Can. XXXVII. shews that Canon to be of Eastern origin; while he argues that the rule as to Easter in Can. VIII. proves that Canon to belong to the Western Church, inasmuch as the rule in question does not agree with the *Oriental practice* (*Jud. de Can. a. 12; and s.e. 27.*)

¹¹ As to admissions of interpolations, see *Rev. J. de Can. ad fines*, and *Cod. Can. in Cotel. vol. II. Append. pp. 10, 73, 114.* Nor can it be forgotten that, in the only shapes in which we know of their having been collected, they are introduced by the untrue pretext of being the words of the Apostles dictated to Clement.

by being cited at Nice or elsewhere, in any degree authenticates any other canon not so cited. For unless some bond of connexion can be shewn, two canons standing in juxtaposition, may be of quite different age and origin.

These considerations have been principally framed with reference to the arguments of Beveridge. Of course if the views of Von Drey be adopted, any importance to be attached to the canons is materially diminished. Up to a certain point Beveridge certainly argues not only with ingenuity but force, and his reasoning does not seem to have received its fair share of attention from Von Drey and Bickell.¹² Still, after allowing all just weight to what he advances, a careful consideration of the points just suggested, may perhaps tend to shew that it is not difficult to see why controversialists of modern times have not ventured to lay much stress on the apostolical canons.

But there is another reason for this. No Western church can consistently proclaim their authority as they now stand. Protestant churches will hardly agree, for instance, to the rule that one who was ordained unmarried, may not afterwards marry, nor will they recognize the Macabees as a canonical book; while the canons which require a trine immersion in baptism, and the repetition of baptism when performed by heretics, will not be accepted by either Protestant or Roman Catholic.¹³

It may be proper to add that the canons here discussed are not the only series extant which claim apostolical authority.

Thus, for instance, besides the *Διατάξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν*, διὰ Ἰεροπόλου καὶ Αἰ διατάξεις αἱ διὰ Κλημῆντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων (both of which will be treated of in connexion with the Apost. Constitutions), we have certain pretended canons of an apostolic council at Antioch (the title being τῶν ἁγίων ἱερομόναχων Παμφίλου ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῶν ἀποστόλων συνόδου, τούτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν συνοδικῶν αὐτῶν κανόνων μέρος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εὐρεθέντων εἰς τὴν Ἐπιπέδου βιβλιοθήκην). They are in Bickell, i. 138, and Lagarde, *Relig. Juris Eccles.* p. 18.

We also find another set of apostolic canons (*Ἦρος κανονικὸς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*) also published by Bickell, i. 131, and Lagarde, p. 36 (and of which the latter critic says that it is "nondum theologis satis consideratum"); and yet again a curious series of alleged apostolic ordinances (many of which resemble parts of the apostolical constitutions), in three ancient Syriac MSS., one translated into Greek by Lagarde (*Rel. Jur. Eccles.* p. 89), and two into English, with notes, by Cureton, in "Ancient Syriac Documents,

* Yet it is certainly remarkable that, when we first hear of these Canons, the question seems to be whether they are apostolic or apocryphal. The view that they are an authentic collection of post-apostolic synodical decrees does not seem to have been suggested itself.

¹² Refined distinctions have indeed been drawn to qualify the apparent sense of some of these Canons (see *Rev. Cotel. Can. in Cotel. vol. II. Append. p. 100, and p. 130;* but the difficulty attending them has probably had its share in preventing their full recognition. Hefele speaks of the Canon on Heretical Baptism as contrary to the Roman rule. Can. LXVI. is also contrary to the discipline of Rome; but not being in the first 50, it is held apocryphal.

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relating to the earliest establishment of Christi- in Edessa,* &c., with preface by W. Wright, Lond 1864. It appears that in *Col. Add.* 14, 173, fol. 37, in *Brit. Mus.* this document is quoted as "Canons of the Apostles."

It is not perhaps a wholly unreasonable hope that further researches into the ecclesiastical MSS. of Syria may be the means of throwing more light on the perplexing questions which surround alike the apostolic canons and the apostolic constitutions, both of them, in all probability, closely connected in their origin with that Church and country.†

Authorities.—*Centuriatores Magdeburg.* ii. c. 7, p. 544, &c. Fr. Turrianus, *Pro Canon. Apost. et Epp. Decret. Pontif. Apost. Adversus Majd. Centur. Defensio* (Flor. 1572; Latetina 1573), lib. i. P. de Marca, *Conc. Sacerd.* iii. 2. J. Dullheus, *De Pseud-epigraphis Apost.*, lib. iii. Pearsoni *Vindici. Ignat.* (in Cotelerius, *Patr. Apost.*, vol. ii. p. 251), part i. cap. 4. Matt. Larroquanus in *App. Obs. ad Pearsonianus Ignatii Vind. c.* (Rothom. 1674). Beveregii *Judicium de Can. Apost.* (in *Cotel. Patr. Apost.*, edit. 1724, vol. i. p. 432). Beveregii *Adnotationes ad Can. Apost.* (ibid. p. 455). *Ordo Canonum Ecclesie Universalis Vindicatus a Gul. Beveregio* (ibid. vol. ii. app. p. 1, and Oxford 1848). Brunonis *Judicium de Au toro Canonum et Constitutionum Apostolicorum* (Cotel. vol. ii. app. p. 177). *Proleg. in Ignatium Jac. Usserii* (ibid. vol. ii. app. p. 199), see cap. vi. Regenbrecht, *Diss. de Can. Ap. et Cod. Ecc. Hisp.*, Ratisb. 1828. Krabbe, *De Cod. Can. qui Apost. dicuntur*, Eitt. 1829. Von Drey, *Neue Untersuch. über die Konst. und Kanones der Apost.*, Tübingen 1832. Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Giessen 1843, vol. i. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg 1855, vol. i. append. Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, London 1854. Utzen, *Constitutiones Apost.*, Suerini 1853, preface § 2. De Lagarde, *Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimæ*, 1856. [B. S.]

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS. The apostolic constitutions consist of eight books. Their general scope is the discussion and regulation (not in the way of concise rules, but in diffuse and hortatory language) of ecclesiastical affairs. In some places they enter upon the private behaviour proper for Christians; in other parts, in connexion with the services of the Church, they furnish liturgical forms of considerable length.‡ A large share of the whole is taken up with the subjects of the sacraments, and of the powers and duties of the clergy.

At the end of the eighth book, as now commonly edited, are to be found the apostolical canons. These we have already treated of in the previous article.

The constitutions, extant in MSS. in various libraries, appear during the middle ages to have been practically unknown. When in 1540,

* Bickell, however, warns us that the fruits of such researches must be used with caution, on account of the uncritical way in which various pieces are put together in these MSS. (vol. i. p. 218).

† These belong especially to the question of Liturgies, and will not therefore be considered at length here.

‡ An account of the MSS. is given in Utzen's edition, and by Lagarde in Bunsen's *Christ. and Man.*, vol. vi. p. 25.

Carolus Capellus, a Venetian, printed an epitome of them in Latin translated from a MS. found in Crete, Bishop Jewell spoke of it as a work "in these countries never heard of nor seen before." (*Park. Soc., Jew.*, i. 111.) In 1563 Bovius published a complete Latin version, and in the same year Turrianus edited the Greek text. It is not expedient here to pursue at any length the question of subsequent editions, but it may be as well to mention the standard one of Cotelerius in the *Patres Apostolici* and of Cotelierus in the *Patres Apostolici* and the useful and portable modern one of Utzen (Suerin, 1853). There is also one by Lagarde, Lipsiæ, 1862.

The constitutions profess on the face of them to be the words of the Apostles themselves written down by the hand of Clement of Rome.

Book 1 prescribes in great detail the manners and habits of the faithful laity.

Book 2 is concerned chiefly with the duties of the episcopal office, and with assemblies for divine worship.

Book 3 relates partly to widows, partly to the clergy, and to the administration of baptism.

Book 4 treats of sustentation of the poor, of domestic life, and of virgins.

Book 5 has mainly to do with the subjects of martyrs and martyrdom, and with the rules for feasts and fasts.

Book 6 speaks of schismatics and heretics, and enters upon the question of the Jewish law, and of the apostolic discipline substituted for it, and refers incidentally to certain customs and traditions both Jewish and Gentile.

Book 7 describes the two paths, the one of life, the other of spiritual death, and follows out this idea into several points of daily Christian life. Then follow rules for the teaching and baptism of catechumens, and liturgical precedents of prayer and praise, together with a list of bishops said to have been appointed by the Apostles themselves.

Book 8 discusses the diversity of spiritual gifts, and gives the forms of public prayer and administration of the communion, the election and ordinations of bishops, and other orders in the Church, and adds various ecclesiastical regulations.

This enumeration of the contents of the books is by no means exhaustive—the style being diffuse, and many other matters being incidentally touched upon—but is merely intended to give the reader some general notion of the nature of the work.

From the time when they were brought again to light down to the present moment, great differences of opinion have existed as to the date and authorship of the constitutions.

Turrianus and Bovius held them to be a genuine apostolical work, and were followed in this opinion by some subsequent theologians, and notably by the learned and eccentric Whiston, who maintained that (with the exception of a few gross interpolations) they were a record of what our Saviour himself delivered to his Apostles in the forty days after his resurrection, and that they were committed to writing and were sent to the churches by two apostolic councils held at Jerusalem, A. D. 64 and A. D. 67, and by a third held soon after the destruction of the city.

On the other hand Baronius, Bellarmine and Petavius declined to attach weight to the Con-

stitutions, while Daillé and Blondel fiercely attacked their genuineness and authority.

Whiston's main argument was that the early Fathers constantly speak of *διδασκαλία ἀποστολική*, *διατάξεις*, *διαταγαί*, *διατάγματα τῶν ἀποστόλων*, *κανὼν τῆς λειτουργίας*, *κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*. and so forth, which is true; but he has not proved that these expressions are necessarily used of a definite book or books, and far less, that they relate to what we now have as the so-called Apostolical Constitutions.

It will be well to look at some of the chief of these passages from the Fathers.

We may begin with the words of Irenaeus in the fragment first printed by Pfaff in 1715. of *ταῖς δευτέραις τῶν ἀποστόλων διατάξεσι παρηκολουθήκότες Ἰησοῦ τὸν κύριον νέαν προσφορὰν ἐν τῇ καιρῇ διαθήκῃ κἀεστηκέναι κατὰ τὸ Μαλαχίου κ. τ. λ.*

Professor Lightfoot is disposed to see here a reference to the apostolical constitutions, but does not recognise the Pfluffian fragments as genuine.^c (Lightfoot *On Epist. to Philippians*, London, 1868, pp. 201, 202.) But if the genuineness be admitted, the reference is surely in the highest degree vague and uncertain. There is no evidence that the ordinances spoken of (whatever they were) were to be found in any one particular book—still less is there anything to identify what is spoken of with the apostolical constitutions either as we now have them, or under any earlier and simpler form. Moreover, it appears singular that if the Constitutions were really what the writer was relying on, he should not quote some passage from them. Instead of this, he goes on to cite the Revelation, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, almost as if these contained the *διατάξεις* in question. What is meant by the word *δευτέραι* it seems very difficult to say with certainty.

Origen speaking of fasting (in his 10th Homily on Leviticus) says, "Sed est et alia adhuc religiosa [jejunandi ratio], ejus laus quorundam apostolorum literis prædicatur. Invenimus enim in quodam libello ab apostolis dictum, Beatus est qui etiam jejunat præ eo ut alat pauperem. Hujus jejunium valde acceptum est apud Deum et revera digne satis: imitatur enim illum qui animam suam posuit pro fratribus suis."

The terms in which Origen introduces this citation do not seem very appropriate to such a work as the Constitutions, nor in point of fact do the words (which seem meant as an exact quotation) occur in it. There is indeed (Book v. l.) a general exhortation to fast in order to give the food to the maims, but the passage has a primary reference (at all events) to saints imprisoned on account of the faith. There is, therefore, a considerable divergence between the words in Origen and those in the Constitutions; and we are hardly justified in seeing any reference to the latter in the former.^d

^c Hilgenfeld appears to take a like view, both as to the Apostolical Constitutions being intended, and as to the passage not being genuine. (*Nov. Test. extra Canon. except. Fascic. iv. pp. 63, 84.*) Bunsen thinks the Fragment genuine, and that it refers to some early "Ordinances," not necessarily the same as we now have: *Christ. and Man.*, vol. ii. p. 398, et seq.

^d Prigā incl. too, "literae quorundam apostolorum" is not an apt designation of a work professing to represent the joint decrees of all.

A later treatise entitled 'De Aleatoribus,' of unknown date and authorship, erroneously ascribed to Cyprian, refers to a passage "in doctrinis apostolorum," relating to Church discipline upon offenders. Here again no effort has succeeded in tracing the words of the citation either in the constitutions or in any known work. There is, indeed, a passage of a similar effect (Book ii. c. 39), but the actual language is not the same; and a similarity of general tenor is not much to be relied upon, inasmuch as the subject in hand is a very common one.

We come now to Eusebius. In his list of books, after naming those generally allowed, and those which are *ἀντιλεγόμενοι*, he goes on—"We must rank as spurious (*νόθοι*) the account of the 'Acts of Paul,' the book called 'The Shepherd,' and the 'Revelation of Peter,' and besides these, the epistle circulated under the name of 'Bar-nabas,' and what are called the 'Teachings of the Apostles' (*τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι δι-δασκαί*), and moreover, as I said, the 'Apocalypse of John,' if such an opinion seem correct, which some as I said reject, while others reckon it among the books generally received. We may add that some have reckoned in this division the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to which those Hebrews who have received [Jesus as] the Christ are especially attached. All these then will belong to the class of controverted books." (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25.)

The place here given to the *διδασκαί* (even supposing them to be the constitutions) is inconsistent with their being held a genuine work of the Apostles. It speaks of them, however, as forming a well-known book, and from the context of the passage, they seem to be recognised as orthodox; but there is nothing to identify them directly with our present collection.

Athanasius, among books not canonical, but directed to be read by presbyters for instruction in godliness, enumerates the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach, Esther, Judith, Tobias, and what he styles *διδασχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων*. The same remarks obviously apply to this Father as to Eusebius (*Op. S. Athan.* i. 963, Ed. Bened.).

The language of neither of them indicates that the work in question was looked upon as an authoritative collection of Church laws. Lagarde denies that either of them is to be considered as quoting any book of our constitutions, laying much stress on the distinction between *διδασκαί* and *διατάξεις* or *διαταγαί ἀποστόλων*. (Bunsen, *Christ. and Man.*, vol. vi. p. 41.) Bunsen, however, himself is inclined to see here a real reference to a primitive form of the constitutions. (*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 405.)

We now come to Epiphanius, who, writing at the close of the 4th century, has numerous explicit references to the *διδασκαί* of the Apostles, meaning thereby apparently some book of a similar kind to that which we now have. His view of its character and authority is to be found in the following passage:—

"For this purpose the Andrian themselves [a body of heretics] allege the Constitution of the Apostles, a work disputed indeed with the

^e In this work Lagarde writes under the name of Bœtticher, which he has since changed for family reasons to Lagarde.

'De Alentoribus,' of ship, erroneously as a passage "in doing to Church discipline in no effort has succeeded the citation either in any known work, or of a similar effect in any other language is not of general tenor is common, inasmuch as the common one.

ius. In his list of generally allowed, and goes on,—"We account of the account of the Shepherd," besides these, or the name of 'Barthelemy' the 'Teachings of the Lord' as λέγόμενα said, the 'Apocalypse' is in correct, which while others reckon it received. We may add in this division the books, to which those [Jesus as] the Christ [of] these then will be berted books." (Euseb.

to the διδασχά (even constitutions) is in- held a genuine work of them, however, as k, and from the coun- ceen to be recognised as nothing to identify sent collection. It is not canonical, but scribes for instruction the Wisdom of Solomon, ther, Judith, Tobias, and καλουμένη των απο- os obviously apply to (Op. S. Athan. i. 963,

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majority [of Christians] yet not worthy of rejection. For all canonical order is contained therein, and no point of the faith is falsified, nor yet of the confession, nor yet of the administrative system, nor yet of the administration (Hær. 70, No. 10; comp. also *loc. cit.* No. 11, 12; 75, No. 8; 80, No. 7.)

But when we examine his citations, we find that none of them agree exactly with our present text, while some of them vary from it so widely, supposition that they were meant to be made ad sensum not ad litteram. Even this resource fails in a famous passage, immediately following that just cited, where Epiphanius quotes the constitutions as directing Easter to be observed according to the Jewish reckoning, whereas in our present copies they expressly enjoin the other system. (See Book v. 17.)

In a work known as the *opus imperfectum* in Mathæum, once ascribed to Chrysostom, but now considered to have been the production of an unknown writer in the 5th century, there is a distinct reference to "the 8th book of the apostolic canons." And words to the effect of these quoted are found in the second chapter. Another citation, however, in the same writer cannot be verified at all.

It is not necessary to pursue the list further. From this time forwards references are found which can be verified with more or less exactness, and in the year 692 the council of Constantinople, known as Quinisextum, or the Trullan council, had the work under their consideration, but came to a formal decision, refusing to acknowledge it as authoritative on account of the extent to which it had been interpolated by the heterodox.

It appears then that we must conclude that there is no sufficient evidence that the Church generally received as of undoubted authority any collection of constitutions professing to have come from the Apostles themselves, or at least to be a trustworthy primitive record of their decisions. Even Epiphanius bases his approbation of the work of which he speaks on subjective grounds. He refers to it, because he thinks it orthodox, but admits that it was not received as a binding authority. Yet had such a work existed, it should seem that from its practical character it must have been widely known, perpetually cited, and generally acted upon.

Indeed that the so-called apostolic constitutions, as they now stand, are not the production of the Apostles or of apostolical men, will be clear to most readers from their scheme and contents. "Apostles," says the author of an article on the subject in the 'Christian Remembrancer' in 1851, "are brought together who never could have been together in this life; St. James, the greater (after he was beheaded), is made to sit in council with St. Paul (Lib. vi. c. 14), though elsewhere he is spoken of as dead (Lib. v. c. 7). Thus assembled, they condemn heresies and heretics by name who did not arise till after

their death (Lib. vi. c. 8); they appoint the observance of the days of their death (Lib. vii. c. 33); nay, once they are even made to say, 'These are the names of the bishops whom we ordained in our lifetime' (Lib. viii. c. 47)."

Most persons will also be of opinion that there is a tone about the constitutions themselves which is by no means in harmony with what we know of apostolic times. Thus for instance, the honour given to the episcopate is excessive and hyperbolic.

οὗτος [i. e. ὁ ἐπίσκοπος] ὡμῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ συντάκτης οὗτος ὡμῶν ἐπιτελεῖ Θεὸς μετὰ Θεόν. ὡς δελεῖται τῆς παρ' ὡμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολαβεῖν (citing 1s. lxxvii. 6 and Exod. xxii. xxviii. in lxx.). Ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος προκαθεῖσθαι ὡμῶν ὡς Θεοῦ ἀξίᾳ περιτμυμένος, ἢ κρατεῖ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντῶν ἔρχει (Book ii. 26; comp. also Book ii. 33).

And in Book vi. 2 we read—
εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλευὸς ἐπεγεύριμενος κολάσει τὸν ἕξοι. κἂν υἱὸς ἢ κἂν φίλος πῶς μάλλιν ὁ ἱερεῖον ἐπιστάμενος; Ὅσα γὰρ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας ἀμείνων, περὶ ψυχῆς ἔχουσα τὸν ἀνάνα ποσοῦται καὶ βαρύτερον ἔχει τὴν τιμωρίαν ὁ ταύτη τυλιγμένη ἀνομιματεῖν, ἢ περὶ τῆ βασιλείας.

A system, too, of orders and classes in the Church stands out prominently, especially in the 8th book, of which there is no trace in the earliest days (see Bickell, vol. i. p. 62). Thus we have subdeacons, readers, &c., with minute directions for their appointment. Ceremonies also are multiplied. The use of oil and myrrh in baptism is enjoined (Book vii. 22), and the marriage of the clergy after ordination is forbidden (vi. 17).

We must therefore feel at once that we have passed into a different atmosphere from that of Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, and that the connection of Clement's name with the work must be a fiction, no less than the assertion that he wrote its contents at the mouth of the apostles. Even those who think that they trace something like the origin of such a system in the letters of Ignatius must allow that it is here represented in a state of development which must have required a considerable period of time to bring about.

The questions, however, still remain:—

To what date are we to assign the work in the form in which it now exists?

Can we show that it was in any degree formed out of pre-existing materials?

Bishop Pearson¹ and Archbishop Usher regard the variations between the citations of Epiphanius, and what we read in our present copies of the constitutions, as conclusive evidence that there have been alterations and interpolations on a large scale since the time of that Father, and the latter of these writers thinks that the same falsifier has been at work here, who expanded the shorter epistles of Ignatius into the so-called longer epistles.²

¹ Comp. Usher, in *Cotel. Patr. Apost.* vol. II, p. 220, edit. 1724.

² *Vind. Ignat.* Part I. c. 4 *prope fin.* And see the opinion of Beveridge, *Obd. Con. lib. 2, cap. ix.*

³ *Cotel. Patr. Ap.* vol. II, Append. p. 228. Bickell has collected some instances of correspondence in phraseology between the Ignatian Epistles and the Constitutions as they stand, which the reader may refer to in order to examine the probability of the latter theory (*Geach des*

¹ Τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων διαταξίαν, ὅσων μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ἀμφιέκτητι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδοκίμων.

² Ὁμοίως γὰρ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ διαταξίᾳ οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἶπεν. Ὑμεῖς μὴ ψηφίζετε, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖτε ὅσα οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὡμῶν οἱ ἐκ τῆς κληρονομίας μετ' αὐτῶν ἅμα ποιεῖτε. And he adds: Παρὰ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις δὲ τὸ ἄξιον δι' ὡμῶν ἐπιφύεται, ὡς ἐπιμαρτυροῦσι λέγοντες ὅτι. Κἂν γε πλανηθῶσι, μηδὲ ὡμῶν μελέτω.

According to Pearson, we should probably attribute the work in its existing form to about the middle of the 5th century, while Usher refuses to place it higher than the 6th century. If, on the other hand, we could suppose that Epiphanius quoted loosely, and that the book which he had may, with occasional exceptions, have resembled in substance what we now have,^k we should be able to put its antiquity somewhat higher. But whatever conclusion may be come to on this point, there is no satisfactory evidence to warrant its being assigned to any period sufficiently early to make it, as it stands, an authority as to apostolic usage.

But the question still remains. Can we trace its composition, and in any degree identify the materials out of which it has been put together?

That the work was a pure and simple forgery is improbable. Such was not the course which matters took in early days; nor would the measure of acceptance which it obtained be easily accounted for on this theory.

Moreover it contains passages which seem manifestly to belong to an early age. Thus in case of quarrels the Christian is recommended to seek reconciliation even at a loss to himself, *καὶ μὴ ἀρξέσθω ἐπὶ κριτήριον ἔθνικόν* (book ii. c. 45)—words which at all events savour of a time before the empire was Christian. So again, the secular judges are said to be *ἔθνικοι καὶ οὐ γινώσκοντες θείοντα*. So also martyrdom and persecution on account of Christianity are spoken of as by no means exclusively belonging to the past (see Lib. 5, *init. et alibi*).

And to mention but one more point, the charge of Arianism, which was at one time freely brought against the constitutions, and used to prove that they had been corrupted, if not forged, by heretics,^l has in later days been sometimes made the ground of an opposite inference. It is thought by some modern writers merely to show that the phrases excepted against date from a time before the controversy arose, and when therefore men spoke with less of dogmatic exactness.^m

Perhaps it is possible to go even a step further, at all events, by way of not unreasonable conjecture. We have seen that Whiston relied on a number of places in which the early Fathers speak of *διδασχά, διδασκαλία, διατάξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*, and some years before Whiston wrote, Bishop Pearson (in his *Vindicie Ignatianae*) had suggested the idea that, so far as such expressions really referred to any specific works at all, they were to be understood of smaller, more ancient, and more fragmentary treatises, of a kind not rare in the Primitive Church, professing to contain the words of the apostles or of apostolical men on matters of doctrine and Church order. Some of these were the production of heretics, some were of an orthodox character. Those which related to doctrine were called *didascalie*,

those which gave rules of ritual or discipline, *διατάξεις* or Constitutions. These works, written at different times and in different parts of the Church, furnished (as Pearson supposes) the materials to the compiler, who, with many alterations and interpolations formed out of them our present constitutions (*Vindic. Ignat.*, Part i. c. 4).

Other critics have spoken in terms which seem rather to point to a gradual accretion, added to from time to time to express the Church system as developed, and modified at the periods when such additions were respectively made. Thus Lagarde says, "Communis virorum doctorum fere omnium nunc invaluit opinio, eas [Constitutiones] sæculo tertio clam secretissime et quum sex aliquando libris absolutæ fuissent, septimo et octavo actas esse postea" (*Reliq. Juris Eccles.* Antiq. 1856).

That the work as we have it is a composite one is indeed manifest enough "from the general want of internal unity, method, or connexion; the difference of style in the various portions, and sometimes statements almost contradictory; the same topics being treated over and over again in different places; besides a formal conclusion of the end of the sixth book, and other indications of their being distinct works joined together" (*Christ. Remembr.* ubi supra).

In the Paris Library is a Syriac MS. called the *Didascalia* or Catholic doctrine of the 12 Apostles and holy disciples of our Saviour. It contains in a shorter form much of the substance of the first six books of the constitutions, but with very great omissions, and with some variations and transpositions.

Its contents were printed in Syriac by De Lagarde (without his name) in 1854; and the same critic, in the 6th vol. of Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, has published, 1st, our present text, with what he states to be the variations of the Syriac; and 2nd, a shorter Greek text or 'Didascalia Prior,' founded on the Syriac.ⁿ

Bickell, who, however, when he wrote had only seen extracts, thought this Syriac MS. a mere abridgement of the larger work, and therefore posterior in date to it, and adding little to our knowledge.

But Bunsen (*Christianity and Mankind*, vol. i. p. x.), Lagarde (*Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.* pref., p. iv.), and the author of the article in the *Christian Remembrancer* 1854, all agree that we have here an older and more primitive, if not the original work. Hilgenfeld says, "Æquidem et ipse Syriacam *Didascalam* ad hujus operis primitivam formam propius accedere existimo, sed eundem nunquam mutatum continere valde dubito." He concludes, on the whole, "tertio demum sæculo *didascalia* apostolica in eam formam reducta esse videtur, quam Eusebius et Athanasius narrant, quam recensionem a nostris constitutionibus apostolicis valde diversam fuisse antiquissima decent testimonia, præcipue Epiphanius. Ea autem

Kirchenrecht, vol. i. p. 58, note). Pearson takes a somewhat different view, *ibid. Ignat.* ubi supra.

^k Comp. Bickell, l. pp. 67, 68, note. Epiphanius, however, never quotes from the 7th or 8th books, which on any theory are doubtless of late date.

^l See for instance Le Clerc, in *Cotel. Patr. Apost.* vol. ii. App. p. 492, et seq.; and Bruno, *ibid.* p. 171, et seq. Indeed Photius and the Trullan Council had imputed the same accusation (*Niblioth. Cur.* 112, 113).

^m See Bickell, p. 58, note, p. 61, and p. 69, note. Comp. Bull. *Def. Fid. Nic.* lib. 2, c. 3, § 4.

ⁿ It does not seem, however, that this literally represents the Syriac. For one of the passages given by Hilgenfeld (see *infra*), which undoubtedly exists in the Syriac, is not to be found in the 'Didascalia Prior.' It is much to be regretted that neither Lagarde nor any other Oriental scholar has published a literal translation of the Syriac text.

^o His own view is that the Apostolical Constitutions sprang from an Ebionite source, allied to that which produced the Clementine Recognitions.

ritual or discipline, these works, written in different parts of the (supposes) the nineteenth many alterations of them our present Part i. c. 4). In terms which seem accretion, added to the Church system at the periods when it was actively made. Thus "orum doctorem fere cas [Constitutions] se et quum sex allit, septimo et octavo *Juris Eccles. Antiq.*

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that this liturgical rep- passages given by Hil- edly exists in the Syriac, illa Parlor,' it is much le nor "any other Oriental translation of the Syriac

apostolical Constitutions called to that which pro- ces.

etiam a Syriaca didascalia quamvis cognata saepius discedunt." He thinks that the Syriac appears not to be very consistent on the subject of the calculation of Easter. It seems, however (from the translations which he gives), that it contains a passage agreeing in substance with what Epiphanius quotes as to keeping Easter by the Jewish method (anteq. 121); "Ihr sollt aber beginn- den dann, wenn eure Feinder aus dem Volk [Israel] das Pascha halten, weil, als unser Herr und Lehrer mit uns das Pascha ass, er nach dieser Stunde von Judas verrathen wurde. Und um dieselbe Zeit haben wir angefangen, bedrückt zu werden, weil er von uns genommen war. Nach der Zahl des Mundes, wie wir zählen nach der Zahl der gläubigen Hebräer, am zehnten im Monat, am Montag haben sich die Priester und Aeltesten des Volks versammelt" u. s. w., and subsequently — "Wie auch der vierzehnte des Pascha fällt, so sollt ihr auch nicht der Tag in jedem Jahre mit dieser Zeit, sondern er ist verschoben."*

This is worthy of serious attention, as an argument for the antiquity of this Syriac work. It would seem that it must at all events be admitted that the original work from which the Syriac was taken consisted of six books only. The 7th and 8th books, as they now stand, formed no part of it.

The same is the case with an Aethiopic version translated by Mr. Platt. This also, though said to be very loose and of little value as a guide to the original text, is a witness to the fact that there were but six books when it was made. The like is true of the Arabic versions, of which some account was first given by Grabe, and of which two MSS. are in the Bodleian.†

Not only do these facts tend to isolate the first six books from the 7th and 8th; but the formal conclusion which occurs at the end of the 6th even in our present Greek, and the style of the contents itself, furnish internal evidence in the same direction.

It has therefore been contended that the kernel out of which, to a great extent, the six books sprang was a shorter book called *didaskalia των αποστόλων*, of which the Syriac version furnishes a fair idea, if not a really pure text.

And as none of Epiphanius's citations are made from the two last books, it is suggested that we may have here something like a key to the work as it was in his time, the 7th and 8th books having been added since.‡

Coming to the 7th book, we must notice that its first thirteen chapters or thereabouts exhibit a great similarity, both in matter and expression, to the first part of an ancient tract printed by Bickell from a Vienna MS., and entitled *AI δια- τεραι α δια Κλημεντος και κανονες εκκλησιαστι-*

kol των αγίων αποστόλων. This tract professes to contain short and weighty utterances by the apostles (who are introduced as speaking successively) on Christian morals, and on the ministers of the Church. An Aethiopic version (for it is extant in Coptic, Aethiopic, and Arabic) calls it "canons of the apostles which they have made for the ordering of the Christian Church." It is the piece which Bickell and others after him have called "Apostolische Kirchenordnung." It is assigned by him to the beginning of the 3rd century. The same date is given in the article on the subject in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, where it is treated as a document independent of the constitutions. Bunsen, removing the dramatic form and presenting only the substance of the piece, considers it to be in fact a collection of rules of the Alexandrian Church. This view, however, is warmly disputed by the writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* (1854, p. 293), who contends that its whole garb, style, and language show that it was not an authoritative work, but was the production of a pious writer, who arrayed in a somewhat fictitious dress what he sought to inculcate. It is more remarkable for piety than knowledge; for though the number of twelve apostles is made out, it is by introducing Cephas as a distinct person from Peter, and by making him and Nathanael occupy the places of James the Less and of Matthias. St. Paul does not appear at all—a fact, perhaps, not without its bearing on conjectures as to its origin.

It should be observed that the language of the first part of this tract, and of the 7th Book of the Constitutions, coincides to a great extent with the latter part of the Epistle of Barnabas, leaving it doubtful whether it was taken thence or whether the transcribers of that epistle subsequently incorporated therewith a portion of this treatise. Borrowing and interpolation must, it would seem, have taken place on one hand or on the other, and, as in other cases, it is difficult to decide the question of originality.

Upon this state of facts the writer in the *Christ. Rem.* argues that this tract furnished materials for the first part of the 7th Book of the Constitutions. He also thinks that it is itself the work referred to by Eusebius and Athanasius under the name of *διδασχλη των αποστόλων*. We have seen already that the title in the Greek varies from that in the Aethiopic, and it is urged that (considering the subject) there seems no reason why it may not also be suitably designated 'Teaching of the Apostles.' Now in an old stichometry appended to Nicephorus' chronography,† and being of earlier date than that work, the number of lines contained in certain works is given, and from this it would appear that the 'Doctrina Apostolorum' was

* See Hiltgenfeld, *Novum Test. extra Can. recep.* Fasciculus iv. p. 79, et seq. (Lipsiae, 1866).

† There are in the Arabic five chapters not in the Greek.

‡ The fact that there is no Oriental version of the eight Greek books as a whole, has been relied on to show that they had not been united together in one work up to the year 451, when the Egyptian, Aethiopic, and Syriac churches were severed from the communion of the Greeks and Latins (*Christ. Remembr.*, 1854, p. 278). The same authority is inclined to date the Didascalia in the latter part of the 3rd century.

§ Bickell, vol. i. App. I. It will also be found in Lagarde's *Rel. Juris Eccl. Ant.*, p. 74.

¶ It is the former of these points alone which the likeness appears between this work and the 7th Book of the Constitutions.

‡ See Bickell ubi supra; and t. p. 86.

§ It mentions only "Reader;" in addition to the three orders of the ministry; and as Tertullian does the same (*De Praescr. Haer.*, c. 41), this is thought a ground for attributing it to his epoch (Bickell, vol. i. p. 92). See also Hiltgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra Can. rec.* Fasciculus iv. pp. 93, 94.

¶ A production of the 9th century.

shorter than the Book of Canticles, and that a book called the 'Teaching of Clement,' was as long as the Gospel of Luke. Hence, if the 'Doctrina' of this list be the same as that of Eusebius, it must have been a book very much shorter than our present constitutions, and one not far differing in length from the tract of which we have been speaking; while the 'Teaching of Clement' (a larger work) may be a designation of the earlier form of our present first six books—in short, of the Didascalia. Rufinus, in a list otherwise very similar to those of Eusebius and Athanasius, omits the 'Teaching of the Apostles,' and inserts instead 'The two ways, or the Judgment of Peter.' Assuming that the 'Doctrina' is the tract we have been discussing, reasons are urged for supposing that it reappears here under a different title. We have already seen that the Greek and Aethiopic give it two different names, and its contents might perhaps render the designation in Rufinus not less appropriate. For St. John, who speaks first, is introduced as beginning his address with the words, "There are two ways, one of life and one of death;" and St. Peter intervenes repeatedly in the course of it, and at the close sums up the whole by an earnest exhortation to the brethren to keep the foregoing injunctions. Such is the hypothesis of the learned writer in the *Christ. Rem.*

Hilgenfeldt, it may be mentioned, has independently arrived at a conclusion in part accordant with the above. He argues strongly that the treatise published by Bickell is that spoken of by Rufinus under the name of 'Dnae viae vel Judicium Petri,' but does not apparently identify it with the 'Doctrina Apostolorum' of Athanasius. He thinks the book was known in some form to Clemens Alexandrinus, and agrees that great part of it passed into the 7th Book of the Constitutions (see Hilgenfeldt's *Norma Test. extra Canonem Acceptum*, Lipsiae 1866; Fasciculus iv. p. 93).

We now come to the 8th Book. Extant in several Greek MSS. (one being at Oxford) are large portions of the matter of the earlier part of this book, not however connected together throughout, but appearing in two distinct and apparently separate pieces. The first of them is entitled 'Teaching of the Holy Apostles concerning gifts' (*χρησμάτων*), the second 'Regulations' (*τάξεις*) of the same Holy Apostles concerning ordination [given] through Hippolytus' (*πρὸς χειροτονίαν διὰ Ἰππολύτου*). The two together, as just observed, comprise a very large proportion of the 8th Book, but are not without some omissions and several variations from it. In that book as we have it, the two portions represented respectively by these separate treatises stand connected by a short chapter, containing nothing of importance, and seeming to serve only as a link.

Hence it has been suggested that we have in the treatises in question an older and purer form of the 8th Book, or rather the materials used in its composition. The 'Regulations' are also in existence in Coptic (indeed there are two Coptic forms differing from each other and from the Greek by additions and omissions and probably in age), in Syriac, Arabic, and Aethiopic, the text being in many cases a good deal modified.*

* The Syriac and Coptic form part of the collections

Bunsen treated these as a collection of Alexandrian Church rules, and viewed the portions common to them and to the 8th Book of the Constitutions as in a great degree derived from a lost work of Hippolytus *πρὸς χειροτονίαν* (*Christ. and Man.*, vol. ii., p. 412).

On the other hand Bickell argues that the tracts in question are nothing more than extracts from the constitutions, more or less abridged and modified. He relies, for example, on the fact that in one of these treatises no less than in the text of our 8th Book, St. Paul (who is introduced as a speaker) is made to command Christian masters to be kind to their servants, "as we have also ordained in *what has preceded*, and have taught in our epistles." This he considers to be a clear reference to what has been before said in the constitutions on the same subject (Book vii. c. 13).

Lagarde expresses a similar view, and draws

mentioned infra, p. 125. See also *Christ. Remembr.*, p. 280, as to another Syriac MS., and comp. p. 283.

* The inscription on the statue of Hippolytus at Rome mentions among his works *πρὸς χειροτονίαν ἀποστολική παράδοσις*. It is not clear whether the *πρὸς χρα.* was one treatise and *ἀποστ. παράδ.* another, or whether the whole is the title of one work. See Bickell, p. 60, note. As regards the *πρὸς χειροτονίαν*, Bunsen considers it to have been the subject of much interpolation, and regards its fate in this respect to have been like that of the Constitutions themselves, the composition of which he describes in words worth quoting in relation to the general subject: "Here we see the end of the ante-Nicene period they made the old simple collections of customs and regulations into a book, by introducing different sets of 'contumacia,' by a literary composition either of their own making, or by transcribing or extracting a corresponding treatise of some ancient father. Thus the man who compiled our 7th book has, as everybody now knows, extracted two chapters of the ancient epistle which bears the name of Basilides. The compiler of the 8th book, or a predecessor of his in this sort of compilation, has apparently done the same with the work of Hippolytus on the Charismata" (*Christianity and Hellenism*, vol. ii. 418). Elsewhere, in the same work, he expresses an opinion that the old collections of customs here spoken of were themselves made at a much earlier time—perhaps in the 2nd century—and express the practice of various great churches; and that the consciousness of apostolicity in that primitive age justified, or at least excused, the fiction by which they were attributed to

Apostles—a fiction which deceived no one, and was only meant to express an undoubted fact, viz. the apostolicity of the injunctions as to their substance (vol. ii. 399). Ascending still a step higher, he believes that the materials employed in these old collections were of all but apostolic times. The oldest horizon to which we look back as reflected in them is perhaps the age immediately posterior to Clement of Rome, or first century (see vol. i. p. 402). To Bunsen's mind, full of faith in the power and fact of subjective criticism, this means more than to the mind of theologians of the English school. He believed in the possibility of applying the critical magnet to draw forth the true fragments of steel from the mass in which to our eyes they seem inextricably buried. He thus speaks of the subjective process by which he makes the first step upwards: "As soon as we get rid of all that belongs to the bad taste of the fiction, some ethic introductions, and all ostentatious moralising conclusions, and generally everything stonily re-written with literary pretension; and lastly, as soon as we expunge such some interpolations of the 4th and 5th centuries, which are easily discernible, we find ourselves unmistakably in the midst of the life of the Church of the 2nd and 3rd centuries" (vol. ii. p. 405).

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attention to the circumstance that in one part of
the Munich MS. of the *περι χειρισμών*, there
is a note which expressly speaks of what follows
as taken out of the apostolical constitutions.^b

In conclusion, it may be remarked that all
such researches as those we have been consider-
ing as to one piece being the basis or original of
another, are beset with much difficulty, because
certain statements or maxims often recur in
several tracts which (in their present state at
all events) are distinct from each other, though
at sometimes bearing similar names. Lagarde points
out (*Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.*, preface p. xvii., and
Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. vi. p. 38,
and 39) that there once was a Syriac collection in
eight books equally professing to be the work of
Clement, yet far from being identical with our
present Greek constitutions, though here and
there embracing similar pieces. Passages which
3rd Books have been extracted from the 2nd and
from fragments found in the same Paris MS.
(Sangern. 38) which contains the Syriac *Didas-
calia* (see his *Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant. Syrian*, 1858).
He has also translated them into Greek (see his
Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant. Græcæ, p. 80, and Pref-
lection, also in eight books, the relation of which
to the above-mentioned Syrian Octateuch is dis-
cussed by Lagarde (*Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.*, preface,
and Bunsen's *Christ. and Mankind*, vol. vi. p. 39).

We have thus endeavoured to present a sketch
of some of the leading theories which have been
put forward as to the apostolical constitutions.
Did space permit it would not be difficult to add
others. Krabbe appears to have thought that
Eusebius, Athanasius, and Epiphanius knew the
first seven books, and that they were composed
in the East not long after the time of Cyprian
(the seventh being a kind of appendix to the
others), and probably by one author, whose object
was to model the Church on a Levitical pattern,
and who perhaps described not so much what
existed as what he desired to see. At a later
period (end of 4th or beginning of 5th century)
the 8th Book was added, embracing divers pre-
cepts which were commonly supposed to be apos-
tolical, together with much from the writer him-

^a Lagarde, *Rel. Juris Eccl. Ant.*, Preface, p. viii.; and
see also, *ibidem*, a theory as to the name of Hippolytus,
as connected with the treatise.

^c This must not be confounded with the Syriac *Didas-
calia* previously mentioned, from which it is quite
distinct.

^d Matter closely agreeing with these fragments, though
not in quite the same order, and connected with much
that is additional, is also found in a MS. of the 12th cent.
in the Cambridge Univ. Library. This MS. (brought by
C. Buchanan from Southern India) contained eight books of
Bible; but it is now in a dilapidated state. It may be
that the Paris fragments are extracts from it, or, on the
other hand, this MS. (as the later of the two in date) may
possibly contain a subsequent development. It may be
hoped that further attention will be paid to it by Oriental
scholars. Its existence seems to have been unknown to
Lagarde.

^e Of this Egyptian collection, the first two books are
printed in a Greek version by Lagarde in Bunsen's *Christ.
and Mankind*, vi. 461; and see Bunsen's analysis of the
collection, *ibid.* vii. 372. Another Coptic MS. was trans-
lated by Dr. Tattam in 1848. There is a notice of it in
the *Christ. Remembr.* for 1864, p. 282.

self, probably an Arian or Macedonian. This
second writer probably is responsible for many
interpolations in the previous books.^f

Von Drey again, who spent much labour on
the subject, advocated the view that the treatises
of four distinct writers are combined in our pre-
sent work. The first six books, he thought,
were written after the middle of the 3rd century,
to teach practical religion, and were adapted for
catechumens. The seventh is probably of the
date of A. D. 300, and treats of the mysteries for
the use of the faithful alone. The 8th Book is
a kind of pontifical of some Eastern Church, being
full of liturgies for the use of the clergy. It
dates perhaps from the 3rd century, but has
been altered and adapted to the state of things
in the middle of the 4th. Athanasius, who
speaks of the *διδασχὴ καλοῦμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων*,
is to be taken as referring to the six first books,
But before the time of Epiphanius the eight
books were joined as one work.

Interesting as such inquiries are, they cannot
at present be considered as having removed the
question of the origin and date of the apostolical
constitutions out of the class of unsolved problems.
The majority of scholars will perhaps decline to
say with confidence more than that the precise
age and composition of the work is unknown,
but that it is probably of Eastern authorship,
and comprises within itself fragments of very
different dates, which we have no certain means
for discriminating from one another, and which
have undergone great modifications when in-
corporated with the rest. The consequence is
that, as it stands, the work cannot be deemed to
reflect a state of things in the Church much, if
at all, prior to the Nicene age.^g

Nor can it be said ever to have possessed, so
far as we know, any distinct ecclesiastical au-
thority. We are in the dark as to its author-
ship, and there is no such proof of its general
and public reception at any period as would
seem needful to establish its validity as an autho-
ritative document. There are indeed signs of a
common nucleus of which various churches seem
to have availed themselves, but in adopting it into
their respective systems they modified it in re-
lation to their respective needs, with a freedom
hardly consistent with the idea that it was en-
titled to very great veneration.

Authorities.—F. Turrianius, *Proem. in Zir.*

^f When, however, a very late date is attempted to be
assigned, it should be remembered *à contra* that, as ob-
served by Bickell, metropolitan authority does not appear;
if we hear of asceticism (in book viii.), there is no
mention of monasticism.

^g While, on the other hand, the 85th of the Apostolical
Canon perhaps refers to the 7th and 8th when it speaks
of the Apostolical Constitutions as *διαταγὴ δὲ τοῦ κυρίου
ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ* *ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς μερικαῖς*.

^h See the words of Lagarde in Bunsen, *Christ. and
Mankind*, vol. vi. p. 40.

ⁱ See Bickell, vol. I. p. 63, who assigns several grounds
for this conclusion. It is worth noting that throughout
the Constitutions the Church of Rome never occupies any
position of priority or pre-eminence.

^k The age of the Syriac *Didascalia* is of course another
question. It demands fuller consideration, which it can
hardly receive from scholars in general until it has been
literally translated. According to the *Didascalia Purior* in
Bunsen, it is not free from very hyperbolic language
in relation to the clergy.

Clementis Rom. de Const. Apost., &c. Antv. 1578. Joh. Dailueus, *De Pseudepigraphis Apost.*, lib. iii. Harlerv. 1633. Jac. Userli, *Diss. de Ignat. Epist.* (in *Cotel. Patr. Ap.*, vol. ii. app. p. 199, &c. Edit. 1724). Pearson, *Vind. Ignat.* (in *Cotel. Patr. Ap.*, vol. ii. app. p. 251). Part I. (in *Cotel. Patr. Ap.*, Judicium (Ibid. p. 177). chap. 4. Brunonis, *Judicium* (Ibid. p. 177). Cotelieri, *Judic. de Const. Apost.* (Cotel. vol. i. p. 195). J. E. Grabe, *Spicil. Patr.* Oxon. 1711. J. E. Grabe, *Essay upon two Arabic MSS.* Lond. 1711. W. Whiston, *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd.* Lond. 1711. Krabbe, *Über den Ursprung und den Inhalt der Ap. Const.* Hamb. 1829. Von Drey, *Neue Untersuchungen über die Const.*, &c. Tübingen 1832. Rothe, *Anfänge der Christl. Kirche.* Bickell, *Geschichte der Kirchenrechts.* vol. I. Giesseu 1833. Utzen, *Const. Apost.* Suerlin 1833. Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind*, London 1834. *Christian Remembrancer* for 1854. De Lagarde, *Reliquiae Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimae*, 1856. Idem, *Syrice 1856.* Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum.* Lipsiae 1860; Fascic. IV. *The Ethio. or Didascalia*; or, the Ethiopic version of the Apostolical Constitutions, received in the Church of Abyssinia. With an English translation. Edited and translated by Thomas Pell Platt, F.A.S. London, printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1834. *The Apost. Constitutions*; or, the Canons of the Apostles in Coptic, with an English Translation by Henry Tattam, LL.D., &c.; printed for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1848. [B. S.]

APOSTOLICUS, a title once common to all bishops (the earliest instance produced by Du Cange is from Venantius Fortunatus, 6th century, addressing Gregory of Tours, *Prolog.* to *V. S. Martini* and elsewhere; but none of his quotations use the word absolutely and by itself, but rather as an epithet); but from about the 9th century restricted to the Pope, and used of him in course of time as a technical name of office. It is so used, e. g., by Rupertus Tuitiensis, 12th century (*De Piviu. Offic.* l. 27); but had been formally assigned to the Pope still earlier, in the Council of Rheims A. D. 1049.—“quod solus Romanie sedis Pontifex universalis Ecclesie primus esset, et Apostolicus,”—and an Archbishop of Compostella was excommunicated at the same council for assuming to himself “culmen Apostolice nominis” (so that, in the middle ages, *Apostolicus*, or, in Norman French, *l'Apostole* or *l'Apostole*, which = *Apostolicus*, not *Apostolus*, became the current name for the Pope of the time being). Claudius Taurinensis, in the 9th century, recognizes the name as already then appropriated to the Pope, by ridiculing his being called “not *Apostolus*, but *Apostolicus*,” as though the latter term meant *Apostolus* *crucos* for which Claudius's Irish opponent Dungal takes him to task. (Du Cange; Raynaud, *Cont. Baronii*.) [A. W. H.]

APOSTOLIUM (Ἀποστολείον), a church dedicated in the name of one or more of the Apostles. Thus Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* ix. 10, p. 376) speaks of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome as τὸ Πέτρον ἀποστολείον; and the same writer, speaking of the church which Rufinus built at the Oak (a suburb of Chalcedon) in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, says that he called it Ἀποστολείον from them (*Hist. Eccl.* viii. 17, p. 347). [MARTYRIUM, PROPHETEUM.] [C.]

APOTAXAMENI (ἀποτάξασθαι)—renunciates, renouncers, a name by which the monks of the ancient Church were sometimes designated, as denoting their renunciation of the world and a secular life, e. g. in Palladius *Hist. Laotic.*, c. 15, and Cassian, who entitles one of his books, *De Institutis Renunciantium.* (Bingham, book vii. c. 2.) [D. B.]

APPEAL (*Appellatio* in reference to the court appealed to, *Provocatio* in reference to the opponent; ἔφεσις in classical Greek, verb in N. T. ἐπικαλεῖσθαι), a complaint preferred before a superior court or judge in order to obtain due remedy for a judgment of a court or judge of an inferior rank, whereby the complainant alleges that he has suffered or will suffer wrong. We are concerned here with ecclesiastical appeals only. And they will be most conveniently discussed 1st—distinguishing between 1, appeals from an ecclesiastical tribunal to another also ecclesiastical, and 2, appeals from an ecclesiastical to a lay tribunal, or *vice versa*, and further, as regards persons, between (A) bishops and clergy, to whom in some relations must be added monks and nuns, and (B) laity—we treat successively, as regards subject matter, of 1. *Spiritual Discipline* properly so called, II. *Civil Causes*, and III. *Criminal ones*. It will be convenient also to include under the term *Appeal*, both appeals properly so called, where the superior tribunal itself retries the case; and that which is not properly either revision or rehearing, where the jurisdiction of the superior tribunal is confined to the ordering, upon complaint and enquiry, of a new trial by the original, or by an enlarged or otherwise altered, body of judges; and that again which is properly a mere revision, where the case is revised by a higher tribunal but without suspending sentence meanwhile; and, lastly, the transference also of a cause from one kind of tribunal to another not co-ordinate with it, as e. g. from lay to spiritual or *vice versa*, which, if the first court have completed its sentence, practically constitutes the second into a court of appeal to its predecessor. It is necessary also to bear in mind the difference between a friendly interference, such as brotherly love requires on the part of all bishops if any fall into heresy or sin, but which implies no formal authority of the adviser over the advised; and an arbitration, where the arbiter, who may be any one, derives his authority from the mutual and free consent of (properly) both parties, but (as will be seen) in certain cases sometimes from the sole action of one; and an appeal, where some definite superior tribunal may be set in motion by either party, but has in that case exclusive as well as compulsory jurisdiction; and the yet further step, where (like the *intercessio* of the *Tribuni Plebis*) the superior court or magistrate has the power of calling up the case for revision, and of suspending sentence meanwhile, *suo iure*. An appeal, however, of whatever kind, implies the legality in the abstract, and assumes the fact, of the jurisdiction of the court appealed from as a primary court. And it becomes needful, therefore, here to assume, although it is no business of this article either to detail or to prove, the extent and limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the first instance; in order clearly

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[D. B.]

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complainant alleges
suffer wrong. We
ecclesiastical appeals
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sial, or *vice versa*,
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111. *Criminal ones.*
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diction; and the yet
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or court or magistrat

up the case for revision,
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of the court appealed
And it becomes need-
assume, although it is
cle either to detail or
limits of ecclesiastical
stance; in order clearly

to set forth the various checks in the way of
appeal placed in such case upon that original
jurisdiction. On the other hand, the limitation
of the subject to the period antecedent to
Charlemagne, excludes from consideration the
whole of the elaborate fabric built up by the
Canon Law of later times, mainly upon the basis
of the False Decretals. And we have nothing
to do, accordingly, with that grand innovation,
whereby, in the West, the entire system of purely
ecclesiastical appeals (and, indeed, of justice) was
in effect perverted and frustrated, viz., the right
was gradually allowed of appealing immediately from
any ecclesiastical tribunal, high or low, upon
nor yet with the elaborate disputes upon the
nature and limits of *mayores causas* (the phrase,
however, dating from Innocent I.); nor with the
encroachments of the highest or of other
ecclesiastical tribunals upon those of the State;
nor with the celebrated *Appel comme d'Abus* in
medieval and later France; nor with such
questions as the legitimate effect of the clause
appellatione renata or *postposita* in a Papal
brief; nor with the appeal from the Pope to a
General Council, present or future; or from the
Pope ill-informed, to the Pope well-informed;
nor again, on another side of the subject, with
distinctions between appeals judicial or extra-
judicial, or from sentences definitive or inter-
locutory; nor with the system, at least as sub-
sequently elaborated, of *Apostoli* (certainly not
derived from *post appellationem*) or letters di-
missory, whether reverential, refutatory, repo-
sitory, testimonial, or conventional, whereby
the act of court formally transferred the cause
to the upper one; nor with the *fatalia appel-
lationum*, scilicet, the fixed times within which an
appeal must be laid, carried to the upper court
by means of *Apostoli*, prosecuted, and concluded;
nor, in a word, with any other of the elaborate
details of the later Canon Law upon the subject.
Our attention must be confined to the system
so far as it was worked out under the Roman
Empire, and renewed or modified under that of
Charlemagne.

1. I. Spiritual jurisdiction in matters of dis-
cipline over clergy and laity alike, rested in the
beginning both by Scriptural sanction and by
primitive practice with the bishop, acting, how-
ever, rather with paternal authority and in the
spirit of mutual love, through moral influence
on the one side met by willing obedience on the
other, than according to the hard outlines of a
fixed Church law laid down in canons; although
such canons gradually grew into existence and
into fulness, and the ultimatum of excommuni-
cation must have existed all along as the punish-
ment of obstinate or repeated transgression. The
Apostolic canons, however (xxxvii. and lxxiv.).
recognize as the then Church law, and the Nicene
Council (A. D. 325) formally establishes, the au-
thority of the synod of each province as a court
of (revision rather than) appeal from a single
bishop: enacting, that "excommunicate clerks
and laymen shall abide by the sentence of their
bishop," but that, "to prevent injustice, synods
of the bishops of a province (*ἐπαρχία*) shall be
held twice a year, in order that questions arising
on such subjects may be enquired into by the
community of the bishops; a sentence of excom-
munication, if confirmed by them, to hold good

until a like synod should reverse it" (*Conc. Nic.*
can. 5); such right of appeal being apparently
the common law of the Church, and the Council
interfering only to secure it by requiring synods
to be held with sufficient frequency. And this
right, as respects presbyters and all below pre-
sbyters, was recognised and confirmed by *Conc.*
Carth., A. D. 390 can. 8, and A. D. 398 can. 29,
Conc. Miler. A. D. 416 c. 22, for Africa; by
Conc. Laonens. A. D. 442 can. 5, and *Conc. Venc.*
A. D. 465 can. 9 ("Episcoporum audientiam, non
secularium potestatum," in this last instance,
for Gaul and Armorica; by *Conc. Hippol.* A. D.
599 cc. 5, 9, for Spain; and by *Conc. Antioch.*
cc. 6, 11, A. D. 341, directed both against the Pope
and against appeals to the Emperor (adopted into
the canons of the Church Catholic), and by the
Council of Constantinople in 381, cc. 2, 3, 6, for
the East. The last-named Council also in effect
limited the right of appeal from above as well
as below, by forbidding all bishops *ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις*
ἐκκαθ' ἑαυτοὺς, and by establishing each pro-
vince in an independent jurisdiction (*Conc. Con-
stantinop.* c. 2).

a. Confining ourselves first to the case of clergy,
the right of the bishop to judge his brethren or
his clerks, was further limited, in that part of
the Church where Church law was earliest and
most formally developed, viz., Africa, by the
requirement of twelve bishops to judge a bishop,
of six to judge a presbyter, of three to judge a
deacon (*Conc. Carth.* A. D. 348 can. 11, A. D. 390
can. 10, A. D. 397 can. 8). And a dispute be-
tween two bishops was still later referred by the
(African) Council of Mileum A. D. 416 (can. 21),
to bishops appointed by the metropolitan. In
the East, and generally, bishops (and presbyters)
canon merely to the natural resort of an appeal
from one synod to another and a larger one, viz.
to the metropolitan and bishops of the next pro-
vince; which is the express rule laid down in
Conc. Antioch. A. D. 341, cc. 11, 12, 14, 15, and
in *Conc. Constantinop.* A. D. 381, can. 6. So also
canon 13 of the collection of Martin of Braga.
But between the Nicene and Constantinopolitan
Councils and that of Chalcedon in 451, a further
modification took place in accordance with the
settlement of the several Patriarchates, whereby
the appeal was made to lie from the bishop to
him to the Patriarch; with the further claim
gradually emerging on the part of the Bishop of
Rome to a right of supreme judicial authority
over the entire Church. (But whether the sen-
tence was to remain in force pending the appeal
seems to have been a doubtful question, variously
settled at different times and places; see Bal-
samon in *Can. Afric.* 32.) The first step was
that, in the West, of the Council of Sardica, A. D.
347, intended to be oecumenical but in result only
Western, and not accepted as authoritative either
by the Eastern or even by the African Churches:
which attempted to make the system work more
fairly, and perhaps to escape reference to an Arian
Emperor, by giving presbyter or deacon an ap-
peal to the metropolitan and the provincial
bishops (can. 14 Lat.). and by enacting with re-
spect to bishops, in the way of revision rather
than appeal, that, whereas ordinarily they should
be judged by the bishops of their own province,
if a bishop thought himself aggrieved, either the

bishops who tried him or those of the neighbouring province should consult the Bishop of Rome, and if he judged it right, then the comprovincial or the neighbouring bishops should by his appointment retry the case, with the addition (if the complainant requested it, and the Bishop of Rome complied with his request) of presbyters representing the Bishop of Rome, who were to take their place in that capacity among the judges (can. 4, 5, 7): no successor to be appointed to the deposed bishop pending such new trial. The choice of the Bishop of Rome as referee (to decide, however, not the case itself, but whether there ought to be a new trial) has some appearance of having been personal to Julius the then Pope (as was the subsequent grant of Gratian to Pope Damasus), to whom the right is granted by name in the Greek version of the canons (so Richerius and De Mareis); but certainly it was determined to the see of Rome, not through previous precedent, or as by inherent right, but as in honour of the one Apostolic see of the West,—“in honour of the memory of St. Peter.” It was in fact giving to the Pope the right previously possessed exclusively by the Emperor, save that the latter would refer causes to a Council. Prior to 347, the case of Fortunatus and Felicissimus A.D. 252 (striving to obtain the support of Pope Cornelius against their own primate St. Cyprian, and eliciting from the latter an express assertion of the sufficiency and finality of the sentence passed upon them by their own comprovincial African bishops, St. Cyp. *Epist.* 59, Fell)—and that of Marcian, Bishop of Arles A.D. 254 (whom the bishops of Gaul are exhorted to depose for Novatianism, St. Cyprian interfering on the sole ground of brotherly episcopal duty to urge them to the step, and asking Pope Stephen to interfere also, but solely on the like ground, *Id. Epist.* 68)—and those of Basileides and of Martial, Bishops respectively of Leon with Astorga and of Merida, also A.D. 254 (deposed by the Spanish bishops as having lapsed, and of whom Basileides, having deceived Pope Stephen into re-admitting him to communion, and into “encompassing” for his restoration, was rejected nevertheless by the Spanish, seconded by the African bishops, *Id. Epist.* 67)—sufficiently shew that while the Nicene canons only confirmed and regulated the previously established and natural principle of the final authority of the provincial synod, that of Sardica introduced a new provision, although one rather opening the way for further extensive changes than actually enacting them. In 341, also, the Council of Antioch, representing the East, repudiated the same Pope Julius’s interference on behalf of St. Athanasius (Sozom. iii. 8; Socrat. ii. 15) and passed a canon against the return of a deposed bishop to his see unless by decree of a synod larger than that which had deposed him (can. 12); as well as against appeals of deposed bishops to emperors, unanctioned by the comprovincial bishops: canons adopted into the code of the whole Church. In the West, however, the Sardican canon became the starting point of a distinctly marked advance in the claims of the Bishop of Rome, although not without opposition on the part of the Church, nor, on the other hand, without political support from the Emperors. In 367 a Council of Tyana restored Eustathius of Sebastea to his see, among other grounds, on the strength

of a letter of Pope Liberius; but the proceeding was condemned in strong terms by St. Basil the Great (*Epist.* 263 § 3). In 378, the Emperor Gratian added State sanction—at least during the Popedom of Damasus, and in reference to the schism of the antipope Ursicinus—to the judicial authority of the Bishop of Rome, but in conjunction with six or seven other bishops if the accused were a bishop himself, and with an alternative of fifteen comprovincial bishops in the case of a metropolitan, the attendance of the accused bishop at Rome to be compelled by the civil power (Conc. Rom., *Epist. ad Gratian. et Valentin. Supp.* A.D. 378, in Mansi, iii. 624, and the Rescript appended to it of the same Emperors *ad Aquilinum Vicarium*). In 381, however, the epistle of the Italian bishops (including St. Ambrose) to Theodosius, claims no more respecting Eastern bishops in the case of Maximus (deposed by the Council of Constantinople), than that the voice “of Rome, of Italy, and of all the West,” ought to have been regarded in the matter. But in some year between 381 and 398 (see Tillmont, *Mém. Eccl.*), although Theodoret (v. 2^o) seems to place it under Innocent I. in 402, Flavian, accepted by the East, but rejected by Egypt and by Rome and the West, as Bishop of Antioch, was summoned by the Emperor to go to Rome to be judged there by the Bishop of Rome, but refused to submit; and was finally accepted by the Pope, to whom he sent a deputation of bishops, at the intercession of St. Chrysostom, but without any pretence of trial. In 404-406, Innocent’s interference to procure St. Chrysostom’s own restoration to his see, even to the extent of withdrawing communion from St. Chrysostom’s opponents, proved as great a failure as Pope Julius’s like attempt on behalf of St. Athanasius (Sozom. viii. 26-28, and the letters of St. Chrysostom and Pope Innocent in Mansi, iii. 1081-1118); although the mean proposed was not a trial by the Pope but a general Council. While St. Chrysostom himself at the same period affirms the old principle, that causes must not *ὀρεσπολιὸν ἔλκεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις τὰ τῶν ἐπαρχῶν γυνώσκουσαι* (in Mansi, *ib.*). But even in the Western Church at the same period the Roman claim was admitted with difficulty, and only gradually and by continual struggles. Innocent I. indeed declared that, “si majores causae in medium fuerint devolunt, ad sedem Apostolicam, sicut synodus statuit” (meaning, of course, but exaggerating, the Sardican canon) “et vltus sive inveterata consuetudo exigit, post iudicium episcopale referantur.” (*Epist.* 2 *ad Victor.*). But in actual fact, 1. in Africa, A.D. 417-425, the appeal to Pope Zosimus of the presbyter Apiarius, condemned by his own Bishop, Urbanus of Sicca, whom the Pope summoned to Rome to be judged, and on refusal sent legates to his successive Carthaginian Councils to enforce his claims, was in the first instance provisionally compromised, by a temporary admission of the Papal authority (*Epist. Conc. Afric. ad Bonific. Papam* A.D. 419, in Mansi, iv. 511), on the ground of the canons of Sardica, alleged by the Popes (Zosimus, Boniface, Celestine) to be Nicene; but on the production of the genuine canons of Nicaea from Constantinople and Alexandria, was absolutely rejected (*Epist. Conc. Afric. ad Caecili. um* A.D. 425, in Mansi, iv. 515); whilst the canon (22) of Mileum, A.D. 416, which is repeated by Carth-

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agian Councils down to A.D. 525 (Mansi, viii. 644), assigns presbyters and all below them to appeal, "non ad transmarina julicia sed ad primates suorum provinciarum; ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam ad communionem suscipiatur;" and the *Cod. Can. Afric.* 18 tit. 31 (A.D. 419), adds to this—"sicut et de Episcopis super constitutum est," the genuineness of which last clause is supported by Tillemont, De Marca, and Beveridge, although denied by Baronius. It seems certainly to have been inserted in the canon by some African council of this period. At the same time, while the gloss of Gratian on the word "transmarina"—"nisi forte ad Romanam sedem appellaverit"—is plainly of the kind that as exactly as possible contradicts its text; it is evident by St. Augustin's letter to Pope Celestine in 424 (*Epist.* 209), that applications from Africa in a friendly spirit to Rome in disputes respecting bishops, both to judge and to confirm others' judgments, and this not only during the provisional admission of the Papal claim (as in the case of the Bishop of Fussala), but before it, had been frequent. It is hard to believe, in the face of the precisely contemporary and unmistakable language of the assembled African bishops at the close of the controversy respecting Aparin; that such applications could have been in the nature of formal appeals; although the case of Pope Leo I. and Lupicinus, A.D. 446, shows the Papal claim to have been still kept up (St. Leo, *Epist.* xii. al. i. § 12).

2. In Illyria,—whereas, in 421, the Emperor Theodosius had decreed that doubtful cases should be determined by a council, "non absque scientia" of the Bishop of Constantinople (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. tit. 2. s. 45),—in 444, Pope Leo I., insisting upon the canons apparently of Sardica, and as part of the Papal measures for securing the whole of Illyria to the Roman Patriarchate, commanded appeals ("causae graviores vel appellationes") from Illyria to be brought to Rome (St. Leo, *Epist.* v. § 6). And 3. in Gaul, in 445, Zosimus in 418, which had constituted Arles the metropolitan see of the province, insisted on Bishop Projectus and of Celdionius Bishop either of Vesonio or of Vienne, whom Hilary of Arles had deposed, and carried the point, although with strong opposition from Hilary (St. Leo, *Epist.* x.). Pope Hilary, however, 461-462, *Epist.* xi., respecting the Metropolitan of Vienne and Arles, "decreta principum." And undoubtedly a decree of the Emperor Valentinian III., in the year 445, definitely assigned to the Pope, not simply an appellate jurisdiction, but the right of avoking causes to Rome *suo motu*, by enacting that "omnibus pro lege sit qui quid sanxit vel sanxerit Apostolicæ sedis auctoritas, ita ut quisquis Episcoporum ad iudicium Romani antistitis evocatus venire neglexerit, per moderatorem ejusdem provincie adesse cogatur" (*Cod. Theod. Novell.* tit. xxiv. *Suppl.* p. 12). An ultimate appellate jurisdiction was also given at the same period, but by Church authority, viz., by the general council of Chalcedon in 451, to the Bishop of Constantinople: the order of appeal being there fixed from bishop to the metropolitan and synod, and from the latter to the particular Patriarch or to the Bishop of Constantinople (*Conc. Chalced.* c. 9).

CHRIST. ANT.

The Eastern rule appears to have henceforward remained the same; except that Justinian A.D. 533, confirming the canon of Chalcedon in other respects, dropped all special mention of the Bishop of Constantinople, but enacted in general that an appeal should lie from bishop to metropolitan, and from metropolitan alone to metropolitans with synod, but that from the synod appeal in his own Patriarchate, as final was in civil cases the *Præfectus Prætorio* (Justin. *Cod.* vii. tit. 62. s. 19); although no cause was to come to him at once unless in the form of a request that he would delegate it to the bishop, who was the proper primary tribunal (Id. i. tit. 4. s. 29, 7. tit. 62. s. 19; *Novell.* cxliii. 22). A law of Leo and Constantius in 838 (Leunclav. *Jus Gr. Rom.* II. of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whose decision, therefore, is final, unless indeed he chooses to review it himself. And so also, apparently, the 6th General Council of Constantinople A.D. 870 (*Act.* 10, cc. 17, 20). It is to be added, however, that in the case of any one under the degree of bishop, and in cases not ecclesiastical, the bishop was the primary judge, but from him the case might be taken to the civil judge, the Emperor deciding if they differed; but in the case of a bishop, the right of appeal to the patriarch enacted by Justinian is final (Justin. *Novell.* lxxiii. 12, cxliii. 21, 22).

In the West, the changes in the matter relate to two points, to the fruitless attempts of the Popes to obtain appellate jurisdiction over the East, and to their more successful efforts to secure their Western claim of the like kind under the altered laws and policy of the new Barbarian rulers of Europe; efforts which may be said to have finally secured success under the Carolingians, in the popedom of Nicholas I. about 858, and as confirmed by the false Decretals, first used by Nicholas in 864 (Gieseler). For the former, in 449, Flavian no doubt appealed from Dioscorus and the Ephesine *Latrocinium* nominally to the Pope, but Leo's own letter to Theodosius in consequence (St. Leo, *Epist.* 43 al. 31, and 44 al. 40; Liberat. *Brev.* 12, in Mansi, ix. 378), shows that the tribunal of appeal contemplated by even the Pope himself, was a general council (see Quenstedt and Van Espen). In 484, however, Felix II., in a synod at Rome, as the issue of a long dispute, during which, among other steps, he had summoned Acacius of Constantinople to be tried at Rome upon the strength of the canons of Sardica, misnamed Nicene, made an open schism with the East, which lasted 40 years, by excommunicating and deposing Acacius (Mansi, vii. 1054); a sentence which, it need not be said, was disregarded. In 587, Pelagius II. seems to have confirmed the sentence of acquittal passed by a tribunal at Constantinople, summoned by the Emperor, in the case of Bishop Gregory of Antioch, while protesting against the title of universal bishop applied by the same authority to the Bishop of Constantinople (St. Greg. M., *Epist.* v. 18; Evagrius, vi. 7); a protest renewed, as every one knows, by Gregory himself. But this implied no formal superiority over Eastern bishops. And the claim unhesitatingly advanced by Gregory—"De Constantinopolitana ecclesia quis eam dubitet Apostolicæ sedi esse subjectam" (St. Greg. M., *Epist.* ix. 12)—was assuredly not admitted by

the Church of Constantinople itself. Further, the Council in *Tullo* in 691, repeated not only the 3rd canon of Constantinople in 381, but the 28th of Chalcedon in 451, which latter equals Constantinople to Rome (*Conc. Quinisext. can. 36*); and also the 17th of the same Council of Chalcedon (*ib. 38*), which involves the 9th of the same Council, viz., that which (as above said), so regulates the course of appeals as to put the patriarch of a province with an alternative of the Bishop of Constantinople as the ultimate tribunal. The dispute which a century after issued in the great schism, cut short the narrower, by absorbing it in the broader, controversy. For the West, however, matters proceeded more successfully. Gelsius (492-496), while allowing the subordination of the Pope to a general council approved by the Church, asserts positively (*Epist. 13*), that the see of St. Peter "de omni ecclesia sui habent iudicandi, neque cuiquam de eius licet iudicare iudicio," and that "ad illam de qualibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerit, ab illa autem nemo sit appellare permittitur." In 503, although the Arian Theodorice appointed a commission of bishops, under the presidency of a single bishop (of Altino), to judge of the disputed election of Symmachus to the Popedom, and although Symmachus in the first instance admitted their jurisdiction, and both parties appealed to the judgment of Theodorice himself; yet 1. a Roman synod (*Synodus Palmaris*) both sanctioned Symmachus's election without presuming to make enquiry, and declared the interference of laity in Church elections or property to be against the canons (Mansi, viii. 201, sq.; Anastas. *Lit. Pontif. in v. Symmacho*); and 2. Eusebius of Nicæna, in 511, formally asserted in an elaborate document the absoluteness of the Papal power, and especially that the Pope is himself the final court of appeal, whom none other may judge (Mansi, viii. 282-284). And at the end of the century Gregory the Great assumes as indisputable that every bishop accused is subject to the judgment of the see of Rome (*Epist. ix. 59*). During the following period, however,—while the sultrian African Church, retaining her privilege untouched, but as a privilege, under Gregory the Great, yet practically gave up her ancient opposition a few years later (*Epist. Episc. Afric. ad Paganum Theodotum, in Act. Conc. Lateran. A.D. 649, Mansi, x. 919*),—the European Churches were practically under the government of the kings, although the theoretical claims of the Popes remained undiminished. The Irish Churches, indeed, were still independent of the Pope, the end of the seventh century being the close of the Celtic schism, except in Wales. In Saxon England, the proceedings of both kings and synods in the appeals of Wilfrid (678-705), when the Pope reversed the judgments of English synods on Wilfrid's complaint, showed on the one hand a feeling of reverence for the Pope (e.g. the Council of Nidd, A.D. 705 [Eddius 58] did not repudiate the Pope's decree, but the testimony of Papal letters, which might be forged, as against the *inâ ræ* evidence of Archbishop Theodore); but on the other, disregarded such decree in practice, by enforcing that precise severance of Wilfrid's diocese against which he had appealed. And the Council of Cloveshoe, A.D. 747, pointedly limits appeals to the provincial council, and no further (can. 25). In Spain, although Gregory

the Great interfered by a legate authoritatively in favour of deposed bishops, viz., Stephanus and Junarius, on the ground, first, of Justinian's law as being their Patriarch, and if that was refused, then by the right of the see of Rome as head of the Church (*Epist. xlii. 45*), yet in 701 or 704, King Witiza, in a Council of Toledo, expressly forbade appeals to any foreign bishop (*Conc. Tolet. xvlii.*). And a little earlier, admission into Church communion was declared dependent on the will of the Prince (*Conc. Tolet. A.D. 681 c. 3, and 683, c. 9*). The Kings in effect were in Spain supreme judges of bishops (Cenni. *De Antiq. Eccl. Hisp. il. 153*, quoted by Gieseler). In Gaul, the cases of Salonius, Bishop of Embrun, and Sagittarius, Bishop of Gap, deposed in 577 by a synod of Lyons, restored by Pope John III, on appeal, but by permission and power of King Guntram, and then again finally deposed in 579 by a Council of Châlons (Greg. Turon., *Hist. Franc. v. 21-29*), leave the Papal claim in a similar state of half recognition to that in which it stood in England. And in the ensuing century the Royal authority here also practically superseded the Papal. In 615, the administration of ecclesiastical discipline is made subservient to the king's intercession (*Conc. Paris, c. 3*, as confirmed by Chlotarius II.). And many instances of depositions of bishops occur without appeal to the Pope, beginning with that of Salaric of Paris, deposed by a second synod there, to which he had appealed from a former one, under King Chilperic, A.D. 555. Gregory the Great, indeed, renewed the ingenious expedient of appointing the Bishop of Arles his vicar to decide such causes in Gaul, in conjunction with twelve bishops; and yet even so, most of such causes were decided without even the presence of the Papal vicar (De Marca, vii. 19). The *Capitula* of Hadrian I., sent to Ingilram of Metz in 785, introduced the first great innovation upon preceding rules, by enacting (c. 3) that no bishop should be condemned unless in a synod called "Apostolica auctoritate;" and again, that, if a deposed bishop, whose primary tribunal was the comprovincial synod, appealed from it to Rome, "id observandum esset quod (Papa) ipse censuerit" (c. 20, 23, and *Epitome Capit. A.D. 773*). But they contained also the African prohibition of appeals *ad transmarina iudicia* (see Gieseler). And while the *Capitulum* of Aix in 789, repeated more expressly by the Council of Aix in 816 (cc. 73, 74), repeats the Nicene and Antiochene (341) canons without the addition of those of Sardica, the *Capitulaires* as collected by Benedict Levita contain also the Sardican canons. For bishops, then, Charlemagne allowed the appeal to Rome for a new trial, the comprovincial synod being still held to be the proper tribunal for such cases; and an appeal being also allowed to more numerous episcopal judges if dissatisfaction were felt with those originally appointed by the metropolitan, and, again, from them to a synod (*Capit. vii. 413*), or again, from a suspected judge to another (*ib. vii. 240*, and *Add. iii. 25, iv. 18, sq.*);—see *Capit. v. 401, 410, vi. 300, vii. 102, 103, 314, 315, 412, Add. iii. 105*—but left the ordinary and direct right of a proper appeal to the Pope, and the condition of his prior consent to the trial of an accused bishop, anciently unsettled to lead to the great disputes of the following period, of

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which the case of Hincmar and Bishop Rothad is the primary case. The Carolingian Princes, indeed, deposed bishops in synods, just as they elected them, without any reference to the Pope. But the Papal power gradually increased. And while Gregory IV., in 835, and Leo IV., about 850, expressly claim a proper appellate jurisdiction, Pope Nicholas I., 858-867, he said to have finally established the claim of his fulness. Even in 791, however, the claim of Friuli asserted for the Patriarch of Aquileia archimandrite be deposed, in his Patriarchate, without consulting him (can. 27); the same right which Hadrian claimed universally for the Bishop of Rome. As regards all below bishops, the Council of Frankfurt in 794, can. 6, re-enacts the order of appeal from bishop to metropolitan, i.e., to the provincial synod, but no further; and, in addition, orders the civil magistrate (Comes) to act as assessor, and to refer to the Emperor all cases too hard for the metropolitan. And Capit. iii. 1, A.D. 812, includes bishops also among those who are to bring their disputes to the Emperor for settlement.

In sum, appeal from a bishop or bishops to his neighbouring brethren, under their metropolitan, i.e., from one or few bishops to many, was the Church's common law; the appeal terminating there, until the law of Valentinian in 445 for the Bishop of Rome, the canon of Chalcedon in 451 for the Bishop of Constantinople and patriarchs generally, and the law of Justinian in 533 for all patriarchs without distinction, allowed further appeal from bishops to their patriarchs: the Bishop of Rome, however, sufficient basis of the canons of Sardica, and in- ton, and in time also the broader and sentimental decretals first established in the West. The False meaning, the absolute both appellate and im- mediate jurisdiction of the Popes as of Divine right, in the 9th century, during the Papacy of Nicholas I. It remains to add, that the Cyprian, the Arminian, the Georgian, the Bulgarian, and the Ravennate, claims to be autocephalous, were simply remnants of the older condition of things before the existence of patriarchates, differing from each other only in the fact that the Cyprian right was actually tried and confirmed by a general council.

B. The above canons for the most part leave laymen to their original right of appeal to a provincial synod, according to the canon of Nice. And this was plainly their right, generally speaking, throughout; and is confirmed (as above said) by the Council of Frankfurt in 794. In Africa, however, where the right of appeal was more jealously guarded than elsewhere, it was enacted at one time (Conc. Carth. A.D. 397 can. 8, and A.D. 398 can. 22, 23) that the bishop of the place "agnoscat et finiat" the causes of all presbiteria clericorum suorum." Hincmar, in the 9th century, limits the same class of appeals to the provincial synod, protesting only against any further right of appeal in such cases to the Pope. 1, 2. The interference of lay tribunals in causes spiritual, after the Emperors became Christian, belongs properly to other articles. Questions of

faith and such as were purely ecclesiastical, as it is sufficient here to state upon the unqualified testimony of Gothofred (Comment. in Cod. Theo. 16. tit. 2. s. 23, quoted by Bingham), were ordinarily to bishops and synods, by laws received from Constantius to Justinian (e.g. Novell. lxxviii. cxliii. 21). And the law of Honorius in 399 (C.d. Theod. 16. tit. 11. s. 1), among others, which expressly denies any proper right of Church courts to civil jurisdiction, affirms also that causes of religion as properly belong to them. When, however, either questions of faith or private causes became of political importance, the Emperors from spiritual tribunals naturally grew up. Our business is with the latter, i.e. brief, that the Emperors throughout claimed and exercised a right of ordering a new trial by spiritual judges; the choice of whom they rested with themselves, that they took them so far seemed good from another province than that of the parties accused or accusing. So Constantine very, appointing first Meletius of the Donatist contro- three Gallic bishops to judge the case at Rome, and then, upon the dissatisfaction of the Donatists, commanding a synod to rehear it at Arles (without the Pope at all) in 314. The precise question, however, was one of discipline more than of belief. And Constantine disclaimed all right of appeal from the episcopal tribunal to himself. So also Basilianus of Ephesus, and Emperor Marcian, asked letters from the Council in 451 might judge their appeals. And that somewhat earlier period Theodosius in a like case transferred causes from one province to another (De Marca, De Conc. Sac. t. Imp. iv. 3). So also Theodorice appointed bishops to decide the case of Pope Symmachus's case, A.D. 500, although, after commencing the case, they ultimately refused to judge the Bishop of Rome, by a merely formal judgment. And the deprivation any appellant to a civil tribunal, excepts the case of those who ask from the Emperor "episc. pale judicium." On both sides, however, this middle course was occasionally transgressed. Bishops sometimes were occasionally Emperors themselves to decide their appeals: e.g., even St. Athanasius, while in his Synod, expressly repudiating the Emperor's power to decide such a cause, yet, after the Council of Tyre had deposed him, requested the Emperor nevertheless, not only to assemble a "lawful" council of bishops to rehear the case, but as an alternative, *ἢ καὶ αὐτὸν δεῖσθαι* the Council of Antioch accordingly, in 341, took occasion (as above said) to prohibit all applications to the Emperor except such as were backed by letters of metropolitan and provincial bishops, and to insist upon the restriction of fresh trials to "a larger synod" &c. canons repeated down to the days of Charlemagne, and adopted by the Church at large, although repudiated as Arian by St. Chrysostom and by Pope Innocent I., when quoted against the former. And about A.D. 380, and his fellow bishops had done wrong in allow- ing Priscillian to appeal to the Emperor, and

lays it down that he ought to have appealed to other bishops. Yet both Pope Symmachus and his opponent Laurentius requested the Arian Lombard Theodoric to decide between them. On the other side, when mentioning a very late case, where the Emperor transferred a cause of a spiritual kind from the Patriarch Luke of Constantinople, A.D. 1156-1169, to a civil court, Balsamon (in *can. 15 Syn. Carthag.*), while affirming this to be against the canons, yet admits that a lay co-judge might rightly be asked of the Emperor. And Justinian (*Novell. cxxiii. 21*) reserves indeed a right upon appeal of assigning judges, from whom an appeal lay "secularum legum ordinem," i.e. ultimately to the *Praefectus Praetorio* and *Quaestor Palatii* (*Cod. 7. tit. 62. s. 32*); but ecclesiastical causes are expressly excepted from such appeal. On the other hand, Arcadius and Honorius expressly prohibit appeals from councils to themselves; unless, indeed, this refers only to civil and criminal causes. The Carlovingian Emperors (as we have seen above) reserved an appeal to themselves in difficult cases from the metropolitan, in causes of presbyters and all below them; besides appointing the civil magistrate as assessor to the metropolitan in the first instance. And in the case of Leo III. A.D. 800, when Charlemagne convened a synod at Rome to investigate accusations against that Pope, the bishops appointed declined to act, on the ground that it was the Pope's right to judge them, and not theirs to judge the Pope (Anastas, in *V. Leon. III.*).

II. We pass next to civil causes: and the jurisdiction of bishops in these, whether lay or clerical, is of course, as a coercive jurisdiction, purely a creation of municipal law. As founded upon 1 *Cor. vi. 4*, it could not have been until the time of Constantine more than a voluntarily conceded power of arbitration, whereby both plaintiff and defendant, being Christians, agreed to be bound (see Estius, *ad loc.*). But upon principles of Christian love and of avoiding scandal, the decision of such cases became the common and often the inconveniently troublesome business of bishops: e.g. of Paphnutius (see Rufinus), Gregory Thaumaturgus (St. Greg. Nyss. in *Vita*), St. Basil the Great (St. Greg. Naz. *Orat. 20*), St. Ambrose (*Epist. 34*), St. Augustine (Posid. in *Vita*), St. Martin of Tours (Sulp. *Ser. Dial. ii.*): and is recognized as their work by St. Chrysostom (*De Sac. iii. 18*). The *Apost. Constit. ii. 45-47* regulate the process. St. Cyprian (*Adr. Judices iii. 44*), speaking of resort to the bishop and not to the secular court as the duty of Christians, may serve as a specimen of the feeling upon which the practice rested. And while Socrates (vii. 37) speaks of Bishop Sylvanus of Troas as declining it either for himself or his clergy, it is recognized even by the Council of Tarragona in 516 (c. 4) as extending to presbyters and deacons also. The practice was changed from a precarious to a recognized and legal institution by Constantine. Either party to a suit was allowed by him, not in form to appeal from magistrate to bishop, but to do so in effect; in that he gave to either the power to choose the bishop's court in preference to the magistrate's, the bishop's sentence to stand as good in law as if it were the Emperor's (Euseb., *De V. Constantini*, iv. 27; Sozom. i. 9); and if

the law at the end of the Theodosian code is (as Selden, and, among later writers, Haenel and Walter [see Robertson's *Deebet*, p. 80] think, but Gothofred denies), then took the still further step of empowering either, without the other's consent, and even already decided by the civil court, to claim a rehearing in the court of the Bishop (*Extrac. de Elect. Judic. Episo. Cod. Theod. vi. 303*).

a. This power was enlarged in the case of the clergy into a compulsory jurisdiction, the Church forbidding clergy to take civil cases in which they were concerned before any other tribunal than the bishop's (*Conc. Carth. A.D. 397 c. 9*, *Conc. Milevil. A.D. 416 c. 19*, *Conc. Chalco. A.D. 451 c. 2*, *Conc. Venedic. A.D. 465 c. 9*, *Conc. Cahillon. i. A.D. 470 c. 11*, *Conc. Matisson. A.D. 582 c. 8*), while the Emperors permitted and ratified episcopal jurisdiction between clergy in civil cases, and where both parties agreed to the tribunal (Valentin. III., *Novell. de Episo. Judicio*, xii. Gothofr.). And Justinian in 539 gave civil jurisdiction outright to the bishops over the clergy, the monks, and the nuns, subject to an appeal to the Emperor in case the civil judge decided differently to the bishop (*Novell. lxxix., lxxxiii., cxxiii. c. 21*). The law also of Constantius, in A.D. 355, refers all complaints against bishops without distinction, and therefore civil as well as criminal, to an episcopal tribunal (*Cod. Theod. 16. tit. 2. s. 13*); which Justinian specifies into a regular chain of appeal to metropolitan and patriarch, unless in one exceptional case, where either the *Praefectus Praetorio* per Orientem, or "judges appointed by the Emperor," are to decide (*Novell. cxxiii. c. 22, 24*). If a layman, however, were a party to the suit, it rested with him to choose the tribunal.

β. With respect to laymen, indeed, generally, the law of Constantine, if it ever did go to the length of allowing a transfer of the cause at the will of either party, and at any stage of the suit, was soon limited. Arcadius and Honorius A.D. 408 require the consent of both parties (*Cod. Justin. 1. tit. 4. s. 7, 8*). And both they, and Valentinian III. A.D. 452, expressly allow a layman to go if he chooses to the civil court, and in all cases and persons require the "vinculum compromissi," and the "voluntas jurgantium," as a prior condition to any episcopal (coercive) jurisdiction at all; expressly laying down also that bishops and presbyters "forum non halere ne de aliis causis praeter religionem posse cognoscere" (*Cod. Theod. 16. tit. 11. s. 1*; and Valentin. III., as before cited). Justinian, however, appears to have gone further. 1. He granted to the clergy of Constantinople a right to have all their pecuniary causes, even if a layman were concerned, tried in the first instance by the bishop; and not only if the nature of the case hindered him from deciding it, then, but not otherwise, before the civil court (*Novell. lxxxiii.*); and 2. he appointed the bishop generally co-judge with the civil magistrate, and with an appeal from the latter to the former (*Novell. lxxxvi.*). And both in *Conc. Carthag. A.D. 399 c. 1* (*Cod. Can. Afric. 5*), and in Justin. *Novell. cxxiii. § 7*, *Cod. 1. tit. 3. s. 7*, and *Cod. Theod. 11. tit. 39. s. 8*, provision is made to protect a bishop or clergyman, who had thus acted as judge, from being subsequently molested by a discontented party to the

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suit, who should summon him to give account of his judgment before a secular tribunal.

The law of Constantine in its widest form, and as applying to laity as well as clergy, is alleged (281), expressly as a renewal of the (extreme) Theodosian enactment, but very serious doubts are thrown on the genuineness of the re-enactment: viz., that "Quicumque litem habeat, sive possessore sive petitor fuerit, vel in initio litis vel peroratur sive cum jam coeperit promi sententia, si iudicium elegerit sacrosanctae legis Antistitia, illico sine aliqua dubitatione, etiam si alia pars refragatur, ad Episcoporum iudicium cum sermone litigantium dirigatur: . . . omnes itaque causas, quae vel praetorio jure vel civili tractantur, Episcoporum sententiis terminatae, pertractati negotium, quod Episcoporum sententia decidit."—thus interposing an absolute right of appeal in civil cases for either party, whether lay or clerical, at every stage of the civil suit, from the civil judge to the bishop, and vice versa, and Gratian, *Decret. P. II., c. xl. qu. 1. 11th ed.*; and Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. 148, *Conc. Francof. A.D. 794 c. 6*, above referred to, that an appeal to the Emperor himself was allowed, even from the metropolitan, in all civil cases. The joint jurisdiction of bishops and archdeacons in Saxon England belongs to a different subject.

III. In criminal cases, this article is not concerned to define the limits and nature of the exemptions or privileges of clergy, beyond the brief statement that, 1. Clergy, and in particular the Emperors in criminal cases, provided that first the *delicta* were *levia*, and next the consent of the plaintiff if a layman were obtained; and 2. Episcopal intercession for criminals, all along looked upon as a duty and regarded with favour, received a civil sanction at the hands of Justinian; while Heraclius A.D. 628 formally committed jurisdiction over the criminal offences of clergy to the bishops, to be judged "*κατὰ ῥωμαίων κανόνας*" (Lennclav. *Jus Graeco-rom. i. 79*). In relation to appeals, we have cases of clerks, appoints the bishop and civil Emperor (*Novell. cxxiii. c. 21*); the civil judge to try the case, but within two months, and the bishop then (if the accused is condemned) to deprive (*Novell. lxxiii.*); and that in the law of Heraclius, just mentioned, occurs the well-known phrase—that if the case were beyond the canonical punishment, then the bishop should be directed, "*τὸν τοιοῦτον τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀρχαῖσι παραδίδόνθαι, τὰς τὸν ἡμετέρας διαμαρτυρούμενος νόμους τιμωρίας ὑποσχεσόμενον.*" And in such cases, therefore, the cause was thenceforth transferred from the spiritual to the lay tribunal. So also Justinian (*Novell. lxxiii.*) requires the convicted criminal clerk to be first deposed by the bishop, and then, but not before, *ὄντ τὰς τῶν νόμων χρεῖσθαι χρεῖστας*. Under the Carolingian empire, the *apocrisiarius* or *Archicapellanus* acted as the Emperor's deputy in the final decision of clerical

causes of all kinds, the Emperor being the ultimate judge in these as in secular ones (*Conc. Francof. A.D. 749 c. 6*; and see for *Cappellani* under the Franks, Walafr. Strab., *De Reb. Eccl. c. 31*).

(Besides the works of De Marca, Richerius, Quessel, Thomasia, Van Espen, and Church Historians, such as Fleury, Neander, and Church and Beveridge, Bingham, &c. among ourselves, the works of Allies and of Hussey on the Papal Supremacy, and Greenwood's *Cathedra Petri*, Lond., 1856, sq., may be referred to; also, Hebenstreit, *Hist. Jurisd. Eccl. ex Legg. utriusque Col. illust. ata*, (Lips., 1773). Schilling, *De Origine Jurisd. Eccles. in Causis Civilibus* (Lips. 1825), and Jungk, *De Originibus et Progressu Episcop. Judicii in Causis Civilibus Latiorum usque ad Justinianum*, Berlin 1832-3, referred to by Gieseler.)

APPROBATION OF BOOKS. [CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS.]

APRONIANUS, martyr at Rome, commemorated Feb. 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

APSE, the niche or recess which terminates a church at the end near which the high altar is placed. This feature existed in the basilicas or halls of justice constructed by the Romans, the tribunal for the presiding magistrate having been placed in the centre of the arc forming the apse.

In the earlier centuries the apse was almost invariably semicircular, in some churches and date from the third or early part of the fourth century the apse is internal, so that the building has a rectangular termination. At Sta. Croce in Jerusalem, at Rome, has this plan, though it when it first became a church; but in Italy it is very rarely found; in Africa and in Asia it seems to have prevailed, particularly in the earlier period: the basilica of Reparatus at Orlensville, in Algeria, believed to date from A.D. 252; the churches at Deyr Abu-Fannah near Hermapolis Magna, at Hermonthis (Erment) in Egypt, at Ibrihm in Nubia, at Pergamus, and Ephesus, are all thus planned. [CHURCH.]

In the basilica of St. Reparatus there is a second apse, also internal, at the other end of the building; this is believed to have been added about the year 403.

In the churches built in the fifth century in the East three apses are often found, the naves as well as the central nave being so terminated; in the following century this plan, the so-called parallel triapsal, was introduced into Italy and built A.D. 538-549, (though with a peculiar modification), and the Duomo at Porenzo (A.D. 542), exhibit it. In the eighth and ninth centuries it appears at Rome, as in St. Maria in Cosmedin (A.D. 772-795), and a few other churches.

The transverse-triapsal plan, that in which there are three apses, one projecting from the end, and one from each side of the building, is rarely found in churches of the usual basilican plan, or in any anterior to the sixth century. It occurs (with some modification) in St. Sophia's, Constantinople, and in other churches for which that building served in some degree as a model, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is com-

mon in Germany. It is, however, found at Rome in oratories, even in the fifth century, as in that of St. John the Baptist opening from the baptistry of the Lateran, built by Pope Hilarus, cir. A.D. 461, and that of Stn. Croce, built by the same pope, but now destroyed.

About the year 800 churches in Germany were constructed with an apse at each end; the greater church at Reichenau, in the Lake of Constance, begun in 816, has a semicircular apse at one end and a square recess at the other; the plan prepared for the church of St. Gall in the beginning of the ninth century shows a semicircular apse at each end.

The altar was usually placed in the chord of the arc of the apse, the cathedra or chair for the bishop in the centre of the arc against the wall, while a stone bench, or a series of such, one above the other, afforded places for the clergy. At Torcello, near Venice, there are six such ranges. Apses so fitted appear to have been called "apsides gradatæ." [CURCH.] [A. N.]

APTONIUS, commemorated May 23 (*Mart. Hieron.*) [C.]

APULEIUS, disciple of Peter, martyr at Rome, commemorated Oct. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedæ*); in Riehm's MS. of the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (see Menard's ed. p. 418).

AQUAMANIILE (other forms, *Aquamaniium, Aquamanus*, Gr. *Χερσίδιον*), the basin used for the washing of the hands of the celebrant in the liturgy. The aquamanile with the urecus are the hasna and ewer of the sacred ceremony.

In the *Statuta Antiqua* called the "Canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage" (*Canon V.*), it is laid down that a subdeacon should receive at his ordination from the hands of the archdeacon an aquamanile (corruptly written "aqua et manile") as one of the emblems of his office. Compare Isidore, *De Eccl. Off.* ii. 10. And these directions are repeated verbatim in the office for the ordination of a subdeacon in the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (p. 221). In the Greek office, the subdeacon receives *χερσίδιον καὶ μανδύλιον*, where the word *χερσίδιον* perhaps includes both urecus and aquamanile (*Daniel's Codex Lit.* iv. 550).

In the *Ordo Romanus I.* (p. 5), the acolytes are directed to carry an aquamanus (among other things) after the Pope in the great procession of Easter-Day.

Aquamaniilla of great splendour are frequently mentioned in ancient records. Desiderius of Auxerre is said to have given to his church "aquamaniilla pensans libras ii. et uncias x.; habet in medio rotam liliatam et in cauda caput hominis;" and Brunhilda, queen of the Franks, offered through the same Desiderius to the church of St. Germanus "aquamaniillum pensans libras iii. et uncias ix.; habet in medio Neptunum cum tridente" (*Krazer, De Liturgiis*, p. 210). Compare **URECUS**. [C.]

AQUILA. (1) Wife of Severianus, martyr, commemorated Jan. 23 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) Husband of Priscilla, July 8 (*Id.*); July 14 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) Martyr in Arabia, Aug. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

AQUILEIA, COUNCIL OF (AQUILIENSE CONCIILIUM). I., A.D. 381, provincial, although

the Easterns were invited, St. Ambrose being the most important bishop present; summoned by the Emperor Gratian, to try the cases of Bishop Palladius and Secundianus, who were there condemned for Arianism (*Mansi*, iii. 599-632).

II., A.D. 553, Western or rather provincial, on behalf of the three chapters. It rejected the Oecumenical Council of Constantinople of A.D. 550, and thereby severed the Aquileian Church from the Church Catholic for over 100 years (*Baed.*, *De VI. Actat.*; *Mansi*, ix. 659). III., A.D. 698, a like Synod for a like purpose (*Baed.*, *ib.*; *Paul. Diac.*, v. 14; *Sigbert in an.*; *Mansi*, xii. 115). [A. W. H.]

AQUILINA, martyr, commemorated June 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

AQUILINUS. (1) Martyr in Africa, Jan. 4 (*Mart. Hieron., Bedæ*).

(2) Commemorated Feb. 4 (*M. Hieron.*).

(3) Of Isauria, commemorated May 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedæ*).

(4) Presbyter, May 27 (*M. Hieron.*).

(5) Sicut, July 17 (*Id.*); July 17 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

AQUISGRANENSE CONCIILIUM. [A. I.]

ARABICUM CONCIILIUM.—A council was held, A.D. 247, in Arabia against those who maintained that the soul died with the body.

Origen went to it, and is said to have reclaimed them from their error (*Euseb.* vi. 37). [E. S. F.]

ARATOR, commemorated April 21 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ARAUSICANUM CONCIILIUM. [ORANGE.]

ARCA, ARCULA. 1. A chest intended to receive pecuniary offerings for the service of the church or for the poor (*Tertullian, Apologeticus*, c. 39). Of this kind was probably the "arca pecuniae," which Pope Stephen (an. 260) is said to have handed over, with the sacred vessels, to his archdeacon when he was imprisoned (*Liber Pontif.* c. 24); and such that which Paulinus Petricordus says (in *Vita S. Martini*, lib. iv. ap. Ducange) was committed to the charge of a deacon chosen for the purpose. The box from which priests received their portions is described as an "arca sancta" by Marcellus (*Vita S. Felis*, c. 3).

2. It is used of a box or casket in which the Eucharist was reserved: thus Cyprian (*De Lapsis*, c. 26, p. 486) speaks of an "arca in qua Domini sacramentum fuit," from which fire issued, to the great terror of a woman who attempted to open it with unholy hands. In this case, the casket appears to have been in the house, and perhaps contained the reserved Eucharist for the sick.

3. Among the prayers which precede the Ethiopic Canon (*Renaudot, Lit. Orient.* i. 501) is one "Super arcam sive discum majorem." The prayer itself suggests that this arca was used for precisely the same purpose as the paten, inasmuch as in both cases the petition is that in or upon it may be perfected (perficatur) the Body of the Lord. Renaudot (p. 525) seems to think that it may have served the purpose of an **ANTIMENSUM** (q. v.).

It does not appear, however, that its use was limited to the case of unconsecrated altars; and when we remember that the Copts applied the term *ἱεραρχία* to the Christian altar (*Kennan*

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CILIIUM. [AIX.]

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dot, l. 182) it does not seem improbable that this arca was an actual chest or ark, on the lid of which, the Mercy-Seat, consecration took place. It is worth noticing that chests are said to have been anciently used as altars in Rome [ALTAR]. Dr. Neale (*Eastern Church*, *Introd.* p. 186) says that the *tabout* or ark of the Ethiopic Church is used for the reservation of the Sacrament. Major Harris's informant (*Highlands of Ethiopia*, lib. 138) declared that it contains nothing except a parchment inscribed with the date of the dedication of the building. [C.]

ARCADIUS. (1) Martyr, commemorated Jan. 12 (Mart. Rom. *Feb.*). [C.]

(2) Martyr in Africa, Nov. 12 (*ib.*). [C.]

ARCANI DISCIPLINA [DISCIPLINA AR-

CHANERIS], commemorated at Rome Aug. 10 (Mart. Hieron.). [C.]

ARCHBISHOP.—The earliest use of this title was probably the same as that with which we are familiar in the Modern Church, viz., as designating a metropolitan or chief bishop of a province. Afterwards, however, as the hierarchical system of the Church was further extended to correspond with the civil divisions of the Roman empire, it became appropriated to the higher dignity of patriarch. Thus according to Bingham (ii. 17), Liberatus (*ibid.* c. 37) gives all the patriarchs this title of archbishops, and he adds, so does the Council of Chalcedon frequently, speaking of the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople under the name of archbishops also. About the time of Constantine the empire was divided into dioceses, each of which contained many provinces. This division, like the earlier one as the State had an exarch or vicar in the capital city of each civil diocese, so the Church, in process of time, came to have her exarchs or patriarchs in many, if not all, the capital cities of the empire. These patriarchs were originally called archbishops, which title had therefore a much more extensive signification than it has at present. The principal privileges of the archbishops of that period were—1. To ordain all the metropolitans of the diocese, their own ordination being received from a Diocesan Synod; 2. To convene Diocesan Synods and to preside in them; 3. To receive appeals from metropolitans and from Metropolitan Synods; 4. To censure metropolitans, and also their suffragans when metropolitans were remiss in censuring them. The Patriarch or Archbishop of Alexandria had from very early times some peculiar privileges within his diocese, but originally all patriarchs were co-ordinate, as well as mutually independent as regards actual power, though some had a precedence of honour, as those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, to whom the canon gave precedence of all others.

For "Archbishop" in its later and present signification, see METROPOLITAN. [D. B.]

ARCHDEACON. — 'Αρχιδιάκονος, 'Αρχιδιάκων, 'Αρχιδιάκονη (Catal. Patriarch, Constant. 10306, ap. *Mai Script.* *Vol.* iii. 243, though perhaps somewhat late), *Archidiaconus*, *Archidiacon*, *Levita septimus* (Joannes Secundus, *Vit. Greg.* *Max.* l. i. c. 25).

1. Origin of Name and Office.—That there was

from the first a primacy among deacons, as there appears to have been among presbyters, and as there was afterwards among bishops, is more a matter of conjecture than of historical certainty. It is reasonable to suppose that some one deacon, either the senior in office or the most eminent in ability, took the lead of the rest, as St. Stephen deacons (whence the Menologium gives him the title 'Αρχιδιάκονος); but it is uncertain when this became a part of the regular ecclesiastical order. The name is sometimes given by later writers to prominent deacons of the first four centuries; for example, St. Lawrence, who had evidently some precedence over his brother deacons, is called archdeacon by his brother (Serm. *de Diversis*, cxi. cap. 9; *Sanctus Laurentius* called archdeacon by Optatus of Carthage is Paris, 1679). But other writers describe the office by a periphrasis; for example, Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 26) uses the phrase *ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν διακόνων ἡγούμενος* to describe the position—which was evidently equivalent to that of an archdeacon—of Athanasius at Alexandria; and there is the negative evidence that neither the Apostolical Constitutions (although some have supposed the phrase *ὁ παρῆρτος τῶ ἀρχιερεὶ διάκωνος*, in *ii. 57*, to refer to it), and that Cornelius (*ap. Euseb.* *H. E.* vi. 43) omits the archdeacon from his list of Church officers at Rome. The first contemporary use of the title is, in the Eastern Church, in the old version of the acts of the Council of Ephesus (Labbe, *Supplem. Concil.* p. rome *cap. Ep.* xv. *ad Rusticum*). After that period it is in constant use.

In both East and West the title appears to have been restricted to the secular clergy; the first in rank of the deacons of a monastery seems to have had, in the East, the title of *προποδίακωνος* (but not universally, for Joannes Climacus, *Scal. Parad.* p. 58, also uses the title *ἀρχιδιάκων* of a monk); a deacon in a similar position in the West seems to have had, at least in early times, no special designation.

II. Mode of Appointment.—The mode of appointment varied with particular times and places. At first, and in some places permanently, the deacon who was senior in date of ordination appears to have held the office, without any special appointment, by right of his seniority. That this was the usual practice at Constantinople is clear from the answer of Anatolius to Leo the Great in the case of Andrew and Aetius. Leo, probably having the use of the Roman Church in his mind, assumes in his letter of remonstrance to Anatolius that the latter had appointed (*constituisset*) Andrew archdeacon. Anatolius replies that, on the ordination of Aetius as presbyter, Andrew had succeeded him as archdeacon in regular order (*non dignitate honoratus*—S. Leon. *Mag. Op.* vol. i. p. 502, ed. Paris, 1675). But, on the other hand, Sozomen speaks of Serapion as having been appointed by Chrysostom (*ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων αὐτοῦ ἀπετέθησε*—*H. E.* viii. 9), and Theodoret notices that Athanasius was at the head of the deacons, though young in years (*ὡς τὴν ἡλικίαν*), which could hardly have been the case in so large a

church as that of Alexandria if the rule of seniority had been followed. St. Jerome has indeed been sometimes quoted to show that the practice at Alexandria was for the deacons to elect their archdeacon, but the hypothetical form of the sentence ("quomodo si . . . diaconi elegant de se quod . . . iudicium noverint et Archidiaconum vocent") makes it difficult to use the passage as an assertion of an existing fact. In the West there appears to have been a similar diversity of practice. The phrases which are sometimes used (e.g. by Joannes Secundus, *lit. S. Greg. Mar.* i. 25, "levitiam septimum ad suum adiutorium constituit") seem to show, what might also be expected from the nature of the case, that when the archdeacon became not so much the first in rank of the minor officers of the Church as the bishop's secretary and delegate, the bishop had at least a voice in his appointment. But there is a canon of a Gallic council in A.D. 506 (*Conc. Agath.* can. xxiii., Mansi, viii. 328) which strongly asserts the rule of seniority, and enacts that even in cases in which the senior deacon, *propter simpliciore naturam*, was unfit for the office, he was to have the title (*loci sui nomen teneat*), although the burden of the duty devolved upon another. In later times, however, it is clear that the right of appointment rested absolutely with the bishop.

III. *Number, and Duration of Office.*—It is clear, both from the statement of St. Jerome (*Ep. xv. ad Rusticum*, "singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archiepiscopi, singuli archidiaconi") and from the invariable use of the singular number in the canons of the councils which refer to the office, that for several centuries there was but one archdeacon in each diocese. When the number was increased is not altogether clear. The increase seems to have been a result partly of the increase in the number of rural parishes, partly of the difficulty of dividing dioceses which were coextensive with civil divisions. The fact of the Council of Merida (A.D. 866) having directly prohibited the appointment of more than one archdeacon in each diocese seems to indicate that such a practice had been contemplated, if not actually adopted (*Conc. Emerit.* can. x., Mansi, xi. 81); but the first actual record of a plurality of archdeacons occurs a century later in the diocese of Strasburg. In 774, Bishop Heddo divided that diocese into three archdeaconries (*archidiaconatus rurales*), and from that time there appears to have been throughout the West—except in Italy, where the dioceses were small—a general practice of relieving bishops of the difficulties of the administration of overgrown dioceses by appointing archdeacons for separate divisions, and giving them a *delegatio* (ultimately a *delegatio perpetua*) as to the visitation of parishes. Thence grew up the distinction between the "Archidiaconus magnus" of the Cathedral Church and the "Archidiaconi rurales." The former was at the head of the cathedral clergy, whence in much later times he was known as the provost (prepositus) of the cathedral, ranking as such before the archpresbyter or dean. The latter had a corresponding status in their several districts; they were usually at the head of the chapter of a provincial town, and they had precedence, and perhaps jurisdiction, over the "Archipresbyteri rurales," who were at the head of subdivisions

of the archdeaconries, and corresponded to modern "rural deans." There was this further difference between the two classes, that the rural archdeacons were usually priests, whereas the cathedral archdeacon, even so late as the 12th century, was usually a deacon.

Originally, the office was limited to deacons; an archdeacon who received priest's orders ceased thereby to be an archdeacon. Proofs and examples of this are numerous. St. Jerome says (in *Ezech. c. xlviii.*) that an archdeacon "injuriarum putat si presbyter ordinatur." Antolinus made his archdeacon Aetlius a presbyter in order to get rid of him, of which proceeding Leo the Great, in a formal complaint to the Emperor Marcian on the subject, says "dejectionem innocentis per speciem promotionis implevit" (*S. Leon. Magn. Epist.* 57, al. 84); and Sidonius Apollinaris speaks of an archdeacon John who was so good an archdeacon that he was kept from the presbyterate in consequence ("dignitate non potuit augere ne potestate posset absolvi"—*lib. iv. ep. 24*). It is not certain at what date presbyters were allowed to hold office as archdeacons; probably the earliest certain evidence on the point is that which is afforded by Hincmar of Rheims, who (A.D. 874) addresses his archdeacons as "archidiaconibus-presbyteris" (*Mansi, xv. 497*).

IV. *Functions.*—At first an archdeacon differed only from other deacons in respect of precedence. In the churches of the East he was probably never much more. Individual archdeacons attained to eminence, but not by virtue of their office. Their office gave them such privileges as the right of reading the Gospel in the cathedral (e.g. at Alexandria; Sozomen, vii. 19), and of receiving the sacred elements before the other deacons (Joannes Citri, *Resp. ad Cabasil.* sp. Meursius, *Gl. Græco-Barb.* a. v.); but they appear to have had no administrative functions, and at Constantinople, so unimportant did the office become, from an ecclesiastical point of view, that at last the archdeacon became only an officer of the Imperial court (Codinus, *De Off. Constantin.* c. xvii. 38).

It was different in the West. Partly from the fact that the deacons, and especially, therefore, the senior deacon, were the administrative officers of the Church; partly from the fact that the senior deacon had been from early times especially attached to the bishop, the office, which, even in the time of St. Leo, was called the "officiorum primatus" (*S. Leon. Magn. Ep.* 106, al. 71), assumed an importance which at one period was hardly inferior to that of the episcopate itself.

The functions of the office may conveniently be distributed under two heads, according as they grew out of the original functions of the deaconate, or out of the special relation of the archdeacon to the bishop.

(1) The archdeacon seems to have had charge of the funds of the Church; e.g. both St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, in speaking of St. Lawrence, speak of him as having the "opæ ecclesie" in his custody (*S. Aug. Serm. de Divers. cit.* c. 9); and St. Leo describes the appointment of an archdeacon by the phrase "quem ecclesiasticis negotiis præposuit" (*S. Leon. Magn. Ep.* 85, al. 58).

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the poor; St. Jerome speaks of the archdeacon as "mensuram et viduarum minister" (S. Hieron. in *Ezech.* cxlviii.), and the 4th Council of Carthage prohibits a bishop from attending to the "gubernationem viduarum et peregrinarum" himself, but orders him to do so "per archipresbyterum aut per archidiaconum" (*IV. Conc. Carth. can. xvii.*; Mansi, iii. 952).

Afterwards, if we are to trust the letter of Isidore of Seville to the Bishop of Cordova, he appears to have distributed to the clergy of the several orders the money which was offered for their support at the communion (*Isid. Hisp. Ep. ad Ludifr., Op. ed. Paris, 1601, p. 615*).

(2) The archdeacon had the "ordinatio ecclesiac," that is, the superintendence of the arrangements of the cathedral church and of divine service. He was "master of the ceremonies." As such he had (a) to keep note of the calendar, and to announce the fasts and festivals (*Isid. Hisp. ibid.*; cf. the phrase "concionatur in populo" of Jerome in *Ezech.* c. xlviii.). (B) He had to correct offences against ecclesiastical order during divine service; for example, at Carthage a woman who kissed the relics of an unrecognized martyr was reproved (*correcta*) by Caecilian (*Optat. i. p. 18*). Probably this was a duty of the archdeacon in the East as well as in the West; at least it is difficult to account for the origin of the unseemly scuffle between Meletius and his archdeacon at Antioch (*Sozom. H. E. iv. 28*) unless we suppose that the latter was exercising a supposed right. (γ) He had to see that the arrangements of the Church for divine service were properly made, and that the ritual was properly observed. Isidore of Seville (*ibid.*) assigns to him in detail, "cura vestiendi ritaris a levitis, cura incensi, et sacrificii necessaria sollicitudo, quis levitarum Apostolum et Evangelium legat, quis preces dicat."

(8) The same authority, or quasi-authority, may be quoted for his having also charge of the fabric of the cathedral church: "pro reparanda diocesanis basilicis ipse suggerit sacerdoti" (*ibid.*).

(3) The archdeacon had to superintend and to exercise discipline over the deacons and other inferior clergy. This was common to both East and West; and as early as the Council of Chalcedon we find it stated that a deacon (Maras of Edessa) had been excommunicated by his archdeacon (*ἀκωνάγγελός ἐστι τῷ ἴδιῳ ἀρχidiaκόνῳ*; but the bishop, Ibas, who is speaking, goes on to say, *οὐδὲ ἐπιπέσει ἀκωνάγγελος*, which seems to implicate that the bishop and the archdeacon had co-ordinate jurisdiction over deacons; Mansi, vii. 232). A curious instance of the extent of their authority is afforded by a canon of the Council of Agde, in Gaul, which enacts that "Clerici qui comam nutritum ab archidiacono etiam si noluerint inviti detondeantur" (*Conc. Apath. can. xx.*; Mansi, viii. 328). This ordinary jurisdiction of an archdeacon over the inferior clergy must be distinguished from the *delegated* jurisdiction which he possessed in later times. The canon of the Council of Toledo which is cited in the Decretals as giving him an ordinary jurisdiction over presbyters is confessedly spurious (Mansi, iii. 1008).

(4) This power of exercising discipline was combined with the duty of instructing the inferior clergy in the duties of their office. The

ARCHDEACON

4th Council of Carthage enacts that the ostiarius before ordination is to be instructed by the archdeacon. Gregory of Tours identifies the archdeacon with the "preceptor" (*H. F. lib. vi. c. 36*), and speaks of himself as living at the head of the community of deacons (*Vit. Patr. c. 9*). The house of this community appears to have been called the "diaconium" ("lector in diaconio Caecilian" — *Optat. lib. i. c. 21*), and is probably referred to by Paulinus when he says that he lived "sub cura" of the deacon Castus (*Paulin. V. Ambros. c. 42*).

(5) As a corollary from these relations of an archdeacon to the inferior clergy, it was his office to enquire into their character before ordination, and sometimes to take part in the ceremony itself. Even in the East it is possible that he had some kind of control over ordinations, for Ibas is said to have been prevented by his archdeacon from ordaining an unworthy person as bishop (*κωλύεις παρὰ τοῦ τριμκάδα ἀρχidiaκόνου αὐτοῦ*—*Conc. Chalc. act. x.*, as quoted by *Bur. érou*—vii. 224). In the African Church the archdeacon was directed to take part in the ordination of the subdeacons, acolyths, and ceterarius (*IV. Conc. Carthag. Mansi, iii. 951*). Throughout the West his testimony to character appears to have been required. At Rome this was the case even at the ordination of presbyters; but Jerome speaks of it as "unius urbis consuetudinem" (S. Hieron. *Ep. ci. al. lxxxv. ad Evang.*). In later times the archdeacon enquired into the literary as well as into the moral qualifications of candidates for ordination; but there is no distinct authority for supposing this to have been the case during the first nine centuries; the earliest is that of Hincmar of Rheims, in 874, who directed his archdeacon-presbyters to enquire diligently into both the "vita et scientia" of those whom they presented for ordination (Mansi, xv. 497). In one other point they appear in some places to have conformed to later practice, for Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep. i. 29*) reproves his archdeacon for making money from ordination fees (*ἀπὸ τιμῆς χειροτονιῶν*).

2. The second class of an archdeacon's functions were those which grew out of his close connection with the bishop. The closeness of this connection is shown as early as the 4th century by St. Jerome, who says of the "primus ministerium," i.e. the archdeacon, that he never leaves the bishop's side ("a pontificis latere non recedit"—Hieron. in *Ezech.* c. xlvi.). This expression has, without any corroborative evidence except the indefinite phrase of the Apostolical Constitutions (quoted above), been interpreted exclusively of his attendance upon the bishop at the altar. It is probable that this is included in the expression, but it is improbable that nothing else is meant by it. The mass of evidence goes to show that while the arch-presbyter was the bishop's assistant chiefly in spiritual matters, the archdeacon was his assistant chiefly in secular matters.

(1) He was attached to the bishop, probably in the capacity of a modern chaplain or secretary. He transacted the greater part of the business of the diocese; for example, St. Leo speaks of the office as involving "dispensationem totius causae et curae ecclesiasticae" (*Ep. lxxiv. al. lvii.*). He conveyed the bishop's orders to the

clergy; for example, when John of Jerusalem prohibited Epiphanius from preaching, he did so "per archidiaconum" (S. Hieron. *Ep.* xxviii. *al. li.*). He acted as the bishop's substitute at synods; for example, Photinus at the Council of Chalcedon (Mansi, vi. 567). Compare the canon of the Council of Trullo, in 692 (Mansi, xi. 943), which forbids a deacon from having precedence over a presbyter, except when acting as substitute for a bishop, and the canon of the Council of Merida, in 666 (Mansi, xi. 79), which expressly disapproves of the practice. Ordinary deacons were sometimes called the "bishop's eyes," whence Isidore of Pelusium, writing to his archdeacon, says that he ought to be "all eye" (*ὅλος ὀφθαλμὸς ὀφείλεις ὑπάρχειν*—*Isid. Pel. Ep.* l. 29).

(2) In somewhat later times he was delegated by the bishop to visit parishes, and to exercise jurisdiction over all orders of the clergy. There is no trace of this in the East. It grew up in the West with the growth of large dioceses, with the prevalence of the practice of appointing bishops for other than ecclesiastical merits, and with the rise of the principle of the immunity of ecclesiastical persons and things from the jurisdiction of the secular power. But it is difficult to determine the date at which such delegations became common. The earliest evidence upon which reliance can be placed is that of the Council of Auxerre in 578, which enacted that, in certain cases, a parish priest who was detained by infirmity should send "ad archidiaconum suum," implying a certain official relation between them. More definite testimony is afforded by the Council of Châlons in 650, which expressly recognises his right of visiting private chapels ("oratoria per villas potentium"—*I. Conc. Catill.* can. 14; Mansi, x. 1192). A similar enactment was made at the second Council of Châlons, in 813, which, however, censures the exacting of fees for visitations ("ne census exigant"—*II. Conc. Catill.* c. 15). In later times this "delegatio" became a "delegatio perpetua," not revocable at the pleasure of the bishop who had conferred it; but that such was not the case during the first nine centuries is clear from the letter of Hincmar to his archdeacons (quoted above), and also from the fact that Isidore of Seville, whose authority, or quasi-authority, was so frequently quoted to confirm the later pretensions of the archdeacons, only speaks of their visiting parishes "cum iussione episcopi."

The rise of the separate jurisdiction of the archdeacon is still more obscure. In the 6th century we find him named as the bishop's assessor in certain cases (*I. Conc. Matic.* can. 8, Mansi, ix. 933; *II. Conc. Matic.* can. 12; Mansi, ix. 954); but there is no trustworthy evidence in favour of the existence of an "archdeacon's court" within the period of which the present work takes cognizance.

(3) In the East, during the vacancy of a see, the archdeacon appears to have been its guardian or co-guardian. Chrysostom writes to Innocent of Rome, complaining that Theophilus of Alexandria had written to his archdeacon "as though the church were already widowed, and had no bishop" (*ὡςπερ ἦδη χηρῶσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐπίσκοπον*—Mansi, iii. 1085); and in the letter which the Council of Chalcedon wrote to the clergy of Alexandria to inform them of the

deposition of their bishop Dioscorus, the archdeacon and the oecumenos are specially named. In the West it is not clear that this was the case; but sometimes the archdeacon was regarded as having a right of succession. Eulogius (*ap. Phot. Bibl.* 182) says that it was a law at Rome for the archdeacon to succeed; but the instance which he gives, that of Cornelius making his archdeacon a presbyter, to cut off his right of succession, is very questionable, the date being earlier than the existence of the office. No doubt, many archdeacons were chosen to succeed, but the most striking instances which are sometimes quoted to confirm the statement of Eulogius, those of St. Leo and St. Gregory, were probably both exceptional.

(An amusing blunder identified the archdeacon, who was sometimes called not only "oecus episcopi," but "oecus episcopi," with the chorepiscopus or suffragan bishop; the blunder, which has been not unfrequently repeated, seems to be traceable in the first instance to Johannes Abbas *de translatione reliquiarum S. Glodisvidis*, quoted in H. Vales. *Adnot. ad Theodoret.* l. 26.) [E. H.]

ARCHELAI¹, or ARCHILLAUS, commemorated Aug. 23 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ARCHIMANDRITE (*ἀρχων τῆς μονῆρας, prefectus cœnobii*), lit. ruler of "the fold"—the spiritual fold that is—a favourite metaphor for designating monasteries in the East, and very soon applied. As early as A.D. 378 we find St. Epiphanius commencing his work against heresies in consequence of a letter addressed to him by Acacius and Paul, styling themselves "presbyters and archimandrites," that is, fathers of the monasteries in the parts of Carthage and Beroea in Coele-Syria. Possibly St. Epiphanius omits to style them "archimandrites" in his reply, because the term was not yet in general use.* But at the time of the Council of Ephesus the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian received a petition from "a deacon and archimandrite," named Basil (Mansi, tom. iv. p. 1101). At the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 448, under Flavian, 23 archimandrites affixed their signatures to the condemnation of Eutyches, himself an archimandrite. Sometimes the same person was styled archimandrite and hegumen indifferently; but, in general, the archimandrite presided over several monasteries, and the hegumen over but one. The latter was therefore subject to the former, as a bishop to a metropolitan or archbishop. Again, there was an exarch, or visitor of monasteries, by some thought to have been inferior to the archimandrite, by some superior, and by some different only from him in name. But if it is a fact that archimandrites were admitted to their office by the patriarch alone, though he, of course may have sometimes admitted the others as well, it would seem to suggest that they occupied the highest rank in the monastic hierarchy, analogous to that of patriarch amongst bishops. According to Gear (*Euchol.* p. 240) archimandrites had the privilege of ordaining readers, which the ordinary hegumens had not; but he has omitted to point out where this privilege is conferred in the form of admission given by him further on (p. 492). King (p. 337), in his history of the Greek Church, re-

* Both letters are prefixed to his work.

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ARCHINIMUS

gards archimandrite as the equivalent for abbot, and hegumen for prior, in the Western monas-teries; but he can only mean that the offices in each case were analogous. Rarely, but occasion-ally, bishops and archbishops themselves were designated archimandrites in the West and East. For fuller details, see Suicer, *Theaur. Eccl. s. v.*; Du Fresnoie, *Gloss. Græc. s. v., μόνδρα*; Habert's *Pontifical. Eccl. Græc. p. 570, et seq.* [E. S. F.]

ARCHINIMUS, confessor, commemorated March 29 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

ARCHIPARAPHONISTA (Ἀρχιπαράφωνιστής), a principal officer of the Roman "Schola Cantorum." [CANTOR] called also "Quartus Scholæ." It belonged to his office to name the chanters who were to sing the several parts of the service in a Pontifical Mass (*Ordo Romanus, l. c. 7; III. c. 7*); to go before the pope, and place for him a prayer-desk before the altar (*O. R. l. c. 8*); and to bring to the sub-deacon the water for use in the celebration of mass (*O. R. l. c. 14*).

ARCHIPPUS, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul commemorated March 20 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); as "Apostle," Feb. 19 (*Cul. Byzant.*).

ARCHISUBDIACONUS.—This is a word which occurs in the canons of the synod of Auxerre (*Synod. Autissiodor. can. 6*; Mansi, ix. 912), but apparently not elsewhere. If the reading be genuine, it would appear that in some dioceses the subdeacons as well as the deacons had their primate; but it is probable that the reading should be *subarchidiaconum*, which may have been another name for the officer known to the Greeks as *δευτερεύων*, and to some of the stern dioceses as *secundarius*. [E. H.]

ARCHIPRESBYTER. (ἀρχιπρεσβύτερος, term was *πρωτοπρεσβύτερος*, which is found applied to the same person in the corresponding passage of Socrates, *H. E. vi. 9*; cf. also Phot. *Bibl. 59*, in the account of the irregular synod against Chrysostom, and Mansi, vii. 252, from which it appears that the word was found in some versions of the acts of the Council of Chalcedon; in later times = *πρωτοππάς*, Codin. *De Off. Eccl. Const. c. l.*; *archipresbyter*, S. Hieron. *Ep. xcv. ad Rustic.*)

The origin of the office is not clear; after the permanent establishment of the distinction between the episcopate and presbyterate it appears that the senior presbyter had certain recognized rights in virtue of his seniority; but there is no evidence of his having had a distinct name until the close of the 4th century, when we find it, as quoted above, in Socrates.

For some time the name, when given at all, seems to have been given as a matter of course to the presbyter who was senior in date of ordination. But the assertion of Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. xliii. 39*) that he refused *την των προ-βυτερων προτιμωσιν*, which Basil offered him, and the phrase of Liberatus (*Brev. c. xiv.*) "qui [see *Dict. of Chr. Biogr. art. DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA*] et eum [see *Dict. of Chr. Biogr. art. PROTERIUS*] archipresbyterum fecerat" seem to show that in some places in the East the bishop held the power of making a special appointment. In the West, however, this was regarded as a violation of the regular order, for St. Leo (*Ep. v. ad xvii.*) finds great fault with Dorus of Bene-

ARCOSOLIUM

ventum for giving precedence (he does not use the word archpresbyter) to a newly ordained presbyter over his seniors.

At first there appears to have been only one archpresbyter in a diocese (cf. S. Hieron. *Ep. xcv. ad Rustic.*, "singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, singuli archidiaconi"). He took rank next after the bishop, all of whose functions he performed during the vacancy of a see, and some of them, e.g. baptism, during the bishop's temporary absence. It has been held that he had also a right of succession, but this is hardly proved. With the increase in the population of the large dioceses of the West and the growing difficulty of subdividing them, on account of their identification with civil divisions, began the system of placing an archpresbyter (arch. *ruralis*) in each of the larger towns, who stood in the same relation to the clergy of the surrounding district as the archpresbyter of the cathedral to the rest of the clergy of the cathedral. The first mention of these rural archpresbyters is in Gregory of Tours (*Metr. i. 78, ii. 22*). Their duties may be gathered from various canons of Tours, in 567, enacted that subpresbyters were to be liable to penance if they neglected to compel the presbyters and other clergy of their respective districts to live chastely (Mansi, ix. 787). The Council of Auxerre, in 578, inflicted a similar but heavier penalty on them if they neglected to inform the bishop or the archdeacon (the first instance of such a subordination of rank) of clerical delinquencies; and also enacted that "sæcularium" who neglected to submit to the institutionem et admonitionem archipresbyteri astical privileges but also to be fined at the king's discretion (Mansi, ix. 797). From Can. 19 of the Council of Rheims, in 630, it would appear that certain feudal rights of seigniority had begun to attach to the archpresbyters, in consequence of which the office was being held by laymen (Mansi, x. 597). The Council of Châlons, in 650, enacted that lay judges were not to visit monasteries or parishes, except on the invitation in the archpresbyter (Mansi, x. 1191).

The name *decanus*, which was given to the archpresbyter of the cathedral, and *decanus ruralis*, which was given to the archpresbyter of a country district, as also the struggle for precedence between the archpresbyters and the archdeacons, in which the latter were ultimately victorious, belong to a later period. [E. H.]

ARCHIVES. [REGISTERS.]

ARCOSOLIUM. This word is derived by Murigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chret.*) from "arcus," an arch, and "solum," which according to him is sometimes used in the sense of sarcophagus. The word is found in the sense of sarcophagus in the cornice of the Palazzo Borghese (Marchi, *Mon. delle Arti Christ. pri nit. p. 85*), which runs thus: "Domus æternalis Aur. Calsi et Aur. Iarionobis et nostris [leg. comparativum] fecimus cuius suo in pacem." make mention of it, and it has been supposed to denote those tombs hewn in the living rock of the catacombs at Rome (and elsewhere), in which there is an arched opening above the portion reserved for the deposition of

the body to be interred, the grave being dug from above downwards into the reserved portion below the arch.

There seems, however, some reason for doubting whether the attribution of the word is correct, and whether we ought not rather to understand by it the sepulchral chambers or cubicles in which the great majority of these tombs are found.

It is difficult to understand how one tomb of the kind could contain more than about five bodies, even if two were placed in the grave below, and three in loculi cut in the wall under the arch; while the inscription quoted above would seem to imply that a much larger number were to be placed in the arcosolium made by Aurelius Celsus; but it may be that these persons were all mentioned in order that the right of interment of relations or friends might not be disputed if claimed.

It is not clear how or where the parieticulum or partition could be placed. Martigny says that the arcosolia were divided into several compartments by these walls, but does not explain in what way. If the word mean merely the tomb, parieticulum would probably mean the wall included under the arch.

The word may really be derived from "arca," a sarcophagus, and "solium," which among other meanings has that of a piscina or reservoir in a bath, and in mediæval Latin of a chamber generally, it may thus denote a vault containing sarcophagi.

In the tombs of this kind the receptacle for the corpse was sometimes covered by a slab of marble, or sometimes a marble sarcophagus is inserted. In a few cases the sarcophagus projects forward into the chamber, and the sides of the arch are continued to the ground beyond the sarcophagus.

Such slabs or sarcophagi have been supposed to have served as altars during the period of persecution, as being the resting-places of saints or martyrs, and in some instances this may have been the case; but the far greater number of these tombs are no doubt of later date, and simply the monuments used by the wealthier class. The bishops and martyrs of the 3rd century were, as may be seen in the cemetery of Callixtus (on the Via Appia near Rome), placed, not in these "arcosolia" or "monumenta arcuata," but in simple "loculi," excavations in the wall just large enough to receive a body placed lengthwise (v. De Rossi, *Toma Sott. Crist.* t. II. tav. I. II. III.). It seems hardly probable that, when such illustrious martyrs were interred in so humble a manner, more obscure sufferers should be more highly honoured; this consideration seems to afford ground for the supposition that, where a saint or martyr of the first three centuries has been placed in a decorated tomb, such a memorial is to be attributed not to the period of the original interment, but to the piety of a later time. In the 4th and 5th centuries the humble "loculus" was altered into the decorated "monumentum arcuatum," and the whole sepulchral chamber in many cases richly adorned with inscriptions of marble, with stucco, and with paintings. An excellent example of this is afforded by the chamber in the cemetery of Callixtus, in which the remains of the Pope Eusebius (309-311) and Militades (or Melchades, 311-314) were placed, a part of which is represented in the annexed woodcut.

In the walls of this chamber are three large "arcosolia," in front of one of which was a marble slab, with an inscription by Pope Damasus commemorating Pope Eusebius (v. De Rossi, t. II. tav. III. IV. and VIII.). The whole chamber has been richly decorated with marble incrustations, paintings, and mosaics. These decorations it would seem reasonable to assign to Pope Damasus, who undoubtedly set up the inscription. Another inscription by Pope Damasus found in the crypt of St. Sixtus in the same cemetery, testifies the desire then felt to lie in death near the remains of holy personages, and at the same time the awe and respect felt for them in these words—

"Hic fateror volui Damasus mea condere membra
Sed ciores timui sanctos vexare pium."

This pleas are gradually diminished, and loculi are found excavated above, below, before, at the side of the sepulchre of confessors and martyrs. Hence the formulæ "ad sanctos," "ad martyres," "supra sanctos," "retro sanctos," "ante sanctos," often found in inscriptions in the catacombs. A good instance of this practice may be seen over the tomb of Pope Eusebius, where a painting representing the Good Shepherd has been cut through in order to form a loculus.



Arcosolium in the Cemetery of Callixtus.

Loculi so excavated within the arch of the "arcosolia" are, however, too common to be always accounted for in this manner, and in many instances were no doubt intended for the children or near relatives of those who lay below.

In the year 1859, in the cemetery of St. Callixtus, an unviolated "arcosolium" was discovered; in this a marble sarcophagus was found, in which lay a body swathed in numerous bands of linen exactly in the manner shown in the early representations of the raising of Lazarus.

These "arcosolia" were often decorated with paintings, either on the front of the sarcophagus or on the wall above it. Examples may be found in Perret's work on the "Catacombs," vol. I. pl. LVII.-LXX. One of the most remarkable in-

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AREA

stances is the tomb of St. Hermes in the cata-
combs near Rome called by his name.

The tombs of this class are more usually found
in the "cubicula," or small chambers, than in
the galleries of the catacombs: in the former, two,
three, or more are often found. Martigny seeks
to draw a distinction between those found in the
"cubicula," which he thinks may often or gene-
rally be those of wealthy individuals made at
their own cost, and those in the so-called chapels
or larger excavations, which he thinks were com-
munity. In one such chapel in the Christian
of St. Agnes near Rome there are eleven such
tombs. Rostell (*Beschreibung von Rom*, by Bunsen
and others, vol. i. p. 408) gives it as his opinion
that such chapels, especially connected with the
veneration of martyrs, do not usually date from
an earlier period than the 4th or 5th century.
The work of the Cav. de Rossi on the catacombs
(*Roma Crist. Sotterranea*) will no doubt when
completed throw great light on all these ques-
tions, which cannot be satisfactorily solved except
by that union of the most careful and minute in-
vestigation, and candid and impartial criticism,
which that learned archaeologist will bring to
bear upon them.

Examples of tombs of the same form may be
found in structures above ground at a much later
date: two such are in the walls of the entrance
to the baptistry at Albenga, between Nice and
Genoa, a building probably not later than the
7th century. One tomb is quite plain, the other
decorated with plaited ornaments in the style
prevalent circa 800.

[A. N.]

AREA. I. A space within which monuments
stood, which was protected by the Roman law
from the acts of ownership to which other lands
were liable. Such areas are frequent by the
side of most of the great roads leading into Rome,
and letters on the monument describe how many
feet of frontage, and how many in depth, belong to
it. The formula is, IN FR. P. . . IN AG. T. . .
It, "In fronte pedes—"; "In agro pedes—."
The size of these areas varied much; some were
about 125 feet each way seems to have been
common; the example in Horace (*Sat.* i. 8, 12)
gives us 1000 feet by 300; and some appear to
have been even larger than this; one of Gruter's
Inscriptiones, for instance, (l. 2, p. cccxcix. 1),
runs, "Huic monumento cedunt agri puri jugera
decem." So large a space was required, not for the
mausoleum which was to be erected, but in some
cases for the reception of many tombs, in others
for the performance of *sacra*, in others for
numerously attend (Northcote and Brownlow's
Roma Sotterranea, pp. 47 f.).

On a monument or a boundary stone of the
area was engraved a formula indicating that this
plot was not to pass to the heirs of him who set
it apart for sepulture. This was generally
H. M. H. N. S. i. e., "Hoc monumentum haereditas non
sequitur" (Orelli's *Inscriptionum*, No. 4379). The
corresponding Greek form was, "τοῖς κληρονό-
μοις αὐοὺς ἐκαταλύθησθε τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον"
(Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, No. 3270).

In the Roman catacombs care has evidently
been taken lest the subterranean excavations
should transgress the limits of the *area* on the
surface (Northcote, u. s. 48).

ARLES

141

This reverence of the Roman law for burial-
places enabled the early Christians, except in
times of persecution or popular tumult, to
preserve their sepulchres inviolate. The areas
about the tombs of martyrs were especially so
preserved, where meetings for worship were held,
and churches frequently built. Tertullian (*Ad
Scapula*, 3) tells us that when Maximian, a perse-
cutor, had issued an edict against the formation of
such areas, the result was that the areas (thresh-
ing-floors) of the heathen lacked corn the follow-
ing year. So the *Acta Proconsularia* of the trial
of Felix (in Baronius, ann. 314 § 24) speak of the
areas, "where you Christians make prayers," (ubi
orationes facitis). These areas were frequently
named from some well-known person buried
there; thus St. Cyprian is said to have been
buried "in area Canidii Procuratoris" (*Acta
Mart. S. Cypriani* in Ducange's *Glossary* s. v.). In
the *Gesta Purgationis Caeciliani* (*Utd.*), certain
citizens are said to have been shut up "in area
Compare CEMETERY, MARTYRIUM.

II. The court in front of a church [ATRIUM.]
(Bingham's *Antiquities*, viii. 3 § 5.) [C.]

ARELATENSE CONCILIUM. [ARLES.]
ARETHAS and companions, martyrs, com-
memorated Oct. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ARGEUS, martyr, commemorated Jan. 2
(*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ARICION, of Nicomedia, commemorated
June 23 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ARIMINENSE CONCILIUM. [RIMINI.]
ARISTARCHUS, disciple of Apostles, com-
memorated Aug. 4 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*; "Apostle,"
April 15 [14, Neale], (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ARISTIDES, of Athens, commemorated Aug.
31 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ARISTION, one of the Seventy Disciples of
Christ, commemorated Oct. 17 (*Mart. Rom.
Vet.*). [C.]

ARISTOBULUS, "Apostle," commemorated
Oct. 31 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

ARISTON, and others, martyrs, com-
memorated July 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ARISTONICUS, martyr, commemorated
April 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ARISTONIPPUS, commemorated Sept. 3
(*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ARLUS, commemorated Sept. 3 (*Mart.
Bedae*). [C.]

**ARLES, COUNCILS OF (ARELATENSIS
CONCILIA).**—I. A. D. 314, summoned by the
Emperor Constantine to try affirmed by the
of the Donatists against Caecilian, Bishop of
Carthage,—a cause "de Sancti Coelestique
Nunimius cultu et fide Catholica;" because
the former complained that the judgment given
at Rome in 313 by the Pope and certain Gallic
bishops (whom Constantine had appointed to try
the case there), was an unfair one. The emperor
accordingly summoned other bishops, from Sicily,
Italy (not the Bishop of Rome, he having been
one of the former judges), the Gauls (which
include Britain), and Africa itself, to the number
of 200 according to St. Augustin, to come to
Arles by August 1 to retry the case. The ann-

mons to Chrestus of Syracuse (Mansi, II. 466, 467, from Euseb. x.) desires him to bring two presbyters and three servants with him at the public expense. And the letter of Constantine to the *Vicarius Africae* (ib. 463-465) claims it as the emperor's duty to see that such contentions are put an end to. The sentence of the Council, adverse to the Donatists, is likewise to be enforced by the civil power (*Rescript. Constant. post Synodum*, lb. 477, 478). But Constantine in the same letter expressly disclaims all appeal to himself from the "judicium sacerdotum" (ib. 478). The Synod also announces its judgment and its canons to Pope Sylvester, in order that "per te potissimum omnibus insinuari," regretting also the absence of their "frater dilectissimus," who probably would have passed a severer sentence. The canons begin with one enacting that the observance of Easter shall be "anodie et tempore," the Bishop of Rome "juxta consuetudinem" to make the day known. They include also among other regulations a prohibition of the rebaptizing of heretics if they had been baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity; an exhortation ("consilium") to those whose wives had been guilty of adultery, not to marry another "viventibus uxoris;" a requirement to the consecration of a bishop of eight bishops, if possible, but of three at the least; and a condemnation of those "sacerdotes et Levitae," who do not abstain from their wives. The Council was purely a Western one, and of the emperor's selection, although St. Augustine (*De Bapt. cont. Donat.*, II. 9, and elsewhere) calls it "universal." Among the signatures to it, according to the most authentic list, are the well-known ones of, "Eborius Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi provincia Britannia; Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia supra scripta; Adelinus Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium" (i. e. probably, Col. Legionensium i. e. Caerleon on Usk); "exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus" (Mansi, ib. 476, 477). There were present, 23 deacons, 2 readers, 7 exorcists, besides 2 presbyters and 2 deacons to represent Pope Sylvester.

II. A. D. 353, of the Gallic bishops, summoned by the Emperor Constantine to condemn the person of St. Athanasius (but without discussing doctrine) under penalty of exile if they refused, Paulinus, Bishop of Trèves, being actually exiled for refusing (*Sulp. Sever.*, II.; *Hilar.*, *Libell. ad Constant.*; and Mansi, III. 231, 232).

III. A. D. 452, called the second, which compiled and reissued 56 canons of other recent Gallic Councils respecting discipline (Mansi, VII. 875). Possibly there had been another in 451 (*Id. ib.* 873).

IV. A. D. 455, commonly called the third, provincial, determined the dispute between Bishop Theodoris and Faustus abbat of Lerins, by decreeing that the right of ordination, and of giving the chrism, &c., pertain to the bishop, but the jurisdiction over laymen in the monastery to the abbat (Mansi, VII. 907).

V. A. D. 463, provincial, convened by Leontius, Archbishop of Arles, to oppose Mamertinus, Archbishop of Vienne, who had encroached upon the province of Arles (Mansi, VII. 951, from St. Hilary's *Epist.*).

VI. A. D. 475, provincial, under the same Leontius, to condemn the error of "predestination."

The books of Faustus, *De Gratia Dei*, &c., were written to express the sense of the Council, and the Augustinians condemned it as semi-Pelagian (Mansi, VII. 1007).

VII. A. D. 524, commonly called the fourth, provincial, among other canons on discipline, appointed 25 as the age for deacons' orders, and 30 for priests' (Mansi, VIII. 625).

VIII. A. D. 534, commonly called the fifth, provincial, chiefly to reduce monasteries to obedience to their bishop (Mansi, IX. 702).

IX. A. D. 813, under Charlemagne, enacted 26 canons respecting discipline, and among others, that the Bishop "circumcat parochiam suam semel in anno" (c. 17), and that "Comites, iudices, seu reliquus populus, obedientes sint Episcopo, et invicem consentiant ad justitias faciendas" (c. 13; Mansi, XIV. 55). [A. W. H.]

ARMARIUS, in monastic establishments, the precursor and keeper of the church books. Armarius is continually used by Bernard (in *Ordine Cluniacensi*, &c.) for Cantor and Magister Ceremoniarum. [J. H.]

ARMENIA, COUNCIL OF.—A council was held in Armenia, simultaneously with another at Antioch, A. D. 435, condemning the works of Theodoris of Mopsuestia, and Diodorus of Tarsus, lately translated into the language of Armenia and circulated there (Mansi, V. 1179). [E. S. F.]

ARMOGASTES, confessor, commemorated March 29 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

ARMORICA, COUNCIL IN, A. D. 555, to excommunicate Maclou, Bishop of Vannes, who had renounced tonsure and celibacy on the death of his brother Chanao, Count of Brittany (*Greg. Tur.*, *Hist.* IV. 4; Mansi, IX. 742). [A. W. H.]

ARNULPHUS, confessor, Aug. 16 (*Mart. Bedae*); July 18 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

ARONTIUS, commemorated Aug. 27 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

ARPIANUS, martyr, commemorated Dec. 14 (*Cal. By. ant.*). [C.]

ARRHAE, or ARRAE SPONSALITIAE, also *Arrha's*, *Arra's*, earnest money on betrothal. The practice of giving earnest money on betrothal, of which traces are to be found in all parts of the world, has its root evidently in the view, common yet to many savage races, of marriage as the mere sale of a wife, to which betrothal stands in the relation of contract to delivery.

Among the Jews, as will be seen from Selden's treatise, *De Uxor. Hebraicâ* (Book II. cc. 1, 2, 3, 4), betrothal was strictly a contract of purchase for money or money's worth (although two other forms were also admitted); the coin used being, however, the smallest that could be had. The earnest was given either to the wife herself, or to her parents. It could not be of forbidden things or things consecrated to priestly use, or things unlawfully owned, unless such as might have been taken from the woman herself; but a lawfully given earnest was sufficient to constitute betrothal without words spoken. In

* Precursor et Armarius: Armarii nomen obtulit, eo quod in ejus manu solet esse Bibliotheca, quae et in alio nomine Armarius appellatur.—Lucanoe.

* A few words of the chief commentat

strict consistency with the view of marriage as a purchase by the man, it was held that the giving of earnest by the woman was void. And when, at a later period, the use of the ring as a symbol of the earnest crept into Jewish betrothals from Gentile practice, so carefully was the old view preserved that a previous formal inquiry had to be made of two witnesses, whether the ring offered was of equal value with a coin.

The first legal reference among the Romans to the *arrha* on betrothal, and the only one in the *Digest*, belongs to the 3rd century,—i.e. to a period when the Roman world was already to a great extent permeated by foreign influences,—at this time chiefly Oriental. It occurs in a passage from Paulus, who flourished under Alexander Severus, 225-235 (*Dig.* 23, tit. 2, § 38). The jurist lays it down that a public functionary in a province cannot marry a woman from that province, but may become betrothed to her; and that if, after he has given up his office, the woman refuses to marry him, she is only bound to repay any earnest-money she has received,—a text which, it will be observed, applies in strictness only to provincial functionaries, and may thus merely indicate the existence of the practice among subject nations. Certain it is that the chapter of the *Digest* on betrothals (*De Sponsalibus*, 23, tit. 1) says not a word of the *arrha*; Ulpian in it expressly states that "bare consent suffices to constitute betrothal," a legal position on which the stoic betrothals in Plautus supply an admirable comment.

About eighty years later, however—at a time when the northern barbarians had already given development to Rome—the *arrha* appears in full under Constantine—in his life of Maximinus the younger (killed 313), says that he had been betrothed to Junia Fodella, who he had afterwards married to Toxotus, that he was remained with her royal *arrhae*, "but these things, as Junius Cordus relates from the testimony of those who are said to have examined into these things, a necklace of nine pearls, a net of eleven emeralds, a bracelet with a clasp of four jacinths, besides golden and all regal vestments, and other insignia of betrothal."* Ambrrose indeed (346-397) speaks only of the symbolical ring in relating the story of St. Agnes, whom he represents as replying to the Governor of Rome, who wished to marry her to his son, that she stands engaged to another lover, who has offered her far better adornments, and given her for earnest the ring of his affiance (et annulo fidei suae subarrhavit me, *Ep.* 34). To a contemporary of Ambrrose, Pope Julius I. (336-352) is ascribed a decree that if any shall have espoused a wife or given her earnest (si quis uxorem vel uxorem vel subarrhaverit) his brother or other near kinsman may not marry her (*Labbe* and Mansi, *Concil.* ii. 1266). About a century later, the word *arrha* is used figuratively in reference to the Annunciation, considered as a betrothal, by Peter Chrysologus, Archbishop of Ravenna in 433, as quoted by Du Cange, in *rebo*.

In the days of Justinian, we see from the Code

* A few words of the above passage have greatly exercised commentators.

that the earnest-money was a regular element in Byzantine betrothal. It was given to the intended bride or those who acted for her, and was to be repaid in the event of the death of either party (*Cod.* 5, tit. 1, § 3, Law of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, A.D. 380), or of breach of promise by the woman; in the latter case, indeed, the woman *sui juris*, or the father, mother, grandfather or great-grandfather of one under age having to pay an equal woman under age was only bound to simple re- payment, as was also the case in the event of some cause unknown at the time of betrothal which might dispense the woman from fulfilling her promise. The fourth penalty of the earlier law was still, by the one now quoted, made exigible by special contract (*Id.* 5, Law of Leo and Anthemius, A.D. 469). Simple restitution chose to embrace a religious life (1. tit. 1, § 5; Nov. 123, c. xxxix.); or in case of diversity of religious faith between the betrothed, if discovered or occurring after betrothal, but not otherwise (*Code*, 1. tit. 4, § 18, law of Leo and Anthemius, A.D. 469).

It is difficult not to seek for the reason of this development of the *arrha* within the Roman or Byzantine world of the 6th century in some foreign influence. Accordingly, if we turn to the barbarian races which overran the empire from the end of the 4th century, we find almost everywhere the prevalence of that idea of wife-buying, which is the foundation of the betrothal earnest; see for instance in Cincini, *Leges Barbarum Antiquae*, vol. ii. 85, the (reputed) older text of the Salic law, tit. 47, as to the purchase of a widow for three *solidi* and a *denarius*, vol. iii. 17, 18, 22; the *Burgundian Law*, titles xii. 1 and 3, xiv. 3, and xxiv. 2; vol. v. 49, 50; and the *Saxon Law*, titles vi. 1, 2, 3, xii. xviii. 1, 2, &c., or (in the volume of the *Record Commission*) our own *Laws of Ethelbert*, 77, 83; *Ire*, 31. And in the regions overspread by the Frankish tribes in particular, the *arrha*, as a money payment, is visible as a legal element in betrothal. Gregory of Tours (544-595) repeatedly refers to it (l. 42; iv. 47; x. 16).

In the earlier writers there is nothing to connect the betrothal earnest with a religious ceremony. Nor need we be surprised at this, when we recollect that, in the early ages of Christianity, marriage itself was held by the Roman world as a purely civil contract; so that Tertullian, enumerating those ceremonies of heathen society which a Christian might innocently attend, writes that "neither the virile annulus, aut conjunctio maritalis flows from any honour done to an idol" (*De idolol.*, c. 16). And indeed the opinion has been strongly held, as Augusti points out, whilst disclaiming it, that church betrothals did not obtain before the 9th century. The earliest mention of a priestly benediction upon the *sponsa* appears to occur in the 10th canon of the Synod of Reggio, A.D. 850 (see *Labbe* and Mansi, *Concil.* xiv. p. 934); and it is not impossible that that confusion between the *sponsus* and *maritus*, the *sponsa* and *uxor*, which has absolutely prevailed in French, Welsh,

editi Dei, &c., were of the Council, and it as semi-Pelagian

called the fourth, as on discipline, apocryphans orders, and 30

called the fifth, pro- nasteries to obedience (2).

enigme, enacted 26 and among others, at pirochilum suam at "Comites, Judices, ates sint Episcopo, et titilas inciendas" (c. [A. W. H.])

establishments, the church books. Ar- Bernard (in *Ordine* and Magister Cere- [J. H.]

OF.—A council itaneously with au- 5, condemning the uestia, and Diodorus into the language there (Mansi, v. [E. S. F.]

ator, commemorated [C.]

L IN, A.D. 555, to shop of Vanues, who elibacy on the death of Brittany (Greg. 742). [A. W. H.]

or, Aug. 16 (*Mart.* [C.]

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SPONSALITIAE, nest money on be- lying earnest money s are to be found in its root evidently in many savage races, of a wife, to which tion of contract to

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marit nomen obtinuit, eo bilitate, quae et in alio Duacope.

sponsa, sponsa, are synonymous with *marit* and *fermina* in the sense of *marit*. In a contemporary document, the reply of Pope Nicolas I. (858-867) to the consultation of the Bulgarians, the question whether betrothal was a civil or religious ceremony remains undecided; but as he professes to exhibit to them "a custom which the holy Roman Church has received of old, and still holds in such unions," his testimony, though half a century later than the death of Charlemagne, deserves to be here recorded, bearing witness as it does expressly to the betrothal earnest.

"After betrothal," he says, "which is the promised bond of future marriage, and which is celebrated by the consent of those who enter into this, and of those in whose authority they are, and after the betrother hath betrothed to himself the betrothed with earnest by marking her finger with the ring of alliance, and the betrother hath handed over to her a dower satisfactory to both, with a writing containing such contract, before persons invited by both parties, either at once or at a fitting time (to wit, in order that nothing of the kind be done before the time prescribed by law) both proceed to enter into the marriage bond. And first, indeed, they are placed in the Church of the Lord with the oblations which they ought to offer to God by the hand of the priest, and thus finally they receive the benediction and the heavenly garment."

It will be seen from the above passage that whilst Pope Nicolas recognises distinctly the practice of betrothal by *arrha*, symbolized through the ring, yet the only benediction which he expressly mentions is the nuptial, not the sponsal one.

It has been doubted in like manner whether church betrothals were practised at this period in the Greek Church, and whether the form of betrothal in the Greek Euchologium is not of late insertion. That at the date of the last quoted authority, or say in the middle of the 9th century, the Greek ceremonies appertaining to marriage differed already from the Roman appears from the text of Pope Nicolas himself; his very object being to set forth the custom of the Roman Church in contrast to that of the Greek (consuetudinem quam Graecos in nuptialibus contuberniis habere dicunt). Now the striking fact in reference to the form of the Euchologium is that in it the earnest or ἀρραβών is not a mere element in betrothal, but, as with the Jews, actually constitutes it—a practice so characteristic that it can hardly be supposed to flow otherwise than from ancient usage. Here, in fact, the words ἀρραβών, ἀρραβωνίζεσθαι, can only be translated "betrothal," "betrothing." The formula, repeated alternately by the man and the woman, runs: "So and so, the servant of God, betroths to himself (ἀρραβωνίζεσθαι) this handmaid of God in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, new and ever, and world without end. Amen." The prayer is in like manner: "Look upon this Thy servant and this thine handmaid, and confirm their betrothal (σφραγίζον τὴν ἀρραβῶνα αὐτῶν) in faith and concord, and truth, and love. For thou, Lord, didst show us to give the earnest and thereby to confirm all things." And the heading—which may indeed well be more modern—is "service for betrothal, otherwise of the earnest."

The most therefore that can be concluded on

this still doubtful subject seems to be this—1st. That the earnest-money on betrothal, symbolizing as it clearly does the barbarous custom of wife-buying, must essentially have been everywhere in the first instance a civil, not a religious act. 2. That the practice was unknown to ancient Greek and Roman civilization, and was especially foreign to the spirit of the older Roman law. 3. That it was nevertheless firmly rooted in Jewish custom, and may not improbably have passed from thence into the ritual of the Eastern Church, where, as with the Jews, the giving of earnest constitutes the betrothal. 4. That it was very generally prevalent among the barbarian tribes which overran the Roman empire, and seems from them to have passed into its customs and its laws, making its appearance in the course of the 3rd century, and becoming prominent by the 6th century in Justinian's Code, at the same time when we also find its prevalence most distinctly marked in Gaul, and as a Frankish usage. 5. That no distinct trace of it in the ceremonies of the Church can however be pointed out till the later middle age, although it may very likely have prevailed in the Eastern Church from a much earlier period.

It follows, however, from what has been said above that whatever may have lingered in later times of the betrothal *arrha* must be ascribed to very ancient usage; as in the formula quoted by Selden from the Parochial of Ernest, Archbishop of Cologne and Bishop of Liège, which includes the use, not only of the ring, but also, if possible, of real purses with three pieces of silver, "Ioco arrhae sponsa dantur." Our own Sarum ordinal says in reference to betrothal: "men call *arrae* the rings or money or other things to be given to the betrothed by the betrother, which gift is called *sarratio*, particularly however when it is made by gift of a ring." And the two forms of Sarum and York respectively run as follows: "With this ring I thee wed, and this gold and silver I thee give;" (York) "With this ring I wed thee, and with this gold and silver I honour thee, and with this gift I honour thee." The latter formula indeed recalls a direction given in one of the oldest rituals relating to marriage given by Martène, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, vol. ii. p. 127 (extracted from a Rennes missal, to which he ascribes about 700 years of antiquity, or say, of the 11th century), entitled, "Ordo ad sponsam et sponsam benedicendam," which says that "after the blessing of the ring in the name of the Holy Trinity . . . the betrother shall honour her (the betrothed) with gold or silver according to his means" (honore auro vel argento prout poterit sponsas).

As respects the use of the ring in betrothal, see further under RING, and also BETROTHAL.

(Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. ix. 295, and foli. may be consulted, but is far from satisfactory. Bingham, *Antiquities*, book xxii. ch. iii., confounds together everything that can be confounded. Selden, *Uxor Hebraica*, took it, remains by far the best single source of reference.) [J. M. L.]

ARSENIUS. (1) ὁ μέγας, May 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Confessor, July 19 (*Mart. Decic.*).

(3) Martyr, commemorated Dec. 14 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

[L.]

ARTEMIUS. (1) Husband of Candida, martyr, at Rome, commemorated June 6 (*Mar. Mart.*).

(2) *Μεγαλομάρτυρ* of Antioch, Oct. 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

ARTEMON, commemorated Oct. 24 (*Cal. Armen.*).

AHVERNENSE CONCILIIUM. [GALLICAN COUNCILS.]

ASCENSION DAY: (*Ascensio* and *Ascensa Domini*; *dies festus Ascensionis*; *ἑορτὴ τῆς ἀναλήψεως*; ἡ ἀνάληψις and ἡμέρα ἀναλήψεως).

This festival, assigned, in virtue of Acts i. 3, to the fortieth day after Easter-day, is not one of those which from the earliest times were generally observed. No mention of it occurs before the 4th century, unless an earlier date can be made good for the "Apostolic Constitutions," or for the passages in which mention is made of this festival—1 Th. v. 19: "From the first day (Easter-day) number ye forty days to the fifth day (Thursday), and celebrate the Feast of the ἀνάληψις τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἡν πληρώσας πέντε οἰκονομίας καὶ διδάραξιν ἀνήλαθι, κ. τ. α." vili. 33, "On what days servatae are to rest from work: τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἀγγελωσάντων διὰ τὸ πέρας τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν οἰκονομίας." Origen (*c. Cel.* viii. 362), names as holy-days generally observed, besides the Lord's Day, only Parascene (Good Friday), Pascha (Easter-day), and Pentecost. No others than these are mentioned by Tertullian. Of sermons preached on this festival, the oldest seems to be one extant only in a Latin version, ap. Sirmoudi *Opp. Varie.* grounds, assign to Eusebius the Church historian; and the preacher dwells chiefly on the Resurrection; but the opening words show that it was coeli de restitute presentia, in qua Dominum suscepere victorem." Next, perhaps, in point of antiquity, is one by Epiphanius (t. ii. 285, ed. Petar.). In the opening, he complains that the greatness of this festival is not duly appreciated, though it is, to the others, what the head is to the body, the crown and completion. First, he says, is the Feast of Incarnation; second, the Theophania; third, the Passion and Resurrection. "But because it still left the risen Lord fettered to this earth. The Pentecost, also, on which the Holy Ghost was communicated, contains a great, un-speakable joy. But to-day, the day of the opening highest heavens, &c." It is, of course, here named before Ascension. There were included, 1, 5, and 34 *ad fin.*, and other Gnostics (represented by the *Ascensio Esauie*, Aethiop.), who assigned a period of eighteen months to our Lord's sojourn on earth after the Resurrection; and besides, there are traces of a belief among the orthodox that the bodily presence of the risen Lord with his disciples, from time to time, was continued during three years and six months (*Eus. Dem. Ec.* viii. 400 B; *Bromer's Ordo Saeculorum*, p. 82 f.); but certainly the day on which the Ascension was celebrated was, in all the churches, the fortieth after Easter-day. Of

about the same time, is a sermon by St. Gregory Aegumenon τῷ ἐπιχώριον τῶν Καραβάδων 1061, ἡμέρα τ. X. Bingham, Augusti, Rheinwald, Alt, and others, explain this as ἑορτὴ τῆς ἐπισημοῦ ἀναλήψεως, with reference to the crowning work of redemption in the glorification of the Manhood. The name, marked by Gregory as local to Capadocia, is not retained in the Greek calendar, but it occurs in the title of St. Chrysostom's 19th sermon on the Statues (*ad pop. Antioch.*, t. ii. 188 Ben.), τῆ κυριακῇ τῆς Ἐπισημοῦ ἀναλήψεως. Leo Allatius (*de Domn. et Hebdom. Ascensionum*, § 28), who evidently knows the designation only from the two places, says that of the Sunday is 'the fifth after Easter, the Sunday dictine' (*Benefat.* t. ii. xi. 174) infers from the preface of this sermon in the series between S. 18, at the end of the Quadragesima, that it was delivered on Passion Sunday, 5 Lent. But *Anna* (t. iv. p. 1 A.) clearly shows that the 19th sermon is later by "many days" than the 21st, preached on Easter-day; see the *Benefat. Anna*, and also (for Montfaucon's final conclusion) *Vit. Chrysost.* t. xiii. 128 sqq. ed. Par. Ben. 2. Hence it appears that the Sunday Ἐπισημοῦ ἀναλήψεως cannot be, as Savile (t. viii. 803) supposes, the octave of Easter, *dominica in albis*, and it seems most probable that Leo Allatius is right in making it the Sunday of Ascension week. In this case, the term Ἐπισημοῦ ἀναλήψεως belongs to the Feast of Ascension. Baumgarten (*Erkält. des Christl. Alterthums*, p. 299 ap. Augusti) takes it to mean any day specially retained for solemn celebration over and above the great festivals; in this sense, or rather, perhaps, in that of "a holiday gained or secured in addition," it will be suitable to the Feast of Ascension as one of recent introduction, regarded as a welcome boon especially to servants and labourers. On the Feast itself, Chrysostom has one sermon (t. ii. 447), of uncertain date. The celebration was held *in die* τῆς Good Friday (*Serm. de Coemet. et de Cruce*, t. ii. 397), was here done on a special occasion, in Flavian had rescued from impure contact, and translated to the martyrrium called Romanesia extramural celebration or procession was the established practice at Antioch on Ascension-day. In the sermon de *Philogonia*, preached extolling the dignity of the approaching Feast of Nativity (then of recent introduction), says: "From this the Theophania and the sacred Pascha, and the Ascension, and the Pentecost have their origin. For had not Christ been born as the flesh, He had not been baptised, which Pascha; had not sent the Spirit, which is the Pentecost." Here the words καὶ ἡ ἀνάληψις are clearly an interpolation. The three ancient festivals, he would say, are Theophanin, Pascha, Pentecost; they require Nativity as their

ground. So in *Serm. 1 de Pentecoste* (t. l. 458)—also of unknown date—he enumerates as the three leading festivals, Epiphany, Pascha, Pentecost, with no mention of Nativity or of Ascension, although p. 461 he refers to the Ascension as an event: "for, ten days since, our nature ascended to the royal throne," &c. But in another, the second *de Pentecoste* (ib. 469), he says: "Not long since we celebrated the Cross and Passion, the Resurrection, after this, the Ascension into heaven of our Lord Jesus Christ."

On the whole, it would seem that, so far as our sources of information go, the institution of this festival, in the East, dates at earliest from the middle of the 4th century.

Nor do we find it earlier in the Western Church: there is no mention of it in Tertullian, SS. Cyprian, Ambrose, Hilary, or in the canons of the early councils. In St. Augustine's time, indeed, the usage was so well-established that he speaks of it as universal, therefore of Apostolic institution. In the Epistle to Januarius, liv. [fol. cxviii.] (t. ii. 123, sqq. Ben.), he ranks it with Pascha and Pentecost. "Illa autem quae non scripta sed tradita custodiuntur, quae quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur, datur intelligi vel ab ipsis Apostolis vel plenariis conciliis. . . commendata atque statuta retineri, sicuti quod Domini passio et resurrectio et *ascensio* in caelum, ad adventus de caelo Sp. sancti, anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur," &c. (He does not name the Nativity, this was well understood to be of recent institution.) Beveridge, *Cod. Can. Vindic.* c. ix. puts the argument thus:—"Whatever is universal in the Church must be either Apostolic or ordained by general councils; but no general council did ordain these festivals, therefore they come to us from the Apostles 'hemselves.'" On the authority of this passage of St. Augustine, liturgical writers, Martene and others, have not hesitated to conclude that the Feast of Ascension is as old as Pascha and Pentecost. In the silence of the first three centuries, we can, at most, accept the passage as testimony to matter of fact, that at the end of the 4th century Ascension-day was generally kept; as in the second of his five Ascension-sermons (261-265, t. v. 1065 sqq. Ben.), St. Augustine says, § 3, "Ecce celebratur hodieus dies toto orbe terrarum." From this time, certainly, the observance of the day was general in East and West. But it does not appear to have ranked with the highest festivals, which were Nativity, Easter, and Pentecost (*Concil. Aqathense*, n. 506, can. 63, and *Aurelianense* 1, a. 511, can. 25). As a feast of secondary order, it ranked, in the Latin Church with Epiphany and St. John Baptist's-day (comp. *Concil. Aqath.* can. 24). In the Eastern Church it was celebrated with solemn extra-mural processions—possibly as early as St. Chrysostom's time at Antioch, though, as before observed, this is not necessarily implied in the passage cited; in Jerusalem, to the Mount Olivet, in which the Empress Helena had erected a church. Beale says that the celebration there was almost as solemn as that of Easter; it began at midnight, and with the multitude of tapers and torches the mountain and the subjacent landscape were all ablaze (*de loc. sac.* c. 7). Elsewhere, the procession was to the nearest hill or rising ground, from which at the same time a benediction was pronounced on the fields and

fruits of the earth. In the Western Church this procession and benediction were transferred to the Rogation-days; and when Gregory of Tours, ob. 595 (*Hist. Franc.* v. 11), speaks of the solemn processions with which Ascension-day was everywhere celebrated, perhaps he means only processions into the churches. Martene describes one such as held at Vienne, in France. The archbishop, with deacon and subdeacon, headed it: on their return to the church, they are received by all standing in the nave; two canons advance towards the cantors; Cant. *Quem quaeritis?* Canon. *Jesus qui resurrexit.* Cant. *Jam ascendit, sicut dixit.* Canon. *Alleluia.* Then all proceed into the choir, and mass is celebrated. There was also, on this day, in some churches (in others reserved for Pentecost) a service of benediction over leaves provided for the poor, and also over the new fruits of the earth.

The vigil of Ascension was kept by some as a fast, as an exception to the ancient rule, rigidly maintained by the Greeks, and long contended for by many of the Latins. "Hoc [paschali] tempore nullius festi vigiliam jejunare vel observare jubemur, nisi *Ascensionis* et *Pentecostes*." (*Micrologus, de Eccl. Observat.* c. 55.) Isidore of Seville (610) (*de Eccl. Off.* c. 37) acknowledges no fast whatever between Easter and Ascension-day: he holds that all fifty days to Pentecost are days of rejoicing only; but some, he says, on the ground of our Lord's words, St. Matt. ix. 15, "Can the children of the bride-chamber mourn," &c., kept fast on the eight days from Ascension to Pentecost. The extended fast of three days before Ascension, which Amalarius (*de Eccl. Off.* iv. 37) calls *triduanum vigiliae Ascens. jejunium* (apologising, as do other early liturgical writers, for that institution as an innovation upon the known ancient rule of East and West) came but slowly into general observance in the Western Church. Especially was this the case in Spain. "Hispani, propter hoc quod scriptum est," says Walafrid Strabo (821) (*de rebus Eccl.* c. 28), "Non possunt filii sponsi lugere quamdiu cum illis est sponsus, infra quinquagesimam Paschae recuantes jejunare, litanias suas post Pentecosten posuerunt, quinta, sexta et septima feriis ejusdem hebdomadis eas facientes." Accordingly, in the Spanish collection of the Canons, the wording of those relating to the Rogation Fast is altered. In *Conc. Aurelian.* i. can. 27, the title, "De Litanis ante asc. Domini celebrandis," is made, "Ut Litanie post Dom. asc. celebrentur;" and in the body of the Canon, for "Rogationes, *i. e.*, Litanias ante asc. Dom. ab omnibus ecclesiis placuit celebrari ita ut praemisum triduanum jejunium in Dom. ascensionis festivitate solvatur," the Spanish *coena* has, "Rog., *i. e.*, lit. post Asc. Dom. placuit celebrari, ita ut praem. tril. jej. post Dom. asc. solemnitatem solvatur;" and the next canon which pronounces censure "de clericis qui ad litanias venire contempserint," is made to affect only clerics who refuse to come *ad officium, ad opus sacrum* generally.

The Mosarabic Order does not even recognise a vigil of Ascension, though it has one for Pentecost.

There was no octave of Ascension; the following Sunday is simply *Dominica post Ascensionem*.

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ASCENSION DAY

(Binterim, *Die vorzüglichsten Denkm. der Christkathol. Kirche*, B. v. Th. i. 253-256. Angusti, *Denkm. der Christl. Archäologie*, B. ii. 351 sqq. Rheinwald, *Die Kirchliche Archäologie*, 204 sq. Horn, *Ueber das Alter des Himmelfahrtstages*, in *Liturg. Journal*, v. J. H. Wagwitz, 1806.) [H. B.]

ASCETICISM. The difficulty of tracing the history of asceticism in the early ages of Christianity arises in part from scantiness of materials, but chiefly from the circumstance that this and the cognate terms have been used in two senses, one general, one more specific. These two significations, and this enhances the difficulty, cannot be strictly assigned to different periods, being not infrequently synchronous; nor is it always easy to distinguish one from the other merely by the context. The neglect of this important distinction and the vehemence of this important complicated the controversy on the origin and that Ascetics as an order are coeval with Christianity, some denying their existence altogether till the 4th century. Neither statement can be accepted without some qualification. The following attempt at an historical sketch of asceticism among Christians, in its earlier phases, is based on a collation of the principal passages in early Christian writers bearing on the subject.

The principle of asceticism, and this is allowed on all sides, was in force before Christianity. The Essenes, for instance, among the Jews, owed their existence as a sect to this principle. It was dominant in the oriental systems of natagomism between mind and matter. It asserted itself even among the more sensuous philosophers of Greece with their larger sympathy for the pleasurable development of man's physical energies. But the fuller and more systematic development of the ascetic life among Christians is in contact with the Alexandrine coming into contact with the Alexandrine school of thought, and exhibits itself first in a country subject to the combined influences of Judaism and of Platonic philosophy. Indeed, the great and fundamental principle on which asceticism, in its narrower meaning rests, of a two-fold morality, one expressed in "Precepts" of universal obligation for the multitude, and one expressed in "Counsels of Perfection" intended only for those more advanced in holiness, with its doctrine that the passions are to be extirpated rather than controlled (Orig. *Ep. ad Rom.* Lib. iii.; Tertull. 775) is very closely akin to the Platonic or Pythagorean distinction between the life according to nature and the life above nature, as well as to the doctrine of the supremacy of the contemplative above the practical life, and is more naturally deducible from this source than from any other (Porphyry, *de Abstinent.*; Eus. *H. E.* li. 17). In fact the ascetics of the 3rd and 4th centuries loved the designation of philosophers (Row. *Vitae Patr.* pass.; cf. Greg. Nyss. *Orat. Catech.* 18; Soz. *H. E.* l. 13). At the same time it must be noted that the Church uttered its protests from time to time against the idea of there being anything essentially unholy in matter, and its cautions against excessive abstinence. Thus Origen insists that the Christian reason for abstinence is not that of Pythagoras (c. *Celsum* r. 264); and the so called "Apostolic Canons" (51, 53) while approving asceticism as a useful

ASCETICISM

discipline condemn the abhorrence of things in themselves innocent as if they involved any contamination (cf. *Ens.* II. E. v. 3).

During the 1st century and a half of Christian distinctness there are no indications of ascetics as a class, and while the Church, as a small and compact community, was struggling for existence against opposing forces on every side, the profane ascetic Christianity was itself a profession of faith of hardihood, of constant self-denial (cf. *Acts* ii. 44; *iv.* 34, 35). Thus, even at a rather later date, Clemens of Alexandria represents Christianity as an *ἀσκησις* (*Strom.* iv. 22; cf. *Migne.* Fel. *Ort.* ec. 12, 31, 36). Similarly the term is applied to any conspicuous example of fortitude or patience. Eusebius so designates certain martyrs in Palestine (*de Mart. Pal.* 10), a region introduced till the middle of the 4th century (Hieron. *Vit. Hilar.* 14), and Clemens of Alexandria, calls the patriarch Jacob an *ἀσκητής* (*Pedagog.* i. 7). This more vague and more general use of the word appears again and again even after the formal institution of monachism. Athanasius, or whoever is the author, speaking of the sufferings of the martyr Lucian, in prison, calls him "a great ascetic" (*Synops. Ser. Sior.*). Cyril, of Jerusalem, calls those who, like Anna the prophetess, are frequent and earnest in prayer "ascetics" (*Catech.* l. 19). Jerome applies the word to Pictorius for his self-chosen poverty, and to Serapion, Bishop of Antioch because, prior to his lapse into heresy, he had abstained, though without any vow, from marriage (*Haer.* xlii.). Cyril of Alexandria uses *ἀσκησις* as equivalent to self-denial (in *Joan.* xiii. 35) in the same way as Chrysostom speaks of virtue as a discipline (*Hom. in Inscr. Act. Apostol.* ii. 8). So far there is nothing to prove the existence of an ascetic class or order bound by rules not common to all Christians.

For about a century subsequent to 150 A.D. there begin to be traces of an asceticism more sharply defined and occupying a more distinct position; but not as yet requiring its votaries to separate themselves entirely from the rest of the community. Athenagoras speaks of persons habitually abstaining from matrimony (*Apol.* pro *Chr.* xviii. 129; cf. Irenaeus ap. *Ens.* II. E. v. 241; cf. Dionys. Alexandr.). Eusebius mentions devout persons, ascetics, but not an order, who ministered to the poor (*de Mart. Pal.* ec. 10, 11), and calls Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem, an "ascetic" (*H. E.* vi. 9). Tertullian uses the term "exercitanti" or disciplined, (*de Puerc.* 14), but, apparently in reference to students of Holy Scripture. Clemens of Alexandria styles the ascetics *ἐλεγκτῶν ἐκείνων* "more elect than the elect" (*Hom.* "Quis Dives?" 36; cf. *Strom.* viii. 15); and Epiphanius in a later century speaks of monks as of *σπουδαίοι* or "earnest" (*Expos. Fid.* 22; cf. *Ens.* II. E. vi. 11). The age to be restricted to those who devoted themselves to a life of more than ordinary strictness. This increasing reverence for austerities as such is seen in most of the sects, which were prominent in the 2nd century; only with the exaggeration which usually characterises move-

ments of the kind. The Neutaniists prescribed a rigorous asceticism, not for their more zealous disciples only, but for all indiscriminately. The Syrian Gnostics, the followers of Saturninus and Basilides, the Encratitae, the disciples of Cerdo and Marcion in Asia Minor and Italy, all carried the notion of there being an inherent pollution in the material world, and of it being the positive duty of Christians to shun all contact with it, to an extent which left even the Church doctrine of asceticism far behind (Iren. *adv. Haer.* i. 24; Epiph. *Haer.* 23). How far their practice corresponded with theory is doubtful. The proueness of human nature to a reaction into excessive laxity after excessive austerities hardly admits of exception, and gives probability to the allegations made by the orthodox writers of flagrant licentiousness in some cases.

The middle of the 3rd century marks an era in the development of Christian asceticism. Antony, Paul, Ammon, and other Egyptian Christians not content, as the ascetics before them, to lead a life of extraordinary strictness and severity in towns and villages, aspired to a more thorough estrangement of themselves from all earthly ties; and by their teaching and example led very many to the wilderness, there to live and die in almost utter seclusion from their fellows. The Great Decian persecution was probably the immediate occasion of this exodus from the cities into the desert; not only by driving many to take refuge in the desert, but by exciting a spirit which longed to emulate the self-renunciation of the martyrs and confessors. But it was probably the influence of the Alexandrine teaching, as has been already suggested, which had fostered the longing to escape altogether from the contaminations and persecutions of an evil world. It was no longer, as in earlier days, only or chiefly from external enemies that a devout Christian felt himself in danger. As Christianity widened the circle of its operations, it became inevitably less discriminating as to the character of those who were admitted into the community; and the gradual intrusion of a more secular spirit, among Christians, first forced those who were more thoroughly in earnest to aim at a stricter life in the world, and then thrust them out of the world altogether. Eusebius bears witness to this Alexandrine influence on Christian asceticism in a remarkable comparison of the ascetics of his own creed with the Therapeutae in Egypt (*H. E.* ii. 17; *Sez. H. E.* i. 13). There seems to have been something in the climate and associations of Egypt (as in Syria) which predisposed men thus to abdicate the duties and responsibilities belonging to active life. The exact position which these Therapeutae occupied is uncertain. Probably they were in existence prior to Christianity; are not to be confounded with the Essenes; but were chiefly, though not exclusively, Jews. From Philo's account (*de Vita Contempl.* pp. 892-4) it seems clear, at any rate, that this manner of life resembled in many respects that of the Christian ascetics in the desert. They dwelt in separate cells not far from one another; renounced their possessions; practised fastings and other austerities; and devoted themselves partly to contemplation, and in part to study. In this last point their example was not imitated by their Christian anti-types in Egypt. They seem to have been imbued with the mystical spirit of

Alexandria. Their name signifies that they gave themselves either to serve God, or, more probably, to cultivate their own souls and those of their disciples. (*Eus. H. E.* ii. 17.)

Hitherto Christian asceticism has been individualistic in its character. About the middle of the 4th century it begins to assume a corporate character. Naturally, as the number of recluses increased, the need was felt of organisation. Pachomius is generally regarded as the first to form a "Coenobium," that is an association of ascetics dwelling together under one supreme authority (Hieron. *Reg. Pach.*; cf. *Gravesen Hist. Eccl.* i. 116). A fixed rule of conduct and a promise to observe the rule were the natural consequences of forming a society. But the execution of an irrevocable and lifelong vow belongs to a later phase of asceticism. James of Nisibis speaks of ascetics practising a rigid celibacy (*Serm.* 6tus). The term ascetic begins now to be nearly equivalent to monastic. The so-called "Apostolical Constitutions," which are generally assigned to this period, enumerate "ascetics," but not "monks" among orders of Christians (13). The *λόγος ἀσκητικῶς* of Basil of Caesarea is on the monastic life. So *ἀσκησις* is used by Palladius (*Hist. Consl.* Proem. c. 46, &c.); in eunuchs of the Council of Gangra against excessive asceticism (12, 13), and by Athanasius in his life of Antony. Athanasius calls the two disciples who waited on Antony *ἀσκητικοί*, "learning to be ascetics." *Ἀσκητικὸν* in *Socrates* (*H. E.* iv. 23) means what is now called a monastery; *ἀσκητικὴ καλῶσις*, a monastic cell (Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 25). At that time *μοναστηριῶν* was, as the word literally expresses, a separate cell; *ἀσκητηριῶν* a common dwelling-place under the rule of a superior, in which those who desired, according to the idea of the age, a yet higher stage of perfection, might be trained and disciplined for absolute seclusion (Greg. *Naz. Or.* xx. 359). In the middle ages the word "asceterium" was altered into "archisterium" or "archisterium" (*Du Cange*, s. voce.).

In the beginning of the 6th century the widows and virgins who were officially recognised as such, are designated *ἀσκητρίαι* (Justinian, *Novell.* cxliii. 43). At a later period the word means a nun; and is the Greek equivalent for "sanctimonialis," or "monialis" (Phot. *Nomocan.* Tit. ix. 1 p. 207). *Ἀσκητρίαι* is a later form for *ἀσκητής*.

The history of asceticism, after the institution of monastic societies belongs to the history of MONASTICISM. There it will be seen with what marvellous rapidity this development of Christian asceticism spread far and wide from the deserts of the Thebaid and Lower Egypt; how Basil, Jerome, Athanasius, Augustine, Ambrose, were foremost among its earliest advocates and propagators, and how Cassian, Columbanus, Benedict and others crowned the labours of their predecessors by a more elaborate organisation. It is enough here to endeavour to trace the gradual and almost imperceptible process by which asceticism, from being the common attribute of Christianity, became in course of time the distinctive speciality of a class within the Christian community.

(Besides the writers quoted already, seeingham, *Origines*, bk. vii. Paleotimo, *Summa Antiquitatum*, lib. vii. Gluck's *Atteserrae Origines Rei Monasticae*. Mamachi, *Costumi dei primitivi*

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ASCIAMENSE

Christiani. Dissertatio de Ascetis prae- f. S. Jac. No. Ser. vi. Claudii Sulmasii *Notae* in Tertull. de Pallio. [I. G. S.]

ASCIAMENSE CONCILIIUM.—A council was held, A.D. 763, at Aschein, under Tassilo II, Duke of Bavaria, that passed 15 decrees on discipline. [E. S. F.]

ASCLEPIADES, bishop and martyr, commemorated Oct. 18 (*Mart. Rom. Vol.*). [C.]

ASH WEDNESDAY. [L. E. T.]

ASIATICUM CONCILIIUM.—A council was held, A.D. 245, in Asia Minor against Noetus, but at what place is uncertain. [E. S. F.]

ASINARI (Tertull. *Apol.* c. xvi.), a term of reproach against the early Christians. That ass, was a worshipped an ass, or the head of an Gentile world. Tacitus (*Hist. v.* 4) says that there was a consecrated image of an ass in the temple, the reason for this special honour being that a herd of wild asses had been the means of guiding the Jews, when they were in the desert, to springs of water. Plutarch (*Sympos.* iv. 5, 2) tells virtually the same story. Diodorus Siculus says (*lib. xxxiv. Frag.*) that Antiochus Epiphanes found in the temple a stone image representing a man sitting upon an ass; but on the other hand Josephus (*c. Apion.* ii. c. 7) adduces the fact that no such image had been found in the temple by any conqueror as an argument for the grandness of the columny.

The same belief appears to have prevailed in reference to the early Christians. It is mentioned by both Tertullian (*Ad Nat.* i. 14; *Apol.* xvi.) and Minucius Felix (*Octav.* 9 and 28), but, though referred to in later times, appears to have died out in the course of the 3rd century. (The fact mentioned by Servetus, *De Trin. Error.* c. 16, that he heard the same reproach made by the Turks against the Christians in Africa is probably to be connected with the medieval "Festival of the Ass" rather than with the earlier calumny.)

The origin of the reproach has been a subject of various speculations:—(1) It has been considered to have arisen somewhere in the Gentile world, and to have been applied to the Jews before the Christian era. On this hypothesis various explanations of it have been given. Morinus (*De Capite Asinino Deo Christiano*, Dordrecht, 1620) thought that there was a confusion between the two words *Chamer* (חָמֶר), which is used (?) for the "pot" of manna in the temple, and *Chamor* (חָמֹר), which means a "wild ass," and that this confusion was confirmed by the appearance of the pot of manna with its two large *tunis* *in* *paeta*, Eriart, 1716) thought that the ritans among the Jews (? more probably late Samaritans) the more sacred word "Jehovah" (= "name") for getel the perversion "asinus" may have suggested; and Heinsius (*De Laude Asini*, p. 185, el. 1629) thought that the *supavds* which the Jews were reputed to worship ("nil praeter anbes et ocell nomen adorant," Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 97) was corrupted into *as.* (2) It has been considered to have arisen in Egypt, and on this hypothesis two explanations have been given. Tanaquil Faber (*Epist.* i. 0) thought that it was a corrup-

tion from the name of Onias, who built a Jewish temple at Heliopolis; and Bochart (*Hierozoic.* i. 2. c. 18) thought that the Egyptians wilfully perverted the expression "Pi iao" (= "mouth of God") into "Pieo," which in an Egyptian vocabulary edited by Kircher signifies "ass." (3) It has been viewed as a calumny of the Jews against the Christians, which was refuted back upon the Jews themselves. In favour of this view it is urged that Tertullian distinctly speaks of it as a Jewish calumny; and against it is the prevalence of the story in writers when a Jewish calumny, however industriously spread, would hardly originate from the use of the ass as a symbol by some Gnostic sects. That the ass was thus used is clear from the statement of Epiphanius (*c. Haeres.* 26, 10; see also Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 9)

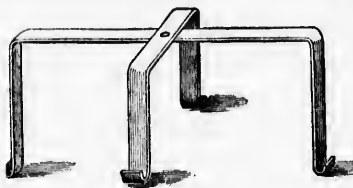
Between these various hypotheses it is hardly possible, in the absence of further evidence, to make a choice; the question must be left undecided. A slight additional interest has been given to it by the discovery at Rome, in '856, on a wall under the western angle of the Palatine, mentioned by Tertullian. The apologist's words are (*Ad Nat.* i. 14)—"nuper quidam perillidissior in isto ditivato, etiam suae religionis desertor, in sola detrivato, cutis Judeans . . . preturam in nos proposuit sub ista proscriptioe ONOCOETES. Is erat auribus anteriorum et in toga, cum libro, altero pede unglato. Et creditit vulgus infami Judaeo." The *graffito* in question represents an almost similar caricature, evidently directed against some Christian configure with a human body wearing an *intervala*, figure lifting up his head, possibly in the attitude of prayer. Underneath is written ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΤΕ ΘΕΟΝ ("Alexamenos is worshipping *graffito* having been written towards the end of the 2nd century, about the very time at which Tertullian wrote (see P. Garnucci's article, with serie 3, vol. iv. p. 529). This *graffito* is now preserved in the library of the Collegio Romano in Rome. [E. H.]

ASPERGILLUM. The brush or twig used for sprinkling Holy Water (HOLY WATER). It anciently was, or was said to be, of hyssop, a plant supposed to possess cleansing virtues, from its use in the Mosaic law, and the well-known reference to it in the 51st Psalm. Thus, in the Gregorian Sacramentary (p. 148) the bishop in seven times with hyssop, sprinkles the altar name *Goupi* indicates that a fox's brush was some time used as an aspergillum. (*Goupi* for *Vulpicula*, Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v.). [C.]

ASPERSION. [BAPTISM.]
ASS, WORSHIP OF THE. [ASINARI.]
ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN. [MARY THE VIRGIN, FESTIVAL OF.]

ASTERISCUS (sometimes called *Stellula* by Latin writers). To prevent the veil from disturbing the particles arranged on the discus or Lucharist, St. Chrysostom is said to have invented two small arches to support it. These, when

placed so as to cross each other, resembled a star, and hence were called *ἀστροὶ* or *ἀστρίσκος*, the star; hence the priest, placing it over the patient, is directed to say, "And the star came and stood over where the young child was." In modern times the arches are riveted together at the point of intersection, but so loosely as to admit of one arch being turned within the other for convenience of carriage. See woodcut. (Neale, *Eastern Church, Introd.* 350; Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, iv. 336, 390.) [C.]



Asteriscus.

ASTERIUS, martyr, commemorated March 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*) [C.]

ASTORGA, COUNCIL OF (ASTURICENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 446, condemned certain Manichees, or Priscillianists (Cave; Mansi, vi. 490; but omitted by Labbe). [A. W. H.]

ASTROLOGERS. No element of heathenism was more difficult to eradicate than the belief that the stars in their courses influenced the lives of men, and that the destinies of individuals and of nations might be foretold by those who studied their combinations. Under the names of *Chaldei* (as representing those who were more famous than any other people of the ancient world for their devotion to this study), *Mathematici* (in popular language this had become the exclusive meaning of the word), *Apotelesmatici* (dealing with the *ἀποτελεσματα*, or influences of the stars), *Genethliaci* (as casting horoscopes of the positions of the planets at the hour of birth), they were to be found in every city of the empire. They became on many grounds objects of suspicion to its police. They were cheats and impostors; they brought in the foreign, eastern superstitions of which Roman magistrates stood in dread; they might at any time play into the hands of political rivals by predicting their success as the favourites of heaven. The annals of the empire accordingly present a series of edicts against them. They were banished from Rome by Agrippa and Augustus (Dion. Cass. xlix. 43, lvi. 25), by Tiberius (Tacit. Ann. li. 32; Sueton. *Tiber.* c. 36), by Claudius (Tacit. Ann. xii. 52), by Vitellius (Sueton. *Vitell.* 14). The frequent repetition of the measure shews how ineradicable was the evil. Sometimes the emperor himself, Vespasian, in his eager ambition (Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 78), Domitian, in his restless suspicion, yielded to their influence. Otho's murder of Galba had been prompted by their counsels. Over the minds of most men, and yet more, of women, they exercised an unbounded sway (Juven. vi. 553-568), often in proportion to the notoriety which they had gained by being mixed up in political or other mysteries, and were on that account expelled from the city.

Christian feeling was opposed to the practice

on other grounds. It belonged to the system of demon-worship and lying magic, which Scripture had forbidden. The astrologer was a child of the devil. His art had come down from the Egyptians and Chaldeans (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 10, p. 132). It substituted the idea of destiny for that of the providence of God, and tampered with the sense of responsibility by leading men to impute their vices to the stars. (August. *de Civ. Dei*, v. 1; Tract. in Ps. lxi.; *de Mithem.*; Greg. Nyss. *Epi. contr. Julian.*; Tertull. *de Idol.* c. lx. p. 156.) Some teachers voluted to the case of Esau and Jacob, born in the same hour yet with such different destinies, as a proof that the system was false (August. *de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 21). Some concealing that the heathen world was subject to these influences, favourable or malignant, held that baptism placed men in another region in which they were set, and that the "new birth" annulled the horoscope that was cast for the first nativity. The action of the Church was in accordance with the teaching of its chief writers. The burning of the books of those who used "curious arts" in Acts xix. 19, served as a precedent. *Mathematici* were to give up their books to the bishop, or to burn them (*Constit.* . . .). Clergy of all orders were forbidden to practise the art under pain of excommunication (C. Laod. c. 36). In two or three instances the operation of the laws connects itself with memorable names. Aquila, the translator of the Old Testament, was said to have been expelled from the Church on the charge of being an astrologer (Epiph. *de Mens. et Pond.* § xv. t. li. p. 171, but the narrative is hardly more than a legend). Eusebius, of Emesa, had to contend against the suspicions to which his love of science exposed him, that he was addicted to the *μυστὸν ἀστρολογικὸν* of astrology (Sozom. *II. E.* iii. 6). It was one of the crimes imputed to the Priscillianists of Spain that they had revived the old superstitions of the *Mathematici*, and had taught men that the several parts of their body were under the control of the signs of the zodiac (August. *de Haer.* lxx.) [E. H. P.]

ASTURICENSE CONCILIUM. [ASTORGA.]

ASYLUM. [SANCTUARY.]

ASYNCRITUS, "Apostle," commemorated April 8 (*Cal. Byz.*) [C.]

ATHANASIUS (1) Bishop of Alexandria; *Natalis* commemorated Jan. 18 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Jan. 26 and June 6 (*Armen.*); May 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*), Dec. 20 (*Mart. Bedae*); translation, May 2 (*Cal. Byzant.*); commemorated Maskarram 13 = Sept. 16, and Gihbot 7 = May 2 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). (2) Presbyter, Oct. 11 (*Mart. Bedae, Hieron.*).

ATHEISTS (*ἄθεοι*), a name of reproach which was applied to the early Christians. The absence of material symbols of the Deity, of sacrifice, of temples, and of almost all the external observances which constituted the religion of contemporary heathendom, naturally induced a popular cry that Christianity was a new form of atheism. The cry was repeated by Jews as well as by Gentiles (see Justin Mart. *1. 1. c.* xviii.). It was a leading cause of the general animosity against the Christians and the apologists were at some pains to refute it (see especially Athenag. *Legat. pro Christ.* 3 and 4). The following are the

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magic, which Scrip-
turologer was a child
come down from the
(Clem. Alex. *Strom.*
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cendence of God, and
of responsibility by
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Tract. in Ps. lxi.; *de*
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[E. II. P.]

LILUM. [ASTORGA.]

stlo" commemorated
[C.]

Bishop of Alexandria;
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A name of reproach
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of the apologists were
e especially Athenag.
The following are the

chief allusions to the calumny outside the writings
of the apologists:—Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 15) tells
us that the formula in which Polycarp was de-
sired by the proconsul to abjure his faith was
ἀποστρέψασθε. Dion Cassius (lxvii. 14) relates
whom some writers have identified with Clemens,
Romanus, and who was no doubt a Christian,
was put to death for atheism. Lucian (*Alcibiad.*
Psoud. c. 25, cf. c. 38) says that Pontus was full
century we find Lucian accusing Constantine of
having embraced *τὴν ἀθεῖαν δόξαν* (Euseb. *Vit.*
Const. c. 15); and Julian summed up his objec-
tions to Christianity when he described it as
ἀδόξητρα (Julian, *Ep. ad Arsac.* ap. So. om. II. E.
v. 16). But by that time the Christian fathers
had already begun to turn the tables upon their
adversaries and atheism became a reproach, not
of Paganism against Christianity, but of Chris-
tianty against Paganism (see Clem. Alex. *Pro-*
trept. p. 11).

ATHENAGORAS, with ten disciples and
five priests, commemorated July 23 (*Cal.*
Armen.) [C.]

ATHENOGENES, martyr, and ten disciples,
commemorated July 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [C.]

ATHRIUM, the court attached to churches
in the earlier centuries. It was usually placed
before the front of the church, and surrounded
by porticoes. In the centre of the open area
was a fountain, or at least a cistern (*CAN-*
THARUS), a large vessel containing water for ablu-
tion. This fountain was sometimes covered
with a roof and surrounded by railings. The
atrium was in the earlier ages considered an im-
portant, almost indispensable adjunct to any
of the larger churches. Eusebius describes
four porticoes in his account of the church built
by St. Paulinus at Tyre; and atria dating from
the 5th century existed at St. Peter's and St.
Paolo f. l. M. at Rome. Examples, though not
dating from the period with which this work
is concerned, may be seen in several churches
at Rome, as S. Clemente, S. Cecilia, and others,
and indeed elsewhere. In the ruins of the basil-
ica of S. Stefano, in Via Latina, the atrium, in-
stead of occupying its normal place, is placed by
the side of the apse, the reason probably being
that the Via Latina ran past the apse, and that
those who wished to enter the church from that
great thoroughfare would thus pass through the
atrium. Where, however, no important street
or public building prevented the architect from
fully developing his plans, the atrium, if should
seem, during the whole period treated of in this
work (and indeed until a later period), in Italy
at least, and probably elsewhere, formed a part
of every important church. [A. N.]

ATTIGNY, COUNCILS OF (ATTINIACEN-
TINA CONSILIA), held at Attigny (Attinaeum), a
town of France, on the river Aisne, N.E. of
Rheims.—I. A.D. 765, provincial, under Pipin
(Mansi, xii. 674).
II. A.D. 822, at which the Emperor Louis did
public penance, "de omnibus quae publice perpe-
travit gessit," and especially for his cruelty to
his nephew Bernard (Mansi, xiv. 403).
III. A.D. 834, November, under Ludovicus
Pius, a synod of "the whole empire," passed

some canon on behalf of the Church, and re-
ferred a criminal cause, brought before them
by the emperor, to the state tribunal (Mansi
xiv. 655). [A. W. H.]

ATTINIACENSE CONCILIIUM. [AT-
TIGNY.]

AUBERTUS or AUFBERTUS, bishop
and confessor, commemorated Dec. 13 (*Mart.*
Bedae) [C.]

AUCTOR, bishop, commemorated Aug. 9
(*Mart. Bedae*) [C.]

AUDACTES, martyr, commemorated Oct. 24
(*Mart. Rom. Vet.*) [C.]

AUDACTUS. [AUDUCTUS.] [C.]

AUDAX, martyr, commemorated July 9
(*Mart. Rom. Vet.*) [C.]

AUDIENTES (Ἀκούουνοι). Two stages
have to be noted in the history and significance
of this word. Down to the time of Novatus and
system of the Church, it is used as equivalent
to catechumen. The *Audientes* are those who
are present in the Church, but are not yet bap-
tized, and who therefore, in the nature of the
thing, were not present during the passages of
the *Fideles*, or the yet more sacred service which
followed. They heard the psalms, the lessons,
the sermon, and then left (Tertull. *de Vocat.*
c. vii. vii.; Cypr. *Ep. 13*). At Carthage they
were placed under the special care of a catechist
or *Audientium Doctor* (Cypr. *Ep. 31*). The treat-
ise of Augustine, *de catechizandis rudibus*, was
what was the nature of the instruction given.
The word seems to be used with somewhat of
the same vagueness by Augustine (*Serm.* 132).
There is no trace at this period, if indeed at
any time in the West, of a distinct position for
them in the place where Christians met for
worship.

In the East, however, we find from the time
of Gregory Thaumaturgus onwards a more sys-
tematic classification, and that one made subser-
vient to an elaborate penitential system. The
Audientes are the second in a graduated series of
those who, as catechumens or members of the
Church, have fallen, and need to be restored.
Outside the Church stood the *Fientes* (ἀλαλούουνοι)
mourning over their guilt, catching only the
indistinct sounds of what was passing within,
exposed to sun or rain. Then within the
church, but communicating with it by open
doors, were the *Audientes* (Greg. Thaum. *Serm.*
xi.). They might stay there and listen, like those
who bore the same name in the older system, till
the sermon was over. Then the deacon bade
them depart along with the unbelievers (*Const.*
Apost. viii. 5), and they had not the privilege of
joining in any prayers. After a year thus passed
they came within the church, as *Fientes*
(γαυυυαίνορες), joining in the prayers up to
the commencement of the proper Eucharistic
service, but kneeling in their contrition. Lastly,
they became *Consistentes* (συνιστάουνοι), stand-
ing with those in full communion with the
Church, but not yet admitted themselves to that
privilege. Such was the ideal system laid down
by the Council of Nicea (c. xi.), elaborated by
Basil (*Can. xii.*, lxxv.), and more or less acted

on throughout the churches of the East. It brought with it, in the risk of degradation from a higher order to one of shame and dishonour, from the position of full membership to any one of them, a system of secondary punishments the actual effect of which it is not easy to estimate. [CATECHUMENS; PENITENTS.] [E. H. P.]

AUDIENTIA EPISCOPALIS. This forms one of the heads or titles in the first book of Justinian's *Code*, and is there used in relation to an authority, not only in spiritual but also in certain secular matters, conferred upon the bishops of the Church. In conjunction with the temporal magistrates, they were empowered to take part in managing the revenues of cities, the guardianship of young persons, and various other matters of a civil nature (see Guizot, *Hist. of Civilization in Europe*, Lecture II., as to the influence which the Church thus exercised in society). But the phrase more especially denotes the power given to the bishops of hearing and deciding disputes as to temporal rights in certain cases. Thus we find (*Code*, l. tit. 4, s. 8) "ad qui ex consensu apud eos legem antistitem litigare volebant, non veniantur. Sed experiantur illius in civili duntaxat negotio, more arbitri sponte residentes, iudicentur" and (*Ibid.*, s. 9) "Episcopale iudicium ratum sit omnibus, qui se audiri a sacerdotibus elegunt; tantum eorum iudicium adhibendum esse reverentiam iubeamus, quam vestris detur necesse est potestibus, a quibus non recet provocare, &c." Two limitations appear on the face of these passages:—1. That the matter in controversy must be of a civil character, no criminal cases being to be thus decided. 2. That both parties to the dispute must voluntarily agree to have their cause thus tried. The result therefore is to make the bishop an authoritative arbitrator, whenever the parties submitted themselves to his decision. This repeats what had been previously authorized by Arcadius and Honorius (see Theod. *Code*, *De Jurisdic.*, ii. 1), and by Valentinian III.; and, indeed, was perhaps little more than an acceptance and recognition on the part of the state of a custom which had long prevailed in Christian communities, of bringing their disputes before their Christian superiors instead of before heathen judges, in accordance with the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. vi.). At one period, however, there is some ground to believe that the secular power of Rome was inclined to go much further. According to Eusebius (*Vit. Const.*, iv. 27) and Sozomen (l. 9), Constantine ordained that either party in a dispute of a civil nature might select the bishop as his judge, even against the will of the other party; and that the episcopal decision should be conclusive, and should be executed by the temporal authorities. This compulsory setting aside of the ordinary tribunals of the Roman Empire at the pleasure of either litigant, did not long endure, and seems to have been superseded by the more moderate principle adopted by Arcadius and Honorius. Indeed the learned commentator Gothofred, who is followed by Bingham (*Antiq.*, ii. 7, 3), doubts whether Constantine ever really made any such decree. Later writers, however, have not shared these doubts (see Herzog, *Real. Encycl.*, sub voce, "audientia Episcopali"). This alleged decree was in later ages revived in the west, being then attributed to Theodosius. In that form it was accepted by

Charlemagne (*Capit.*, vi. 396), passed into the collections of laws, and finally found its way into the *Decretum* of Gratian (Part II., causa xl. quest. i. 35). Innocent III. lays stress upon it (*Decretal.*, Greg. i. lib. 2, tit. l. 13), and indeed in this shape it was well calculated to minister to the Papal pretensions. [E. H.]

AUDIFAX, martyr, commemorated Jan. 29 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron.*). [E.]

AUDOENUS or **AUDOINUS** (St. Owen), bishop of Rouen, commemorated Aug. 24 (*Mart., Hieron.*). [E.]

AUFINUS, *Natalis* in Africa, Oct. 16 (*M. Hieron.*). [E.]

AI GENTIUS, in Africa, Jan. 4 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [E.]

AUGUUS, bishop and martyr, commemorated Feb. 7 (*Mart. Bede, Hieron.*). [E.]

AUGURIES. [DIVINATIONS.]

AUGUSTA, virgin, commemorated July 29 (*Mart. Bede*). [E.]

AUGUSTALIS, commemorated at Arles, Sept. 7 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [E.]

AUGUSTINE'S OAK, Conference at, between Augustine of Canterbury and the British bishops.—1. In A.D. 602 or 603, and probably at Aust on the Severn, or some spot near to it, with a view to induce the British bishops to give up their Easter Rule, and to co-operate with Augustine in preaching to the Saxons. The first conference (Bæd. ii. 2) was only preliminary (Augustine, however, working a miracle at it, acc. to Bede), and led to—II. A more formal conference shortly after, in the same year, at the same place, at which seven British bishops were present, with "many learned men," especially from Bangor monastery (near Chester), then called Dineth as its abbat. On this occasion Augustine limited his demands to three, conformity in keeping Easter, and in the baptismal rite, and co-operation in preaching to the Saxons; suppressing, if Bede's account is complete, all claim of the jurisdiction which Gregory the Great had bestowed upon him over the British bishops, and saying nothing of the tonsure; but disgusting the Britons by refusing to stand up at their approach—a token, according to the words of a certain anchorite whom they had consulted, that he was not a man of God, and therefore was not to be followed. The conference accordingly broke up without any other result than that of drawing from Augustine some angry words, which unfortunately came true a dozen years afterwards, when he was dead, in the slaughter of the Bangor monks at Chester (Bæd. *ib.*). The baptismal differences have been conjectured by Kilmstann to relate to trine immersion, by Dr. Roek (upon the better evidence of the Stowe Missal) to have referred to the washing of the feet which the Britons are supposed to have attached to baptism; but both are conjectures only. For the date, locality, and history of these conferences, see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 40, 41. And see the well-known "Answer of Dineth," which is probably the work of some mediæval Welsh writer, see *ib.* i. 122. [A. W. H.]

AUGUSTINUS, (1) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated May 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron.*).

AUTIS
[AUXINUS]
AUTOC
and κεφαλα

660), passed into the ally found its way into (Part II. *causa xi.* II. lays stress upon it (tit. l. 13), and indeed calculated to minister [H. S.]

Commemorated Jan. 20 [C.]

DOMINUS (St. Owen), venerated Aug. 24 (*Mort.*) [C.]

in Africa, Oct. 16 (*M.*) [C.]

in Africa, Jan. 4 (*Mort.*) [C.]

and martyr, commemorated (*Mort.*) [C.]

VIOSUS.] [C.]

Commemorated July 28 [C.]

Commemorated at Arles, [C.]

Conferences at, be- burry and the British for 603, and probably some spot near to it, British bishops to give

to co-operate with the Saxons. The first was only preliminary king a miracle at it,

—II. A more formal the same year, at the in British bishops were

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[A. W. H.]

Martyr of Nicomedia. (*Mort. Rom. Vel. Hieron.*)

AUGUSTODUNENSE

(2) Bishop and confessor, Apostle of England, May 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vel. Hieron.*).

(3) Commemorated at Rome Aug. 22 (*M. Hieron.*).

(4) Bishop of Hippo, confessor, Aug. 28 (*Mart. Rom. Vel. Hieron.*, at *Bedae*). In *Mart. Hieron.*, under Aug. 26, "In Africa Augustini Episcopi;" Episcopi;" so that May 26 seems to have been later than that of *Mart. Hieron.* His name is recited in the Gregorian Canon.

(5) Presbyter, Oct. 7 (*M. Bedae*).

(6) "In Cappadocia Augustini Episcopi," Nov. 17 (*M. Hieron.*).

AUGUSTODUNENSE CONCILIUM. [ACTUS, COUNCIL OF.]

AUGUSTUS. (1) Of Alexandria, Jan. 11 (*M. Hieron.*).

(2) Martyr, commemorated May 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vel.*).

(3) Confessor, commemorated at Bourges, Oct. 7 (*M. Hieron.*).

AURELIANENSE CONCILIUM. [ORLEANS, COUNCIL OF.]

AURELIA. [NIMBUS.]

AURELIUS, commemorated April 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

AUSTERIUS, commemorated Oct. 10 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

AUSTREBERTANA, abbas, commemorated Feb. 10 (*Mort. Hieron.*).

AUTHENTIC. The sounds connecting the final (in Gregorian music) with its octave, or a melody in which they only are employed, were called Authentic. In contradistinction to those connecting the 4th below the final with its 8ve, the 5th above it, which were called *Plagal* (v. *PLAGAL*). In Ambrosian music authentic scales only were employed, and of these only four; the Phrygian (D-d), Dorian (E-e), Hypolydian (F-f), and Hypophrygian (G-g) of the Greek system. The Aeolian (A-a) and the Ionian (C-c), subsequently added to the number of the church scales (tones or modes), were subjected to the same classification. Authentic scales are characterized by the harmonic division (6 : 4 : 3) of their octaves; e. g. C—g—c; the plagal by the arithmetical division (4 : 3 : 2); e. g. G—C—g. Authentic melodies are thought to have generally greater dignity and strength than plagal. A good modern example of the former is the well-known German chorale *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, and of the latter our *Evening Hymn*, attributed to Tallis; and it would be difficult to find in pure melodic music better examples of the sublime and the beautiful. But the tune known in England as the *Old Hundredth* (essentially plagal) certainly contravenes this theory in a very striking instance and manner.

The relations of subject and answer in the modern tonal fugue (as when C—g are "answered" not by g—d but by g—C) obviously grew out of the division of scales into authentic and plagal. [J. H.]

AUTISSIODORENSE CONCILIUM. [AEXINAS, COUNCIL OF.]

AUTOCEPHALI (Αὐτοκέφαλοι, from αὐτός κεφαλή), a name given by canonists and in

AUTOCEPHALI

the *Notitiae*—1. To Metropolitans who remained independent of Patriarchs after Patriarchs were established, i. e., who then continued still to be what all Metropolitans originally were. So the Cyprian archbishop (*Conc. Ephes. A. D. 431*, act. vii.; and again, as late as *Conc. Trull. A. D. 681*, can. 35, at a time when the Cypriots had fled from Cyprus itself, and had taken refuge in the *Ἐπαρχία Ἐλασηπόντιος*); to whom Balsamon joins the archbishops of Bulgaria and of Iberia (Georgia). The privilege had been given to the former of these two by Justinian. (See, however, Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, vol. i. 96.) The latter would seem to have been at first reckoned as subject to the Patriarchate of Antioch, and then to Constantinople; but from A. D. 450 he styled himself *ἀὐτοκέφαλος*, and appears to have been considered as such (Mulan, *Hist. of Geog.*, Ch. 35, 196, &c.). The Armenian Church is also so styled in the *Notitiae* (see Bingham, II. xviii. 2); but it would rather appear to have claimed to be in itself a patriarchate, inasmuch as Nerses its second bishop, present at *Conc. Constant.*, A. D. 381, styled himself Patriarch and Katholikos of Armenia, as did thenceforward his successors (Mulan, *Life of the Westery the Libanator*, 27). Ravenna in the west is also said to have arrogated the privilege of "autocephalism," and only to have surrendered it under the pontificate of Pope Donus, A. D. 676-679. Roman (and Welsh) Britain, which is usually adduced as another western instance, and which undoubtedly had no relations to the Roman patriarchate or any other for three centuries (400-700),—as neither had Celtic Ireland nor Columban Scotland,—was rather a *cess* of bishops who still remained without a metropolis, the legends of the archbishoprics of Caerleon or of St. David's, all except as an honorary and unmeaning title, being without any historical authority whatever. The epithet is applied to Britain only by late controversial writers.

2. A name given to a class of bishops who came to exist in the 9th century in the eastern patriarchates, as Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, who were dependent directly upon their metropolis, and who might be more accurately (and sometimes were) called archbishops or metropolitan themselves, only without suffragans (see Bingham, II. xviii. 3).

3. The name might be applied, on the same principle upon which it is attached to metropolitans whose independence survived the establishment of patriarchs, to bishops whose independence survived the establishment of metropolitans. But the origin of metropolitans was too early and too universal to allow of any ancient authority signifying possible temporary exceptions of this kind by a name. The British bishops, however, appear to be (substantially) a case in point. And Valesius, although inaccurately in point of fact, has applied the name to the Bishop of Jerusalem before that Bishop became himself a patriarch (Bingham, *ib.* 4).

4. No doubt also the name might be applied, as Bingham suggests, to any case where there happened to be only one bishop in the country, as in Scythia in the time of Sozomen. *Accephalus* (Ἀκεφάλος) is said to be sometimes used for *Autocephalus*.

(Bingham; Brerewood, *Patriarch, Gov. of Anc. Ch.*; Cave, *Dissert. on Gov. of Anc. Ch.*; Beveridge, *Pandect.*; Du Cange; Meursius; Suicer.) [A. W. H.]

AUTONOMUS, commemorated June 24 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

AUTUN, COUNCIL OF (AUGUSTODUNENSE CONCILIUM), A.D. 670, under Bishop Leodegar, passed some canons respecting monks, and one enforcing the Athanasian creed (Mansi, xi. 123). [A. W. H.]

AUVERGNE, COUNCILS OF. [CLEMONT, COUNCIL OF.]

AUXENTIUS, holy father, commemorated Feb. 14 (*Cal. Byzant.*); July 28 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

AUXERRE, COUNCILS OF (AUTISSIODUNENSIA CONCILIA). I. A.D. 578, diocesan, where the bishop, with his 7 abbats, and 34 presbyters and 3 deacons, passed 45 canons, and among others, one requiring a synod of abbats every November and of presbyters every May (Mansi, ix. 911).

II. A.D. 841, provincial, gathered by the Emperors Louis and Charles to consult respecting the slaughter in the war between them, for which a three days' fast was appointed (Mansi, xiv. 786). [A. W. H.]

AVE MARIA. [HAIL MARY.]

AVITUS. (1) Bishop, deposition, Feb. 5 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(2) Presbyter, commemorated June 17 (*Mart. Bede*).

(3) Confessor, June 23 (*D. et Hieron.*). [C.]

AZARIAS, martyr, with Ananias and Misael, commemorated Dec. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); April 23 (*Mart. Bede*); Dec. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

AZYME. [ELEMENTS.]

B

BABYLAS. (1) Bishop, martyr at Antioch, A.D. 253; commemorated Jan. 24 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bede*); Sept. 4 (*Cal. Byz.*).

(2) Saint, Natale, June 11 (*M. Bede*). [C.]

BACCANCELDENSE CONCILIUM. [BAPEULD, COUNCIL OF.]

BACCHUS. (1) Secundicerius, martyr, A.D. 290; commemorated Oct. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Cal. Byz.*). (2) "Passio S. Bacchi," Sept. 25 (*M. Bede*).

BACULUS. [STAFF.]

BAGAJENSE CONCILIUM. Donatist, at Vagals or Bagais, in Numidia, A.D. 394, where 310 bishops, under Primitian the Donatist Primate of Carthage, condemned Maximian, the Catholic bishop of that city (St. Aug. *Cont. Crescon.* iii. 53, v. 10, *Opp.* x. 463, 490; Tillemont, *M. E.* vi. 165; Labb. ii. 1154). [A. W. H.]

BAGAN, virgin, commemorated with Eugenia, Jan. 22 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

BAHED. The name of a fast in the Ethiopic Calendar, observed on Ter 10 = Jan. 5 (Neale, *Eastern Ch. Lit.* p. 810). [C.]

BALANCE (SYMBOL). The balance appears sometimes upon Christian tombs. A sepulchral

BALANCE

stone from the cemetery of St. Cyriac (Arianghi, *Roma Subt.* II. 139) displays this instrument in conjunction with a crown; it may also be seen upon a marble slab taken by Bosio from a cemetery of the Via Latina (Arianghi, II. 658), accompanied by a house, a fish, by a doubtful object which has been taken wrongly for a candelabrum, and by a mummy set up in a niche. A monument of the same nature reproduced in the work of M. Perret (*Inscrip.* No. 37) represents a balance with a weight (see woodcut). De Rossi (*Roma Subt.* T. i. p. 81) notices another example in the church of St. Cecilia at Rome.



Balance with weight, from the Catacombs.

Some antiquaries, as Mamachi (*Origines* v. 98) have supposed that the balance is symbolical of judgment or justice. And it is true that it is found, doubtless with this signification, on coins of Gordian, Diocletian, and other emperors of pagan Rome. The mediæval artists again have frequently made use of this idea. We may see it, for instance, in the tympanum of the great doorway of Notre Dame in Paris, and in that of the cathedral of Autun, where it may be considered as a translation in sculpture of the words of the Apocalypse (xxii. 12). But in the first two instances which we have mentioned, and which are almost the only examples transmitted to us by Christian antiquity properly so called, it is important to observe that mention is made of the contract entered into between the purchasers of the tombs and the FOSORES MONTANI and CALEVIUS: VRSICINVS ED QVINTILIANA SE IIBI (vivi) CONPARAVERNT LOCV A MONTANV. || CALEVIVS BENDIDIT (vendidit) AVIN TRISOMV.

It is therefore more natural to suppose that the balance symbolises purchase and sale, *per aes et libram*.

Sometimes upon tombs the balance is simply indicative of a trade, as for example on the slab of a Roman moneyer found in the cemetery of St. Priscilla (Marini *Papiri diplom.* p. 332): AVR. VENERANDO. NVM || QVI VIXIT. ANN. XXXV || ATILIA. VALENTINA. FECIT || MARITO. BENEMERENTI. IN. PACE. Bronze balances were found in a Frankish sepulchre of the Merovingian period by the Abbé Cochet (*Sepult. Gauloises*, p. 253 and following), where in all probability they indicated the tomb of a monetary officer, or fiscal agent, or accountant of some kind. This is rendered almost certain by the fact that a balance in the Faussett collection (*Inventory Sepulchrale*, p. 43; pl. xvii. fig. 1, 2, 3), was found in the same tomb with a "touch-stone" for the trial of metals. Another, found like the preceding in an ancient tomb in Kent, is described and figured by Mr. Roach Smith in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. pp. 12-14:

St. Cyriac (Aringhi, this instrument in it may also be seen by Bosio from a (Aringhi, ii. 658), fish, by a doubtful wrongly for a canvas set up in a niche. A figure reproduced in *Script. No. 37*) repeated (see woodcut). De (86) notices another Cecilia at Rome.



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the balance is simply example on the slab in the cemetery of *iri diplom.* p. 352): M || QVI. VIXIT. IA. VALENTINA. RERENTI. IN. PACE. and in a Frankish sepulchre, the same tomb with a of metals. Another, in an ancient tomb is figured by Mr. Roach *ma*, vol. iii. pp. 12-14:

pl. iv. fig. 1 (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* p. 67).

BALBINA. (1) Virgin, martyr at Rome, A.D. 130; commemorated March 31 (*Mart. Rom. Vel., Bedae*).

(2) *Nabide*, Oct. 6 (*M. Bedae*).

BALDEGUNDIS, deposition at Poitiers, Feb. 11 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

BANNER. [LABARUM; VEXILLUM.]

BAPCHILD, COUNCIL OF (BACCANGLDENSE CONCILIUM), or rather WITENAGEMOT.

(1) Between A.D. 696 & 716, at Bapchild, near Sittingbourne, in Kent; a Kentish Witenagemot, at which abbesses and presbyters, as well as bishops and abbots, were present, and where the celebrated Privilege of Wilfred was enacted, granting to the Kentish metropolitan a free election in the case of abbats, abbesses, priests, and deacons. The date cannot be precisely determined; and is further confused by a discrepancy between the Canterbury Register and the *Textus Roffensis* on the one hand, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* on the other, respecting the dates of Gebmund and Tobias, successively bishops of Rochester. Spurious forms of the Privilege extend it to the election of bishops and to the whole of Saxon England. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 238-247.—(2) A.D. 798, if at all; said to have been held under Kenulf, king (not of Kent, but) of Mercia, and Archbishop Athelard, with bishops (two lists, both spurious) abbats, and an archdeacon; and to have prohibited lay interference with churches and monasteries, in compliance with a mandate of Pope Leo III. The decree, however, is *verbatim* that of the (genuine) Council of Cloveshoo of A.D. 803, from which also one of the lists of bishops is partially taken (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 1018, 1024, Wilk. i. 162; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc.* iii. 517). The copy in Reg. A 1 at Canterbury, however has no signatures. [A. W. H.]

BAPTISM. This Article is arranged as follows:—I. Terms used to designate Baptism.

II. The Order of Baptism in various Churches. III. The several Parts of the entire Ritual, viz.: Consecration of the Water; Interrogations and Responses (Renunciation and Profession); Preparatory Uncction; Unclotting of the Catechumen; the Immersion; the Baptismal Formula; the subsequent Ceremonies, viz.: the Kiss, the lighted Tapers, the white Garments, the red and white Thread, the Chaplet, and the washing of Feet. IV. At what times, in what places, and by whom, Baptism was administered; with what matter, in what mode, and at what age. V. Graphic representations of Baptism. VI. Literature. The subject of Spousons, and that of Baptismal NAMES, are treated separately in their alphabetical order.

I. *Terms used to designate Baptism.*

§ 1. *Baptizo* and derived words. The meaning of this verb is not, as commonly asserted, identical with that of *baptizo*, to "dip," but presented this idea under special modifications characteristic of the various ages in which it was employed. In classical usage it was commonly used metaphorically in speaking of one "drenched" with the like. Polybius uses it (iii. 72) in speaking of troops passing through water which reached

up to their breasts: *μόλις ἕως τῶν μαστῶν* of *πρὸς βαπτίζουσαι διεβαίον*. In the Canonical Books of the LXX, it occurs but once in speaking of Naaman either "washing" or "dipping" himself in the Jordan (1 Kings v. 14). In the Apocrypha, in speaking of one washing herself (*ἑβαπτίζετο ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς*, Jud. xii. 7) at a spring; and again (Ecclus. 24, 37 *al.* 29) of one washing himself after touching a dead body; both cases having reference to ceremonial purification. In the New Testament it is occasionally used metaphorically (Matt. xx. 22; Mark x. 38, 39; Luke xii. 50). But it generally has reference either to Jewish ceremonial purification (Mark vii. 4; Luke xi. 28), or to Christian Baptism.

§ 2. *Λουτρον*, or *πηγή*, *λουτρον*, *fontes*. These terms (*laver* and *font*) have reference, like the last noticed, to the outward circumstances of the Baptismal Rite. *Λουτρον*, the Latin *lavacrum*, "body," that is, either the vessel, or the water so used. St. Paul twice (Eph. v. 26, and Tit. iii. 5) uses the word in reference to baptism. In Justin Martyr it appears as an evidently technical designation of baptism (*τὸ λουτρον ποιούμεθα*, *Apol.* I. c. 79), and from that time onward the word is repeatedly used. The terms *πηγή* and *fontes*, meaning a spring, or a pool fed by a spring, date natural terms from the time when either fountains or pools (see § 39) in the open air, or baptismal springs, were made use of for the purpose of Christian baptism.

§ 3. *Terms expressive of doctrine.*—The most common of these doctrinal designations are those which have reference to the idea of Regeneration—in Greek *ἀναγέννησις*, and more rarely *καταγενεσία* and *θεογένεσις*, in Latin *regeneratio*, *secunda* or *spiritualis nutritio*, *renasci*, and *renascentia*. Terms of regeneration had been used in a figurative sense both by classical authors and by Hellenists, such as Philo and Josephus, before they were adopted into the language of Christianity. They served to express the idea of an entire change of condition, as for example the passing out of a state of misery, of slavery or of subjection, into a state of well-being, of freedom and of independence. (See Wetstein on Matt. xix. 28; Trench's *Synonymus of N. T.* pp. 71, 72. Add Tertullian, *de Bapt.* c. 5.) The Rabbinical use of such terms more directly illustrates the Christian meaning of these words, but the ultimate date to which that use is to be traced is open to doubt. (See Lightfoot on John iii. 4; *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 610, fol. Rotterdam 1687; Schoettgen, *Hor. Hebr.* i. p. 704, Dresden 4, 1733; Carpzovii *Annot.iones in Th. Goodwinii Moses et Aaronem*, Francofurti 4, 1748, lib. i. cap. iii. § vii.)

§ 4. *Σφραγίς*, *Signaculum*, &c. Baptism is not unfrequently spoken of as "the seal," or more fully "the seal of the Lord," (Clemens Alex.), and that partly perhaps with reference to the language of Holy Scripture (2 Cor. i. 22, Eph. i. 13, and iv. 30). But other thoughts were also connected with the term, as *σφραγίς* of the sign of the cross (this being more especially the seal) being the seal of the Christian covenant or of the "spiritual circumcision." (St. Cyril. Hieros. *Catech.* v. Μετὰ τὴν πίστιν τὴν πνευματικὴν λαμβάνουμεν σφραγίδα, Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι διὰ τοῦ λουτροῦ περιτεμνόμενοι.) Hence further modi-

flections of the same idea, such as "Character Dominicus," the mark impressed by the Lord (St. Augustine *de Bapt. c. Pontif.*, lib. vi. cap. 1. and *E. hist.* 184 bis, c. vi. § 23. Migne, tom. p. 80.) *θεσπεσιος σημεῖον*, a mark in token of ownership or dominion (St. Greg. Naz. *Or. vi.*; compare St. Isaac of Armenia, quoted below, § 104); or again the *Nota Militaris* (St. Augustine *de Bapt.*, lib. i. cap. iv.), *ἡ τοῦ στρατιώτου σφραγίς* (St. Chrysostom in II. *Cor. Hom.* lii. ad fin.), the mark put upon soldiers to ensure their recognition.

§ 5. *Terms of Initiation or Illumination.*—The idea of baptism being an initiation (*ἰνιτῆρις ἀναταγῶσα, τελετή*) into Christian mysteries, an enlightenment (*φωτισμός, illuminatio, illustratio*) of the darkened understanding, belonged naturally to the primitive ages of the Church, when Christian doctrine was still taught under great reserve to all but the baptized, and when adult baptism, requiring previous instruction, was still of prevailing usage. Most of the Fathers interpreted the *φωτισθεῖς*, "once enlightened," of Heb. vi. 4, as referring to baptism. In the middle of the second century (Justin M. *Apol.* li. *καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός ὡς φωτισμένη τῆν διδασκίαν τῶν ταῦτα μαθητόντων*) we find proof that "illumination" was already a received designation of baptism. And at a later time (St. Cyril Hieros. *Catech. passim*), of *φωτισμοῦ* (illumination) occurs as a technical term for those under preparation for baptism, *αὐ φωτισθεῖς* of those already baptized. So of *ἀμύητοι* and *ἀμεμώμενοι*, the uninitiated and the initiated, are contrasted by Sozomen, *H. E.* lib. i. c. 3.

§ 6. *Modern terms.*—In most of the modern European languages the words expressive of baptism are derived directly from the Latin *baptizare*, and testify to the fact of Latin having been in the Western Churches the one ecclesiastical language almost to the exclusion of all others. But there is one notable exception. The German *taufen*, to "baptize," akin to our English "dip," has the same technical meaning as *baptizare*, and reveals the time when on the conversion of the German tribes baptism was as a rule performed by "dipping" (see § 92), and when not Latin, but as far as possible the mother-tongue of the converts was employed in the baptismal offices. Our countryman, St. Boniface, in his *Statuta* (Martene, *de Ant. Lit.* Rit. tom. i. p. 48) desires that the catechumens be taught to make the B-annunciations and Confessions of Faith in Baptism "in ipsa lingua qua nati sunt," and directs any presbyter to leave the diocese who is too proud to obey this direction.

II. *The Order of Baptism in various Churches of the East and of the West.*

§ 7. *Described by Justin Martyr.*—The earliest description of the actual rite of baptism is that given by Justin Martyr in his first *Apology* (cap. lxxix.), which dates from the middle of the second century. "We will now relate after what manner we dedicated (*ἀνεδίκαυσεν*) ourselves unto God, when we were new-made through Christ (*καυνομένημεν διὰ τοῦ Χ.*). So many as are convinced, and believe the truth of what we teach and affirm, and who promise to be able to live accordingly, are taught both to pray, and with fasting to ask of God remission of their past

sins, while we join with them in their prayers and in their fast. Then they are conducted by us to a place where the water, and they are regenerated (*ἀναγεννώμεναι*) after the same manner of regeneration as that in which we ourselves were regenerated. For they then make their ablution (*τὸ λουτρὸν ποιῶμεναι*) in the water, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the Universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. For Christ said: 'Except ye be regenerated (*ἄνευ τοῦ ἀναγεννηθῆτε*) ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'"

§ 8. It will be seen that the description here given is without full details concerning the rite itself, as was indicated in a writing concerning a Christian sacrament to persons who were not Christians themselves. But we may trace clear allusions to the preparatory instruction and guidance of the catechumens—to the baptismal promises or stipulations—to a place of assembly for the faithful (*ἔρχονται ὅς ἡμῶν ἕσθαι ὄσθα ἐσθῆ*). We find also the baptismal formula, "in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," though with slight interpolations which are probably due to the need of some explanation in addressing a heathen audience on such a subject.

§ 9. *Ritual described by Tertullian.*—About fifty years later than Justin Martyr, and about the close of the second century, we find evidence in the works of Tertullian of the nature of the baptismal rite as observed at that time. He speaks first of the Preparation of the Catechumens immediately before baptism—saying that they should be frequent in prayer, with fasting and kneeling (then a penitential attitude), and watching, and with confession of all former sins. "Ingressuras baptismum, orationibus erubris, jejuniis et genitalationibus, et pervigiliis, orare oportet, et cum confessione omnium retro delictorum, et exponant etiam baptismum Joannis, Tinguntur, inquit, continentis delicta sua" (*De Bapt.* c. 20).

§ 10. He describes the solemn renunciation of the devil and his pomp, and his angels, distinguishing the renunciation made at the time of baptism from that made some time previously in the church (on admission as catechumens). "Aquam adituri ibidem, sed et aliquanto prius in ecclesia sub antistitis manu, contestamur nos renuntiare diabolo et pompe et angelis ejus." *De Car. Mil.* c. 3. He speaks then of other "responses" made by the baptized while standing in the water, alleging these as an example of custom founded on tradition only, not on any express direction of our Lord. ("Dehinc ter merguntur amplius aliquid respondentibus in Dominum in evangelio determinavit." *Ibid.* See below, § 91.)

§ 11. The words (*ter merguntur*) just quoted, and those of the treatise *De Bapt.* c. 1. "in nomine homo demissus et inter pauca verba (necesse) esse credence to the Trine Immersion then adopted" (see below, § 49) and the use of the words implicitly prescribed in Matt. xxviii. 19. These points he more exactly determines elsewhere. ("Novissime mandum in finem in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, non in unum; nam nec semel sed ter, ad singula nomina, in persona singulari tinguntur." *Adv. Praxeram*, c. 26.) § 12. Among the traditional customs, Tertullian mentions the tasting of a mixture (concordium) of honey and milk on leaving the font ("Inde suscepti lactis et mellis concordiam

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prægestantibus." *De Cor. Md.* c. 3). But there is
 no reference to this in his treatise *de baptismo*, so
 that it may not improbably have been of occa-
 sional or local usage only in his time. § 13. The
 imposition of a consecrated (benedict) oil, and
 followed upon baptism, by the bishop, which
 intimately connected with the actual baptism,
 in the font, according to his view, we are washed
 the Holy Spirit. (Non quod in aquis spiritum
 sanctum consequamur sed in aqua emundati sub
 gelus baptismi Spiritu sancto preparamur . . . An-
 Sancto vias dirigit ablutioe delictorum Spiritui
 fides impetrat obsequia in Patre et Filio et
 perungimus benedicta unctioe . . . Dehinc
 an impunitur per benedictionem advocamus
 et iuvans Spiritum Sanctum." *De bapt.* c. 11,
 7, 8). The evidence of Tertullian on other points
 will come under notice later in this article.
 § 14. *Ritual at Jerusalem.* A. D. 347. The
 Lent, a. 347, picture to us in tolerably full
 detail the ceremonial usages there customary in
 his time. Throughout Lent (*Catech.* i. τεσσαρά-
 κωντα ἡμέρας οὐ ἀναδέξαι ἐν προαύχῃ; and
 catechumens assembled day after day in the
 church of the Anastasis (*Cat.* xiv.) for prayer,
 and for catechetical instruction. § 15. And at
 the close of Lent, on the "Sabbath," or Easter
 Eve, as the evening (*Myst. Catech.* i. κατ' ἐσπερινὸν
 τοῦ βαπτισμαίου τῆς ἑσπερας. Compare Chry-
 sost. in 1 *Cor.* *Hom.* xi., where he speaks of τὴν
 ἑσπερινὰν ἐκλεπνῆ, an evening in which baptism
 is solemnized) chosen in upon the holy city, those
 to be baptized assembled in the outer chamber
 of the baptistry (ἐν τῷ ἑσπερινῷ τοῦ βαπτισ-
 τηρίου ὄκλῳ, *Myst. Catech.* i.) and facing towards
 the west, as being the place of darkness, and of
 the powers thereof, with outstretched hand,
 and made open renunciation of Satan. § 16. Then
 turning them about, and with face towards the
 East, "the place of light," they exclaimed, "I be-
 lieve in the Father (ἐν τῷ Π.) and in the Holy
 Ghost, and in the Son, and in one baptism of
 into the inner chamber (ὄκλῳ) of the baptistry,
 and (*Myst. Cat.* ii.) put off the garment (chiton)
 naked were anointed with oil from head to foot.
 § 18. After this preparatory unction they were
 led by the hand to the font itself, and then each
 one was asked, "Dost thou believe in the name
 of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
 Ghost?" and they, in answer, witnessed the
 saving confession of their faith, and dipped them-
 selves three in the water, and thrice lifted
 themselves up from out thereof; and so set
 forth, by symbol, the three days' burial of the
 Lord, and his Resurrection; and the saving
 once "a tomb and a mother." § 19. Then, on
 coming forth from the water, they were clothed
 with white garments, significant of the purity
 and brightness of that spiritual vesture with
 which they were ever henceforth to be clothed
 (*Myst. Cat.* iv. *in p.*). § 20. Afterward, as
 Christ, coming up out of the waters, was
 associated with the unction of the Holy Ghost,

descending upon Him in bodily shape as a dove,
 an unction, not bodily but spiritual, so the bap-
 tized, when made partakers of "the anointed,"
 are themselves "anointed" with a holy oil (on
 the forehead, the ears, the nostrils, and the
 breast) and while the body was thus touched
 with material ointment, the spirit was sanctified
 [or "consecrated," ἀγιό(ε)ται] by the holy and
 life-giving Spirit" (*Myst. Cat.* iii.). § 21. *Holy
 Communion.* After this followed holy communion,
 of which all the newly baptized were partakers,
 therein becoming "of one body and of one blood"
 with Christ (συνσώματοι καὶ σὺναιμαὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ),
 and there partaking of a heavenly bread, and of a
 cup of salvation, that sanctify both soul and body
 (*ib.* iv.). § 22. *Faiths and lights.* Under the
 figurative language employed by St. Cyril in his
 preliminary address, we may see evident allusions to
 the accompanying ceremonial of the great Easter
 rite. This was celebrated, as we have already
 mentioned, on the eve, and had we already
 (ἐστὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βελῆς οὐδ' ὄρου ἐκλεπνῆ τῆς
 ἑσπερας κατ. α., *in profato*) preceding Easter day.
 And the use of artificial light, thus rendered
 necessary, was singularly in harmony with the
 occasion, and with some of the thoughts most
 prominently associated with it (see § 5 above),
 moving than that pictured to us in the pages of
 St. Cyril, when on the eve of the Saviour's
 resurrection, and at the doors of the church of
 the Anastasis, the white-robed (§ 19) band
 of the newly baptized, was seen approaching from
 the neighbouring baptistry, and the darkness
 was turned into day (τὸ σκότος τὸ ἡμεροπαι-
 νῆται, *Profat.* at *Catech.*) in the brightness of unum-
 bered lights. And as the joyous child swelled
 upwards, "blessed is he whose unrighteousness
 is forgiven, and whose sin is covered," it might
 well be thought that angels' voices were heard
 echoing the glad acclaim, "blessed is the man
 unto whom the Lord imputeth no sin, and in
 whose spirit there is no guile." (ὅτε διὰν ἀθε-
 νήσονται, Μακάριοι ὡς ἀφένθησαν, κατ. α., *Præ-
 fat.*)
 § 23. *Other Eastern rites.* In Egypt. The
 order of baptism which we have traced above as
 observed at Jerusalem in the year 347 A. D., bears
 a close resemblance in all its more important de-
 tails to those of which we find record elsewhere.
 The limits of this article do not admit of our
 quoting these in full. For the order followed in
 the Egyptian Church, see the *Constitutions Ecclési-
 asticæ Aegyptiacæ*, § 46 *seqq.*, published by Lagarde
 (cf. *Biblioth.* in his *Leçons sur l'Église primitive
 d'Égypte*, *Annuaire*). It will be found also in Busen-
 berg's *Christianity and Manhood*, vol. vi, p. 465, *seqq.*,
 in a Greek translation by Lagarde from the
 Coptic original. With this, which may probably
 date from the 4th or 5th century (not as a MS.
 but as a rite), may be compared the *Ordo Bap-
 tismi* of Severus, Patriarch of Alexandria in the
 7th century (*Biblioth. Max. Patr.* m, Paris, fol.
 1654, tom. vi. col. 25), and, for a much later
 time, see Vansleb, *Histoire de l'Église d'Alexan-
 drie*, Paris, 1677, cap. 21, p. 80.
 § 24. *In Aethiopia.* The Ethiopic rite must
 originally have resembled that of Alexandria.
 Our first detailed accounts of it come to us from
 the Jesuit missionaries (*Bibl. Max. Patr.* as
 above, tom. vi. col. 57, *seqq.*). With their state-

ments, which coming from various quarters appear at times somewhat inconsistent with each other, may be compared the account given by Ludolf in his *Historia Aethiopia*, lib. iii. cap. vi.

§ 25. *The Descriptions of the Rite given by Dionysius, the so-called Areopagite (Ecc. Hier. lib. ii.), and in the Apostolical Constitutions, cannot be assigned with certainty to any particular date or locality; but they afford interesting points of comparison with the ritual described elsewhere.*

§ 26. *Western Rites.* The only complete *Ordines Baptismi* of any early Western churches are the Roman and the Gallican. The Roman may be traced with slight variations in the sacramentary attributed to Gelasius (Migne, *Patrol.* tom. 74, p. 1105, and Muratori, *Liturg. Romana. Vet.*), and that of Gregory the Great (ed. H. Menard). Many variations of the Gallican *Ordo Baptismi* are given by Martene (*De Ant. Ecc. Rit.* tom. 1. Part 1), and of these we select one example as being of exceptional interest.

§ 27. *The Gallican-Gallican Rite.* The earliest of the Gallican *Ordines Baptismi* is probably that sometimes described as the Gothic, as having been in use in the Visigothic Church. The order commences with a prefatory address, remarkable for the figurative language employed, which is utterly unlike that to be met with in any other known ritual, and in which we may probably see traces of the peculiar circumstances under which Christianity was first introduced into Gaul. "Standing, dearest brethren, on the bank of this crystal-clear fount, bring ye from the land to the shore new-comers to ply the traffic whereof they have need (mercatores sui commercia). Let all who embark on this voyage make their way over this new sea, not with a rod (virga, probably with reference to Moses and the Red Sea), but with the cross; not with bodily touch, but with spiritual apprehension; not with traveller's staff, but in sacramental mystery (non virga, sed cruce, non tactu sed sensu, non baculo sed sacramento). The pace is small but full of grace. Happy hath been the pilotage of the Holy Spirit. Therefore let us pray the Lord our God, that He will sanctify this fount, and make it a laver of most blessed regeneration in remission of all sins; through the Lord." § 28. *The Collect* then follows, being a prayer for the benediction of the fount. "God who didst sanctify the fount of Jordan for the salvation of souls, let the angel of thy blessing descend upon these waters, that thy servants being bathed (perfundi) therewith may receive remission of sins, and being born again of water and the Holy Spirit, may devoutly serve thee for ever; through the Lord."

§ 29. *The Contestatio.* "It is meet and right, Holy Lord, Almighty Father, Initiator of the Saints, Father of all Unction, and author of a new sacrament through thine only Son our Lord God; Who, through the ministry of water bestowed in place of the riches of the world (ante divitias mundi), evidently from the Greek *ἐπι τοῦ πλοῦτος τοῦ κόσμου*) thine Holy Spirit; Thou that providest the waters of Bethesda through the healing operation of the Angel; Who didst sanctify the channel of Jordan by the worthiness of Christ thy Son; have regard, O Lord, to these waters prepared for the doing

away of the sins of men; grant that the Angel of thy fatherly love (pietatis tue) may be present to this holy fount; may he wash off the stains of the former life, and sanctify a shrine wherein Thou mayest dwell, causing them that herein shall be regenerated to grow and be strengthened evermore in the inner man (procursans at regenerationem viscera aeterna florescent, probably *ἐν ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὰ σπλάγγνα τῶν ἀναγεννησάντων*), and bestowing that true renewal which is of baptism. Bless, Lord God, this water that Thou didst create, and let Thy healing power (virtus tua) descend upon it. Pour down from above Thy Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the messenger [angel] of truth. Sanctify, O Lord, these waters as thou didst the streams of Jordan; that they who go down into this fount, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, may be found worthy to obtain both pardon of sins and the on-pouring of the Holy Spirit, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Who with (apud) Thee and the Holy Ghost is blessed for evermore." § 30. *Consecration with Christ.* "Then thou makest a cross with chrism, and sayest: I exorcise thee, thou water of God's creation; I exorcise thee, the whole army of the devil, the whole power of the adversary, and all darkness of evil spirits; I exorcise thee in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ of Nazareth, to whom the Father hath subjected all things in heaven and in earth. Fear and tremble, Thou and all the malice that is thine: give place to the Holy Spirit, that all who descend into this fount may have the laver of the baptism of regeneration, unto remission of all sins, through Our Lord Jesus Christ, who will come unto the judgment seat of the Majesty of His Father with the holy angels, to judge thee thou enemy, and the world, through fire, for evermore." § 31. *Insufflation.* "Then thou shalt breathe (see § 42) three times upon the water, and put chrism therein in the form of a cross, and say: 'the on-pouring of the salutary chrism of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that this may be made a fountain of water springing up unto life eternal.' Amen." § 32. *The interrogations and the baptism.* "While baptizing thou shalt make the interrogations (dum baptizas interrogas; see below, § 43) and say: 'I baptize thee (naming him) in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, unto remission of sins, that thou mayest have eternal life. Amen.'" § 33. *Unction.* "While touching him with chrism thou shalt say: 'I anoint thee with the (chrism) unction of holiness, the clothing of immortality, which our Lord Jesus Christ first received, bestowed by the Father, that thou mayest present it entire and undiminished before the judgment seat of Christ, and mayest live for ever and ever.'" § 34. *The washing of feet.* "While washing his feet, thou shalt say: 'I wash thy feet, as our Lord Jesus Christ did unto his disciples. Do thou the like to strangers and pilgrims, that thou mayest have eternal life.'" § 35. *The clothing.* "While putting the garment upon him thou shalt say: 'Receive this white garment, which thou mayest keep and present (quam perferas) before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ.'" § 36. *The collect.* "Let us pray, most dear brethren, our Lord God, for these his neophytes, now baptized, that when the Saviour shall come in His ma-

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III. *Details of*
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joy. He will cause them whom He hath regenerated of water and the Holy Spirit to join; through the Lord." § 37. *Another collect.* "For those who are now baptized, and crowned designed to bestow regeneration, we pray thee, Almighty God, that they may preserve undefiled unto the end the baptism which they have received; through Our Lord."

§ 38. *Peccatorities of this Rite.*—There is strong internal evidence that this rite in its present shape is a translation into debased Latin of an older Greek original. There are many parts of it of which the sense can only be guessed by first translating it back into Greek, word for word, taking Latin, such as that of the translator of Irenaeus, as a guide in so doing. And this opening address being taken wholly from the language of trade and of navigation, bears out in a remarkable manner the conclusion to which other independent evidence points, viz., that Greek missionaries, and in connection with great line of commercial traffic of which Marseilles was the chief western entrepôt, and the principal eastern ports. It has another point of interest for English readers, viz., that there are strong grounds for believing that the primitive British and Irish rites were based on the old Gallican use, of which that just quoted presents, probably, the oldest example now remaining.

§ 39. *British and Irish Rites.*—No complete *Ordo baptisimus* appears to have been preserved which will illustrate the primitive usage of the British and Irish Churches. Incidental notices remaining in ancient documents serve to designate many points of detail which will be noticed in their place. The fullest of these, and one which is of great interest on many grounds, is the story told by Tirechan (6th century) in the Book of Arnaugh, concerning St. Patrick's baptizing the two daughters of King Loaghair at the pool of Clebach in Connaught. For this, see Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 452.

§ 40. *Spanish Rite.*—Such details as can now be determined concerning the primitive baptismal rite in Spain are contained in a treatise of St. Ildephonsus of Seville (7th century), *De Cognitione Baptismi*. Further particulars may be inferred from Isidore of Seville *De off. Eccl.* lib. ii. cap. 24; and from the Mozarabic Liturgy, attributed by some to him. That Spanish usage in the 4th century differed in some respects from that of Rome, is indicated by the letter of Siricius of Rome to Himerius Tarraconensis. See below, § 73.

III. Details of the Ritual of Baptism.

§ 41. Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, just at the close of the 8th century, wrote a treatise *De Ordine Baptismi* (Migne's *Patrol.* cv. 223), in which he describes the complicated Ritual practised in Western Churches in his own time. Taking his description as a basis, but omitting here the notice of such points as will come under separate discussion in other articles, we may proceed now to describe separately the main features of the order of baptism as they had been

developed in the 8th century, viz., the Consecration of the Water, the Renunciations, the Profession of Faith, the Immersion with accompanying Interrogations, and the subsequent ceremonial.

§ 42. *Consecration of the Water of Baptism.*—This consecration is first mentioned by Tertullian (*de Bapt.* c. iv.) as brought about by invocation of God. St. Cyprinus (*Epist.* lxx. ad Januar.), speaks of the water "being cleansed beforehand and sanctified by the bishop (a sacerdotus)," and a Council held at Carthage under him, speaks of this sanctification being brought about (prece sacerdotis) by the bishop's prayer. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* iii., speaks of the water receiving power and being sanctified upon invocation of the Holy Spirit and of Christ. St. Basil the Great (*de Sp. Sancto*, cap. 27) reckons the blessing of the baptismal water among the traditional customs derived from the Apostles. From St. Augustine, however (*de Bapt.* lib. vi. c. 25) we learn that the "Invocations" were not regarded as essential to the validity of the sacrament. In St. Augustine first (*in Joann. Evang. Tract.* 118 ad fin.) we hear of the sign of the poured crosswise, was used, at least in some churches, in the consecration of the water. (Dionys. Areop. *De Hier. Eccl.* cap. 11; Severus Patriarch. Alexandr. *De Ordine Baptismi*, *Bibl. Sacramentaria* of St. Gregory the Great and the early Gallican Rite already quoted in § 30. This ceremony, and the baptism of an infant by immersion, are represented in the engraving below, which is from a Pontifical of the 9th century. A further ceremony, used as time went on, was Exorcism accompanied by insufflation, or breathing upon the waters. See § 31 above, and Martene, *De A. E. K.* tom. i. pp. 63, 64.



Consecration of Water, and Baptism.

The Interrogations and Responses.

§ 43. *Renunciation and Profession.*—The two portions of the Order of Baptism next to be considered, viz., Renunciation followed by Profession of Faith, are often classed together in early writers under the designation of the *Interrogationes et Responsa*, *ἑρωτηθῆαι καὶ ἀποκρίσθαι*, in reference to the formulæ of question and answer by which both one and the other were expressed. These phrases had their ultimate origin probably in an exceptional word (*ἑρωτηθῆαι*, put) used by St. Peter (1 Pet. iii. 21) in speaking of baptism. This was a word of technical legal use, having reference especially to forms of covenant stipulation. And this, with very slight modification only, appears as a received technical

term of the baptismal ceremonial in the middle of the 3rd century. At that time there were forms of interrogation and response recognised as of "legitimate ecclesiastical rule" in Africa (Tertullian, above, § 10; Cyprian, *Epist.* lxx. ad Januar.), in Egypt (Dionysius apud Enseb. *II. E.* lib. vii. c. 9), in Cappadocia (Firmilianus apud Cyprian. *Opp.* Baluz. *Ep.* lxxv.), and at Rome (*ib.*).

§ 44. *The ceremonial of Renunciation.*—The Catechetes of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, when combined with allusions incidentally made by Dionysius, St. Basil, and others, put before us very vividly the ceremonial with which these renunciations were made. St. Cyril (*Cat. Myst.* i.) addressing the neophytes, says, "Ye entered in first into the outer chamber of the baptistery, and standing with your faces to the west ye heard how ye were bidden to stretch forth the hand with a gesture of repulsion (*ἀποθύρα τὰς χεῖρας*, Dionys. Areop. *Ecc. Hier.*), and ye renounced Satan, as though there present before you . . . saying, 'I renounce thee, Satan' . . . Then, with a second word thou art taught to say, 'and thy works' . . . and then again thou sayest, 'and [his] thy pomp.' And afterward thou sayest, 'and all thy worship' (*λατρείαν*) . . . When thou hast thus renounced Satan, breaking altogether all covenants with him, then . . . turning from the west toward the sunrise, the place of light, thou wast told to say, 'I believe in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance.' From Dionysius we learn further that before making this renunciation the catechumen was divested of his upper garment, and standing barefoot, and in his chiton (shirt) only, made three separate renunciations in answer to questions put to him [this is implied, but not so distinctly stated by St. Cyril], and then being turned toward the east was bidden to look up to heaven, and with uplifted hands (*τὰς χεῖρας ἀναείπωντα*) to declare his allegiance unto Christ (*συντάξασθαι τῷ Χριστῷ*), and after so doing he again, in answer to questions put to him, thrice made confession of his faith.

§ 45. *Words used in Renunciation.*—These are given with more or less of detail, according to the use of various churches, by the following writers after Tertullian and Cyprian already quoted:—St. Cyril, *Catech. Myst.* i.; St. Basil, *De Sp. S.* cap. xi. and xxvii.; St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxi. ad Pop. Antiochenum; *Liber Sacram.* Gelasii apud Martene, *De A. E. R.* i. p. 65; Isidore Hispal. *De Eccl. Off.* lib. ii. cap. 20; and St. Ithophonius, *De Corp. Bapt.* cap. iii.; Ephraem Syrus, *De Avrenuntiatione*, &c. (*Opp.* ed. Voss, 2 fol. Romæ 1589, t. i. p. 199). For the Gallican usage, see Martene, as above, tom. i. p. 64. The mode of making the Renunciations, and the words employed, are very fully described in the treatise *De Sacramentis*, attributed to St. Ambrose, but of uncertain date and of doubtful authenticity. In the Baptism of Infants the Renunciations and the Profession of Faith were made by the Sponsor.

The Profession of Faith.

§ 46. Baptism "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," involves in its very nature a profession of Faith. And of the formal Declaration of Faith made in Baptism, we may see the first trace, probably, in Acts

viii. 37 (si sana est lectio). Fuller details will be found in Tertullian, *De Bapt.* c. vi. and *De Corona Mil.* c. iii.; in St. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxx. and the letter of Firmilian published with St. Cyprian's works (*Ep.* lxxv.). A comparison of the many passages in later writers referring to these Interrogations and Responses, leads to the conclusion, that this profession was originally a recitation of the Creed, assented to with a "Crede" by the Catechumen, much as in our own baptismal service now. The form, however, varied according to the gradual enlargement of the original Creed, and special questions were sometimes added having reference to prevailing heresies or schisms in particular Churches. Examples will be found in the *Missale Gallicanum* quoted by Martene (*De Ant. Ecc. Lit.* t. i. p. 65) and in the *Ordo* iii. *ibid.* p. 64.

The Preparatory Unction.

§ 47. Without entering at length upon the subject of "Unction," which will be treated in a separate article, it may be well to note here that in many documents dating from after the close of the 3rd century, we find allusions to an Unction preceding Baptism, in addition to that which was given (see § 58) after Baptism. Neither Justin Martyr, nor Tertullian, nor St. Cyprian, say anything of such a preparatory Unction. But this is spoken of in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. iii. c. 15), even in the earliest form in which they have been preserved to us, and by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Myst.* ii.). This last gives us as a fixed date the year 347 A.D. The use may of course have been even earlier than this at Jerusalem and elsewhere. But in Africa we may infer that it had not been introduced even at the close of the 4th century, as St. Augustine nowhere alludes to any such rite; and, what is more, in one passage (*Sermo* cxxxvii. in die Paschæ; *ad. De Diversis*, 83) he dwells with much emphasis on the fact (necessary to the argument he is pursuing) that the Unction of Christians follows after their baptism. Among books of doubtful date, which contain allusions to this particular rite are the "Recognitions," ascribed, though falsely, to St. Clement of Rome (lib. iii. c. lxxvii.); the *Responsiones ad Orthodoxos* (*Quæst.* 137, ed. Ben. p. 501, E. 7) falsely attributed to Justin Martyr; the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius, the so-called Areopagite (see § 39, above); and the Constitutions of the Egyptian Church already referred to.

The Unclothing of the Catechumens.

§ 48. A comparison of all the evidence leads to the conclusion that the catechumens entered the font in a state of absolute nakedness. See particularly St. Cyril, *Hieros. Myst. Catech.* ii. ad init.; St. Ambrose, *Serm.* xx. (*Opp.* t. v. p. 153, Paris, 1642); and *Enarrat.* in *Ps.* lxi. 32 (BB. t. i. p. 966); St. Chrysostom, *ad Alim. Cat.* i. (Migne, tom. ii. p. 268). Possibly a cineture of some kind (quo pudori consuleretur) may have been worn, as indicated in some mediæval works of art. But in any case, the question arises, considering the great numbers, of both sexes and of all ages, baptised at one time, how could the solemn celebrations at Epiphany, Easter, or Pentecost have been conducted with decency and order? The explanation of this difficulty seems to lie in the construction of the ancient bap-

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tom. iii. p. 23), and others, speak of Baptism as invalid if not given with these words.

§ 52. *Apparent exceptions.* In the language of Holy Scripture itself authority seems, at first sight, to be found for a certain variety of expression in giving effect to the command of Our Lord. Thus, in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles we find expressions such as baptizing "in the name of Jesus Christ," Acts ii. 38; "in the name of the Lord Jesus," *ibid.* viii. 16; or simply "in the name of the Lord," *ibid.* x. 48. But in all probability these are only to be regarded as compendious expressions, equivalent in meaning to a statement that the persons in question received "Christian Baptism." And the apparent exception afforded by the language of Justin Martyr, quoted above in § 7, is probably apparent only, and not real. Addressing himself as he there does to persons unacquainted with Christian Doctrine, he somewhat amplifies the actual formula, which would otherwise have been unintelligible to a heathen, and speaks of Christians being baptized "in the name of God the Father and Lord of the Universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit."

§ 53. *Real Exceptions.* On the other hand we find evidence, even as early as St. Cyprian's (*Epist.* lxiii.) time, that there were some who maintained that it was sufficient to administer "in the name of Jesus Christ." St. Ambrose favours this opinion, if the treatise *De Spiritu Sancto* (lib. i. cap. 111) be really his. In later times this same opinion was formally maintained by more than one authority. The Council of Frejus, a. 792, and Pope Nicholas I. in his *Responsa ad Bulgares*, all maintain more or less emphatically the validity of such a formula.

Directly contrary to this is the decree of the Synodus Londinensis, held in the year 605, by Augustine of Canterbury, Laurentius, Justus, and Mellitus. There, as we learn from a letter of Pope Zacharias to St. Boniface, it was decreed, that anyone who had been "washed" without invocation of the Trinity had not the Sacrament of Regeneration. The omission of the name of any one person of the Trinity was held to be fatal to the validity of the rite (Wilkins, *Concilia*, p. 29). St. Ildephous of Toledo (*De Copit. Baptismi*, lib. i. c. 112), circ. a. 663, uses similar language. "Quod si omnia qualibet Trinitatis personæ baptismum conferunt, omnino nihil egisse baptismi solemnitas deputetur nisi tota Trinitas veraciter invocetur." For the opinions of the Schoolmen on this question see Martene *De A. E. R.*, lib. i. cap. i. Art. xiv. 20. And for those of various theologians at the time of the Reformation, and subsequently, see Augusti *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. vii. p. 239.

§ 54. *Slight variations.* The passages above quoted shew that all the earlier Church authorities, almost without exception, speak of the use of the words "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," as absolutely required. Yet it is worth noting that it was an essential not a literal identity of expression that was required. The main point of faith in the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity being secured, slight verbal variations in the formula were not regarded as of vital importance. Indeed the usage of various churches was not absolutely identical. Thus while in most cases the identical words of Our Lord *eis τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ*

Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, were exactly reproduced (in Latin Ritual "In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti"), the words *eis τὸ ὄνομα*, "in nomine," were in some churches omitted. The formula, as given by Tertullian (§ 11) and in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. iii. c. 14), serves to exemplify this omission. Elsewhere additions were made to the formula, as thus; "In nomine Patris, Amen; et Filii, Amen; et Spiritus Sancti, Amen." The corresponding Greek words are the formula of the Greek Church to this day. In the Gothic missal already quoted in § 32, we find "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti in remissionem peccatorum, ut habeas vitam æternam." In an ancient Gallien Missal, there is still greater variation, "Baptizo te credentem in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti ut habeas vitam æternam in sæcula sæculorum," or again, "Baptizo te in nomine Patris etc. . . . unum habentium substantiam, ut habeas vitam æternam et partem cum Sanctis." Again Martene (*De A. E. R.* tom. i. p. 31, § xix.) quotes the formula once in use at Cambray, in which the words "Ego baptizo" were altogether omitted, and the ministrant said only, "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen." Hugo de St. Victor, Peter Lombard, and others, held this to constitute a valid baptism; Pope Alexander III. decided in a contrary sense. This was in the year 1175 A.D. About 400 years earlier, Zacharias (Martene § xix.), then Roman Pope, had formally to decide whether Baptism given by an ignorant Priest "In nomine Patris Filia et Spiritus Sanctus" was valid or no. St. Boniface had decided that such baptism was invalid, and was for rebaptizing a child who had so received it. But he was opposed by two other bishops (Virgilius and Sidonius) whose opinion was endorsed by the bishop of Rome on appeal made to him. "If" (so he wrote) "he who so ministered baptism did so not by way of introducing error or heresy, but only through ignorance of our Roman speech spoke with a broken utterance, we cannot consent to any repetition of the baptism so conferred."

§ 55. *Eastern and Western Forms.* One difference there is between the mode of employing the "Evangelical words," which is characteristic of Eastern and of Western Churches respectively. In the West, with very rare exceptions only, the personal office of the ministrant has been made somewhat prominent by the formula "I baptize thee (Ego baptizo te) in the name" etc. But in the Eastern use this is not the case, the third person being employed, *βαπτίζεται ὁ δεῖνα* (sometimes *ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ*, adding the name) *eis τὸ ὄνομα κ. τ. λ.* "Such an one" (naming him), or "The servant of God, N. or M. is baptized in the name," &c. The exceptions among Eastern Churches are very few. The Coptic Formula (Abudacni *Historia Jacobitarum seu Coptorum*, Oxon. 1675. J. E. Gerhardt, *Execr. de ecclesia Coptica*, 1666) is in the first person, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Amen; I baptize thee in the name of the Son, Amen; I baptize thee in the name of the Holy Ghost, Amen." And the Nestorians (Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*) of Syria, though their own older formula agreed with that of other Eastern Churches, adapted also that prescribed by the Roman Church, expressed in the first person. A more remark-

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ὄλου Πνεύματος, Latin Ritual "In tus Sancti"), the me," were in some n, as given by Ter- lical Constitutions ally this omission. Amen; at Filii, men." The cor- le formula of the e Gothic missal ind "In nomine et in remissionem eternam." In an e is still greater entem in nomine et ut habeas vitum urum," or again, e etc. . . . nam as vitam aeternam ain Martene (de .c.) quotes the for- y, in which the together omitted. "In nomine Patris Amen." Hugo de d others, held this ; Pope Alexander e. This was in the e years earlier, Za- a Roman Pope, had baptism given by an e Patria Filia et or ne. St. Boni- baptism was in- zing a child who was opposed by two d Sidonius) whose bishop of Rome on (so he wrote) "he d so not by way of but only through eech spoke with a consent to any re- ferred."

Forms. One dif- mode of employ- ing is characteris- tic arches respect- ively, exceptions only, the ruit has been made formula "I baptize name" etc. But in the case, the third (εραὶ ὁ θεῖα (some- ing the name) εἰς τὸ " (naming him), or M. is baptizd in the ns among Eastern he Coptic Formula urum seu Coforum, Erecit. de eclesia t person, "I baptize mer, Amen; I baptize Amen; I baptize thee at, Amen." And the ans and their Rituals) older formula agreed a Churches, adopted a Roman Church, ex- A more remark-

able exception to the usual Eastern practice is that of the Aethiopian Church, if it really were as described. Alvarez, one of the Jesuit Mis- sionaries, states in one place that the form they employ is "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," And Ludolf (who has no sympathy with these Roman authorities when he thinks them moved by prejudice) states that in the ritual books of the Ethiopians he had never been able to find any other formula. On the other hand there were others of the same Jesuit Mission who spoke of the great variety of forms which they found in use, obliging them to rebaptize. See Ludolf, *Hist. Aethiop.* lib. iii. cap. vi.

Subsequent Ceremonial.

§ 56. The ceremonies subsequent upon the actual baptism are commonly (as by Bellarmine, *de Bapt.* lib. i. cap. 27) reckoned as five in num- ber, the Kiss, the Unction of the Head (distinct from the Unction in Confirmation), the lighted Taper, the white Robe, the Tasting of Milk and Honey. To these may be added the Washing of Feet, and the Chaplet on the head, which found place in the Ritual of some early Churches.

§ 57. *The Kiss.* We first hear of this as a customary practice in Africa in St. Cyprian's *Epist.* lxxv. (ad liv.) *ad Pitam.* St. Augustine quotes the passage (*contra duas epist. Pelag.* lib. iv. cap. viii. §§ 23, 24) in a way which shews that the usage had been maintained to his own time. It is expressly prescribed (to be given by the bishop first and afterwards by the assembled faithful) in the ritual of the Egyptian Church Chrysostom (*Sermo* 50 *de util. lej. script.* tom. iii. p. 80 l.) we find proof of a similar usage.

§ 58. *The Unction of the Head.* No trace is to be found in the earliest records of more than one Unction after baptism, viz., that given in Confirmation by the bishop. Its introduction is attributed, by Roman tradition, to St. Sylvester, bishop of Rome, from 314 to 335 A.D. See further under UNCTION.

§ 59. *The Use of Lights.* We have already seen that in the 4th century certainly, and prob- ably therefore in yet earlier ages, baptism was administered after dark (generally late on Easter Eve). In this, as in so many other cases, what doctrinal or symbolical reasons took its rise in consideration of practical convenience or neces- sity, references made to the use of Lights by St. Cyril Hieros., have already been alleged (§ 22). And to the same effect, though with Nazianz. *Orat.* xl. "The station that thou shalt take before the great lema (of the church), after thy baptism, is a foreshadowing of the glory that shall be from heaven; and the wherewith thou shalt be received is a prelude of the hymns that thence shall sound; and the lamps that thou shalt kindle set forth in mystery that virgin souls shall go forth to meet their Lord, and bring the lamps of faith bright and burning." With these passages compare Ambrosius, *de divo Imp. apud Baronium* ad ann. 401; Gregor. *Hist. Franc.* lib. v. c. 11; St. Gregory the Great, *Lib. Sacram. de sabbato sancto*; Al-

cunus, *de Div. off. de sabbato sancto*; Amala- rius, *de eccl. off.* lib. i. c. 18; Rabanus, *de Inst. Cler.* lib. ii. c. 38, 39; St. Ivo, *of Chartres, de Sacramento Neophytorum*; and the *Ordo Bap- tismi* xviii. in Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* tom. i. p. 78.

§ 60. *The wearing of white garments* (λευκε- μουεῖν or λαμπροφορεῖν in Greek writers) by the newly baptized was of universal custom throughout the west to the Lord's Day immediately following, thence called the "Do- διακανθήσου (Gaar, *Euchol. Graec.* p. 373) of the Greeks. By their colour these garments were significant both of innocence and of joy (Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 182, n. 19), and by their material, which was generally linen, they were associated with the idea of deliverance from death (Philo de Sonibus, p. 597. Paris, fol. 1640, and Jerome, *Epist. ad Fabol.* Opp. tom. ii. p. 574. Paris, fol. 1693). The allusions to this practice in early writers are in- numerable. It will suffice here to state a few particulars as to the various vestments of which we find mention.

§ 61. *The Alb.* The outer garment, vestis alba, or simply "alba" (i. v., λαμπρά ἢ λευκή, or ἐμφαντίον, was probably not unlike the ministry. In some instances we hear of this being kept as a memorial of baptism, to serve as the covering for the body after death (Antonini Mart. *Itinerarium* "induti sindones . . . quas sibi ante sepulcrum servant.") So Constantine the Great, dying shortly after his baptism, was buried μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐμφαντίων, in the garments which he had then worn (St. Germanus Patriarch. *De Sanctis Synodus etc.* apud Spiell. Rom. A. Mai, tom. vii. § 14). And so Probus Anicinus in his epitaph (Besio, *Rom. sub.* p. 47) is described as one, "Qui nova decedens munus aetherii vestimenta tulit." At other times these white garments were presented to the Church. This is implied in the story of Euphrophorus and the Deacon Maritta, told by Victor of Utica (*de Persec. Vandal.* lib. v. *Bibl. Patr. Max.* tom. viii. p. 699). For the use of the poor they were provided gratuitously, as e.g. by Constantine the Great (Sarii *Vit. Sancto-um*, in S. Syl- vestro, die 31 Dec., and by Gregory the Great (*Epist.* iv. 16; and vii. 24).

§ 62. *The Subannum.* This word (in Greek ὑδάβατον) as originally used meant either a large wrapper for covering the body immediately after bathing, or a towel used for drying it. The same word is occasionally used (as by Victor and Iticensis) in speaking of baptismal vestments. A letter is extant from Pope Paul I. in which he thanks King Pepin for having sent him the "Subannum" used at the baptism of the king's daughter Gishana. It is not clear whether this is identical with the "alba" or no.

§ 63. *The Crismale.* This was a piece of white linen tied round the head, and intended to retain the christ upon the head throughout the week " . . . tribis."

§ 64. *The twisted thread.* In the Armenian rite, as still celebrated, there is a curious relic of the primitive customs in regard of baptismal dress. We here read [Translation, unpublished,

by the Rev. S. C. Malan) of the priest "twisting the thread." And the Catholicos (bishop) Joseph, in his Russian translation of this order of baptism, enlarges this rubric as follows: "While the choir sings, the priest takes two threads, one white and the other red, in remembrance of the water and the blood that flowed from the side of the Saviour of the world. He lists them up under the holy cross, and lays them on it last upon the catechumen or child to be baptized." There can be little doubt that this is a last trace of former white baptismal robes with red embroidery. This hypothesis is confirmed by some references in ancient authors. A MS. at Turin, of unknown authorship and date [from internal evidence it appears to the writer to be of the 11th century], thus describes the "chrismale." "Inluitur deinde chrisimali neophytus, scilicet alba veste quae instar cappae lineae caputium habet, quo caput quasi quadam mitra operitur, et filo rubeo supersursum." Durandus too (*Rationale Div. Off.* lib. vi. c. 82), mentions a custom still existing in his time (13th century) in Narbonne, that the white garment of the baptized had sewn upon it a red band like a 'corona.' And the same combination of colours was still preserved in the usage of the Ethiopic Church two centuries ago (Ludolf, *Hist. Aethiop.* lib. iii. c. 6), and may be traced back in Africa to the 5th century of our era. Victor of Utica (*de Pers. Vand.* lib. ii.) speaks of the white robe as "purpura sanguinis Christi decoratum."

§ 65. *The Chaplet (corona or στέφανος).* The earliest certain reference to this as worn by Neophytes is in the ritual of Alexandria described by Patriarch Severus in the 7th century. "Then (i. e. after baptism and unction) he takes the baptized to the altar, and gives them the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the priest crowns them with garland." (*Hist. Mar. Patr.* Paris 1654, tom. vi. p. 25). This usage was still maintained at Alexandria 200 years ago. Vansleb, describing their baptismal ritual, writes as follows. The priest, "trempe dans l'eau du baptême la ceinture et la ceinture de l'enfant qui a été baptisé, et lui met cette couronne sur la tête, et il lui ceint les reins de cette ceinture," &c. (*Hist. de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie*, Paris 1877, 12). Allusions to a similar rite, on very slight grounds however of what is probably merely metaphorical language, have been imagined in the Gallican Missal (baptizati et in Christo coronati), in St. Chrysostom, *Catech. I. ad Illuminandos* (ὅταν διάδημα [not a chaplet, but a royal crown], ἀναδύνηθε τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίων φαειρότερας ἔχον παντάχως ἐκπρόδους λαμπρόνας), and *Catech. II. τὸν στέφανον τῆς δικαιοσύνης*, a quotation from Scripture.) A passage of Gregory Nazianz. (*Oratio xxiii. ad inl.*), quoted by Augusti for this usage, has certainly nothing whatever to do with baptism, as an examination of the entire context will conclusively shew. The "crowns" there spoken of are the words of public encomium wherewith St. Gregory welcomes Heron, a confessor of the faith, comparing him to one who has conquered in the arena.

§ 66. *Tasting of milk and honey.* This symbolical usage, like many others, originated in a prevailing metaphor. "Quid ergo lac et mel?" asks Barnabas. "Quia nimirum infans lacte et melle vivificatur, sic et nos fide promissionis et

verbo nutrimur." Tertullian in more than one passage (see § 12 above, and *adv. Marc.* lib. i. c. 14); Clement of Alexandria (*Pædag.* lib. i. cap. vi.); the Third Council of Carthage, can. 24; the Constitutions of the Egyptian Church, § 51; St. Jerome (*adv. Lucifer.* *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 180, and in *Essaiam.* cap. iv.); and the Leonine Sacramentary (Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* tom. i.), all allude to the tasting of mingled milk and honey after baptism. The rite is again mentioned by Macarius Bishop of Memphis, circ. a. 756, and was still preserved both in Alexandria and in the Ethiopic Church two hundred years ago (Vansleb and Ludolf, referred to above).

§ 67. *Peditivium.* *The washing of feet.* A peculiar custom prevailed in the early Gallican ritual, of a symbolical washing of the feet of the newly baptized, having reference to the action of our Lord recorded in the Gospel of St. John (xiii. 1-16). The so-called Gothic missal, and another early Gallican missal (Martene, *De A. E. R.* tom. i. pp. 63, 64), both contain references to this as a recognized part of the baptismal ritual. In the first, see above § 34, immediately after the application of the chrism, we read, "Dum pedes ejus lavas, dicis, 'Ego tibi lavo pedes. Sicut Dominus noster Jesus Christus fecit discipulis suis, tu facias hospitibus et peregrinis ut habeas vitam aeternam.'" (then follows the impositio vestimenti). In the second of the two documents, a collect is given "ad pedes lavandos," which follows, as before, "ad pedes lavandos," which follows, as before, "Infusio Chrismæ," immediately upon the treading Jesus Christus apostellis suis pedes lavit: Ego tibi pedes lavo, ut et tu facias hospitibus et peregrinis, qui ad te venerint. Hoc si feceris habebis vitam aeternam in saecula saeculorum. Amen." In yet a third Gallican sacramentary (Mabillon, *Mus. Roll.* tom. i. and Martene, *De A. E. R.* tom. i. p. 64) the same rite is noticed, but is placed after the clothing with the "Vestis Candida," instead of immediately before as in the two earlier MSS.; and there is a slight variation in the terms of the collect prescribed. From two treatises of doubtful authenticity attributed to St. Ambrose (*De Sacram.* lib. iii. c. 1 and *De Myster.* c. 6), it has been inferred that the rite was in use at Milan. In the first of the two passages the writer, whoever he was, mentions that the rite in question was not of Roman usage. No traces of it are now to be found in the Ambrosian ritual. Allusions to a similar rite after baptism, occurring in the works of St. Augustine, are not, as might be thought, a proof of a similar usage in the African Church. They occur in a sermon (*De tempore* 160) which on other grounds had been judged not to be St. Augustine's, but to have been composed by Caesarius Archbishop of Arles (†540). He quotes the words of a Gallican missal still extant (Martene, *De A. E. R.* p. 64): "Secundum quod ipsis in baptismo dictum est, Hospitium pedes lavent," &c. The 48th canon of the Council of Illiberis, forbidding the practice (neque pedes eorum [qui baptizantur] lavandi sunt a sacerdotibus vel clericis), marks probably a previous attempt to introduce the observance in some parts of Spain, in imitation of the usage elsewhere existing. No traces of the rite are now anywhere to be found in connection with the administration of baptism. But a ceremonial, similar in its origin in which the

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IV. *At what times Baptism was administered.*

§ 68. *In the Apostolic Age* no special times were appointed for the administration of baptism, this being determined by the varying circumstances consequent, in the nature of things, on the first establishment of the faith. The first administration of the baptism, properly so called, was on the first Christian Pentecost (Acts ii.), when some 3000 persons gladly receiving the words of Peter were at once baptized on the same day (ver. 41). The Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii.), when Philip, taking occasion from the prophecy of Isaiah (cap. liii.), had taught him the glad tidings of Jesus, was straightway baptized in water by the way side. The jailor at Philippi (Acts xvi.), when the word of the Lord had been spoken unto him (ver. 32) by Paul and Silas, was baptized with all his household while it was night (ver. 33 compared with ver. 25). And neither in Scripture nor in any of the earlier Christian writers before Tertullian, is any special season to be found of the settling apart of any special season as more suited than others for the administration. This greater liberty of the Apostolic times is often alluded to by early fathers, when dissuading men from the indefinite deferring of baptism under pretext of observing the fixed times appointed by the Church for its more solemn administration.

§ 69. *Special seasons spoken of by Tertullian.* The first mention of any particular season as being set apart for solemn administration of baptism, is found in Tertullian (*de Bapt.* c. xix.) writing about the close of the 2nd century. "Pascha" (*i. e.* Easter), he says, "offers a more solemn season for baptism, for then was fulfilled the Passion of the Lord into which we are baptized. . . . And afterward Pentecost" (*i. e.* the whole period from Easter to the day of Pentecost) "is a lengthened time for the preparation of the waters (ordinandis aquis). Therein was the Resurrection of the Lord celebrated among the disciples, and the grace of the Holy Spirit bestowed, and the hope of the advent of the Lord suggested." But in mentioning these as times when baptism was administered with more than usual solemnity, he is careful to add, that "every day is the Lord's. . . . no hour, no time, unsuitable for baptism; the solemnity may be less, but in the grace given there is no diversity." Other references to these two periods, or one of them, as specially observed for the solemn administration of baptism, will be found in St. Jerome, St. Gregory Nazianz., St. Chrysostom, and other writers both in East and West.

§ 70. *Baptism at Epiphany.* Beside the two seasons of Easter and Pentecost, there were not a few churches in which the Epiphany festival was observed in the same way. Towards the close of the 4th century, Siricius Bishop of Rome stated (*Epist. ad Himerium, Labbe, Concil. t. ii. p. 1018*), that all Churches agreed with that of Rome in an exclusive observance of Easter and Pentecost. But in this he was mistaken. Many Eastern Churches, and not a few in the West, which by origin or by subsequent intercourse came under Eastern influence, observed Epiphany (traditionally the time of our

Lord's baptism in Jordan) as a season for solemn administration of baptism. We find evidences of this in the churches of Cappadocia (St. Greg. Nazianz. *Orat. xl. μένω τὰ φάρα*), at Antioch, but before St. Chrysostom's time (this by inference from a comparison of St. Chrysostom's *Catechesis I. ad Illuminandos*; Migne, t. ii. p. 268; *De Baptismo Christi, ibid.*, p. 433, seqq.; and *Hom. III.* in Ephes. i. *ibid.* t. xi. p. 25); at Jerusalem (*Typicun S. Sabae*, quoted by Valesius on Theodoret. *Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 27*); and the *Himerarium, Antonini Martyris*; in Africa (*Victor Uticensis, De Persec. Vandil. lib. ii.* iniquabat jam futurus dies . . . Kalendaram Februarium"); in Spain and Sicily (*Siricius ad Himerium*, already referred to, and *Leo, ad Episcopos Siciliae, Labbe, Concil. t. iii. p. 1297*); in Gaul (see Martene, *de A. E. R. lib. i. cap. i. p. 2*); in Ireland (St. Patrick . . . *Synodi, Canonos, &c.*, ed. T. P. Villanova, Dublini 1835; Wilkins, *Concilia*, p. 26, can. xiv). These canons are of late date in their present form, but preserve some genuine traditions).

§ 71. *Other days* were observed in some churches. Thus we hear of "Natalitia Christi," or Christmas, in Spain and in Gaul (see Martene, as above), and of Festivals of Apostles and Martyrs, in Spain (*Siricius ad Himerium*), in Campania, Samnium, and Picenum (*Leo M. Epist. 136*), and of the Festival of St. John Baptist (*Gregor. Turon. Hist. Franc. cap. 9*). All days were allowable for the more private administration in cases of pressing necessity from sickness or other causes.

§ 72. *Roman usage*, however, was much more strict in this particular than that of other Western Churches. And with the zeal for ritual uniformity which has ever been characteristic of that Church (Gregory the Great a notable exception), her bishops, and a series of councils more or less under Roman influence, made repeated efforts to confine the solemn administration to the two seasons of Easter and Pentecost.

§ 73. *Papal decrees* to this effect, directed to churches of the Roman obedienc, are those of Siricius (385-398), in his *epistole* (*Labbe, Concil. ii. p. 1018*) to Himerius, Bishop of Tarraco, in Spain; of Leo the Great (440-461), writing to the bishops of Sicily (*Labbe, Concil. iii. p. 1297*); of Gelasius (492-496), to the bishops of Lucania; Gregory II. (715-731) to the clergy and people of Thuringia, and Nicolas I. in his *responsa ad Bulgares*, cap. 69. It is curious to find the same Roman tradition seeking to assert itself in England many centuries later, in the face of a superstitious belief on the part of some that it was perilous to have children baptised at those times. So we learn from the language of Otto, Cardinal Legate at the Council of London, a 1237 ("Nemulli in Anglia periculum suspicantur si praefatis diebus pueri baptizentur." Wilkins, *Concil. p. 650*).

§ 74. *Councils.* Identical in effect with the decrees last quoted are the canons of a series of provincial councils, extending from the 6th to the 13th century. The earliest of these is the Council of Gerunda, in Hispania Tarraconensis, a. 517. With this agree the Councils of Autisiodorum (Auxerre), a. 578; of Moguntia (Mayence), a. 813, can. 4, and again, a. 847, can. 3; of Paris (*Parisiense vi. a. 829*, part 1, can. 7); of Meaux (Meldense, a. 845); of Worms (Worma-

tiense, a. 868, can. 1); of Tribur, or Teuver, near Mueence (Triburiense, a. 895, can. 12); of Rouen (Rothomagensis, a. 1372, can. 23); of Winchester (Wintoniense, a. 1074, can. 7); of London (Londinense, a. 1237).

§ 75. *Inferal and other authorities were not wanting from time to time to enforce a practice which popes and provincial councils were thus continually enacting. The capitularies of Charlemagne, a. 804, direct "ut nullus baptizare presumat nisi in Pascha et Pentecosten, excepto lafirmo." To the same effect are the capitularia collected by Benedictus Levita (lib. 1, n. 171). "Ut baptismus non fiat nisi statutis temporibus id est Pascha et Pentecosten, nisi infirmitas intercesserit." Aad lib. ii. n. 171: "Ut nullus baptizare presumat nisi per duo tempora, id est vigilia Paschae et vigilia Pentecostes, praeter mortis periculum." Bishops sometimes made this observance matter of special injunction to the clergy at their ordination (St. Hildephonsus *De Cogn. Baptismi*, lib. i. c. 108; Rodulf Archiepis. Bituricensis *Capitular.* n. 20; Ratherii Veronensis *Episcopi Synodica*, apud Martene, *Spicilegium*, tom. ii.), or desired parish priests to enforce this duty upon their people from the pulpit (Otto, *Cardinalis*, apud Wilkins, *Concordia*, p. 650).*

§ 76. *Later usage.*—The limitation of baptism to one or two special periods in the year was of advantage in the first four centuries, or thereabouts, when the baptism of adults, requiring previous instruction and preparation, was still of prevailing usage. But this limitation no longer served any important end, when under the changed circumstances of the church the baptism of adults was rare and exceptional. And accordingly these restrictions have long ceased to be observed in churches both of the East and of the West.

Places of administering Baptism.

§ 77. *Originally no limitation of place was observed. Water by the roadside (Acts viii. 36-38), private houses (Acts ix. 18), or a prison (Acts xvi. 29, 30), were all made use of for the purpose. And in sub-apostolic times we find proof of the same freedom from all limitation. See Justin Martyr, quoted above, § 7; Clementis *Recog.* lib. iv. c. 32, and lib. vi. c. 15; Tertullian *de Bapt.* c. 4. To the same effect are the traditional stories, in early Hagiologies, of baptisms performed in private houses, in prisons, in the public road. See the lives of St. Laurentius (*Serii Vit. Sanct.* die 23 Julii), of St. Apollinaris (*ibid.* die 10 August), and of the Deacon Cyriacus (*ibid.* die 16 Jan.). It is not till the close of the 3rd century that we meet with any mention of baptisteries properly so called, and under the name "baptisterium" (See the story of St. Cyriacus apud Surius, die 16 Jan.). [BAPTISTERY.]*

Baptism, by whom administered.

§ 78. *In the first five centuries, or thereabouts, the rule and the practice of the Church was, that the solemn celebration of baptism, whether at Epiphany, Easter, or Pentecost, should be presided over by the bishop. The earliest authorities bearing upon this subject are, St. Ignatius, ad Smyrn. cap. 8; Tertullian de Bapt. c. 17; Constit. Apost. lib. iii. cap. xi. (bishops and presbyters to baptize, deacons being in attendance upon them); St. Gregor. Nyssen. *Orat.* xl. (Paris, Morell, fol. 1630, tom. i. p. 656) where*

baptism by bishops and presbyters is spoken of Council of Illiberis, a. 313, can. 77, decreeing that if a deacon baptise any one, without either bishop or presbyter, the sacrament must be "completed" afterwards by the benediction of the bishop; St. Jerome, *adv. Lucifer.* c. 4 (saying that neither Presbyter nor deacon have the right of baptising without direction from the bishop, though even laymen are frequently allowed to baptise if necessity so require). In the 5th and 6th centuries we find at one time (Gelasii Papae *Epist. ad univ. episc.* and Isidor. *Hispal. Off. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 24), a declaration that bishops and presbyters are the only proper administrators (cases of necessity excepted); at another (Concil. *Hispal.* ii. a. 619, can. 7), the vindication of the supreme right of bishops in this matter, in depreciation of that of presbyters. Of the practice of the Eastern Churches at this time we find an indication in a letter written by the people of Edessa at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, a. 451, and inserted among its Acta. In it they beg that Abas, their bishop, will return to them as soon as possible, on account of the approaching Easter Festival, his presence being required for the instruction of the catechumens, and for those who are found worthy to receive holy baptism. More remarkable is a somewhat similar letter (quoted by Martene *De A. E. R.* tom. i. p. 7), in which certain of the clergy in Italy write to Constantine, begging that the emperor will allow Dacius, bishop of Milan, to return to his diocese after an absence of fifteen or sixteen years, giving as a reason that almost all the bishops customarily ordained by the Bishop of Milan were now dead, and an immense multitude of people died without baptism (quia cum pene omnes episcopi, quos ordinare solet, . . . mortui sint, immensa populi multitudo sine baptismo moritur). It is worthy of note in connection with this that from the time of St. Ambrose to that of Cardinal Borromeo, if not later, the traditions of the Church of Milan have maintained in a variety of ways the special office of the bishop in the administration of baptism. Paulinus, writing (circ. 420) the life of St. Ambrose, says that St. Ambrose had with his own hands baptised more persons than five succeeding bishops. And in the *Ceremoniale Ambrosianum*, published by Cardinal Borromeo (Martene, p. 7), it is stated that the archbishop administered baptism solemnly twice in the year, at Easter and at Pentecost, and also at other times throughout the year in the event of any adults, converted from unbelief, being presented for baptism.

§ 79. *In later centuries. The provision last mentioned will of itself serve to suggest why it was that as time went on the personal action of the bishop, as the recognised administrator of baptism, became gradually less and less; while that of presbyters, deacons, and even of clergy of the minor orders, was continually increasing. From the time when the baptism of adults became the exception rather than the prevailing rule, and when, from the wider extent of the Church, the number of the children brought to baptism was continually increasing, the older practice of the Church gradually changed. It was revived at a later time by missionary bishops, such as our own countryman St. Boniface in Germany, or St. Otto of Bamberg in Pomerania (*Hist. S. Bonifacii* and *Hist. S. Ottonis*, lib. ii.*

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c. 19, quoted by Martene *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. cap. i. art. iii.). But with exceptions such as these last, exceptions which prove the rule, the tendency in most Churches, from about the close of the 5th century, was to make the administration of baptism of less prominent importance; and the part taken by the bishop himself became gradually less and less. In the Gregorian Sacramentary, not the bishop, but the presbyters, are spoken of as being in a special sense the ministers of baptism (*ministri baptismi*). And even at the more solemn ceremonies of the Easter Baptism at Rome and elsewhere, the bishop merely inaugurated the ceremony by baptising a few himself, leaving the rest to presbyters, to deacons, or if need were to acolytes. (*Ordo Romanus* apud Mabillon *Mus. Ital.* t. ii., and Martene *De A. E. R. t. i. p. 8, col. 2.*)

§ 80. *Lay Baptism.* Tertullian (*de bapt. cap. 17*) and St. Jerome (*adv. Lucif. cap. 4*; see above, § 78) say, in effect, that for a layman to baptise is not only contrary to essential Christian principles, but also contrary to ecclesiastical order. And though practically has been the judgment of the Church in all later times, forbidding lay baptism as a rule, but recognising it in cases of necessity. See as to this the Council of Illiberis, a. 313, lay baptism became very common. See, as illus- trating English usage in this matter, the Council of Durham (between the years 1217 and 1222; in Wilkins, *Concil.* p. 575) and the Council of Oxford, a. 1222 (*ibid.* p. 594).

§ 81. *Baptism by Women.* The question whether women may lawfully baptise is first adverted to by Tertullian. Nothing can well be stronger than his language, diluted though it be by some later writers into the assertion that women may not "publicly baptise in the church." After saying (*de bapt. cap. 17*) that in cases of per- ous necessity laymen should not hesitate to give baptism, he goes on to say that women, though they took upon themselves to teach, would scarcely, with all their presumption, attempt to create a right to administer baptism, unless indeed some strange beast arose like to one that formerly had been. That former one sought to do away with baptism; some successor might perhaps seek to confer baptism herself. Compare *De Virgin. veland.* cap. 9, and *De Prescript.* cap. 41. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, lib. iii. cap. 9; Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 70; and the Fourth Council of Carthage, a. 398, canon 20 (*"Malier, quamvis docta et sancta, viros in con- ratu docere, vel aliquos baptizare, non praesumit"*), are all to the same effect. Isidore of Hispala is referred to (by Augusti, *Denke.* p. 115) as saying that persons baptised by women are not to be re-baptised. And Joannes Moschus (*Pratum Spirituale*, cap. 3) says that it is contrary to the canons for women to baptise, yet makes an ex- ception for cases of the last extremity. Even as late as the 12th century we find Hugo de S. Victore speaks of it as still with some a disputed question whether baptism by women was valid.

§ 82. *Baptism by Heretics.* The question of the validity or otherwise of baptism by heretics is one which was forced on the attention of the Church in the 3rd century by the Donatist Schism. The dissension thence arising (between St. Cyprian (supported by all the African bishops and by several of the Eastern Churches) and Stephen

Bishop of Rome, is on many grounds of great importance to early Church history. But this lies beyond the scope of the present article. The final settlement of the question was based upon the principle that the unworthiness of the ministrant cannot mar the act of God, or as was said, that the wickedness of the sower affects not the vitality of the seed. Hence the question of re-baptising or otherwise was for the most part determined simply by the question whether the essential elements of baptism were wanting or no, viz.: water and the words prescribed by our Lord. If these were employed the baptism was regarded as valid, though irregular, and the person so baptised was admitted into communion, if on other grounds found worthy, after imposition of the hands of the bishop.

§ 83. *Baptism by Pagans and Jews, and excom- municate persons*, has been held to fall under the same rule as that last stated. But opinions have not been altogether at one upon this point. See lib. i. cap. 1, art. iii.

§ 84. *Baptism administered in sport.* Perhaps the strongest illustration of the feeling of anti- quity in this matter is afforded by the story told by Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 16) and by Rufinus (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 14). When Athanasius was a boy, so the story is told, he was playing with some young companions on the shore at Alexandria. The bishop, Alexander by name, happened to be looking on from a distance as they played, and observed, to his astonishment, that they were imitating the ceremonial of baptism, Athanasius acting as "boy-bishop," to anticipate a phrase of well-known Medieval usage. "On diligent inquiry," we translate now the words of Rufinus, "both from those who were said to have been baptised, as to what they had been asked and what they had replied (the *ερωτησεις* and the *αποκρισεις*, above, § 43), and from him also who had put the baptismal questions, when the bishop found that all things had been duly performed according to the ob- servances of religion, he conferred with the ob- isin council, and is said to have decided to this effect, that, as water had been poured upon these persons after the interrogations and responses had been duly made, their baptism ought not to be repeated, but only be made complete by the customary sacerdotal acts (*adimplere ea quae a sacerdotibus mos est*). Doubts have been raised as to whether such an occurrence ever actually took place; but whether the story be true or no it serves equally to illustrate the feeling of the Church at the time the story was first told.

§ 85. *Baptism self-administered.* To make this subject complete, it may perhaps be added that on one occasion the question arose whether baptism self-administered was valid. The question was decided in the negative by Pope Innocent III. on the ground that there is an essential distinction of person between the baptiser and the baptised. The Council of Nismes (a. 1283) embodied this decision in one of their canons: "Si quis se ipsum baptizaverit talem non esse baptismatum ecclesiae iudicabit."

With what matter Baptism was administered.

§ 86. *Of water as the material element.* Water from natural associations has ever been associated with ideas of life in the minds of most cultivated

nations. And to Heathens (Tertullian, *de bapt.* c. 5), as well as to Jews, it was associated not in thought only, but in actual ceremonial usage, with ideas of religious purification. This was the material element employed in the Baptism of our Lord, this that was united in mention by Him with the Name of the Spirit, when speaking (John iii.) of the gift of a new spiritual birth. And this accordingly from the first Christian Pentecost (Acts ii.) to this time, has been regarded in all parts of Christendom and at all times as determined by divine appointment to be the material element in the administration of Baptism. The few exceptions to this statement which require notice are the following.

§ 87. *Baptism by fire.* Philastrinus of Brescia (*De Haeres.* n. viii. apud Biblioth. Patr. Galland. tom. vii. p. 489), and St. Augustine quoting him as an authority (*De Haeres.* cap. lix. BB. tom. viii. p. 20 s. 7), speak of Seleucus and Hermas as founders of a Sect of which one characteristic was their maintaining the only true baptism to be "Spiritu et igni." And in an anonymous Treatise on Heretical Baptism we read of some who, by what means is not known, produced an appearance of fire on the baptismal water, in order to complete what they thought necessary for Christian Baptism. And so again Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria speak of certain heretics (Carpocratians and Heraclians) who branded a mark upon the ears of their disciples, this being in their eyes the true sealing (*σφραγισμῶ*) with the Holy Ghost.

§ 88. *Baptizing with wine and the like.* The authority of a bishop of Rome, Siricius (a. 384 to 389), or according to others of Stephanus II. or III., has been claimed for the assertion, that Baptism in wine is valid though not to be allowed except in cases of the last necessity. The facts concerning this, much disputed by Roman Ritualists, may be determined by comparison of the following authorities: Antoninus Augustinus *de emendatione Gratiani*, p. 200. Baluzius, *Notae in Anton. August.* p. 431. Martene *de Ant. Ecc. Rit.* lib. i. cap. l. Art. xiv. Bertini *de Sacrament. Vincl.* 1774, p. 507. Harduini *Dissert. de baptismo in vino.* Others mingled wine with water and were condemned (*Execrta* Egberti, i. 750 in Wilkins, *Concil.* p. 104) for so doing.

§ 89. *Baptism with sand.* In one case, for which Joannes Moschus is the earliest authority, the question arose not as a mere abstract disputation, but in reference to an actual matter of fact, whether baptism in sand be legitimate or no. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus a certain Jew was travelling in company with some Christians through a dry and desert country, when he was seized with grievous illness; and being apparently at the point of death begged his companions to baptize him. They replied that there was neither priest nor water at hand, and that without these baptism could not be had. "But being earnestly adjured not to refuse him, they divested the man, and sprinkled him three times with sand instead of water, saying that they baptized him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Upon this (so the story proceeds) his strength was miraculously restored, and on their return, Dionysius, then Bishop of Alexandria, being consulted on the subject, decided "Baptisatum esse Judaeum si modo aqua denuo per-

funderetur," in other words that the only thing wanting to his Baptism was the element of water, with which he was to be "perfusus." Authorities for this will be found in Joannes Moschus, *Praxum Spirituale*, cap. 176 (*De la Bigne, Biblioth. Patr.* tom. ii. pp. 1132, 1133); in Nicophorus (*Hist. Ecc.* lib. iii. c. 37); and the story is told in detail by the Magdeburg Centuriators, who are quoted by Bingham (*Antiq.* book xi. c. 2, § 5).

§ 90. *Baptism with milk.* Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis (in *Gestis Henrici II.* ad ann. 1171, edit. Hearne tom. i. p. 38) states that a custom prevailed in the early Irish Church of baptizing the children of the rich in milk. Occasional references are found elsewhere to such a practice. See Michelet, *Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 253. Note.

§ 91. *Figurative expressions.* Phrases such as "the baptism of blood," meaning martyrdom; "Baptism with fire," meaning either martyrdom (as in Euseb. *H. E.* lib. vi. c. 4) or gifts of the Holy Spirit (as St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in three different passages); the Baptism of Tears, meaning Repentance (as in Isidore of Seville and others), are merely metaphorical expressions, bearing indeed upon primitive Ritual to which this article is limited.

Modes of administering Baptism (by Immersion, Ablusion, Asperision).

§ 92. *Immersion.* Passages already quoted in this article will have sufficed to show that the ordinary mode of Baptism in primitive times, at least in the case of adults, was that the Catechumen should descend into a Font of water (whether natural or artificial), and while standing therein dip the head thrice under the water. See §§ 11, 18, 49.

§ 93. *Affusion.* Yet there are not wanting indications both in literature and in art of another usage, viz., that of the bishop or other ministrant pouring water out of the hand, or from some small vessel, on the head of the baptized. Thus we meet more than once in Latin writers with the expression "perfusus" applied to the Catechumen (see §§ 28 and 89; and aqua infusa § 84). And it is to be noted that the word *βαπτισμῶ*, which is used in Greek Ritual in speaking of the act of the ministrant, might be used with perfect propriety of such a pouring of water upon the head and body as that now in question. One common mode of bathing among the ancients was the pouring of water from vessels over the body, as we may see in ancient



Representation of Baptism, from the Cemetery of Callistus.

vase paintings (compare Ovid's description of Diana's bath, where her attendants "urnis cupibus undam effundunt"). And it is remarkable that in almost all the earliest representations of

Baptism the symbol of the Holy Spirit is the dove.

In the Baptism of our Lord, the dove is seen in the sky.

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Baptism that have been preserved to us, this is
the special act represented. Such appears to be
the representation in the fresco from the Ceme-
tery of St. Callistus here engraved.

In the picture of Our Lord's Baptism in the
Baptistry of St. John at Ravenna (Ciampini
Vet. Mon. tom. i. Tab. lxx.) dating probably
from about the year 450, our Lord is standing
in the Jordan, the water reaching to the waist,
and the Baptist is standing near, as if upon the
bank, and pouring water from a shell, or from
some small vessel, upon the head of our Lord.
And there is a similar representation, varying,
however, in some of its details, in the Church of
S. Maria in Cosmedin, also at Ravenna (Ciampini
Vet. Mon. i. Tab. xliii.), the Mosiacs of
which are said to date from the year 553 A.D.
And it would seem probable on a review of all
the evidence, that in primitive times, while adult
Baptism was still of prevailing usage, the two
modes hitherto described were combined. The
dipping of the head under water took place, in
some churches certainly, so we find clearly
stated, during the final Interrogations. And
where this was the case we may infer that the
"Affusio" or "Perfusio," the pouring on of
water by the Ministrant, took place during the
pronunciation of the formula. This hypothesis
of a double use explains some difficulties in
ancient authors, more particularly in the *Tre-*
nise De Sacramentis attributed to St. Ambrose,
and in the Egyptian Ritual already referred to.
And its probability is confirmed by the fact that
in the Armenian Order of Baptism even to this
day the double usage of Immersion and Affusion
is maintained. There the actual administration
is described as follows: The priest asks the child's
name, and on hearing it, lets the child down
into the water, saying, "This N. servant of God,
who is come from the state of childhood (or
from the state of a Catechumen) to Baptism, is
baptized in the Name of the Father and of the
Son, and of the Holy Ghost." While say-
ing this the priest *buries the child*, (or Catechu-
men) *three times in the water*, as a figure of
Christ's three days' burial. Then taking the
child out of the water *he thrice pours a handful*
of water on his head, saying, "As many of you
as have been baptized into Christ have put on
Christ. Hallelujah. As many of you as have
been enlightened by the Father, the Holy Spirit
is put into you. Hallelujah." (From an unpub-
lished translation by the Rev. S. C. Malan.)

§ 94. *Affusion and Aspersio in clinic Baptism.*
In one case of very common occurrence in early
times, viz., that of the Baptism of the sick under
fear of approaching death, the administration
was necessarily by Affusion or by Aspersio. And
in the middle of the third century we find the
question formally raised, by one of the African
bishops, whether persons so baptized (*clinic*), or
as they were also called *gratularii*, baptized on a
sick-bed) could be regarded as "legitimi Chris-
tiani," could be supposed, in other words, to have
received baptism in a legitimate and regular
manner. The manner in which Cyprian replies
to the enquiry (Cypriani *Epist.* lxxvi. al. lxx.
ad Magnun) shows that no formal decision had,
to his knowledge, ever been given previously on
the question. He judges of the question sub-
mitted to him to the best of his own ability
(*quantum concepit mediocritas nostra*), and ex-

presses an opinion that the mode in which the
water was applied was a matter of minor im-
portance, provided that Faith was not wanting
on the part both of Ministrant and Recipient.
In the sixth century Walafrid Strabo speaks of
Baptism by Affusion, "desuper fundendo," as ex-
ceptional only (*De lib. Eccl.* cap. 26). Not till
the 13th century (Augusti *Denkwürdig.* cap. ix. §
11) do we find proof that Affusion or Aspersio
had become the rule of the Western Church.
The older practice is maintained in the East to
this day.

*Age at which Baptism was conferred. (Infant
and Adult Baptism.)*

§ 95. *Infant Baptism. St. Irenaeus.* Direct
evidence of the practice of Infant Baptism first
occurs in St. Irenaeus, who was born, probably, in
the year 97 A. D., and who had sat at the feet of
Polycarp, the disciple of St. John. In his book
against Heresies (lib. ii. cap. 39 al. 22) he says
that our Lord came (into the world) in order
that through Himself He might save all men,
infants, and little ones, and children and youths
and elders, even all who through Him are born
again into God. No unprejudiced interpreter
acquainted with the forms of speech habitually
employed by Irenaeus himself, and by the early
fathers generally, will doubt that when Irenaeus
thus speaks of infants and little ones, as well as
others of more mature age, being "born again
unto God," he refers to the fact of their being
baptized. (For Irenaeus' own usage see particu-
larly *ado. Haer.* lib. i. c. 18 *eis ἑκάστην τῶν*
βαπτισματων τῆς εἰς θεὸν ἀναγεννησεως, and cap.
xix., where authority to baptize is described as
"potestas regenerationis in Deum.")

§ 96. *Tertullian* was of full age before the
death of Irenaeus, and in knowledge of antiquity,
and of the usages of the Church, was second to
none then living. And he gives absolutely con-
clusive proof that Baptism of Infants was a com-
mon practice of the Church in his own time,
towards the close of the second century. With
characteristic freedom he expresses his own
opinion that the practice might wisely be
altered, stating reasons for his opinion (*de Bapt.*
c. 18). But he nowhere says one word to im-
ply that the practice of his own contemporaries
was an innovation upon the earlier usage of the
Church.

§ 97. *Origen.* We have testimony no less
decisive from Origen as to what was the tradi-
tionary practice of the more Eastern Churches.
He was born probably in the year 186 A. D. and
was a disciple of Clemeus Alex. and an inheritor
of his great learning. His language in several
passages shows not only that Infant Baptism was
a recognised practice of the Church in his own
day, but that in his belief (and no man knew
more of antiquity) had been equally so from the
time of the Apostles. See his *Hom.* viii. on Le-
viticus (Oberthur t. vi. p. 137) and *Hom.* xiv.
on St. Luke (t. xiii. p. 335), where he argues
that infants must have original sin, "else why
are they baptized?"—and his comment in *Ep.*
ad Rom. lib. v. c. vi. (ecclesia ab apostolis tradi-
tionem accepit etiam parvulis baptismum dare).

§ 98. *Other early evidence,* but indirect and
inferential only, has by some been cited (Bing-
ham C. A. book xi. ch. iv. §§ vi. vii.) from Cle-
ment of Rome, and from Justin Martyr. More

conclusive than these is an expression of Clemens Alex. in the second century, when (*Pædag.* lib. iii. c. 11) he speaks of τὰν ἐξ ὕδατων ἀνακαλύψων παιδίων, the children that are drawn up from out of the water, in a context which shows clearly that it is of Baptism that he speaks.

§ 99. *Jewish Proselyte Baptism.*—In order to complete the subject of the evidence for Infant Baptism, it may be well to refer to the arguments based on the analogy of Christian Baptism both to the Proselyte Baptism of the Jews, which was given to infants as well as to adults, and to the rite of circumcision, administered on the 8th day after birth, and only in exceptional cases to adults. For the first of these, the Baptism of Proselytes, the argument from analogy is exceedingly strong, on the assumption that the practice in question really existed before the Apostolic age. Lightfoot (on Matt. iii. and John iii.) and many other Hebraists assume the pre-existence of the Jewish rite without doubt. To the present writer there appear to be the strongest grounds for this opinion. But among Continental scholars at the present time the prevailing opinion appears to be opposed to that of Lightfoot. A summary of the arguments on either side, and full references to the best authorities, will be found in Carpovizius *Annotations in T. Goodrici Mosca et Avronem.* Francofurti, 4, 1748. See particularly the Notes on Lib. i. cap. iii. § vii. For additional authorities see the *Bibliographia Antiquaria* of T. A. Fabricius, p. 385.

§ 100. *The Analogy of Circumcision* (administered as this was in infancy) with Christian Baptism, is recognised both in Scripture (Col. 2. ii.) and in early Christian writers, as Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. : in Iosepho udr.* Haer. lib. iv. c. xxx. (this, however, open to dispute). In St. Cyprian's time so close was this analogy considered by some as to cause doubt whether in view of "eighth day circumcision" any day earlier than the eighth were allowable for Christian Baptism (Cyprian *Epist.* lix.). St. Gregory Nazianz. expressly appeals to this as analogous to the practice of Infant Baptism (*Orat. xl. de Bap.* p. 658).

§ 101. *Adult Baptism.* The general conclusion, resulting from an impartial investigation of all the evidence now available, appears to the present writer to be, that in the first four centuries of Christian History adult baptism was, from a variety of concurrent causes, the prevailing practice. Yet that during the same period infants were always baptised without delay if in apparent danger of death. But in the absence of such danger their baptism was deferred to the time of solemn baptism held at Epiphany, Easter, or Pentecost. And it is probable that in many cases Christian parents may have shared, and have acted on, the opinion expressed by Tertullian in the second century, and by Gregory Nazianz. in the fourth, and thought it well to defer the baptism of children, cases of grave sickness excepted, till they were able to make answer on their own behalf to the interrogations of the baptismal rite (see Gregor. Naz., *Orat. xl.* He urges the baptism of infants in case of danger, and yet shortly after advises the deferring their baptism in other cases till they were three years old). In the year 450 or thereabouts, we find evidence that in Syria, if not

elsewhere, the baptism of infants was regarded as not allowable only but matter of absolute duty. (St. Isaac the Great in *Assemani i. lib. Oriental.* t. i. 221. "Let the lambs of our stock be sented from the first, that the Robber may see the mark impressed (§ 4) upon their bodies and tremble. Let not a child that is without the seal (§ 4) suck the milk of a mother that hath been baptised. . . . Let the children of the kingdom be carried, from the womb, to baptism.")

V. Baptism as represented in Ancient Art.

§ 102. *Direct Representations.* Of two modes in which we find baptism represented in ancient art, the first, that of direct representation, is confined to a very limited number of examples. The earliest, probably, is one of those engraved for this article (see § 93) from the cemetery of St. Callistus at Rome, and believed by De Rossi to be of the second century. It serves to illustrate what has been said above of what appears to have been one customary mode of administering the rite, viz., by pouring water from the hand, or from a small vessel held in the hand, upon a person standing in shallow water. Two Mosaics, at Ravenna and at Rome, in which the baptism of our Lord is represented, have been already described (see § 93). Another similar representation is painted in fresco on the walls of a chamber in the cemetery of Pontianus, originally used as a baptistery; and yet another in the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, at Ravenna (the Mosaic said to be of the 6th century), figured in Ciampini, *Vet. Monum.* i. p. 78. Millin (*Midi de la France*) has engraved (*Atlas*, Pl. lxx. 11) a peculiar representation of this subject from a sarcophagus. With this may be compared that on the diptych of Milan, figured and described by Bugati (*Memorie di S. Celso*, p. 282), and reproduced in facsimile by the Arundel Society. No other such representations are known to the present writer, dating certainly from any period antecedent to 800 A.D. But two curious representations were engraved by Ciampinus in his *Monumenta Vetera* (tom. i. p. 16) of Sarcophagi, to which he attributed a very great antiquity. In the first is represented the baptism of a king and queen (their rank being indicated by a Royal crown on the head of each), and these he supposes to represent Agilulfus and his wife Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, baptised, as he thinks, in the year 590. On the other sarcophagus a somewhat similar scene is represented. A man somewhat advanced in years kneels to receive baptism, which is administered by affusion only, water being poured upon his head from a small vessel, which has been filled evidently from one of larger size (not unlike the upper part of a modern English font) which stands near. Ciampinus supposes (but on very slight grounds) that the event represented is the baptism of Arrichius, second Duke of Beneventum, a contemporary of Gregory the Great, circ. 591 A.D. It is remarkable that in both these scenes the ministrant of the baptism has the distinctive dress of a layman, while all the other men represented are designated by an ecclesiastical or a monastic dress. The real date of these sarcophagi must, however, be regarded as extremely uncertain. To the 12th century belongs a fresco in the church of St. Lorenza,

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at Rome (*ibid.* tom. I. Tab. vi.), representing the baptism of St. Romanus, by St. Laurentius. This embodies the tradition alluded to by Walafrid Strabo in the 9th century. "Notandum non solum mergendo verum etiam desuper fundendo multos baptizatos fuisse, et adhuc posse ita baptizari si necessitas sit, sicuti in passione B. Laurentii quendam urceo aliato legimus baptizatum. Hoc etiam solet evenire cum profectionum granditas corporum in minoribus vasibus hominum tingi non potitur." The baptism of two adults by St. Paul, represented in the same point (from a chapel in the church of S. Pudenziana) is probably of the same date. To the same period is to be assigned the representation of the imaginary baptism of Constantine by St. Silvester, formerly on the façade of St. John Lateran, at Rome (Champioli *de Sac. Aedif.* tab. II. fig. 4). The picture engraved below is from a



Baptismal Ceremony, from a Fontical of the Ninth Century.

Fontical of the 9th century, now in the S. Minerva Library at Rome. It represents the baptism of an infant and of an adult, and it is remarkable that the latter is represented as wearing a tunic in the font. This is in opposition to the conclusions drawn from literary evidence, noticed above in § 48. The engraving in § 43 is from the same MS., or rather from an exact copy in the collection of Pope Clement XI., now in the Royal Library at Windsor.

§ 103. *Symbolical Representation.* From a very early period indeed, the practice obtained of representing baptism symbolically under a figure due, probably, in the first instance, to an expression recorded in Mark i. 17 ("I will make you fishers of men"), and to the parable wherein our Lord compares the heavenly kingdom to a net enclosing fish both bad and good. A well-known passage of Tertullian will suffice for illustration of this symbolical meaning. "Nec pisciculi secundum piscem nostrum in aquis nascuntur, nec ubi in aquis permanendo salvi sumus." We smaller fishes, after the example of our Ichthus, are born in water, and only by continuing in the water do we remain safe (*de Bapt.* c. 1). We find the same figure in a passage of St. Hilary (*In Matthæum*, ed Ben. tom. iii. p. 679), in which he says that in the words recorded in Matt. iv. 19, "The future work of the Apostles is set forth, in drawing forth men, like fish from out of the

sea, into the light of the heavenly habitation." And to come somewhat nearer home we find St. Patrick and his nephew Secundinus frequently employing the same language in reference to the missionary work in which they were engaged. The former says in his "Confession," "Valde debitor sum Deo qui mihi Deum renascere dedit at populi multi per me in mare ducuntur . . . Idcirco oportet quidem bene et dicens, venite post me, faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum." And Secundinus, speaking of St. Patrick:—

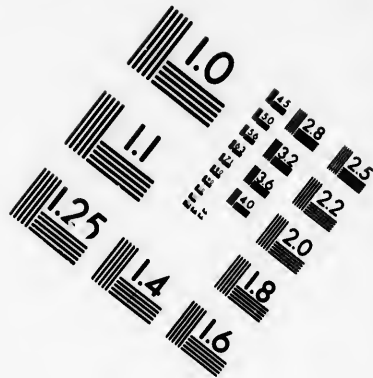
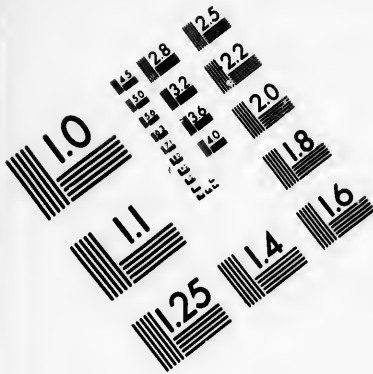
"Dominus illum elegit ut doceret barbaras Nationes et posceret per doctrinæ retin. Ut de sacculo credentes traheret ad gratiam. Dominumque sequerentur sedem ad ædificandum."

This symbol of the fish is of frequent occurrence in the Roman catacombs, and in various parts of France. The writer has observed in manuscripts, and in ecclesiastical monuments of various kinds at Antun, Clermont Ferrand, and at Paris, a peculiar application of this symbol, which has not hitherto, to his knowledge, been either described or explained. Two fishes are represented in close proximity, attached the one to the other by a string which issues from the mouth of one, and attaches to the head of the other. This is in all probability a Christian adaptation of an old Celtic symbol familiar to the Gauls in Pagan times. Their God of Eloquence was represented with a golden cord issuing from his mouth, and entering the ear of one to whom he is supposed to speak. And so in the Christian symbolism of Gaul at a later period, He who spoke as never man spoke, is represented under the well-known figure of an IXOTC or Fish, drawing to Him by the power of His Word one who is himself in the language of the Antun inscription) IXOTOC OTPANIOY TENOC, the offspring of that hen-

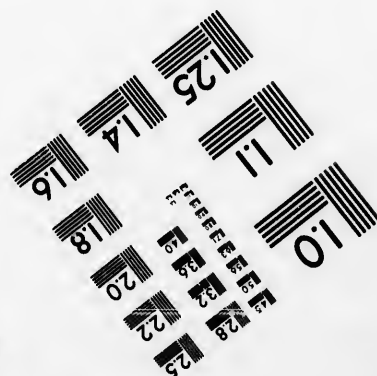
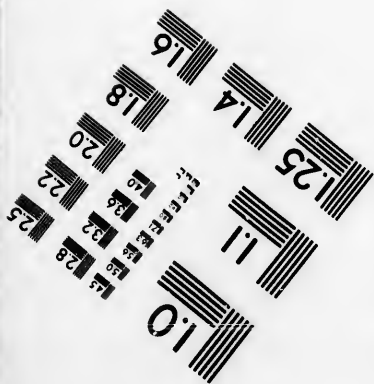
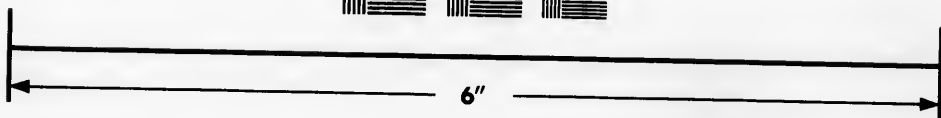
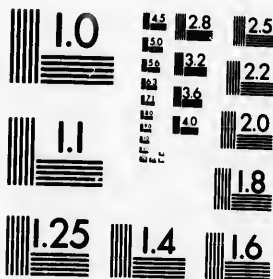


Capital from the Church of St. Germain des Prés at Paris.





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venly Fish. This representation may be seen over the western doors of the cathedral at Autun, in a MS. Bible (11th century probably) in the public library at Clermont Ferrand, and on the capital of a column in the baptistery of the church of St. Germain des Prés at Paris. There also appears a modification of the fish symbol, which is probably unique in its kind. Figures are represented which are *half-man and half-fish*, with their hands clasped upon a fish, which is rising upwards through the water, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. The church in which this capital is still to be seen is, even in its present state, the oldest in Paris. When it was built in the 11th or 12th century in place of a church, originally built six centuries before, the capitals of many of the older columns were preserved, and employed in the construction of the present building. And on these, as on other grounds which cannot now be stated in detail, there can be little doubt that this representation dates, in origin at least, from the very earliest period of the Gallican Church. (See Marriott's *Testimony of the Catacombs*, &c., p. 142, sq.)

VI. Literature.

§ 104.—It only remains to mention briefly the chief sources of information upon the various matters treated in this article. Details as to the primitive ritual of baptism are to be sought in the various authors and treatises already quoted or referred to. See particularly §§ 27 to 40. Among modern authors, who have treated of the ritual of Baptism, may be mentioned Hugo Ménardus, whose notes on the sacramentary of St. Gregory the Great abound with instruction upon this as upon other matters of which he treats. The treatise of Edmond Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, part i., is full of information as to Western usages, and gives, what is of especial value, a large collection of the earliest "Ordines Baptismi." But he shows little acquaintance with Greek authors, and his references to them, and occasionally to Latin writers, are not always exact. Goar, in his *Euchologion Græcorum*, gives full details of the later Greek rites, and his notes upon these, illustrating modern usage from the older writers, are valuable. Bingham (*Antiquities*, book xi.) does not appear to have investigated the early ritual of baptism very thoroughly, but the later editions of his treatise are of use as containing in the notes full citations from the original text of the various authors whom he quotes. The Treatise of Augusti, *Archæologie der Taufe*, forming vol. vii. of his *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlicher Archæologie*, contains more, and more exact information, than any of the older writers on the subject. And it is also valuable as giving lists of writers who have treated either of baptism generally, or of special questions in connection with it. Binterim has given (*Die Vorzüglichsten Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Catholischen Kirche*, vol. i. pt. 1.) a fair account of the ceremonies of Baptism, with abundant citations; and an essay on Baptism in Wine, Milk, and Sand (*Denkw.* ii. pt. 1., pp. 2-34). [W. B. M.]

BAPTISM, ANGEL OF. Tertullian in his treatise *de Baptismo*, cc. 5 and 6, speaks of an angel who is present at baptism (baptismi arbiter), and who prepares the waters of the

font (aquis in salutem hominis temperandis aestus—*aquis intervenit*), and under whose auspices men are prepared, by the cleansing of the font, for the following gift of the Holy Spirit (in aqua emundati sub angelo Spiritu Sancto præparantur). His language is not inconsistent with a belief that this may have been a mere liturgical speculation of his own, rather than a doctrine generally accepted in his time. No parallel to this language has hitherto, as far as the writer knows, been alleged from any other early writers. But in more than one of the early "Ordines Baptismi" there will be found expressions, derived, in all probability, from this very passage of Tertullian. See the Article BAPTISM, § 29, where there is the same allusion as in Tertullian to the angel at Bethesda (angelum aquis intervenire si novum videtur, exemplum futuri præcucurrit. Piscinam Bethesdam angelus intervensiens commovebat. . . . *de Bap.* c. 5). With this compare the "Collectio" of the Gotho-Gallican Missal. "Descendat super has aquas angelus benedictionis tue," and again "qui Bethesdæ aquas angelo medicante procuras . . . angelum pietatis tue his sacris fontibus dedisse dignare." So too in the Liber Sacramentorum of Gelasius Papa (Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* tom. i. p. 66), "Super has aquas angelum sanctitatis emittas." [W. B. M.]

BAPTISM, ITERATION OF. (*Αναβαπτισμῶς*). *Denuo baptizare*; *baptismum iterare*.) It has always been held, as matter of theory, that baptism once really conferred can never be really repeated. And yet, from the 2nd century to the present time, questions concerning the repetition of baptism have continually arisen, and have been determined upon other considerations than that of the abstract principle just stated. Yet the principle itself was always maintained. Those who rebaptized heretics did so, as St. Cyril Hieros. says (*Catech. i. οἱ αἰρετικοὶ ἀναβαπτίζονται ἐνεὶ τῷ τῷ πρότερον οὐκ ἔχοντες βάπτισμα*), on the ground that the former (repeated) baptism was not really baptism. And baptism administered in cases where the fact of previous baptism was open to doubt, was defended in terms which imply that any conscious or intended repetition of baptism would be matter for grave condemnation. (Non potest in iterationis crimen devenire, quod factum esse omnino nescitur. *L. M. Epist.* xxxvii. *ad Leon. Ravenn.* Lubbe t. iii. p. 1326). But the abstract principle was wholly inadequate to the solution of the more difficult question, "what constitutes valid baptism?"

§ 2. *Baptism by Heretics.*—Among the questions thus left open the most important was whether baptism given by heretics and schismatics was to be regarded as valid or no. This question came prominently before the Church in connection with the Donatist controversy in the 3rd century. St. Cyprian, supported by many bishops in the East, maintained that baptism given "outside the Church" (extra ecclesiam), i.e. by schismatics or by excommunicated heretics, was not to be accounted valid, and was therefore to be repeated (in theory, given for the first time), in the case of penitents seeking reconciliation with the Church. Similar questions had to be determined in respect of the Marcionites, Paulinians, Arians, Eucumians and others.

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the controversy concerning rebaptization was the acceptance, in the West absolutely, but with more of reserve in the East, of the principle that the validity of the Sacrament depended upon administration in accordance with Christ's Institution (*i. e.* with water and the "Evangelic words") without regard to the orthodoxy or otherwise of the administrator. This doctrine finds decisive expression in the language of St. Augustine (*contra Petil. de unico baptismo*, c. 3). "Si de ipsa Trinitatis unitate dissentientem haereticum invenio, et tamen evangelica et ecclesiastica regula baptizatum, intellectum hominis corrigo non Dei violo sacramentum." And again in speaking of baptism given by Marcion, "Si evangelicis verbis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Marcion baptismum consecravit, integrum erit sacramentum, quamvis ejus fides sub eisdem verbis aliquid opinantis quam catholica veritas docet non esset integra, sed fabulosis falsitibus inquinata." The Council of Arles (a. 448) for the reasons stated by St. Augustine, allowed the baptism of the Bonosian as valid, but rejected that of the Photinians. And the precedents thus established have been followed in the West, ever since, with scarcely any exceptions. See BAPTISM §§ 82 to 89. But in the Eastern Churches the difference of tendency indicated in what has been already said may clearly be traced in other cases. St. Cyril Hieros., as we have already seen, says simply that "Heretics ara rebaptized," as their baptism is not really such. And with this accords the language of the Apostolic Canon, quoted by Photius (*Syntagma Canonum: Spicil. Rom. A. Mai*, tom. vii.). "If a bishop or presbyter re-baptize one who has true baptism (*τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα*), or if he refuse to re-baptize one who has been defiled" (*i. e.* by a pretended baptism—compare St. Athanasius quoted below) "by the ungodly, let him be regarded as making mockery of the Cross and of the Death of Christ, and not distinguishing priests (*ιερείας*) from pretended priests." With this St. Athanasius agrees both in doctrine and in expression. The Arians, he says (*Orat. ii. cont. Arian*, BB. tom. i. p. 510) are in peril as to the fulness of the Sacrament itself. "The baptism they bestow must be (*ἔλλο ἂν εἴη*)—falling short of absolute assertion) alien from the truth, even though out of regard to what is written" [in Holy Scripture] "they make pretence of naming the Father and the Son." And again to the same effect (*ibid.* § 43) speaking of other heretical bodies which do but utter the divine names (in the Formula of Baptism), but without a right intention, and without salutary faith, the water that they bestow is, he says, "without profit (*ἀνομιτέλεις*), being destitute of true godliness, so that he who is sprinkled (*βαπτίζομενον*) by them is rather defiled (*βαντίζομενον*) by them with the ransom of Christ." This *ἀνομιτέλεις*, "without profit," reminds us of the recurrent formula of St. Augustine, in speaking of heretical baptism, when followed by repentance and reception into the Church. In heresy men may have baptism, though they have not (per quod utile est) its beneficial effect. On repentance and conversion, "prodesse incipit ad salutem," that baptism "begins to avail unto salvation," which before availed only to condemnation (*De baptismo c. Donat. lib. i. cap. xii.*, lib. iv. capp. iv. and xv., lib. v. capp. v. and viii., and xviii. &c.).

A tone like that of Athanasius may be traced in the decisions of various Eastern Councils quoted by Photius. After the "Canon of the Apostles" already quoted, there follows Canon 29 of the Council of Nicea, which orders the rebaptizing of the followers of Paulinus. It has been conjectured (by St. Augustine first, *De Haeres.* c. 44) that this was because of some defect in the formula which they employed. This is very probable, but there is nothing in the language of the canon to imply this. Forty years later, at the Council of Laodicea, a distinction was made. Canon 78 directs that Novatians or Photinians and Quartodecimans are to be received back on conversion, with chrism and imposition of hands, and then adds, "Moreover we rebaptize, as heathens (*Εἰσλήθας*) Manichaeans, Valentinians, and Marcionists." See further Canons on the same subject in the *Syntagma Canonum* of Photius.

§ 4. *Rebaptizing in case of doubt.*—The second class of cases involving the question of iteration of baptism was that of children whose baptism was matter of doubt. This question was formally brought before a Synod at Carthage (the Fifth, a. 425) in reference to children redeemed from slavery, and who could neither themselves recollect, nor had witnesses to testify, whether or no they had been baptized. It was determined "absque ullo scrupulo eos esse baptizandos ne ista trepidatio eos faciat sacramentorum purgatione privari." This canon was re-enacted by Conc. Carthage, vi. a. 525; and in the East, in almost identical terms, by the Quinisext Council (Constantinople a. 691). It appears again in collections of medieval canons, and amongst others in those of Theodore, Archbp. of Canterbury, in the Excerpta of Egbert of York, and the *Syntagma Canonum* of Photius. The hypothetical form of baptism, "If thou art not already baptized," &c., was apparently unknown till the 8th century. The earliest example of it is found in the Statuta of St. Boniface, Archbp. of Mayence (*Martene De Rit. Antiq. Eccl. t. i. p. 59*). "Si de aliquibus dubium sit utrum sint baptizati absque ullo scrupulo baptizentur: his tamen verbis praemissis: non te rebaptizo, sed si nondum es baptizatus ego te rebaptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti." Cases of doubt arising from other causes have been noticed under BAPTISM, §§ 80 to 89. [W. B. M.]

BAPTIST, NATIVITY OF. [ST. JOHN BAPTIST, FESTIVALS OF.]

BAPTISTERY (Lat. *Baptisterium*, Greek *Βαπτιστήριον*, also *Domus illuminationis, φωτιστήριον*), the building or chamber set apart for the celebration of the sacrament of baptism. The receptacle for the water was called in Latin "piscina," in Greek "κολυμβήθρα," and more rarely by some other names, as *πυλωτός, λιανερών, νατορία*. Besides the receptacle for the water a baptistery was furnished with an altar, for the practice existed from a very early period until the 10th century, and perhaps even later (v. Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit. t. i. p. 153*), of allowing the newly baptized, even if infants, to partake of the Eucharist. In the earliest ages the administration of baptism was confined to the principal church of the diocese; and this practice still exists at Florence, Pisa, and elsewhere in Italy. Pope Marcellus (A. D. 304-309)

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is said, in the *Lib. Pontif.*, to have appointed twenty-five "tituli" in Rome "as though (quasi) dioceses, on account of the baptism and penance of many." Many passages in the *Lib. Pontif.* shew that baptisteries existed attached to many of the minor churches down to the 9th century, and it is probable that every parish church in Rome had its baptistery. The existence of many baptisteries in one city was, it would seem, almost or quite peculiar to Rome.

As, during the earlier centuries, immersion, either alone or accompanied by aspersion, and not merely sprinkling, was deemed to be the proper mode of administering the rite (v. Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* t. i. p. 135), a large receptacle for water was required; and as Easter, Pentecost and the Epiphany were seasons specially appointed for baptisms, and large crowds of people were therefore attendant at those feasts, it became necessary to provide a spacious apartment in which the sacrament might be administered. When on Holy Saturday St. John Chrysostom was attacked, three thousand men had been baptized, and many more, both men and women, died, who were still waiting to undergo baptism (Chrysostom, *Epist. ad Innocent.*; *Opp.* iii. 518, ed. Montfuccon; Palladius, *Vita Chrysost.* c. 9). The presence of the "piscina," or receptacle for water would have been inconvenient in a church, and all the space of even a very large edifice would be required, at the great festivals above mentioned, by those attending the solemn services of those occasions. From these circumstances the practice of constructing a building distinct from the church or basilica very naturally arose, and though we have no existing baptistery which can be referred to any period earlier than the 4th century, nor indeed any distinct account of the building of one before the time of Constantine the Great, it seems highly probable that where in Asia or elsewhere churches had been built at earlier periods they were accompanied by baptisteries. In the earliest ages a river or a pool may have served as a place of baptism, and indeed the spot in the Jordan where our Saviour was baptized by St. John is said to have been lined with marble and resorted to by crowds on the eve of the Epiphany (v. Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*, art. *Baptistère*).

That Easter was still in the 8th century chosen as a peculiar season for baptism at Rome is shewn by a passage in the *Lib. Pontif.* in the life of Hadrian I. (772-793). This Pope, we are told, repaired the Claustral Aqueduct, which supplied the baths of the Lateran palace and the baptistery of the church, and from which, it is added, many churches were supplied on the holy day of Easter. Charles the Great, by a capitulary of A.D. 804, ordered that baptisms should take place only at Easter and Pentecost.

Passages in the writings of Tertullian (*De Coron.* *Mil.* c. 3) and of Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. c. 61) shew that baptism was not administered in the church, but that the place of baptism was without it. Such places of baptism are believed to have existed in the catacombs at Rome; in one of these, in a cemetery known as the Ostrinun, not far from the church of St. Agnes on the Via Nomentana, St. Peter is traditionally said to have baptized. The spot was known as "ad Nympbas S. Petri," or "fons S. Petri" (v. De Rossi, *Roma Sott. Crist.*, t. i. p. 189).

Boltetti believed that he had discovered more than one of these baptisteries; but Padre Marchi says expressly (*Mon. delle Arti Crist. Prim.*, &c., p. 222) that the only "battisterio cimenteriale" known at the time that he wrote (1844) was that in the cemetery of St. Pontianus. This (engraved in Pl. xliii. of Marchi's work) consists of a small cistern or "piscina" supplied by a current of water. The piscina would appear to be between 3 and 4 feet deep and about 6 feet across; it is approached by a flight of steps, between the base of which and the water is a level space about 5 feet wide, on which the priest or bishop may have stood while performing the rite. There seems to be no trace of an altar, nor, indeed, any fit place for one. Above the water is a painting representing the baptism of Our Lord, and on another side, and partly hidden by the water, a painting of a cross adorned with gems and throwing out leaves and flowers from its stem. Two lighted candelabra rest upon the arms of the cross, and an alpha and an omega hang suspended from them by chains. [See A and ω , p. 1.]

The lighted candelabra are no doubt in allusion to the divine illumination of the soul attendant on baptism, whence baptisteries were often called *φωτιστήρια*, as has been remarked above.

This baptistery has been noticed at some length, as although the date of the paintings which decorate it cannot be fixed with any certainty, it is perhaps one of the earliest examples now remaining of a chamber set apart for the performance of this rite.

Of the construction of baptisteries in the time of Constantine the Great we have abundant proof. The anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux, who visited Jerusalem c. A.D. 334 when speaking of the basilica which Constantine had just built at the Sepulchre of our Lord says, that by its side were reservoirs for water, and behind it a bath where children were "washed" (*balneum* *ubi infantes lavantur*), that is, no doubt, the *balneum* evidently includes a baptistery. The Exedrae of the church of Paulinus at *Troves*, and Paulinus of Nola (*Ep.* 12, *ad Severum*) says that Severus built a baptistery between two basilicas. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of the baptistery as having a porch or anteroom, *προαβλίος οίκος*, where the catechumens made their renunciation of Satan and Confession of Faith, and an *εὐαγγέλιος οίκος*, the inner room where the ceremony of baptism was performed. This shows that a well-considered plan for such buildings then existed.

Constantine is usually said to have built this baptistery of the Lateran, and the *Lib. Pontif.* contains a long detail of the magnificence with which he decorated it. Niebuhr understands by the account, which is not without obscurity, that the walls of the baptistery were covered with porphyry and that the piscina was of silver, five feet in height; the water is said to have flowed into this receptacle from seven stags of silver and a lamb of gold. On the right hand of the lamb stood an image of the Saviour, of silver, five feet high, and on the left one of St. John the Baptist, of the same size and of the same metal. In the middle stood columns of porphyry bearing a "phiala" of gold, weighing 52 lbs., in which the Paschal candle was placed. As, however, the expression which Niebuhr interprets to mean the building or baptistery, is "fons sanctus," and

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BAPTISTRY

the expression "fons baptisterii" occurs im-
mediately afterwards, it may be doubtful whether
the meaning of the passage is not that the build-
ing (i.e. the baptistry) was constructed of or
covered with porphyry, but that the piscina which
it contained was of porphyry covered with silver.
Niebuhr and several other writers have ques-
tioned whether this part of the *Lib. Pontif.* can
be relied on as historical; the erection of images
of the Saviour and of St. John the Baptist is cer-
tainly not in accordance with the practice of the
Church at that period, and, in conjunction with
other statements of a doubtful nature, must throw
considerable doubt upon the trustworthiness of
the account of the buildings and donations of
Constantine which the book contains. There is,
however, no doubt but that Constantine erected
a basilica within the Lateran palace, or at least
converted some hall of the palace into a church,
and a baptistry in all probability formed a part
of the group of ecclesiastical buildings. It is
generally believed that the existing baptistry
owes its form (though it has undergone many
alterations and been much added to), to Pope
Sixtus III. (A.D. 432-440). He is said by the
compiler of the *Lib. Pontif.* to have added, as a
decoration to the "fons," the porphyry columns
"apistylia," by which we should under-
stand not only the capitals but the archi-
traves, as those now there are no doubt
antique, and have inscribed upon them six-
teen verses referring to baptism (printed
in the *Besch. v. Rom.*, bd. iii. abt. 1.),
which are doubtless those which the *Lib.*
Pontif. alludes to, though by a corruption
of the text they are said to have been
placed not on the architraves but on the
columns.

The building as it now exists is an octa-
gon about 62 feet in diameter, in the centre
of which are eight columns of porphyry
carrying antique capitals and architraves;
lesser columns are placed on the archi-
traves, and support the roof. This octa-
gon is entered from a large portico with
apsidal ends which may answer to the
προαίλιος οἶκος mentioned by Cyril of
Jerusalem.

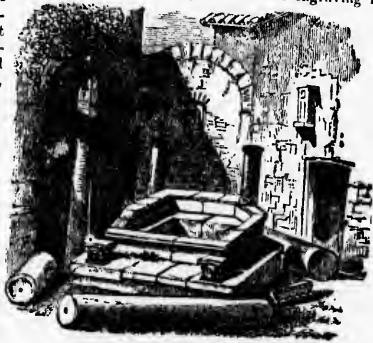
Hübisch (*Alt. Christ. Kirchen*) asserts
that the walling as well of the octagon as
of the portico to a height of about 50 feet bears
the stamp of the Constantinian period.

Another very remarkable building at Rome is
no doubt of the period of Constantine, but it is
uncertain whether it is to be regarded as a bap-
tistry or as a sepulchral church. This is the
circular church close to St. Agnes, on the Via
Nomentana, known as Sta. Costanza. The *Lib.*
Pontif. (in *vita S. Silvestri*) says that Constantine
built "basilicam Sanctae Martyriae Agnetis" and
"baptisterium in eodem loco" and, as no trace
of any other baptistry has been found near the
place, this church has been usually taken to be
the baptistry mentioned in the above-quoted
book. No trace of a "piscina" has however, it
would seem, been noticed; the building was
certainly the place of sepulture of one or more
members of the imperial family; and it appears
doubtful whether at that period it would have
been deemed right to bury in a basilica or a
baptistry any person, of rank however exalted.

BAPTISTRY

A building very similar to this, the circular
church at Nocera del Pagani, known as Sta. Maria
Maggiore, was no doubt constructed for a bap-
tistry, as it possesses a large and apparently
original piscina. It is a circle about 80 feet in
diameter, with an apse of about three-fourths of
a circle in plan, projecting from one side. Thirty
columns arranged, as at Sta. Costanza, in pairs,
support arches on which rests a dome, and the
nise has barrel vaults. The piscina in the centre
is circular and about 20 feet in diameter and
nearly 5 feet deep; within are two steps or
benches running round the whole circumference,
and there is a raised wall or parapet round it,
octagonal on the exterior. This parapet was
decorated on the outside with slabs of marble
bearing incised patterns, and upon it stood eight
columns, which perhaps once supported a canopy;
three only of these columns now remain (v.
Hübisch, *Alt. Christ. Kirchen*, Pl. xvii. xviii.). The
date of this building is not known from any his-
torical data, but it may perhaps be attributed
with probability to the 5th century.

Another baptistry, which, though probably
considerably older than that at Nocera, has the
piscina arranged in a very similar manner, is
that at Aquileia. It is now in ruins, but the
annexed woodcut copied from the engraving in



Baptistry at Aquileia.

the *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Esterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, by Heider and Eitelberger
(bd. i. a. 119), will give a good idea of the manner
in which a baptistry at the period was arranged.
The piscina is hexagonal, and would seem to have
one step and a low parapet wall on the outside,
and two steps in the inside. The authors of
the above-quoted work, however, state that the
number of steps is five, meaning probably that
any one ascending from the floor and descending
to the bottom of the piscina would mount two
steps and descend three. In the eastern angle
of the octagon is a small apse.

This baptistry is entered by a vaulted passage-
like building in three compartments, which bears
the name of "Chiessa dei Pagani," and probably
served as a place of assemblage and instruction
for the catechumens before they were admitted
to baptism. It appears to have had an upper
story, which may have been set apart for women,
as there is ground for believing that such a

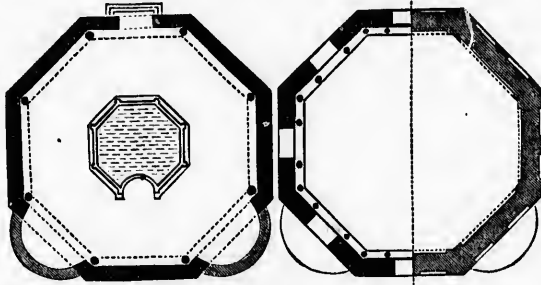
separation of the sexes was practised in the baptisteries or the apartments connected with them.

No one of the baptisteries of this period has come down to the present time in a more unaltered condition than that of the Cathedral of Ravenna, known, like many other baptisteries in Italy, as S. Giovanni in Fonte.

It was, if not built, at least renovated and decorated by Neon, archbishop from A.D. 425 to 430, as an inscription (v. Ciampini, *Vel. Mon.* t. 1. cap. xxv.) formerly existing within it testified. Hübsch (*All. Christ. Kirchen*) expresses an opinion that the decorations now existing may be considered as for the most part, if not entirely,

the work of Neon. The occurrence of a monogram, which may be read Maximilianus (Archbishop of Ravenna in the time of Justinian), of an inscription in the mosaics, which appears to refer to Theodoric the Great (Webb, *Contia. Eccles.* p. 428), and very close similarity in the patterns of the marble inlay on the walls to those in St. Saphin's at Constantinople, and in the Duomo at Parenzo, in Istria, lead to the conclusion that the work of decoration was only gradually executed and not completed until the middle of the 6th century.

As will be seen by the plan annexed, the building is an octagon, with two niches or apses; it



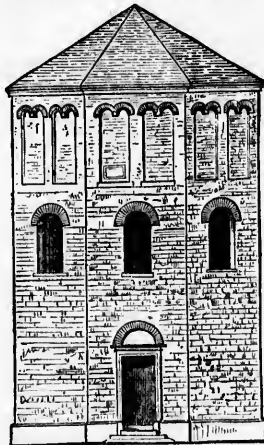
Lower Story.

Baptistry at Ravenna (Horizontal sections).

Upper Story.

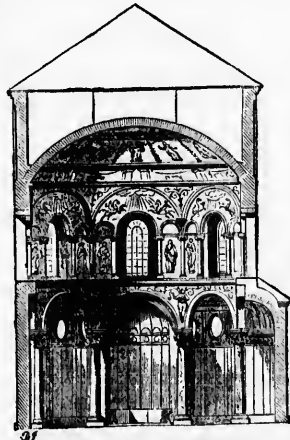
measures about 40 feet in diameter. Recent excavations have shown that there were originally four apses. In the centre is the piscina,

This baptistry affords one of the best examples of the internal decoration of the period, carried through the whole of a building, now existing in



Baptistry at Ravenna (Elevation).

which, according to Hübsch, is probably original. The semi-circular indentation on one side, in which the priest stood while baptizing, is remarkable.



Baptistry at Ravenna (Vertical Section).

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lower part of the walls is lined with the same material in long slabs; above this are panels of "opus sectile," marqueterie in porphyry, serpentine, marbles of various colours, and brick. Beneath the arches carried by the upper range of columns are figures of saints (?) executed in stucco in low relief, as to the age of which there is some difference of opinion. The dome is covered with mosaic; in the centre the baptism of our Lord is represented, round this the twelve Apostles, and below them a range of eight compartments, in each of these are alternately two cathedrae placed under canopies with an altar between them, and two tombs of an altar form standing under canopies, between which is what seems to represent a slab or low tombstone lying on the ground, over which hangs a mass of drapery supported on ornamental posts. The meaning of these representations has not been clearly explained; the cathedrae and altars have been supposed to symbolize a council, but this leaves unexplained the signification of the tombs; the altar-tombs appear to stand for tombs of confessors or martyrs, as wreaths appear to crown them and lilies or palm branches to spring from them; the tombs over which the draperies hang are thought by Clamphil (t. i. p. 178) to represent the tombs of bishops. The intention may have been to symbolize the whole Church, the cathedrae standing for living bishops, the tombs for saints and bishops deceased.

The church now called S. Maria in Cosmedin, in Ravenna, was also once a baptistery, having been built (it is believed) in the time of Theodoric for the use of the Arians; it is circular internally, octagonal externally, with a small rounded apse projecting from one of the sides and a loggia of three arches from another. It is covered by a dome, on which are mosaics representing the baptism of our Lord and the twelve Apostles. These are believed to be of later date than the original building.

The baptistery of St. Sophia's, Constantinople, which no doubt is that erected by Justinian, has a portico or narthex, and is rectangular externally, with a rectangular projection containing an apse; internally it is octangular, with on the ground-plan four niches (besides the apse) on four of the sides; the upper story is octangular, with a large window in each side. It is placed near the south-west angle of the cathedral, facing westwards (Sulzenberg, *Baudenkmale v. Constantinopel*, pl. vi.). At Parenzo, in Istria, the baptistery stands in front of the duomo, and connected with it by a square atrium, which last position was one frequently adopted.

The preceding examples will give a sufficient idea of the form, arrangements, and decorations of baptisteries down to the 6th century. One curious example, which perhaps should be attributed to the 7th, is the baptistery at Poitiers; this is in plan an oblong, with an apse projecting from one of the longer sides; this apse is straight lined, but not rectangular on the outside and five-sided within. Two large arches in the end walls make it probable that niches existed entered by them. A building of later date has been added on the side opposite to the apse, so that the form of the original entrance cannot now be determined. The piscina, nearly in the centre of the oblong, is octagonal. The architectural decoration is partly original and partly made up

CHRIST. ART.

from old materials; what is original is rude, but has something of a classical character (v. Gailhabaud, *Mon. Anc. et Mod.*, t. ii.).

The baptistery at Albenga, between Nice and Genoa, is octangular externally, but within semi-circular; three rectangular niches are formed in the thickness of the wall, and on the eighth side was the entrance. It is roofed by a dome, in the drum below which were eight windows, which were filled with slabs of marble pierced in patterns of circles and crosses. The vault of the niche opposite the entrance and the wall at its back have been covered with mosaic; the labarum, doves, and a lamb can be distinguished. No remains of the piscina are now to be traced, but a perfectly plain cylindrical font stands in one of the niches. Those architectural details which are original, *e.g.* the slabs in the windows, are very rudely executed, and the building is perhaps not earlier than the 7th or even the 8th century.

About A.D. 750, Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, erected a church to the east of his cathedral, and almost touching it, to serve as a baptistery, and for other purposes (Edmer, *Vita S. Gregorii*, *Ang. Sac.* t. ii. p. 186). It was dedicated in honour of St. John the Baptist.

During the 8th and 9th centuries baptisteries continued to be in full use in Italy, as we may learn from the *Liv. Pontif.*, where mention is made of the building or rebuilding of five baptisteries attached to churches in Rome, between A.D. 772 and A.D. 816. In one of these cases, that of S. Andrea Apostolo, rebuilt by Pope Leo III. (795-816), we are told expressly that the place was too small for the people who came to baptism, and that the Pope therefore built a circular baptistery "anaph largitate," that he also enlarged the "fons" and decorated it with porphyry columns round about.

Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.*) expresses an opinion that in France the practice of placing the baptistery first in the portico and then in the interior of the church, began in the 6th century; but the passage in the *Hist. Franc.* of St. Gregory of Tours (l. ii. chap. xxi.), to which he refers, seems hardly sufficient to prove this statement. St. Gregory himself states that he constructed a baptistery "ad basilicam" (apparently of St. Perpetuus, at Tours), and the baptistery at Poitiers was evidently a separate building. The baptistery at Fréjus, which according to Texier and Pullan (*Byz. Arch.*) was built in 810, is also a detached structure.

In Germany and Italy baptisteries were built as detached structures down to a much later date; but this was not an invariable practice, for in the plan for the church of St. Gall [Citron], prepared in the beginning of the 9th century, there is no detached baptistery, but a circular "fons," about six feet in diameter, in the middle of the nave towards the west end of the church, surrounded by a screen.

It has been seen that the earlier baptisteries were, if not circular, octagonal; it is uncertain whether these forms were adopted merely from reasons of convenience, or as symbols. The circular form was that almost invariably adopted for a sepulchral chapel or memorial church, and the immersions, with which the rite of baptism was in the earlier centuries invariably performed, were considered as typical of dying to the world.

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The piscina was usually octagonal, but sometimes hexagonal, and sometimes circular. In Lusitania, we are told by Gregory of Tours (*Do Gloria Martyrum*, l. i. c. 23), it was customarily constructed of variegated marble in the form of a cross.

Of baptisteries in Asia or Africa we have but little information. Textler and Pullan (*Byz. Arch.* p. 14) however state that small baptisteries are frequently found adjoining ancient churches in the East; and Count de la Vogüe has given a drawing and plan of one at Decy-Seta, in Central Syria (*Arch. Civ. et Reliq. en Syrie*, &c. pl. 117), of an hexagonal form, which would appear to be of the 6th century. It has the peculiarity of three doors, one in each of three contiguous sides; in the centre was an hexagonal piscina, with a column at each angle.

Mr. Curzon (*Movist. of the Levant*, cap. 131) describes us entered from the vestibule of the church of the White Monastery (or Derr Abou Shenoud) in Egypt, a small chapel or baptistry, 25 feet long, arched with stone, with three niches on each side, and a semicircular upper end, the whole highly decorated with sculptured ornament of very good style. This, as well as the adjacent church, are said to have been built by order of the Empress Helena.

Besides being used for baptisms, baptisteries were used as places for assemblies. Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, is stated to have built the baptistry mentioned above, in order that it might serve for "baptisterin, examinationes judiciorum," and also that the bodies of the archbishops might be there buried (*Anglia Sacra*, ii. 185).

This practice of burying in baptisteries, though prohibited at an earlier period (as by the 14th Canon of the Council of Auxerre in 578), was common before burial in the church was allowed.

Many of the archbishops of Canterbury were buried in the baptistry from the time of Cuthbert, who built it, until A.D. 1067, when it was burnt. In the original entrance to the baptistry at Albenga are two tombs in the fashion of the "arcosolia" of the Roman entombs, as early as the 8th or 9th centuries.

Baptisteries appear to have been in the earlier ages (at least in the West), almost always dedicated under the invocation of St. John the Baptist.

[A. N.]

BARBARA, virgin, martyr in Tuscany, circ. 200; commemorated Dec. 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); Dec. 4 (*M. Hieron., Cal. Byzant.*); Oct. 8 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

BARBARIANS, BISHOPS FOR. In ordinary cases the election of a bishop required the consent or suffrage, not only of the clergy of the diocese over which he was to preside, but of the faithful laity also. This rule, however, could obviously be applied only to countries already Christian. When a bishop was to be sent out to a distant or barbarous nation, it was required by the Council of Chalcedon, Can. xxviii., that he should be ordained at Constantinople, to which city, as the New Rome, equal privileges with "the Elder royal Rome," were now to be assigned. The Bishop of Tomi in Scythia, is an instance of a missionary bishop thus or-

dained, and commissioned by the Patriarch of Constantinople—the consent of the people to whom he was sent to minister being, of necessity, dispensed with. In the previous century it is recorded by the Church historians that Athanasius ordained Frumentius at Alexandria to be Bishop of the Ethiopians, when, as Bingham remarks, "No one can imagine that he had the formal consent, though he might have the presumptive approbation of all his people." [D. B.]

BARCELONA, COUNCIL OF (BARCINONENSE CONCILIIUM), provincial. (1) A.D. 540, of Sergius the metropolitan and six suffragans, passed ten canons upon discipline (*Labb. v. 378, 379*).—(2) A.D. 599, Nov. 1, in the 14th year of King Recared, under Asitius, metropolitan of Tarragona, and eleven suffragans, against simony, probably in compliance with the representations of Gregory the Great (*Baron. in an. 599*, § 23, from Gregory's letters). It also forbade ordinations *per saltum*; and ordered, in the election of a bishop, a choice by lot from two or three candidates, to be nominated by the "clerus et plebs" of the diocese, and presented to the metropolitan and bishops (*Labb. v. 1605, 1606*). [A. W. H.]

BARCINONENSE CONCILIIUM. [BARCELONA, COUNCIL OF.]

BARDINIANUS, martyr in Asia; commemorated Sept. 25 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

BARNABAS, ST. LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF. There is a tradition that he became a believer after witnessing the miracle wrought by our Lord at the pool of Bethesda, and that he was one of the seventy disciples. (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 12, and ii. 1.) It is also said that he was the first preacher of Christianity at Rome, that he converted Clemens Romanus to the faith and that he founded the churches of Milan and Brescia. But these and other statements about him may certainly be regarded as unworthy of credit. There is however a general agreement of testimony about the time, place and cause of his death. From very early times, in the Western as well as in the Eastern church, he has had the credit of martyrdom. It is believed that he was stoned to death by the Jews of Salamis in Cyprus about the year 64 A.D. Tradition says that his death took place on the 11th of June and that he was buried at a short distance from the town of Salamis. Nothing however seems to have been heard of his tomb until about the year 478 A.D.

The discovery of his body is fully related in the *Eulogy of St. Barnabas*, written by Alexander, a monk of Cyprus, about the beginning of the sixth century. After giving an account of the martyrdom and burial of Barnabas, this writer asserts that in consequence of the many miraculous cures that had occurred in the neighbourhood of the tomb the spot had been called the "place of healing" (*tráos íyíelas*). But the cause of these miracles was unknown to the Cypriotes until the discovery was made in the following way. Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch, a man who had been very successful in creating dissensions, was endeavouring to bring Cyprus under his episcopal sway, on the plea that the Word of God in the first instance was carried from Antioch to Cyprus. The Cypriotes resisted this claim on the ground that their church had from the time of its founders been

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BARTHOLOMEW

independent of the see of Antioch. Anthemius, the Bishop of Cyprus, a timid and retiring prelate, was scarcely a match for an opponent so able and experienced as Peter. But he was encouraged by Barnabas himself who appeared to him several times in a vision. At the saint's bidding he searched a cave in the neighbourhood of the *τόπος βύβλας*, and found a coffin containing the body of Barnabas and a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel. He proceeded to Constantinople, where the dispute was heard before the Emperor Zeno, and in support of his claim to remain independent he announced that the body of Barnabas had lately been discovered in the cloister. On hearing this the emperor gave his decision in favour of Anthemius, bade him send a copy to Cyprus for the copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, and as soon as it arrived had it adorned with gold and placed in the imperial palace. After conferring great honours on Anthemius, the emperor sent him back to Cyprus with instructions to build a magnificent church in honour of Barnabas near the spot where the body was found. This orator was strictly carried out, the body was placed at the right hand of the altar and the 11th of June consecrated to the memory of the salut. (*Acta Sanctorum*: Junii xl.)

However ready we may be to reject this account of the finding of the body of Barnabas, there is every reason to believe that in the Eastern Church these events were the origin of the festival. No church however was built to the saint's memory at Constantinople. It is also remarkable that from early times the day was kept in the Eastern Church in honour of Bartholomew as well as of Barnabas. When the second saint's name was added is quite uncertain, but there are good grounds for believing that the day was originally sacred to Barnabas only. In the *Menologion Basilianum*, edited by command of the Emperor Basil in the year 886 A.D., the day is the joint festival of the two saints. At what time it was first observed in the Western Church is very doubtful. Papebrochius asserts that the festival was not kept in Eastern earlier than in Western Christendom, but he has not proved this statement. The day occurs as the Feast of Barnabas in the calendar of the Venerable Bede, so that unless this be one of the additions made after the author's death, we may conclude that the day was observed in the Western Church in the 8th century. It does not however occur in all the old service-books. In the *Martyrologium Romanum* it appears as the Festival of Barnabas only.

The principal account of the traditions concerning Barnabas is the work above referred to, Alexander Monachi *Laudatio in Apost. Barnabam*; in Migne's *Patrol. Series Græca*, vol. 87, col. 4087; Surius, *Vitæ Sanctorum*, Junii xl.

BARTHOLOMEW, bishop; commemorated with Pachemius, Talsis 11 = Dec. 7 (*Crit. Ethion.*). [W. J. J.]

BARTHOLOMEW, ST., LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF. The New Testament tells us but little of this Apostle, and there is an equal absence of any great amount of early trustworthy tradition. He is by some, with a great show of probability, identified with Nathanael,

BARTHOLOMEW

for the arguments as to which derived from scripture, see *Dict. Bibl.*, under **BARTHOLOMEW, NATHANAEL**. It may be further remarked in favour of the identification that in such a matter Eastern tradition is more to the point than Western (considering that is, the scene of this Apostle's labours and martyrdom), and that the former uniformly identifies Nathanael with Bartholomew. For example, from the Armenian and Chaldean writers cited by Assemani (*Lit. Or.* vol. iii. part 2, p. 4), e.g. Elin, bishop of Damascus, and Ebedjesu Sobensis, we may infer that Nathanael was in those churches included among the Apostles, and viewed as one with Bartholomew; in fact, Assemani remarks, "Bartholomæum cum Nathanaele confundunt Chaldei" (*ibid.* p. 5). Moreover in martyrologies and calendars, both of Eastern and Western Churches, the name of Bartholomew is of constant occurrence, while that of Nathanael is ordinarily absent, which would be strange on the hypothesis of a difference between the two. It must be allowed, however, that the Egyptian and Ethiopian Churches seem to identify Nathanael with Simon the Canaanite, for in their Menologies and Calendars, edited by Job Ludolf (Frankfort, 1691), there is no mention of Simon the Canaanite, but on July 10 is "Nathanael the under the days April 22, May 10 is a similar identification, as also in the Russian Calendar for the latter day.

The general account given by tradition of the labours of this Apostle is to the effect that he preached the gospel, using especially that by St. Matthew, in India, where he suffered martyrdom by beheading, having been, according to some writers, previously flayed (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10; Jerome, *De viris Illustribus*, 36, vol. ii. 651, ed. Migne. Cf. also Ado's *Libellus de festis SS. Apostolorum* in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* cxxiii. 185). In the appendix *De vitis Apostolorum* to Sophronius's Greek version of the *De viris Illustribus* allusion is made to the Apostle's mission *ἰσθῆτος τοῖς καλοῦμένους εὐδαίμοισιν*, which might possibly refer to Arabia Felix, and it is added that he suffered in Albanopolis, a city of Armenia Major (Jerome, vol. ii. 722). The latter statement is also found in several other writers (e.g. infra: and the Martyrologies of Florus and Rabanus), generally in the form that the Apostle suffered through the machinations of the priests, Polymius whom Bartholomew had converted. See further the Pseudo-Abdias's *Acta* of this Apostle, published by Fabricius (*Codex Pseudoepigraphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. i. pp. 341 seqq.).

The tenor of the tradition as to the disposition of the relics of St. Bartholomew is on the whole consistent, though not altogether free from difficulties. Theodoros Lector, a writer of the sixth century, tells us (*Collectan.* 2, in *Mag. Bibl. Patr.* vol. vi. part 1, p. 505 ed. Col. Agr. 1618) that the Emperor Anastasius gave the body of St. Bartholomew to the City of Darns in Mesopotamia, which he had recently founded (circa 507 A.D.). We next find that before the end of the sixth century, a translation had been effected to the Lipari islands (cf. Greg. Turon. *De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 33). Thence in 809 A.D. the relics were transferred to Beneventum,

and finally in 983 A.D. to Rome, where they lie in a tomb beneath the high altar in the church of St. Bartholomew in the island in the Tiber (See Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedificiis* &c., vol. iii. pp. 58, 60, who refers to a temporary transference of the relics to the Vatican Basilica in consequence of an overflow of the Tiber during the Episcopate of Paul IV.). For these statements we may refer, in addition to the writers cited above, to a panegyric of Theodorus Studita (ob. 826 A.D.), translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and published in D'Achery's *Spicilegium* (vol. iii. pp. 13 *seqq.*); to an oration of a certain Joseph, possibly Joseph Hymnographus, a contemporary of Theodorus Studita (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, vol. v. pp. 43 *seqq.*); and to a panegyric of Nicetas Paphlago (Combes, *Auct. v. Nov. Patrum*, l. p. 392).

It would seem that not before the eighth century did the previously existing festival commemorating the collective body of the Apostles, held upon the day after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, develop itself into festivals of individual Apostles; consequently it is in writers of the eighth and ninth centuries that notices are to be looked for of a festival of St. Bartholomew, which would appear to have originated with the Eastern Church (for the notices in Latin writers are later), probably with that of Constantinople. Of this, indeed, the encomiastic orations of Theodorus and Nicetas are evidence, and we further have a direct statement on the part of the latter (§ 2) to the effect that the festival of this Apostle was then annually celebrated.

It will of course follow from what has been said that in the more ancient Sacramentaries (e.g. those of Gelasius and Gregory) in their original form there is no trace of a festival of this Apostle, nor indeed is there in any Latin writer for a considerable time after their date. As to the special day or days on which this festival was held, very great diversity exists in ancient Martyrologies and Calendars:—thus in the Calendar of the Byzantine Church, we find on June 11, "Bartholomew and Barnabas," while on August 25 is the "Translation of Barnabas the Apostle and Titus the Apostle;" the Armenians held the feast on February 25 and December 8, as may be seen in the two Calendars given by Assemani (*Hib. Or.* vol. iii. part 2, p. 645). The Ethiopic or Abyssinian Church again commemorates St. Bartholomew on November 19 and June 17 (Ludolf pp. 11, 31). In the Arabian Calendar the name occurs several times, sometimes alone, sometimes with the added title *martyr*, and on November 15 and June 30, with the addition *Apostle* (Selden, *De Synedris Veterum Ebraeorum*, bk. iii. c. 15, pp. 228, 243, ed. Amsterdani, 1679). It is explained in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides* that the one day (June 11) commemorates the martyrdom *ἐν Βενετρίαι* *σταύρωσαν ἑμάρω Βαρθολομαῖον*; and the other (August 25), the finding of the relics, *ὁδὸν ἴκεν εἰκαδὶ πέμπτη Βαρθολομαίε ἔφευρον*—on which latter day several Calendars associate him with Barnabas, e.g. in the Pictorial Moscow Calendar prefixed by Papebroch, together with the preceding, to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, vol. i. Cf. Assemani *Calendarium Ecclesiae Universae*, vol. vi. pp. 420, 541.

The ancient Latin Martyrology which bears the name of St. Jerome follows the Greek in

the double announcement, and on June 13 has "In Perside natalis S. Bartholomaei Apostoli;" on August 24, "In India natalis S. Bartholomaei Apostoli" (vol. xi. 463, 472). The later Martyrologies content themselves with a notice on August 24 or 25; for example, those of Bede (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xciv. 604), and the amplification of this by Florus (*ib.* 1015), of Rabanus Maurus (*ib.* ex. 1144), of Wandelbert (*ib.* cxii. 608), of Ado (*ib.* cxliii. 167, 335), and of Usuardus (*ib.* cxv. 393).

We subjoin the notice of the day as given in the Metrical Martyrology of Wandelbert,

"Bartholomaeus nonam exornat retio-tique leatam,
Indita quo doctore Del cognovit honorem,
Herculis et Raehi insens vix eruta sacristi,
Nunc lium fame est veris pro sorte sepulchri,
Accolium Lipare Benevendi et templa tenne."

With regard to the relative importance of this festival, Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, l. 445) refers to Schulting, who gives an extract from an old English Missal which contained a special preface for St. Bartholomew's day, and he adds that before the middle of the tenth century this festival was viewed in England as of considerable importance. It is not certainly known whether the vigil is coeval with the festival; in most Calendars, however, drawn up before the middle of the tenth century the vigil is wanting, while it is marked in later ones.

We have already called attention to the fact that the date of the rise of this festival is such as to preclude its appearance in the ancient Roman Sacramentaries in their original form. In the various later recensions, however, of Gregory's Sacramentary, is a collect, &c., for this day (said first to occur in the Cod. Gemeticensis, of about the year 1000 A.D.) on which the collect of our own prayer book is based. (Migne *Patrol.* lxxviii. 138.)

The name of Bartholomew has apparently not been a favourite with the writers of pseudonymous literature. Traces, however, of writings bearing his name are not altogether wanting. Thus Jerome (*Prolog. in Comm. in S. Matt.* init., vol. vii. 17) refers to an apocryphal gospel bearing the name of Bartholomew, doubtless the same condemned by a Council held at Rome in the episcopate of Gelasius, "Evangeliolum nomine Bartholomaei Apostoli apocryphum" (Migne *Patrol.* lix. 182) and this also may be that referred to by the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, *Ὁὐκ ᾄδω δὲ θεῖος Βαρθολομαῖός ἦναι, καὶ πολλὰν τὴν θεολογίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐλαχίστην καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πλατὸν καὶ μύγα, καὶ ἀδὴς συντεταμένον* (*Mystica Theologia*, c. 1 § 3). Finally, in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (lib. viii. c. 19, 20) is given under the name of the Apostle Bartholomew the regulation as to the appointment of Deaconesses. [R. S.]

BASIL, LITURGY OF. [LITURGY.]

BASIL. (1) Holy Father and Confessor under Leo the Iconoclast; commemorated Feb. 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Presbyter of Ancyra, martyr under Julian; commemorated March 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) Bishop of Parium, is commemorated as "Holy Father and Confessor," April 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Bishop of Amassa, martyr under Licinius, April 12 (*Cal. Byz.*).

(5) doct., a May 27, Nov. 1, *Etiaup.* ancient edition 1 il. p. 93

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[R. S.]

OF. [LITURGY.]

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Confessor," April 12 (*Cal.*

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(5) The Great, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappa-
docia, commemorated June 14 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*);
May 23 (*Mart. Hieron.*); Jan. 1 (*Cal. Byzant.*);
Nov. 12 (*Cal. Armen.*); Ter 6 = Jan. 1 (*Cal.*
Ethiop.). A standing figure of St. Basil, after
ancient precedents, is given in the Beneditine
edition of his works; a head in Spizelius's *Acu-
demia Petus Christi*, and in *Acta SS.* June, tom.
li. p. 936. [C.]

BASILEUS. (1) Martyr at Rome under
Gallienus; commemorated March 2 (*Mart. Rom.*
Vet.).

(2) "In Antiochia Basille et aliorum xxx
martyrum" Dec. 22 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

BASILIANI. [See *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.*
Art. **BASILICA.**]

BASILICA (sc. *aula, aedes*). This word in
its classical acceptation signifies a hall suited for
or employed as a court of justice or a place of
meeting. Such buildings, often of great size and
splendour, existed in every Roman city; they
were usually oblong in plan, sometimes with,
sometimes without ranges of columns dividing
the space into a nave and aisles; at one end was
usually a semi-circular apse (*v. Dict. of Greek
and Roman Antiq.*, Art. "Basilius"; Bunsen, *Die
Basiliken des Christ. Roms*). When Christianity
became the religion of the state, these buildings
were found to be so well adapted to the cele-
bration of public worship that some were by
some slight modifications fitted and used for this
purpose, and the new buildings constructed ex-
pressly to serve as churches were built almost
universally on the same model. Hence basilica
came to be used in the sense of church by the
writers of the fourth and later centuries without
any regard for the form or size of the building.
Earlier writers use "dominicum" in Latin, or
κοινωβιον in Greek, and some other names
[*CHRUCH*]. Eusebius, in his account of the
church built by Constantine at Jerusalem, calls
it *βασιλειος ναος*, and the nave *βασιλειος
κλιμα*. The use of the word "basilica" as
meaning a church seems to have arisen gradu-
ally, for the anonymous pilgrim who, in 333,
wrote an itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem,
when he says that a "basilica" had been built
: the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine, adds the
explanation, "id est dominicum." Mabillon
(*Op. posthum.*, t. ii. p. 355) says that it has been
satisfactorily shown that in the writings of au-
thors who wrote in Gaul in the 6th and 7th cen-
turies "basilica" is to be understood as meaning
the church of a convent, cathedral and parish
churches being called "ecclesiae;" the writers of
other countries do not observe this distinction.

Seven churches at Rome—S. Pietro in Vati-
cano, S. Giovanni Laterano, Sta. Maria Maggiore,
Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, S. Paolo fuor le
Mura, S. Lorenzo in Agro Verano, and S. Sebastia-
niano—aro styled basilicas by pre-eminence and
enjoy certain honorific privileges.

Basilica is used by St. Paulinus (*Epist.* xii.
ad Severum) and by Avitus Viennensis (*Epist.* vi.)
for a chapel or oratory.

The word basilica is found in the Salic Law
(tit. 58, c. 3, 4, and 5) in the sense of a monu-
ment erected over a tomb, apparently, the tomb
of a person of high rank. With the Franks they
appear to have been constructed of wood, as
mention is made of their being burnt. Clampini

has engraved (*Vat. Mon.*, t. i. tab. xlv.) two mo-
numents which in his time existed in the portico
of S. Lorenzo in Agro Verano at Rome, which
he conceives to have been basilicae or basiliculae.
One may be described as a model of a temple
with four pilasters on each side, and without a
cella. It has a somewhat elegant and almost
classical character. The other would seem to
have been only the lower part of a monument;
it has three fluted pilasters in front, with an
open space behind them. These pilasters carry
a base of many mouldings of somewhat classical
character, upon which rest the bases of two plain
pilasters. Clampini gives no hint as to the date
of these monuments.

Tombstones of very early date may be found,
in which the top is ridged like the roof of a
house and carved with an imitation of tiles or
shingles; one (engraved in Fustroke's *Encycl.*
of Antiq., vi. 1, p. 132) at Dewsbury, in York-
shire, may be as early as the 7th or 8th century.
Tombs in the form of chapels of early date still
remain in Ireland (Petric, *Round Towers and
Architecture of Ireland*, p. 454), and did exist at
Iona, and probably at Glastonbury and elsewhere,
such structures are no doubt instances of what
the Salic Law calls "basilicane" [TOMBS].

The word *basilica* is used in the Vulgate (*e. g.*
2 Chron. vi. 13) for the court of the Temple;
hence Christian writers occasionally use the
expression "basilica ecclesiae," as equivalent
(seemingly) to the *ΑΝΑΤΟΜ* or fore-court of a
church. (Blaterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iv. i.
24.) [A. N.]

BASILICLES. (1) Martyr at Rome, with
Nogatus and others, under Aurelian; com-
memorated June 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) Martyr, with Polymachus and others,
under Diocletian, June 12 (*M. Hieron., Bedae*).
This saint has a proper collect, &c., in the
Sacram. Greg. (p. 195), "pride Idus Junii" i. e.
June 12, with Cyrinus, Nabur, and Nazarius. An-
tiphon in the Gregorian *Lib. Antiph.* p. 699. [C.]

BASILIDIANS. [See *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* Art.
BASILIDES.]

BASILISCUS, martyr under Maximian, A.D.
308; commemorated May 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*);
March 3 (*M. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

BASILISSA, wife of Julian, martyr at An-
tioch, A.D. 296; commemorated June 9 (*Mart.*
Rom. Vet.); May 20 (*Mart. Hieron.*); March 3
(*Cal. Byzant.*); Nov. 25 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

BASILIA. (1) Virgin-martyr at Rome un-
der Gallienus; commemorated May 20 (*Mart.*
Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae).

(2) Commemorated Aug. 26 (*M. Hieron.*).

(3) In Antioch, Nov. 23 (*M. Hieron.*). [C.]

BASKET. [CANISTRUM.]

BASSUS. (1) Saint of Africa, *Natale*, March
19 (*M. Bedae*).

(2) Saint, *Natale*, Oct. 20 (*M. Bedae*).

(3) In Heraclea, Nov. 20 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

BATH. Baths in the earlier Christian cen-
turies were in such frequent use, that they were
almost necessary adjuncts to houses of a superior
class. Moreover, a practice existed that cate-
chumens should bathe before baptism, and priests
on the eve of certain festivals and other occa-
sions. We therefore find that bathe, *Αεωρα*,
are mentioned among the adjuncts of the Church

of the Twelve Apostles, built by Constantine at Constantinople (Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, l. iv. c. 59). They are also mentioned in the *Codex Theod.*, b. ix. tit. 4, among the buildings and places included within the precincts of churches.

The anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux, who was at Jerusalem c. A. D. 333, says that a "balneum" was placed behind the basilica, built by Constantine over the Sepulchre of our Lord, but as he adds the words "ubi infantes lavantur," it is probable that he speaks of a baptistery, or of the piscina of a baptistery.

The *Lit. Pontif.* frequently mentions baths in connexion with churches. Pope Hilarius (A. D. 401-437), we are told, built the "balneum" of St. Stephen, and in the life of Pope Hadrian I. (772-785) mention is made of a bath at the Lateran palace, and of another near St. Peter's; at this last we are told the poor who came to receive alms at Easter were accustomed to bathe. Sometimes these baths were made sources of profit, as Pope Damasus (A. D. 367-385) is stated to have built or given a bath near the "titulus," S. Lorenzo in Damaso (which he had created), which bath yielded 27 solidi. Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chret.*) mentions other instances of bishops, —as St. Victor of Ravenna, in the 6th century, and Anastasius II. of Pavia—who erected or adorned baths for the clergy; and in the 7th, of St. Aguelius of Naples, who made an ordinance obliging the priests under his authority to bathe on certain days, and made a foundation to furnish them with soap at Christmas and Easter. Certain hot baths at Pozzuoli he states are still known as "tons episcopi."

In an enclosure near the apex of the ruined church of S. Stefano, in Via Latina, near Rome, discovered in the year 1858, is a small reservoir (v. woodcut under CHURCH), which has been considered to have been a bath. It seems, however, possible that it may have been the piscina of a baptistery, or, if the area in which it stands was the atrium of the church, the place of the fountain or cantharus.

[A. N.]

BATHING. The common use of baths throughout the Roman Empire presented to Christian converts a special difficulty and danger. The habits of the time had given a marked preference to the *thermae* or hot-air baths such as we now know as "Turkish," and neither these nor the *balneae* (swimming or plunge baths) were to be had in their own houses. To give these up was to sacrifice comfort, and, it might be, health, and yet to go to them was in many cases to run the risk of moral contamination. The feeling of the older Romans, which hindered even a grown-up son from bathing with his father (Cic. *De Off.* l. 35; Valer. Max. ii. 17), had died out, and in the *thermae* of all large cities were to be found crowds of men and boys, frequently of women also, sitting naked in the *tepidarium* or *Laconicum*. It lies in the nature of things that in a society corrupt as was that of the Empire, this, even without the last-named enormity, must have brought with it many evils, foul speech and foul acts. It might have seemed at first, as if those who were seeking to lead a purer life would have had to renounce the habit altogether, as they renounced the obscenities of the mimes, and the ferocities of gladiatorial shows.

It is noticeable, however, that the rigorism of

early Christian life never reached this point. Doubtless, in every city, there were establishments of different grades, and the Christian could choose those which were conducted with greater decency. Probably, too, before long, as the employment was not a forbidden one, Christians would be found to enter on it and reform its evils. The public baths at Rome which were established by emperors or placed under magisterial control, were free from the grosser evils of the mixture of the two sexes; and it is recorded to the honour of many of the emperors who were, more or less, under the influence of a higher culture, that they sought to check them. Hadrian (Spartianus, p. 25), Antoninus Pius (Julius Capit. p. 90), Alexander Severus (Lamprid. c. 42), are all named as having taken steps to put down the *lavaria mixta*, which were so flagrant an outrage on all natural decency. As it is, though the practice, like most others in the common routine of life, is but little noticed unless where its accompaniment calls for censure, we find traces enough to show that the most devout Christians did not think it necessary to abstain from the public bath. It was in the "baths" of Ephesus that St. John encountered Cerinthus (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 38). Tertullian, with all his austerity, acknowledged that bathing was necessary for health, and that he practised it himself (*Apol.* c. xlii.). Clement of Alexandria (*Pedag.* iii. c. 9), lays down rules, half medical and half moral, for its use. It formed part of the complaints of the Christians of Lugdunum and Vienna, and was mentioned by them as the first sign of the change for the worse in their treatment, that they were excluded from the public baths (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1). Augustine narrates how on his mother's death, led by the popularly accepted etymology of βαλανεῖον (as if from βαλλειν δαίριον) he had gone to the *thermae* to assuage his sorrow, and found it fruitless ("neque enim exsolvit de corde meo mororis amaritudo." *Confess.* ix. 32). The old evils, however, in spite of the reforming Empire, continued to prevail, probably in worse forms in the provinces than in the capital. Epiphanius mentions λοιπά ἀπόβρυγα as common among the Jews of his time (*Haer.* 30). Clement describes the mixture of the sexes as occurring in the daily life of Alexandria (*Pedag.* iii. 5); Cyprinus as in that of Carthage (*de Cult. Virg.* p. 73); Ambrose as in that of Milan (*de Off.* l. 18); and both plead against it with an earnestness which shows that it was a danger for Christians as well as heathens. Even those whose sense of shame led them to avoid the more public exposure, submitted to the gaze and the cares of male attendants (Clem. Al. *l. c.*). It is even more startling to find that it was necessary, after the conversion of the Empire, to forbid, under pain of deposition, the clergy of all orders from frequenting baths where the sexes were thus mingled (C. Laod. c. 30; C. Trull. c. 77). Offending laymen were in like manner to come under sentence of excommunication. Gradually the better feeling prevailed, and the *lavaria mixta* fell into a disrepute like that of houses of ill fame. It was reckoned a justifiable cause of divorce for a wife to have been seen in one (Coul. Justin. V. tit. 17 *de Repud.*).

Another aspect of the practice remains to be noticed. Traces meet us here and there of a distinctly liturgical use of bathing, analogous to the

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book informs us, built a campanile at S. Andrea Apostolo, and placed there a bell with a brazen hammer. [A. N.]

BELL, BOOK, AND CANDLE. [EX-COMMUNICATION.]

BELLS. I. *Names of Bells.*—The name *campanum* or *campana* is commonly said to have been given to bells, because they were invented by Paulinus of Nola in Campania. Paulinus, however, who more than once describes churches, never mentions bells, and the more probable supposition is, that bells in early times were cast from Campanian brass, which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 8) describes as the best for such a purpose, and so received the name *campana* or *campanum*. The word *nola* can scarcely be derived from the city Nola, and is perhaps imitative of the sound, like the English "knoll."

The word which we have in the form *clock* (compare Irish *clog*, French *cloche*, Germ. *glocke*) was adopted in later Latin, both in the neuter form *cloccum* (*Vita S. Bonifacii*, in *Act. Sancti* June, tom. i. p. 472) and the feminine *clocca* (Bonifacii *Epist.* 9 et 75); the latter is the usual form. The "Anonymus Thuanus," quoted by Binterim (*Denkwürd.* iv. 1. 290) gives the form *cloqua* for a turret-bell (*cloquam turris*).

Signum (Ital. *segno*, old French *scint*, whence *tocsin*) is the most usual word for a church-bell from the 6th century. In some cases it appears to designate not a bell, but some other kind of *semitron*. (Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v.; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, (*monast.* s. v. p. 1056).)

Small bells, such as were rung by hand in the refectories of monasteries, were called *tintinnabula*; and the still smaller bells which were sometimes appended to priestly vestments, were designated *tinniola*, from their tinkling sound. (Ducange, s. v.) *Tintinnum* seems to have been sometimes used for a larger bell (see Tatwin, quoted below).

The word *skella*, *skilla*, *scilla*, *squilla*, or *esquilla* (Ital. *squilla*, Germ. *schelle*) is also used for a small bell: see below. In the *Tabularium* of St. Remi (quoted by Ducange) a "schilla de metallo" is mentioned as well as "signum ferreum."

Other designations occasionally found are *aes*, *aeramentum*, *lebes*, *muta*, *κόδων*.

II. *Use of Bells.*—For the purpose of announcing meetings of Christians in times of persecution a messenger was employed [CURSOR]; in quiet times future services were announced by a deacon in time of divine worship; in some parts of Africa a TRUMPET seems to have been employed to call the people to their assemblies.

After the time of Constantine some sonorous instrument, whether a clapper [SEMITRON] or a bell, seems to have been generally employed to give notice of the commencement of Christian assemblies. The word "signum" in Latin writers is probably used to designate both these instruments, and it is not always easy to say which is intended. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 23, p. 73) mentions a "signum" as calling monks to matins; in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris; and elsewhere (*De Mirac. S. Martini*, ii. 45, p. 1068) he mentions the "signum" (*signum quod commoveri solet*) as if it were something swung like a bell. So Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* ii. 10) speaks of the "signum" of the principal church

in Paris calling to prayer. St. Columba is said, in the life by Cuminus Albus (*Acta SS. Junii*, tom. ii. p. 188, c. 10), to have gone into the church when the bell rang (*pulsante campana*) at midnight; and Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23) mentions that at St. Hilda's death, one of her nuns at a distance from Whitby heard suddenly the well-known sound of the bell which roused or called them to prayer when she departed from this world. These testimonies seem to show that bells of considerable size were used in England, at least in convents, as early as the 6th century. Tatwin, archbishop of Canterbury (731-734) in some verses "De Tintinno" (*Hook's Archbishops*, i. 206) speaks of a bell "superis suspensus in auris" hastening the steps of the crowd. The *Excerptiones* attributed to Egbert (*canon* ii.), enjoin "ut omnes sacerdotes horis competentibus diei et noctis sursum sonent ecclesiarum signa."

St. Sturm when dying (an. 779) ordered all the bells (*glogus*) of his convent to be rung (*Eigil's Vita S. Sturmii*, c. 25, in Migne's *Patrol.* cv. 443).

In Gaul we have already seen that "signa" were used as early as the 6th century. At a later period, Flodoard (*Hist. Remens.* ii. 12) tells us of the miraculous silence of two of the bells of a Gascon church in which St. Rigobert (†749) was praying. We cannot, of course, insist upon all the details of this narrative as if they were literally true, but the account shows at any rate that Flodoard (about 950) took for granted that in the 8th century the great churches in the Gascon territory had many bells, which were rung at certain hours; and that even country churches had more than one, for the two silent bells had been stolen from a country church; moreover, the bells must have been of considerable size, for the narrator speaks expressly of their loud sound (*his altisono reboantibus*). It is worth observing, too, that he uses the words *campanae*, *noctae*, and *signa* as precisely synonymous.

By the time of Charles the Great, in fact, the use of church-bells seems to have become common in the empire. Charles encouraged the art or bell-founding, and entertained bell-founders at his court. Among the most famous of these was Tancho, a monk of St. Gall, who cast a fine bell for the great church at Aachen. (The Monk of St. Gall *De Gestis Caroli*, i. 31.) He asked for 100 pounds of silver as alloy for the copper, from which we infer that the bell may have weighed 400 or 500 pounds.

Bells appear to have been held in especial regard by the Irish ecclesiastics of the fifth and succeeding centuries. Their bells seem to have been chiefly hand-bells; but Dr. Petrie (*Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 383) says that "it is perfectly certain that bells of a size much too large for altar-bells were abundantly distributed by St. Patrick in Ireland, as appears from his oldest lives." Sinall of Cill Airis, in the tripartite life of St. Patrick supposed to have been originally written in the 6th century, is called *campanarius*. Hand-bells are preserved, which are attributed to Irish Saints or ecclesiastics from the 5th century downwards. They seem to have been reckoned among the most necessary insignia of a bishop: thus in the annotations of Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, we are told that Patrick conferred on Fiac the

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degree of a bishop and gave him a box or satchel containing a bell, a "monaster" (i. e. a reliquary), a crozier, and a "polaire" or ornamental case for a book (Petrie, p. 338). The earliest of these



The Bell of St. Patrick.

bells and the most highly venerated is that known as the 'Clog-an-eadhachta Phatraic,'—the bell of the will of Patrick,—given to the church of Armagh by St. Columba; this is of quadrangular form, of thick sheet iron, six inches high, five inches by four at the mouth and diminishing upwards, with a loop at the top for the hand (v. woodcut). It is kept in a splendidly ornamented case, made for it between A.D. 1091 and 1105.

Many other such bells are in existence, as the bell of St. Gall, in the Treasury of the church of St. Gall in Switzerland; the bell of St. Mogue (d. A.D. 824), in possession of the Primate of Ireland, &c.

In the 9th century, according to Dr. Petrie (*Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 252), the quadrangular form which is found in all the early bells began to give way to the circular. The early bells are usually of iron, but one of bronze in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, which has been ascribed to St. Patrick, in consequence of its being inscribed with the name "Patrici," is of bronze, as are some others.

In the East, church-bells were of later introduction. No mention of them in the East appears to occur until Orso, duke of Venice, towards the end of the 9th century, gave twelve large bells of brass to Michael (or Basil) the Greek emperor, who added a bell-tower to the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople for their re-ception. (Baronius, in Augusti's *Handbuch*, i. 402.)

We gather from the above examples that from the 6th century at least bells were used in the West, first in convents, afterwards in churches generally, to summon worshippers to the various services, and to give notice to the faithful of the passing away of one of the brotherhood. Details of the manner of making and hanging these bells are altogether wanting.

Besides these uses, we find that bells were anciently used by the Western Church in processions. For instance, the rubric of the Mozarabic *Missal* (p. 106, ed. Lesley) directs that a boy ringing a hand-bell (esquillum) should precede the procession which bears the Eucharist to the Sepulchre on Maundy Thursday.

Another ecclesiastical use of small bells is the following—Benedict of Aniane (see his *Life* by Ardo, c. 8, in *Acta SS.*, Febr. tom. ii. p. 612) ordered a *spuilla* to be rung in the monk's dormitory before the *signum* of the church rang for the nocturnal "Hours."

It is generally agreed, that there is no trace within our period of the practice of ringing either a small bell or the great bell of the church at the elevation of the Host. The ancient Irish hand-bells may probably have been used in processions, or in monasteries for such uses as those described above.

The belief that the ringing of bells, whether the great bells of a church or hand-bells, tended to dispel storms is of considerable antiquity. The origin of this belief is traced by hagiographers to St. Salaberga, who lived in the beginning of the 7th century. The story is, that a small bell attached to the neck of a stag, was brought from heaven to St. Salaberga, for the relief of her daughter Anstrudis, who was terrified at thunder. This belief is expressed in the lines

"Belliquæ sanctæ Salabergæ et campana prærens
Expellunt febris et ipsa tonitrua pellit."

See Mabillon's *Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. ii. p. 414; Bollandist *Acta SS.* Sept. tom. vi. p. 517. This supposed property of dispelling storms is alluded to in the services for the benediction or "baptism" of bells.

III. *Benediction of Bells.*—It is probable that from the time that bells first became part of the furniture of a church, they were subjected, like other church-furniture and ornaments, to some kind of consecration. Forms for the benediction of a church-bell (*Ad signum ecclesie benedictionum*) are four in the Reims and the Corbeil MSS. of the Gregorian Sacramentary (*Sacram. Greg.* ed. Ménard, p. 438) to the following effect. After the benediction of the water to be used in the ceremony, Psalms 145-150 (Vulg.), were chanted; meantime the bell was washed with the holy-water, and touched with oil and salt, by the officiating bishop, who said at the same time the prayer, beginning, "Deus, qui per Moysen legiferum tubas argenteas fieri præcepisti;" the bell was then wiped with a napkin, and the Antiphon followed, "Vox Domini super aquas" (Ps. xxix. 3, Vulg.); the bell was then touched with christ seven times outside and four times inside, while the prayer was said, "Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui ante arcam Foederis, &c.;" it was then fumigated with incense within and without, and "Viderunt te aquae" (Ps. lxxvi. 16) was chanted; the service concluded with the collect "Omnipotens Dominator Christe, quo secundum assumptionem carnis dormiente in navi," &c. Both the verses and the prayer allude to the supposed power of the bell to calm storms.

The office *Ad signum ecclesie benedictionum* given in Egbert's *Pontifical* (pp. 177 ff. ed. Surtees Society, 1853) differs in no essential point from the Gregorian.

The custom of engraving a name upon a bell is said by Baronius (*Annales*, an. 901, c. 93) to have originated with Pope John XIII., who consecrated a bell and gave it the name John. This will probably be accepted as sufficient testimony to the fact, that the custom of engraving a name on a bell, in connexion with the ceremony of consecration, did not arise in Italy before the 10th century. It is, of course, possible that in other countries, as in Ireland, it may be of earlier date; or the names engraved on some ancient Irish bells may simply indicate ownership.

In Charles the Great's capitulary of the year 789, c. 18, the words occur, "Ut clocean non baptizentur." As it is almost certain that some kind of dedication-rite for church-bells was practised continuously through the period, we must either conclude that some particular practice in the matter—it is impossible to determine what—is here condemned or that the

ding the old English, and Monastic uses, among the psalms of lauds, on Sundays and festivals, immediately before Ps. cxviii., cxlix., cl. It usually has an antiphon of its own, though in some uses the psalms at lauds are all said under one antiphon. The antiphonal clause, "Laudate et superexaltate eum in secula," is only said after the first and last verses. *Gloria Patri* is not said after it, as after other canticles, but in its place the verses—

Benedicamus Patri et Filium cum Spiritu Sancto:
laudemus et superexaltamus eum in secula.
Benedictus es, Domine, in firmamento cael: et lauda-
bitis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in secula.

In the Ambrosian lauds for Sundays and festivals, *Benedicite* occurs with an antiphon varying with the day, and preceded by a collect [Oratio secreta] which varies only on Christmas Day and the Epiphany. During the octave of Easter *Halt-hjalt** is said after each verse.

Benedicite also occurs in the private thanksgiving of the priest after mass; in the Roman office in full; in the Sarum the last few verses only.

In the Mozarabic breviary this canticle is found in the lauds for Sundays and festivals in a somewhat different form, with a special antiphon, and is called *Benedictus*. It begins at v. 29; the antiphonal clause is omitted altogether till the end; and the opening words of the *Benedicite* proper, "Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino," are never repeated after their first occurrence.

In the offices of the Greek Church this canticle is the eighth of the nine "Odes" appointed at lauds. The antiphonal clause is said after every verse, and a supplementary verse is added at the end, "εὐλογεῖτε Ἀράστολο, Προφήτα, καὶ Μάρτυρες Κυρίου, τὸν Κύριον κ.τ.λ. This canticle is sometimes called (e.g. by St. Benedict and by St. Fructuosus Archb. of Bragas, † 665) from the nature of its contents the *Benedictio*, in the same way as the last three psalms of the Psalter are known as the *Laudes*. [H. J. H.]

BENEDICTA, religious woman, martyr at Rome under Julian, commemorated January 4 (*Hart. Rom. Vet.*).

[C.]
BENEDICTINE RULE AND ORDER, founded by St. Benedictus of Nursia, born A.D. 480, and died probably 542. [See *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* s. v.] Even before the institution of the Benedictine Rule, monasticism was widely established in Southern and Western Europe, and the herds which overran the prostrate Roman Empire. But there was as yet neither uniformity nor permanency of rule (Mab. *Act. O. S. B. Praef.*). In the words of Cassian, which seem to apply to Occidental as well as Oriental monachism, there were as many rules as there were monasteries (*Instit.* ii. 2). In Italy, always easily accessible to Greek influences, the Rule of Basil, which had been translated into Latin by Rufinus (Praef. *Reg. Bas.*), was the favourite; in Southern Gaul, and in Spain, that of Cassian, or rather of Macrobius; and as the Rule of Benedict worked its way into the North-west of Europe, it was confronted by the rival system of Columbanus (Pellic. *Polit. Ecc. Chr.* i. iii. 1, § 4;

* So spelt in the Ambrosian books.

Mab. *Ann. Praef.*). Like Aaron's rod, in the quaint language of the Middle Ages, it soon swallowed up the other rules. But, in fact, there was often a great diversity of practice, even among those professing to follow the same Rule, often a medley of different rules within the same walls (Mab. *Ann. Praef.*), and a succession of new rules in successive years (Mab. *Ann.* i. 29). The Columbanists, for instance, were not, strictly speaking, a separate order (Mab. *Ann. Praef.*). The Benedictines may fairly be regarded as the first in order of time, as well as in importance, of the monastic orders.

The Benedictine Rule gave stability to what had hitherto been fluctuating and incoherent (Mab. *Ann. Praef.*). The hermit-life had been essentially individualistic, and the monastic communities of Egypt and the East had been an aggregation, on however large a scale, of units, rather than a compact and living organization, as of "many members in one body." Benedict seems to have felt keenly the need of a firm hand to control and regulate the manifold impulses, of one sort and another, which moved men to retire from the world. Apparently there was a good deal of laxity and disorder among the monks of his day. He is very severe against the petty fraternities of the Sarabaitae, monks dwelling two or three together in a "cell," or small monastery, without any one at their head, and still more against the "Gyrovagi" monks, who led a desultory and unruly life, roving from one monastery to another. Unlike his Eastern predecessors, who looked up to utter solitude as the summit of earthly excellence, Benedict, as if in later life regretting the excessive austerities of his youth, makes no mention at all of either hermits or anchorites (*Prolog. Reg. S. B.*). Anything like anarchy offended his sense of order and congruity; and, with his love of organizing, he was the man to supply what he felt to be wanting.

Accordingly, in Benedict's system the vow of self-addiction to the monastery became more stringent, and its obligation more lasting. Hitherto, it had been rather the expression of a resolution or of a purpose, than a solemn vow of perpetual perseverance (Aug. *Ep. ad Mon.* 109, p. 587; Aug. *Rett. c. Joinian.* ii. 22; Hieron. *Ep.* 48; Cass. *Inst.* x. 23). But by the Rule (c. 58) the vow was to be made with all possible solemnity, in the chapel, before the relics in the shrine, with the abbat and all the brethren standing by; and once made it was to be irrevocable—"Vestigia nulla retrorsum." The postulant for admission into the monastery had to deposit the memorial of his compact on the altar; and from that day to retrace his steps was morally impossible. The Rule contemplates indeed the possibility of a monk retrograding from his promise, and re-entering the world which he had renounced, but only as an act of apostasy, committed at the instigation of the devil (c. 58). Previously, if a monk married, he was censured and sentenced to a penance (Basil. *Respons.* 36; Leo, *Ep.* 90, *ad Rustic.* c. 12; Epiphani. *Hier.* lxi. 7; Hieron. *Ep. ad Dem.* 97 (8); Aug. *de Bon. Vid.* c. 10; Gelas. *Ep.* 5, *ad Eysic. Luun.* ap. Grat. *Caus.* xxvii.; *Quest.* i. c. 14; *Conc. Aurd.* i. c. 23); but the marriage was not annulled as invalid. After the promulgation of the Rule, far heavier penalties were enacted.

The monk, who had broken his vow by marrying, was to be excommunicated, was to be compelled to separate from his wife, and might be forcibly reclaimed by his monastery: if a priest, he was to be degraded (Greg. M. *Ep.* l. 33, 40, vii. 9, xii. 20, ap. Gr. *Grat.* xviii.; *Qu.* l. c. 15; *Conc. Turon.* ll. c. 15). These severities were no part of Benedict's comparatively mild and lenient code; but they testify to his having introduced a much stricter estimation of the monastic vow.

At the same time, as with a view to guard against this danger of relapse, Benedict wisely surrounded admission into his order with difficulties. He provided a year's novitiate, which was prolonged to two years in the next century (Greg. M. *Ep.* x. 24); and thrice, at certain intervals, during this year of probation, the novice was to have the Rule read over to him, that he might weigh well what he was undertaking, and that his assent might be deliberate and unwavering (c. 58). The written petition for admission was required invariably (c. 58). None were to be received from other monasteries, without letters commendatory from their abbat (c. 61); nor children without the consent of parents or guardians, nor unless formally disinherited (c. 59). Eighteen years of age was subsequently fixed as the earliest age for self-dedication. The gates of the monastery moved as slowly on their hinges at the knock of postulants for admission, as they were inexorably closed upon him when once within the walls (cf. Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* xxxv. 19—note by Bened. Editor; Aug. Vinlel. 1768).

Benedict had evidently the same object before his eyes, the consolidation of the fabric which he was erecting, in the form of government which he devised for his order. This was a monarchy, and one nearer to despotism than to what is called a "constitutional monarchy." Poverty, humility, chastity, temperance, all these had been essential elements in the monastic life from the first. Benedict, although he did not introduce the principle of obedience, made it more precise and more implicit (cc. 2, 3, 27, 64; cf. Mab. *Ann.* iii. 8); stereotyped it by regulations extending even to the demeanour and deportment due from the younger to the elder (cc. 7, 63); and crowned the edifice with an abbat, irresponsible to his subjects. Strict obedience was exacted from the younger monks, towards all their superiors in the monastery (cc. 68-71); but the abbat was to be absolute over all (c. 3). He alone is called Dominus in the Rule; though the word in its later form, Dominus, became common to all Benedictines (c. 63). The monks had the right of electing him, without regard to seniority. Supposing a flagrantly scandalous election to be made, the bishop of the diocese, or the neighbouring abbats, or even the "Christians of the neighbourhood," might interfere to have it cancelled; but once duly elected his will was to be supreme (c. 64). He was indeed to convocate a council of the brethren, when necessary: on any important occasions, of them all; otherwise, only of the seniors; but in every case the final and irrevocable decision, from which there was no appeal, rested with him (c. 3). He was to have the appointment of the prior, or provost (c. 65; cf. Greg. M. *Ep.* vii. 10), and of the deacons or deans, as well as the power of

deposing them (c. 21);* the prior after four, the deans after three warnings (c. 65). Benedict was evidently distrustful of any collision of authority, or want of perfect harmony, between the abbat and his prior; and preferred deans, as more completely subordinate (c. 65); for, while the abbat held his office for life, the deans as well as all the other officers of the monastery, except the prior, held theirs for only a certain time (cc. 21, 31, 32). Even the cellerarius, or cellarius, the steward, who ranked next to the abbat in secular things, as the prior in things spiritual, was to be appointed for one, four, or ten years; the tool-keepers, robe-keepers, &c., only for one. The abbat was armed with power to enforce his authority on the recalcitrant, after two admonitions in private and one in public, by the "lesser excommunication," or banishment from the common table and from officiating in the chapel; by the "greater excommunication," or deprivation of the rites of the Church; by flogging, by imprisonment, and other bodily penances (cc. 2, 23-29; cf. Mart. *de Ant. Mon. Lit.* ii. 11) in case of hardened offenders; and, as an extreme penalty, by expulsion from the society. Benedict, however, with characteristic clemency, expressly cautions the abbat to deal tenderly with offenders (c. 27); allowing readmission for penitents into the monastery, even after relapses; and, as though aware how much he is entrusting to the abbat's discretion, begins, and almost ends, his Rule with grave and earnest cautions against abusing his authority.

Benedict's constitution was no mere democracy, under the abbat. All ranks and conditions of men were indeed freely admitted, from the highest to the lowest,[†] and on equal terms (c. 51; cf. Aug. *de Op. Mon.* 22); within the monastery all the distinctions of their previous life vanished; the serf and the noble stood there side by side (c. 2). Thus even a priest, whose claims to precedence, being of a spiritual nature, might have been supposed to stand on a different footing, had to take his place simply by order of seniority among the brethren (c. 60), though he might be allowed by the abbat to take a higher place in the chapel (c. 62), and might, as the lay-brothers, be promoted by him above seniors in standing (c. 63; cf. Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* xxxii. 15). Similarly, a monk from another monastery was to have no especial privileges (c. 61). But, with all this levelling of distinctions belonging to the world without, the gradations of rank for the monks as monks were clearly defined. Every brother had his place assigned him in the monastic hierarchy. Such offices as those of the hebdomadarius or weekly cook, of the lector or reader-in-charge in the refectory, were to be held by each in turn, unless by special exemption (cc. 35, 38), and the younger monks were enjoined to address the elder as "nonni," or fathers, in token of affectionate reverence (c. 61). Benedict seems to have had an equal dread of tyranny and of insubordination.

Indeed, the strict obedience exacted by the Rule is tempered throughout by an elastic and considerateness, which contrast strongly with the inflexible rigour of similar institutions.

* F. Martene, note in *Reg. Comm.* ad loc.; cf. *Conc. Mogunt.* c. 11.

† The restrictions and limitations in Martene's *Reg. Comm.* are not in the Rule.

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Like the Evangelic Sermon on the Mount, which he makes his model (*Prof. Reg.*; cf. c. 4), Benedict often lays down a principle, without shaping it into details. Thus he enjoins silence, as a wholesome discipline, without prescribing the times and places for it, beyond specifying the refectory and the dormitory (c. 6). Like Lycurgus, he wishes to bequeath to his followers a law which shall never be broken (c. 64); and yet, in the closing words of his Rule, he reminds them that the Rule, after all, is imperfect in itself (c. 73). More than once he seems to anticipate the day when his order shall have assumed larger dimensions, and provides for monasteries on a grander scale than existed when he was writing his Rule (cc. 31, 32, 53). Thus, about dress, as if foreseeing the varying requirements of various climes, he leaves a discretionary power to the abbat, affirming merely the unvarying principle that it is to be cheap and homely (c. 55); and that there are to be two dresses, the "scapulare," or sort of cape, for field-work, and the "ocucillus," or hood, for study and prayer (cf. Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* xxiii. 16). The colour of the tunic or toga, being left undetermined by the founder, has varied at different times: till the 8th century it was usually white (*Mab. Ann.* iii.). Nor is there any Procrustean stiffness in the directions about diet. Temperance, in the strictest sense, is laid down as the principle: but the abbat may relax the ordinary rules of quantity and quality (c. 40); more food is ordered whenever there is more work to be done (c. 39); baths for the sick (c. 36), for the young or aged (c. 37), as well as for guests who may chance to be lodging in the monastery (c. 42); and even wine, forbidden by Eastern Asiatics, is allowed, sparingly, by Benedict, as if in concession to the national propensities imported into Italy by the barbarians, and to the colder climate of Northern Europe (c. 40). Even those minuter rules, in which Benedict evinces his love of order, proportion, and clocklike regularity, and which show that Benedict, like Wesley, wished to direct everything, originate almost always in a wise and tender consideration for human weaknesses. The day is mapped out in its round of duties, so that no unoccupied moments may invite temptation (c. 48), but the hours allotted for work, prayer, or rest, vary with the seasons. Benedict seems to take especial delight in arranging how the Psalter is to be read through, ordering certain Psalms on certain holy days; but he leaves it open to his followers to make a better distribution if they can (cc. 15, 18). The first Psalm is to be recited slowly; but this is to give the brethren time to assemble in their oratory. The monk who serves as cook is, during his week of office, to take his meals before the rest (c. 35); the cellarer, or steward, is to have fixed hours for attending to the wants of the brethren, that there may be no vexation or disappointment (c. 31); a list is to be kept by the abbat of all the tools and dresses belonging to the monastery, lest there may be any confusion (c. 32); the monks are to sleep only ten or twelve in the same dormitory, with curtains between the beds, and under the charge of a dean, for the sake of order and propriety (c. 22); the Historical Books of the Old Testament were not to be read the last thing before going to bed,

as unodying to weak brethren (c. 42); and, last and not least, no monk is to take the knife, which was part of his monastic equipment, with him to bed, lest he should hurt himself in his sleep (c. 22). But it is, above all, in its treatment of weaker brethren (the "infirmi" or "pusillanimes"), that the Rule breathes a mildness, and what Aristotle would call "εὐτακεία," rare indeed in those days. The abbat is to "love the offender, even while hating the offence;" he is to "beware lest he break the vessel in scouring it;" he is to let "mercy prevail over justice" (c. 64). A whole chapter (c. 43) is devoted to meting out the degrees of correction for monks coming late to chapel or refectory; and, in this unlike Wesley, Benedict expressly discourages the public confession of secret faults, a practice inevitably tending to ungravity and irreverence (c. 46), as well as loud and demonstrative private prayer in the chapel (c. 32). There is something peculiarly characteristic of Benedict's gentle and courteous spirit in his oft-repeated cautions against murmuring on the one hand (cc. 31, 40, 41, 53), and, on the other, against anything like scurrility (cc. 43, 49, &c.).

Compared with Eastern Rules, the Benedictine Rule is an easy yoke (*Sev. Sulp. Vit. S. Martini*, i. 7; *Cass. Instit.* i. 11); and this may be attributed partly to the more practical temperament of the West, partly to the exigencies of European climates, partly, too, to the personal character of the lawgiver (cc. 39, 40, 46, &c.). Taking the passage in the Psalms, "Seven times a day will I praise Thee," and another, "At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto Thee," as his mottoes, he portioned out day and night into an almost unceasing round of prayer and praise (c. 16). But whereas his predecessors had ordered the whole of the Psalter to be recited daily, Benedict, though with a sigh of regret for the degeneracy of his age, was content that it should be gone through in the week (c. 18). There is a curious direction, too (c. 20), against lengthy private devotions, especially in chapel after service. In harvest time, or if they were far from home, the monks were to say their devotions in the field, to save the time and trouble of returning to the monastery (c. 50; cf. *Mab. Ann.* iii. 8). Whatever ascetic austerities were introduced at a later date into some of the reformed Benedictine orders, we find no trace at all in the original Rule of those ingenious varieties of self-torture which had been so common in Egypt and Syria. Benedict shows no love of self-mortification for its own sake; and, while prizing it in moderation as a discipline, makes it subservient to other practical purposes. Thus he orders some more suitable occupation to be allotted to such of the brethren as may be incapacitated in any way from hard work out of doors (c. 48). The diet allowed by the Benedictine Rule would have seemed luxurious to the monks of the East (c. 39, &c.).

But the great distinction of Benedict's Rule was the substitution of study for the comparative uselessness of mere manual labour. Not that his monks were to be less laborious; rather they were to spend more time in work; but their work was to be less servile, of the hand as well as of the hand, beneficial to future ages, not merely furnishing sustenance for the bodily wants of the

community, or for almsgiving (cc. 38, 48: cf. *Cass. Instit.* x. 23; *Hier. Ep. ad Eustoch.* 18, 22). As if conscious of his innovation Benedict seems to restrict the word "labor," as heretofore, to manual occupations; to these he still devoted the larger part of the day; and his range of literature is a narrow one, specifying by name only the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers (cc. 9, 48). But, by reserving some portion for study, he implanted the principle, which afterwards bore so glorious fruits in the history of his order, that liberal arts and sciences were to be for them not permitted merely, but sanctioned and encouraged (c. 48). It is a question how far Benedict is indebted for this to Cassiodorus, his contemporary, wrongfully claimed by some zealous Benedictines as one of their order (*Mign. Patrol.* lxi. 483). But the "Vivarium" which Cassiodorus founded in Calabria seems to have been more like an university, or even the intellectual and artistic Court over which Frederick II. presided in that part of Italy during the 13th century, more genial in its tone and wider in its range of studies (*Cassid. de Instit. Div. Litt.* cc. 28, 30, 31). Probably Benedict and his more secular contemporary were both alike affected by the same impulses, inherited from the dying literature of Imperial Rome.

A monk's day, according to the Rule, was an alternation of work, manual or mental, and prayer, in the words of the Rule of the "opus Dei or divinum officium" and "labor et lectio," with the short intervals necessary for food and rest (cf. *Mab. Ann.* iii. 8; *Fleury, Hist. Ecc.* xxxii. 15 et seq.). In winter the middle of the day, and in summer the morning and evening, were for manual labour; for study the heat of the day in summer, and the dusk and darkness of morning and evening in the short days of winter (cc. 8, 48). After the midday meal in summer, the monk might take his siesta, or a book (c. 48). The seven hours for divine service were those called "canonical;" and the services were—matins (afterwards called lauds) at sunrise (in summer), prima, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, compline, separated each from each by three hours, as well as a midnight service, which was to be held a little before the matins, called in the Rule "nocturnus vigiliæ" (c. 16). On Sundays the monk was to rise earlier and have longer "vigiliæ" (c. 11), and was to substitute reading for manual work (c. 48). Each service was to include a certain number of Psalms, often selected with especial reference to the time of day, as the third for nocturnus, of Canticles, and of lections, or readings from Holy Scripture or the Fathers (c. 8, &c.). On Sundays and holy days all the brethren were to receive the Holy Communion (c. 25). The precise times for the several avocations of the monastic day were to vary with the four seasons, both of the natural and of the Christian year (c. 8, &c.). The work or the book for the time was to be assigned to each at the discretion of the abbat (c. 48). The evening meal was to be taken all the year round before dark (c. 41). As the monk had to rise betimes, so his thoughtful legislator would have him retire early to rest.

Chapters 1-7 in the Rule are on the monastic character generally—obedience, humility, &c.;

8-20 on divine service; 21-30 on dens, and the correction of offenders; 31-41 on the cellarer and his department, especially the refectory; 42-52 are chiefly on points relating either to the oratory or to labour: the remaining twenty-one rules hardly admit of classification, being miscellaneous and supplementary to those preceding.

On the whole, the Benedictine Rule, as a Rule for Monks, must be pronounced, by all who view it dispassionately, well worthy of the high praise which it has received, not from monks only, but from statesmen and others. "First and foremost in discretion, and clear in style," is the appropriate comment on it of Gregory the Great (*Diad.* ii. 36). In the 7th century the observance of it was enjoined on all monks, by the Council of Angostonnum (c. 15), and by Lewis the Pious (*Exh. ad Epi. Abb. Pult.* ap. Migne, *Præf. Reg.*). It is commonly entitled in councils "the holy Rule" (Migne, *Præf. Reg.*); and by one held in the 9th century it is directly attributed to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (*Conc. Inzaco.* ii.). By one writer it is contrasted with previous rules as the teaching of Christ with that of Moses (Gaufr.-Abb. Vincoen. *Sermo de S. B.* ap. Migne, *Præf. Reg.*). It was a favourite alike with Thomas Aquinas, as a manual of morality, and with the politic Cosmo de' Medici, as a manual for rulers (Alb. Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, s. voce; cf. Guéranger, *Enchirid. Bened.* *Præf.*). Granted the very questionable position, that the life of a monk, with its abdication of social and domestic duties, is laudable, Benedict's conception of that life, in principle and in detail, is almost unexceptionable. His monks are indeed treated throughout as simply children of an older growth: they may not even walk abroad (c. 67); nor, if sent outside the precincts, may they stop anywhere to eat, without the abbat's leave (c. 51); nor may they even receive letters from home (c. 51). The prescribed washing of strangers' feet (c. 53), and the very strict prohibition against a monk having anything, however trifling, of any sort to call his own, are all part of this extension into maturer years of a discipline proper for children. But, if treated as children, the followers of Benedict were at any rate under a wise and sympathising Master; and the school where they were to be trained in humility and obedience was not one of needless and vexatious mortifications. Order, proportion, regularity, these are the characteristics of the Rule; with an especial tenderness for the "weaker brethren." As in all monastic institutions, self-love seems to force its way through all the barriers heaped around it; tingeing even the holiest actions with a mercenariness of intention (*Prot. &c.*). Thus the motive proposed for writing sedulously on the sick is the reward which may be won by so doing (c. 37). But the Rule appeals also, though less expressly, to higher motives than the fear of punishment or the hope of recompense—to the love of God and of man (e. g. *P. of.*). It cannot be said of Benedict's Rule, as of solitary asceticism, that self is the circumference as well as the centre of the circle. The relations of the brethren to their father, and to one another, tend, in the Rule, to check that isolation of the heart from human sympathies which is the basis of monasticism. If there is a disregard of the claims of the outer world, at all events some-

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thing like the ties of family is duly recognised within the order, hallowing even the trivial details of daily life. The monastery is the "House of God," and even its commonest utensils are made either any merit in keeping the divine law, or any power to do so without help from heaven (Prof.).

In style the Rule is clear and concise; largely interspersed with apposite quotations from the Scriptures, especially the Psalms. But its Latinity is very unclassical, not only in syntax, but in single words (e. g. *odire* for *odisse*, c. 4; *solutium*, for "helper," cc. 31, 35; *lupus* for "arrogance" or "circumlocution," c. 31). In this respect the Rule contrasts unfavourably with Cassian's comparatively accurate and polished style. The text may have been corrupted; but there seems to have been a serious deterioration in Latin literature during the 5th century.

With the lapse of time, the right meaning of many passages in the Rule gave rise to violent controversies. Its very brevity and conciseness were themselves the occasion of an uncertainty, frequently enhanced by the changes of meaning which the same word often undergoes in successive periods. Whether such phrases as "Commenio" and "Missa" are to be taken in their more technical and ritualistic sense, or merely for "charity" and the "termination of divine service;" whether "excommunicatio" means the greater or the lesser sentence of deprivation (cc. 24, 25); whether "clerici" (c. 62) means deacons only, or priests as well; all these have been questions with commentators and reformers. "Matutini" in the Rule is said to correspond with the service afterwards known as "Laudes;" and "Laudes" in the Rule to mean the three last Psalms, all commencing "Laudate" (Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* xxiii. 15). "Prior" seems in one place (c. 63), where the younger brethren are ordered to salute the "priors," to mean merely older, at least in precedence; while in another place (c. 68), which treats of obedience, it seems to mean those in office. There is some ambiguity about the several articles of dress prescribed (c. 55); and still more about the diet. "Mixture" (c. 38) is supposed by some to mean "wine and water," by others "wine and bread;" and it is a vexed question, whether eggs and fish, birds and fowls, as well as "pulse," are included in the word "pulmentum" (Mart. *Comm. in Reg.* cc. 38, 55; Mab. *Ann.* i. 53, xiii. 2, xiv. 46). The enactment that "even a small part" of the brethren may elect the abbat is variously explained, as meaning either a minority, in certain circumstances, or, more probably, "a majority however small" (*Comm. in Reg.* c. 64); and another provision in the next chapter, that "a council of the brethren" is to take part in electing the prior, is vague both as to the size of the council and the extent of its powers (c. 65). A distinction familiar to Roman Catholic enthusiasts has been drawn by some commentators between the "precepts" and "counsels" in the opening words of the Prologue to the Rule; and, however that may be, the opinion has prevailed that the spirit rather than the letter of the Rule is to be observed, and that it is not strictly obligatory in its lesser details (note by Ed. on Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* xiii. 12, Ang. *Vind.* 1768; cf. Bern. *de Praec. et Dispens.*, *Patrol.* clix. ii.; Petr. Clun. *Epp.* i. 28,

lv. 17, *Patrol.* clxxxix.; Hospi. *de Monachatu*, pp. 132-134). But the hottest dispute has been on the permissibility of secular studies for the brethren. In the 17th century Mabillon and others argued against their Trappist opponents, that though not mentioned expressly, these studies are implied and involved in the Rule; that as the order in time came to consist more and more largely of students, and as Latin became to them a dead language, instead of being one with which they were habitually familiar, such pursuits became for them an absolute necessity (Mab. *Breve Script. de M. n. Stud. Rat.*; cf. Maitland's *Dark Ages*, 158-171).

The Rule of Benedict soon reigned alone in Europe, absorbing into itself the Rule of Columbanus, which had been dominant in Western Europe (Mab. *Ann. Praef.* i. 13, v. 11). In Italy it was accepted generally, before the close of the century in which Benedict died (Jann. *Diac. Vita Greg. M.* iv. 80). It was probably introduced into Gaul during his lifetime by his disciple Maurus, from whom the famous monastery of St. Maur claims its name; and there it soon made its way, its comparative elasticity prevailing over the rigidity of the rival system. Thus Faremoutier transferred itself from the Columban Rule to that of Benedict (A. Butler, *Lives of the Saints* s. S. Fara). The Council of Anchen in 788 A.D. ordered the Benedictine to be observed, and no other, in the Empire of Karl and his son (*Conc. Aquisgran.*, cf. *Conc. Augustod.* c. 15). It won Germany early in the 9th century (*Conc. Mogunt.* c. 11; cf. Pertz *Legg.* i. 166, c. 11), and Spain in the next century (Mab. *Ann. Praef.* iv. succ.). It is a question at what date it was introduced into England; whether by Benedict Biscop, by Willulf (Ling. *Ang.-Sax. Church*, ch. 5), or, as Mabillon and other learned writers have asserted (see in A. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, under Benedict), by Augustine, importing it from the monastery of S. Andrea on the Caelian hill, under the auspices of Gregory. A lax Rule probably prevailed till the time of Dunstan (see Marsham's *Praef.* 747 A.D.). [v. BENEDICTUS, in *Viet. Chr. Biog.*] In the 10th century the Benedictine Rule held almost universal sway in Europe (Pellie. *Polit. Ecc. Chr.* i. iii. 1, § 4), and wherever it penetrated it was the pioneer not of Christianity influences. For their labours in clearing forests and draining swamps, in setting an example of good husbandry generally, as well as for having fostered what little there was of learning and refinement in that troublous and dreary period, a debt of gratitude is due to them, which cannot easily be overrated.

For more than three centuries after its institution one Rule sufficed for the Benedictine order generally. Between the 9th and 15th centuries, as the order extended itself more widely, and as reformers, ardent against abuses, arose here and there in its ranks, various "constitutions" were engrained on the original Rule. For so early as in the 8th century there were symptoms of decay. The rich endowments granted by kings and nobles had brought with them, as was inevitable, the seeds of luxury and self-indulgence, and the very popularity of the "religious" life often gave occasion to unreality

in professing it. Thus, as for instance in England, when it had become the fashion for kings and queens to quit their palaces for a monastery, and to lavish their treasures on it (*Bed. Ecc.*, *Hist.* iii. 19, 23, 24; *Ling. A.-S. C. i.* 211, 214), this fatal munificence served to attract, in the course of years, oppressive taxes, or spoliation of a more downright sort (*Boiff. Ep. ad Cuthbert.* c. 11, ap. *Bed. Hist. Ecc.* p. 353, Hussey). Often too the immunity (*Pertz, Legg.* i. 223) and comparative security of the monastic life tempted a noble to assume the name, without the reality, of abbat; in order to escape legal obligations he would get his "folkland" converted into "boeland" on pretence of conveying it to the service of God, and there would live with his family and dependants, an abbat in name and in tone, but in nothing more (*Bele, Ep. ad Egb. ap. Hist. Ecc.*; *Ling. A.-S. C. i.* 226-7, 230, 407, 411). The need of reformation soon called into existence reformers. Clugni, in the 10th century, was the first separate congregation, with a separate Rule of its own (*Mab. Praef. Ann.*; *Thomas. Vct. et Nova Discipl.* i. iii. 21, 25). The four centuries which followed witnessed the birth of more than twenty "Reformed Orders," all professing to hold the original Rule of Benedict in its pristine purity and integrity, but each superadding its own special exposition of the Rule as binding on its members (*Hospin. de Mon.* p. 132). Monte Casino, the head-quarters at first, if not the birthplace, of the order, retained its supremacy, which, according to some authorities, the founder intended for it (see note on Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* xxxiii. 12), for some three centuries; its primacy has never been denied. It was sacked by the Lombards in 591 A.D. (*Clint. Fast. Rom.*), or 580 A.D. (*Fleury, Hist. Ecc.* xxxiii. 10), and the fugitives who escaped founded the Lateran Monastery at Rome (*Paul. D. Hist. Lomb.* iv. 18; cf. *Mab. Ann.* vii.). In the beginning of the 8th century it rose again in its ruins, and received within its walls Carloman, weary of the cares of empire. But Odo, the founder of Clugni, became "General" of his own "congregation," and his example has been followed by others (*Mab. Ann.* i. 19).

Among the most famous Benedictine abbeys (the term is a speciality of the order) were, besides those already mentioned, Bamberg, Fontevraud, Fulda, Sta. Giustina at Padua, including in its jurisdiction Sta. Scholastica (A. Butler, *Lives of Saints*; see *St. Bened.*), Grotta Ferrata, Marmoutier, S. Paolo fuori near Rome, S. Severino at Naples, &c., and in England, St. Albans, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, &c., with many of our Cathedrals. The preference of the old Benedictines for mountainous sites is proverbial:

"Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat."

It would be endless to enumerate the distinguished members of the order. The list of those belonging to Monte Casino alone, during its first six centuries, fills 25 folio pages of Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, with a brief notice of each (*Petr. Diac. De Vir. Ill. Casin.*). Trithemius, the learned abbat of Spanheim, counts on the roll of the order, in the beginning of the 16th century, 18 popes (Gueranger, A.D. 1862, says "30," *Enchirid. Bened. Praef.*), more than 200 cardinals, 1600 archbishops, about 4000 bishops, and, almost incredible as it sounds

15,700 famous abbats, with an equal number of canonized saints! (r. Fabric. *Bibl. Ecc.* s. v.: cf. *Mab. AA. Praef.* vi.; Ziegelbauer u. Lepoint; *Hist. Lit. O. S. B.*). St. Paul is the Patron Saint of the Order.

The original copy of the Rule is said to have been burnt at Teano, near Monte Casino, towards the close of the 9th century (Leo Muric, ap. *Mab. Ann.* iii. 263). Sigebertus Gemblacensis, in the 12th century, states that it was first made public by Simplicius, third abbat of Monte Casino (*Fabric. Bibl. Ecc.* s. v. Bened.). Hospinian gives no authority for his counter-statement, that many attribute it to Gregory the Great (*De Monach.* p. 116). Mabillon assumes it to have been made by Benedict himself at Monte Casino about 528 A.D. (*Ann.* iii. 8; A. Butler, *Lives of Saints*, see *St. Bened.*). Wion speaks of more than a hundred editions of the Rule in 1554 A.D. (*Lign. Vir.* l. 7). It is said to have been translated into English by Dunstan (*Mign. Praef. Reg. S. Bened.*).

The best commentaries on it are those of Martene and Calmet. That of Mege is considered lax by stricter Benedictines. The commentaries of Smaragdus, probably abbat of St. Michael's, not Smaragdus Arbo, and of Hiltegarus, a French Benedictine in the 8th century, are commended by Martene, in his preface to the Rule (*Mign. Patrol.* lxxvi.); also that of Bernardus, a monk of Lerins, afterwards abbat of Monte Casino in the 13th century, and one, incomplete, by Trithemius lately mentioned. But especially he praises those of Menard, a monk of St. Denys, who afterwards placed himself under the stricter rule of St. Maur; and of Haesten, a Benedictine prior, the author of the prolix *Disquisitiones Monasticae*, in twelve books, epitomized by Stengel or Stengellus. Mabillon seems to have contemplated a Commentary on the Rule, but from want of time to have resigned the task to Martene (*Praef. Reg. S. B.* ap. *Mign. Patrol.* lxxvi.; cf. *Not. ce.* 2, 9). The Rule was harmonized with other monastic rules by Benedictus Anianensis. [See *Dic. of Chr. Bio.* s. v.]

The following are important works on the Benedictine Rule and Order:

Petr. Diac. Casin. *de Vir. Illustr. Casin.* in *Fabric. Bibl. Ecc.* and *de Ortu et Obit. Just. Casin.* in *Mull. Ser. Vct. Nor. Coll. and Proleg.* in *Vit. S. Placidii*, in Martene and Durand, *Amplicis. Coll.*; Leonis Muric, et Petr. Diac. *Chron. Casin.* "ed. W. Wattenbach in *Monum. Germ.*" (*Mign. Patrol.* s. v.); *R. G. S. Bened. C. Comment.* Jean de Turre Cremat et Smaragdus Abb.; item *IV. Libri de Vir. Ill. O. S. B.* Joan. Trithemii, *Col. Agr.* 1575, fol.; Arnold. Wion, *Lignum Vitae*, Venet. 1595; Mege, *Commentaire sur la Règle de St. Benoît*, Jos. Mege (de St. Maur) Paris, 1687, and *Vie de St. Benoît avec une Histoire de son Ordre*, Paris, 1690; Bulteau, *Histoire de l'Ordre de St. Benoît*, Paris, 1691; Menard, *Martyrolog. O. S. B.* Par. 1629. *La Règle de St. Benoît* expliquée par M. de Rancé, Abbé de la Trappe, Paris, 1690; Martene, *de Ant. Monach. Rit.* Lugd. 1690, and *Comment.* in *Reg. S. B.* Paris, 1690; Mabillon *Annales O. S. B.* Paris, 1703-39; Ducherri et Mabillon *AA. SS. O. S. B.* Paris, 1698-1701; Mabillon *Breve Scriptum de Monast. Stud. Ratione* in *Bibl. Auct. Pazii*; Berthelet, *Traité historique et morale sur l'Abstinence*, 1726, Paris, 1731; Calmet, *Comment. Hist. et Morale sur la Règle de S. B.* Par. 1734.

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BENEDICTION, the spousal or nuptial. Among the Jews special benedictions were in use both for betrothal and actual marriage, the latter constituted, as with the Romans, by a *ductio* or procession accompanying the bride; which however with the Romans had for its goal the house of the husband, with the Jews the nuptial bed itself. A passage in Tobit (vii. 13, 14) indicates the close connexion of the blessing with what we should term the marriage settlement. Forms of both benedictions will be found in Selden's *Uxor Hebraica*, bk. li., cc. vii., xii. But Maimonides expressly observes (*Uxor. Ehr.* bk. li. c. 13) that not the blessing of the betrothed makes marriage, but the leading of the bride to the nuptial bed.

Certain heathen marriages, e.g. the Roman *confarreatio*, being also accompanied with a benediction, it was but natural that the same custom should prevail in reference to Christian ones. A good deal, however, of confusion seems to have arisen on the subject, especially through not distinguishing the legal and spiritual aspects of the benediction. It cannot be too often repeated that for many centuries both betrothal and marriage were in the eyes of the Church primarily civil contracts, valid although celebrated according to heathen rites, in conformity with the civil law, subject only to certain peculiar Christian restrictions. It is not meant, however, by these expressions that such contracts were looked on as merely "secular," as many would term them now, or "profane," as the middle ages termed them. For Our Lord and His Apostles, human society itself was a sacred thing: the State, which embodied it for all purposes of civil life, was sacred (Rom. xiii., 1, 4, 6); marriage above all, the very keystone of all human society, had a primordial sacredness (Matt. xiv. 4), entirely transcending all enactments of municipal or ceremonial law.

But this view in nowise prevented the Church from claiming spiritual control over such contracts as between the faithful, from recognizing and sealing their unions by its benediction, or even from looking upon such unions with disfavour when this was not solicited. Thus the 5th chapter of the Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp (admitted by Dr. Cureton as genuine into his 'Corpus Ignatianum') says: "It is meet that men and women who are marrying should unite with the approval of the bishop, that the marriage be according to the law and not according to lust." So Tertullian (writing about A. D. 200), in his work *De Pudicitia*, speaks of "secret unions, that is, not first declared before the church" ("non prius apud ecclesiam professæ") as running the risk of being deemed nigh to adultery and fornication. Another passage of his (*Ad Uxor.* c. 8), is generally quoted as one of the first distinct authorities in favour of the ecclesiastical benediction on marriage. According to the ordinary reading, it runs thus: "How should we be sufficient to set forth the bliss of that marriage which the Church brings about (con-

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stat), and the oblation confirms, and the benediction seals, angels proclaim, the Father ratifies?" It must, however, be observed that, if the above reading be correct, the substitution of the benediction for the execution of the *ut valeat nuptiales*, which the words "et obsignat benedictio" imply, antedates by many centuries the rule of the Church in the matter. It is remarkable, too, as pointed out by Augusti, that one text, instead of the words "et obsignat benedictio, angeli renuntiant," has simply "et obsignatum angeli renuntiant," "the angels proclaim when sealed,"—a reading which brings back the passage into accordance with the law and practice of the time, but at the expense of the decisive word "benedictio" itself. That such benedictions were pronounced, however, there can be no reason to doubt. Thus Ambrose, writing against mixed marriages, says: "For since marriage itself should be sanctified by the priestly veil (velamine sacerdotali) and by benediction, how can that be called a marriage where there is no agreement of faith?" (Bk. ix. Ep. 70). But, as Selden has observed, the like benedictions were often claimed on behalf of many other kinds of contract besides that of marriage,—a sale for instance. The total absence from the Apostolical Constitutions of any notice of church usages in respect to it, seems a conclusive proof that nothing of the kind formed part of the ritual of the early church during the 3 or 4 centuries (or even more) over which the collection of the materials for the compilation in question probably extended.

There is however extant, under dates ranging as far back as the former half of the 2nd century, a whole series of authorities enforcing the necessity of the ecclesiastical benediction, upon which the Church of Rome has unhesitatingly built its practice as to the ceremonial validity of the rite, and which have been quoted without comment by Bingham and other Protestant writers. But as these are, for the most part, spurious documents of the forged Decretal class, and are only so far important as they show the points for which it was sought to claim the sanction of an earlier period, and thus to establish the jurisdiction of the clergy in matters connected with marriage, they may be passed over.

Turning to the Eastern Church, we find that Chrysostom in his voluminous works never indicates the existence of a marriage liturgy, or the indispensableness of sacerdotal benediction. Two letters of Gregory Nazianzen show clearly that such benediction was looked upon rather as a seemly accompaniment to Christian marriage than as a condition of it, since the writer, in that graceful tender style of which he is a master, professes to give his by letter. One is to Procopius (Ep. 57, otherwise 44), on the marriage of "his golden Olympias." "I join to each other," he writes, "the right hands of the young people, and both to that of God. For it is fitting that like many other good things, so should marriage take place in the best way in all respects, and according to our common prayers." However visible may be

It should not be overlooked that the same Tertullian, in his treatise on Idolatry (c. 18), expressly admits the purity of betrothal and marriage in themselves, even when celebrated among heathens, and therefore the lawfulness of a Christian betrothal and marriage in themselves, and therefore the absence of both. See page

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here the habitual form of Christian marriage, nothing can be more obvious than that the interference of the Church is not treated as indispensable. Another letter to Eusebius (171) is still more conclusive, as shewing that whilst Gregory made it a rule, whenever present at a wedding, to laterpose the prayers of the church, the actual rites of marriage he left to be performed by others, and considered that a sufficient consecration of them could be given from afar, since prayers "are not bounded by space."

We must now however notice a singular document, which is included by Labbe and Mausi among those of the 4th century, and appended by them to the Acts of the Nicene Council, as being attributed to the Nicene Fathers by a Vatican codex. It is termed "Sanctiones et decreta alia ex quatuor regum"—*quaror, regulorum*?—"ad Constantinianum libris descripta" (L. and M., *Councils*, vol. II. p. 1029 and foll.), and is written in Latin, though evidently representing the practice of the Greek Church. The 2nd chapter of these 'Sanctions and Decrees' forbids marriage with a person's nuptial paraphernalia, with whom "the benediction of the crowns" is received. Benedictions are mentioned in like manner in c. 6 and 7, but it is clear that the ceremony of the Greek ritual known as the benediction of the crowns, and not the Latin benediction of the marriage itself, is what the above passages refer to. But when we attempt to fix a date for the work which contains them, we shall be compelled to carry this to the second half of the 6th century at earliest. For it is a remarkable fact that Justinian's legislation, minutely occupied as it is with Church matters, never once refers to the ecclesiastical benediction of marriage: it requires a will to see it, as some have done, in the mere expression "*vota nuptialia*," and this although it will be seen (CONTRACT of marriage) that a kind of church-registration of marriages was provided for.

It is however by no means improbable that between the 6th and 7th centuries the regular practice of an ecclesiastical benediction upon marriage, and the Greek ritual of marriage itself, became established. And it is a well-known Greek name which now carries us back to the next Western authority on the subject,—that of the canons of a Council, held in England towards the end of the 7th century, under Archbishop Theodore, which enact that "in a first marriage the priest should perform the mass and bless both" parties (c. 59); implying, it would seem, the practice set forth by the 'Sanctions and Decrees,' of confining the blessing to the as yet unmarried party only, where the other has been married already.

In the Carlovingian era, finally—to which belong the head springs of the great stream of church forgeries,—forgeries which, amongst other authorities, have so dealt with the Capitularies themselves that it is frequently impossible to determine the precise age of a given text—the priestly benediction entered into the civil law as an essential requisite of marriage; and the various spurious authorities from the annals of the Western Church above commented on were apparently invented for the purpose of carrying back to a remote period the ecclesiastical recognition of its necessity. And it may be ob-

served that the mention of it almost invariably occurs in connexion with the subject of consanguinity,—another great source of clerical influence and income in its relation to marriage, which has been even more prolific in suggestions of pious fraud. By the 50th article of the first Capitulary of 802, none are to be married before inquiry be made as to whether they are related; "and then let them be united with a benediction." (Comp. also vi. 130, vii. 179, viii. 408.) The 473rd article (vii. 473), "on lawful marriage" is almost exactly identical in its wording with the supposed letter of Pope Evaristus, and may, it is submitted, be fairly deemed its original.

We may briefly refer to certain canons of the patriarch Nicephorus, recorded by Cotelierus, and perhaps enacted at the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 814, which indicate that at this period at least the benediction was by the Church decreed to constitute the marriage. If any having a concubine would neither leave her nor allow her to receive the benediction, and have her with the sacramental rite, his offerings were not to be received (can. xxiv.). And lastly, the well-known document known as the reply of Pope Nicolas to the Bulgarians, though belonging only to the latter half of the 9th century, preserves to us probably the practice of the Roman Church on this subject from an earlier period. It indicates evidently a different ceremonial from that of the Greek Church, and although dwelling on the formalities of betrothal, speaks of no blessing but the nuptial one.

To sum up the conclusions of this inquiry: 1st. There never was a period when the Christian Church did not rejoice to sanction the nuptial rite by its benedictions, and did not exhort the faithful to obtain them for their unions. 2nd. But having a profound faith in the primordial sanctity of marriage in itself, many centuries elapsed before the pronouncing of such a benediction was held essential to the validity of marriage, when duly contracted according to the municipal law, and not contrary to the special ethical rules of the Church in reference to marriage. 3rd. Hence the total absence of marriage liturgies from the early Christian rituals, extending to about the beginning of the 7th century; the genuineness of the one in the Gelasian Missal (end of the 5th century) being confessedly impugned by the absence of any in the Gregorian, a century later. 4th. It may however be admitted that by the end of the 7th century the priestly benediction of marriage had probably become the rule in both great branches (divisions not yet) of the Church; and in the course of the 8th and 9th centuries it hardened into a legal institution within the domains of the great usurpers of the West, the Carlovingians, being now largely supported by supposititious church authorities, carried back as far as the beginning of the 2nd century. 5th. It is also possible that about this period a practice of sacerdotaly blessing betrothals likewise grew up, and promising to open a new source of income to the clergy and above all to the Roman pontiffs, was in like manner sought to be maintained by spurious authorities; but the date of this cannot be fixed earlier than A.D. 860, since Pope Nicolas, in his reply to the Bulgarians, clearly, speaks only of the nuptial benediction. [J. M. L.]

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BENEDICTIONS

BENEDICTIONS. (*Benedictio, eblayia.*)

1. *Definition, &c.*—Like many other points of ritual, the practice of benediction passed from the Jewish to the Christian Church. In the infancy of the former, under Aaron, we discover the existence of the blessing of the congregation by the priest after the morning and the evening sacrifice (Lev. ix. 22); and later notices may be seen in 1 Chron. xxiii. 13, Ecclesi. xxxv. 17, sly. 15, l. 20. The actual form is prescribed in Num. vi. 22 sqq; cf. Ps. lxxvii. 1.

The benediction, ordinarily pronounced by priests (as e.g. in the case of Zacharias, for whose blessing the people waited, Luke i. 21), would on occasions of special solemnity be reserved for the high priest. Even the king, as the viceroxy of the Most High, might give the blessing (cf. 2 Sam. vi. 18, 1 Kings viii. 55, 1 Chron. xvi. 2). It would appear that Levites had ordinarily, though not invariably, the power of giving the blessing. Cf. perh. 2 Chron. xxx. 27. The actual formula referred to above does not occur in the New Testament, though our Lord is spoken of as blessing little children and His disciples (Mark x. 16, Luke xxiv. 50), besides the blessing on the occasion of the institution of the Eucharist (Matt. xxvi. 26). Still, the general tenor and form of the blessing, must have been similar, and the familiar "peace" of the benediction is probably a relic of the old Aaronitic form.

Before proceeding to consider the various occasions of benediction in the Christian Church, attention may be called to the strict definition of the term, in contradistinction from the allied expressions, *consecration, dedication*, although the distinction is not unfrequently lost sight of. *Benediction*, then, may be defined to be a certain holy action which, combined with prayer, seeks for God's grace for persons, and, in a lower degree, a blessing upon things, with a view whether to their efficiency or safety. We may add St. Ambrose's definition (*De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum*, c. 2), "Benedictio est sanctificationis et gratiarum votiva collatio." On this point the following extracts may be cited from Gillebert (bishop of Limerick in the 12th century), *De Usu Ecclesiastico*, in Du Cange's *Glossary*, s. vv. "Consecrare," "Benedictio." "Dedical pontifex deciare enim est locum Deo offerre, benedicere et sacrificare. Consecrat autem episcopus utensilia ecclesie, que fere omnibus sacerdotibus sunt communia, vestimenta videlicet sacerdotalia et corporalia, altaris velamina, calicem, patenam et corporalia et vasculum Eucharistias, chrisma, oleum, vns chrismale, thus et thuribulum, baptismum, aream vel serinium reliquiarum, cibotium, id est altaris umbraculum, crucem, tintinabulum et ferrum judiciale. Ea enim tantum consecrat que a communal usu in cultum divinum separantur." . . . "Benedicere autem dico presecrare vero ipsa utensilia. Benedicere ergo pontifex reginam, et virginem cum velatur, et quemlibet fidelem benedici postulatum et totum populum ante pacem." These benedictions may not be conferred by a priest in the presence of a bishop. Gillebert had previously said, "Benedicere potest presentie episcopo ad dominicus sacerdos et prandium et sponsum et aquam judicii vel panem et cetera. In absentia

BENEDICTIONS

vero episcopi potest benedicere coronam clerici et velum vidue, novos fructus, candelas in Purificatione S. Marie, ciores in capite jejuni, et lecturam Evangelium, et populum cum dimittitur, aquam benedictam aspergit ad benedicenda nova domos et cetera nova."

11. *Minister of Benediction.*—It will be obvious from the nature of the case, that a benediction is imparted by a superior to an inferior (cf. Heb. vii. 7, where this is explicitly stated). Hence it is laid down in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 28) that a bishop may bestow the blessing, and receive it from other bishops, but not from priests; so too a priest may bless his fellow-priests and receive the blessing from them or from a bishop; the deacon merely receives and cannot impart the blessing. Thus if a bishop be present, to him does the *Benedictio supra presbiteros* appertain, and only in the absence of a bishop, unless special authority be given, is it permitted to the priest, whose blessing, however, is not held as of the same solemn import as that of the bishop.

The ancient Sacramentaries do not distinguish between Episcopal and Sacerdotal blessings; while in later times a minutely developed system has been formed, as may be seen, for example, from the extracts from Gillebert given above. To enter, however, at any length into these accretions is foreign to our present scope. It will suffice to allude to one or two general points. Here will appertain the division of Benedictions into *solemnes* and *communes*, *magne* and *parvae*, and the like, although these distinctions are by no means uniformly explained. The *benedictio sollemnis* appears to belong strictly to the bishop, and, in his absence, to the priest acting as his representative: other benedictions, it has been seen, the priest may confer in the presence of the bishop. In no case, however, can they be imparted by a deacon or layman (cf. *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 48, iii. 10).

The distinction between the *b. parva* and the *b. magna* is variously explained: by some they are held to be the blessings conferred by priest and bishop respectively; by others, that the former implies a private benediction, the latter a public and solemn one (cf. Cotelier's note, *Patres Apost.* i. 284, ad. 1698).

Here may be added a remark as to special powers of blessing possessed by abbots. Their pre-eminence above priests in general consists in a superiority of jurisdiction, not in a higher order of consecration. From the 8th century; however, abbots who were priests have possessed sundry episcopal rights both of benediction within the limits of their own cloisters and even of several lower forms of consecration, the latter of which indeed was specially allowed by the second General Council of Nicaea, A.D. 787, can. 14 (Labbe & Cossart, *Concilia* vii. 908). This example seems to have been further acted on, for in the time of Charlemagne we find abbesses assuming to themselves the right of conferring benedictions even upon men, with laying on of hands and the sign of the cross, although this was distinctly prohibited. (Baluzius, *Capitularia Reg. Franc.* [anno 789] i. 238, ed. Paris, 1677.)

III. *Objects of Benediction.*—It will be readily seen that Benedictions may be divided into Liturgical and non-Liturgical, that is, into such as

are in immediate connection with various holy offices, and those which may be viewed as independent offices. Those of the former class especially regard persons, those of the latter may regard either persons or things. We shall touch briefly on each class of objects separately.

(A.) *Benedictions of Persons.*—Here may be reckoned in the first place all Liturgical blessings, whether (a) *general*, the blessing communicated to the whole congregation in the dismissal-formula (*ἀνάστασις*), as *Domine vobiscum, pax vobiscum, &c.*, in the ordinary services of the Church, as those of the Canonical Hours, of which the Benediction is an essential element in both Eastern and Western ritual, varying however in the former according to the day of the week: or—(b) *special*, as those at the Eucharist, Baptism, Ordination, Marriage, Penance, Extreme Unction, Burial. We shall briefly comment here on the Benedictions entering with the first of these offices, for the others reference may be made to the several articles on these rites.

The old Latin Sacramentaries agree in placing a Benediction in the Mass after the Lord's Prayer and before the Communion, a custom which, in the Romish ritual, appears to have been introduced from the Gallican and Mozarabic Liturgies (Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* i. 141). Up to this point the congregation was prohibited from leaving, as e.g. by the Council of Agde (506 A.D.) and the First and Third Councils of Orleans (511 and 538 A.D.). "Missas die Dominicis a secularibus totas teneri speciali ordinatione precipimus, ita ut ante benedictionem sacerdotis populus egressi non presumat." (*Conc. Agath.* can. 47; Labbé, iv. 1391.) Menard (*Greg. Sacram.* p. 297; but cf. Mabillon, *De Liturgia Gallicana*, l. 4, § 13, 14) refers this to the benediction at the end of the Mass. "Populus non ante discedat quam Missae solennitatem compleatur, et ubi episcopus fuerit, benedictionem accipiat sacerdotis." (*Conc. Aurel.* l. can. 26; Labbé, iv. 1408. Sirmund remarks that the edd. have no MS. authority for prefixing a negative to *fuerit*, and that the error is apparently due to its not being perceived that *episcopus* and *sacerdos* are used synonymously.) "De Missis nullus laicorum ante discedat quam Dominicae dicatur oratio; et si episcopus praesens fuerit ejus benedictio expectetur." (*Conc. Aurel.* can. 29; Labbé, v. 302.) The Mass in one sense was now over, and thus those who did not communicate might leave. (Cf. e.g. *Greg. Tur.*, *De Miraculis S. Martini*, ii. 47: "Cumque expletis Missis populus coepisset sacrosanctum corpus Resumptoris accipere.") We may further cite the injunction laid down by the Fourth Council of Toledo (633 A.D.), which, after finding fault with those priests who "post dictam orationem . . . antequam statim communicent et postea benedictionem a populo dant," proceeds "post or. Domini . . . benedictionem . . . et calicis benedictio in populo sequatur. et tum demum corporis et sanguinis Domini sacramentum sumatur" (can. 18; Labbé, v. 371). This may be further illustrated by a remark of Caesarius of Arles, to the effect that he who wishes "Missas ad integrum cum lucro animae suae celebrare" must remain in the church "usquequo or. Domini datur et benedictio populo datur." (*Serm.* 281, § 2; Migne, xxxix. 2277.) This benediction, which is properly the prerogative of the bishop,

is uttered generally in three, sometimes however in four and even five or more divisions, at the end of each of which is responded, *Amen*.

The following is the manner in which this benediction is ordinarily introduced. The deacon, if one be present, having called with a loud voice, *Humiliate vos benedictioni* (cf. Caesarius, *Serm.* 286, § 7), the imparter of the blessing follows with *Domini sit semper vobiscum*, to which is responded *Et cum spiritu tuo*; then follows the benediction. As showing the nature of this, we subjoin the benediction for the festival of St. Stephen, from three old Latin Liturgies, the Gallican, the Gregorian, and the Mozarabic respectively (Migne, lxviii. 232; lxxviii. 33; lxxv. 199). "Deus, qui tuos martyres ita vixisti caritate ut pro te etiam mori cuperent, non perirent, *Amen*; et beatum Stephanum in confessione ita succendisti fide, ut imbrem lapidum non timeret, *Amen*. Exaudi precem familiae tuae amatoris inter festa plaudentem, *Amen*. Accedat ad te vox illa intercedens pro populo, pro inimicis quae orabat in ipso martyrio, *Amen*. Ut se obtinente et te remunerante, percipiat illic plebs adquisita per gratiam, ubi te, caelis apertis, ipse vidit in gloriam, *Amen*. Quod ipse praestare digneris, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum." "Deus qui beatum Stephanum Protomartyrem coronavit, et confessione fidei et agone martyrii mentes vestras circumdet, et in praesenti saeculo corona justitiae, et in futuro perducet vos ad coronam gloriae, *Amen*. Illius obtentu tribuat vobis Dei et proximi charitatem semper exuberare, qui hanc studuit etiam inter lapidantium impetum obtinere, *Amen*. Quo ejus exemplo roborati, et intercessionis multati, ab eo quem illa dextera Dei vidit stantem, mereamini benedicti, *Amen*. Quod ipse . . ." "Christus Dei Filius, pro cuius nomine Stephanus martyr lapidatus est innocens, contra incensantium demonum letus vos efficiat fortiores, *Amen*. Quique eam pro inimicis orantem consummatum martyrio prevertit ad caelum, conferat in vobis ut sine confusione ad eum veniat post transitum, *Amen*. Ut illic letaturis post istud saeculum accedat anima vestra, quo praedictus martyr spiritum suum suscipi exorabat, *Amen*."

Besides the above, there was here also a short benediction at the end of the service, such as "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum," or the two following taken from Saxon offices, "Benedictio Dei Patris Omnipotentis et Filii et Spiritus Sancti maneat semper vobiscum." "B. post datur et Fil. et S. S. et pax Domini sit semper vobiscum." (Palmer, *Orig. Lit.* iv. § 24.)

By way of illustration of this last we may cite Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* iii. 36), "Hunc morem tenet sacerdos, ut post omnia Sacramenta consummata benedictio populo;" and Rabanus Maurus (*De Inst. Cleric.* l. 33), "Post communionem ergo, et post ejusdem nominis canticum, data Benedictione a sacerdote ad plebem, dicens praedicta Missae officium esse peractum, datur licentiam abundi."

In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (lib. viii.), it is ordained that before the Missa Fidelium a solemn dismissal-blessing should be pronounced over catechumens, enquirers, and penitents (cc. 6-8). The solemn blessing over the congregation is to be found later (c. 15) after the communion, the deacon having first uttered the

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usual form, Τὸ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.

The blessings entering into Eastern liturgies are frequent; and we find them at various points of the service introduced by the formula *εὐλόγητος ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. It has been remarked as in some degree significant of the characters of the two great divisions of Christendom that when such a request as the above has been made by the deacon to the priest, in the Western Church the latter proceeds to invoke God's blessing on the congregation and himself, in the Eastern Church he answers it as a rule by an ascription of praise to God. Thus at the beginning of the *Prothesis* (or introductory part of the Eucharistic Service) in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the deacon's request to bless is answered by *εὐλογητός ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.* (Daniel, iv. 329, and often.) Or again, we may cite the form as used at the beginning of the proanaphoral part of the Liturgy (i. e., the continuation of the service up to the *Sursum corda*) *εὐλογημένη ἡ βασίλειά τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁ. Πν. νῦν καὶ ἀπ. κ. τ. λ.* (ib. 340).

The long benediction we have spoken of as occurring in Latin liturgies after the Lord's Prayer, is not found in the Eastern ritual, at the corresponding part of which occurs what is known as the "Prayer of Inclination," answering in character to the "prayer of humble access" of our own church. (Neale, *Holy Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 515.)

A further enumeration of the benedictions of Greek liturgies appertains rather to a description of the Eastern Eucharistic offices; it may, however, be mentioned that in addition to the final dismissal-blessing, universal here as in the Latin ritual, some of the Eastern liturgies (as those of St. Mark and the Coptic so-called liturgy of St. Basil) give a long benediction after the post-communication prayers of thanksgiving (see e. g. Neale, *ib.* pp. 688, 694); also the Nestorian liturgy of Theodore the interpreter closes with a similar benediction (Daniel, iv. 193). The above are too long for quotation here, but we may cite as an example of a Greek benediction the final blessing from the liturgy of St. Mark (Daniel, iv. 170): *εὐλογεῖται ὁ θεὸς ὁ εὐλογεῖν καὶ ἁγιῶν καὶ ἀσκήτων καὶ διατηρῶν πάντας ἡμῶν διὰ τῆς μεθέξεως τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, ὁ δὲ εὐλογητός εἰς τοὺς α. τῶν α. I may be mentioned as a curious peculiarity that in the Constantinopolitan rite the priest does not give the final blessing till he has disrobed (Daniel, iv. 372).*

At the end of the Ethiopic liturgy is a prayer of the people, of the nature of a benediction, spoken after the blessing of the bishop or priest has been pronounced, preluded too by the call of the deacon to kneel: "May the Lord bless us His servants . . ."

Besides the above, there was another solemn benediction, the special prerogative of the bishop, the *b. matutinalis et vespertinalis*, said, as its name implies, at the end of matins and vespers. For this we may again refer to the Council of Agde (can. 30), "Plebs collecta oratione ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictionibus dimittatur." (Labbe, iv. 1388; cf. also Conc. Barcels. [540 A.D.] can. 2; *ib.* v. 378.)

(Non-liturgical blessings appertaining to per-

sons, we may briefly speak here of the general blessing, properly though not exclusively the episcopal prerogative, as may be seen from e. g. Basil, *Ep.* 199, § 27 [v. 724, ed. Migne], and Athanasius, *Vita S. Anton.* c. 47. It would seem that, especially on the entrance of a bishop into a place, his blessing was vehemently sought by the people. Cf. Chrys. *Hom. Evcon.* in *Mel.* § 2; Aug. *Ep.* 33, § 5 [ii. 131, ed. Migne]; and Greg. *Nyas. Vita Macrinae* [iii. 976, Migne]. This blessing was eagerly sought for even by princes, as by Clodoveus from Remigius, or by the Empress Eudoxia from the Bishop Porphyrius (*Acta Sanctorum*, i. 154 Oct.; iii. 653 Feb.). This may be further illustrated by a statement of Philostorgius (see Valesius' note on Theodoret iv. 5) to the effect that when all the other bishops went to pay homage to Eusebia, wife of the Emperor Constantine, Bishop of Tripoli, refused to do so save on the condition that the empress should rise at his approach, and with bowed head ask his blessing. It was allowed by the Council of Epno [517 A.D.] for people of rank (*cives superiorum natalium*) to invite the bishop to themselves to receive his blessing at Christmas and Easter.

(B.) *Benedictions of things.* Before proceeding to enumerate some of the more striking cases of benedictions of things, we may once more call attention to the distinction already dwelt on between *benediction* and the stronger term *consecration*, in that in the one regard it had but to the bestowal of certain grace or efficacy, whereas in the other, a thing is not only destined for a holy use, but is viewed as changed into a holy thing. Augusti (*Benkticir-diph.* x. 192) brings out this distinction by a comparison of the phrases *panis benedictus* and *panis consecratus*; and so the Greek Church recognizes the difference between *εὐλογία* on the one hand and *ἀγιασμός* or *καθιέρωσις* on the other. Similar is the distinction between *benedictiones introcituivae* and *b. constitutivae, sacramentivae, destinativae*, the names of which show that the one invoke God's grace, the other dedicate permanently to His service.

We shall now enumerate some of the more frequent instances of special benedictions of things, for detailed information respecting which reference may be made to the separate articles. (1) *H. fontis*, the blessing of the baptismal water, &c. [BAPTISM]. (2) *b. aquae lustralis* [HOLY WATER]. (3) *b. panis et vini*, which substances when blessed bore the name of the saint on whose festival the benediction took place, as St. John's wine, St. Mark's bread, &c. (4) *b. salis* [SALT], whether for admixture with holy water or otherwise. (5) *b. lactis et mellis* [MILK AND HONEY]. (6) *b. olei*, whether for the catechumens at baptism or confirmation, or for the Chrism, or for the sick (*εὐχέλαιος*) [CHRISM; OIL]. (7) *b. incensi*. (8) *b. cereorum*, as for the special feast of Candlemas Day, Feb. 2. (9) *b. cinerum*, of Palm Sunday processions. (10) *b. palmarum*, of Palm Sunday processions. (11) *b. paschales*, whether of Easter eggs, or the paschal lamb or the Easter candles; and to these may be added an immense number of varieties of benedictions for almost every imaginable occasion, wherein the pious of past ages deemed that the church could draw forth on their behalf from a rich store of blessing. Thus we may

mention, in addition to those already cited, the following benedictions of things, occurring, unless the contrary be specified, in the Gregorian Sacramentary: (1) *h. donaus*. (2) *uvae vel favae (= fabae)*. (3) *ad fructus novos*. (4) *ad omnia quae volueris*. (5) *carnis*. (6) *putoi* (Gall.). (7) *casei et ororum* (Euch. Graec.). (8) *ijpmi* (Pontif. Egb.). (9) *liborum* (ib.).

IV. *Mode of imparting Benediction.* However various the objects for which blessings are sought, and however different therefore the formulae in which they are conferred, still there are certain accompaniments which are as a rule always present, and as to which the directions, simple enough in the earliest Church, have been in process of time rendered more and more definite, to leave as little as possible to individual will.

(a) As showing how the Christian Ritual on these points is foreshadowed in the Jewish, we have thought it well to prefix a brief note as to the laws of blessing in the latter. The priests, to whom the power of imparting blessings was committed, were to do so standing (cf. Deut. x. 8; xxvii. 12), with outstretched hands. We cite here a passage from the Mishna, the earliest authority to which we can appeal next to the Bible. "In what way is the sacerdotal blessing performed? In the provinces [*i. e.* away from the temple] they say it in three blessings [*i. e.* the formula of Numbers vi. 24-26 is divided into three clauses, and Amen responded at the end of each], but in the temple in one. In the temple they say the Name as it is written [*i. e.* the *תפארתא ממוסא*], in the provinces with the substituted name [*i. e.* Adonai]. In the provinces the priests raise their hands on a level with their shoulders, but in the temple above their heads, except the high-priest, who does not raise up his hands above the dindem." [Or perhaps rather a plate of gold worn upon the forehead of the high-priest. The reason of the prohibition in his case was because of the presence of the Sacred Name upon the plate.] *Mishn. Sota*, vii. 6. In a somewhat later authority, the commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy known as Sifree, we have further directions given: (1) the blessing is to be pronounced in the Hebrew language; (2) the imparting of the blessing is to stand, and (3) with outstretched hands. (4) The sacred name *יהוה* is to be used; (5) the priest must face the people, and (6) speak in a loud voice. (*Sifree* on Numb. vi. 22-27.) Reference may also be made to a still later authority, the Babylonian Talmud itself (*Sota*, fol. 38).

During the conferring of the blessing the people must not look at the priest, for for the time the glory of God is supposed to rest upon him (*vide infra*). Also, his hands are disposed so that the fingers go in pairs, forefingers with middle fingers, ring fingers with little fingers, with the tips of the two thumbs and of the two forefingers respectively touching each other, thus arranging the whole ten fingers in six divisions. We shall quote in illustration of this from the *Lekach Tob* of R. Eleazar b. Tobiah (the so-called *Pesikta Zolarta*) on Numbers, l. c. "It is forbidden to look at the priests at the moment that they lift up their hands,—and he divides his hands into six parts, as it is said, 'Every one had six wings.' Isa. vi. 2."

One more extract will suffice, which we take from the ancient commentary on Numbers (in

loc.), the *Bammidbar Rabba* (c. 11). "Therefore it is said (Cant. ii. 9), 'Behold he stands behind our wall,' that is, synagogues and colleges. 'He looks from the windows'—At the time when the Holy One, Blessed be He, said to Aaron and his sons 'Thus shall ye bless' &c., Israel said to the Holy One, 'Lord of the Universe, thou tellest the priests to bless us, we want only Thy blessing and to be blessed from Thy mouth; according as it is said, Look from the abode of Thy holiness, from heaven' (Deut. xxvi. 15). The Holy One said, 'Although I commanded the priests to bless you, I am standing with them and blessing you.' Therefore the priests stretch forth their hands to indicate that the Holy One stands behind us, and therefore it says, 'He looks from the windows' [*i. e.* from between the shoulders of the priests]. 'He peeps from the lattice work' [*i. e.* from between the fingers of the priests]."

(B) The foregoing points afford a very close parallel to the usages of the Christian church. But the imparting of the blessing should stand in that accordance with the natural order of things, and thus is a point universally observed, so that the Latin church does but stereotype what is used, when in the ritual of Paul V. it is laid down as a Rubric *stando semper benedico*. As to the kneeling of the recipients of the blessing, we may find ancient evidence in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 6), where the injunction is prefixed to the Benediction, "... and let the deacon say, *κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογείθε*."

The order of the Jewish ritual that the priest should face the people is paralleled (to say nothing of unvarying custom) by the Rubric before the benediction in the mass in ancient Sacramentaries, (thus *e. g.* "Postea dicit episcopus convertens ad populum," in an ancient mass for Easter. *Greg. Sacram.* p. 248); and that to pronounce the blessing in a loud voice by the equivalent command constantly met with in Greek service books (*e. g.* *ἐπὶ ὕψους ὁ ἱερεὺς μεγαλόφωνος*, *Goar, Euchol.* p. 42).

The lifting up of hands (*ἔπαραι τῶν χειρῶν*) is an inseparable adjunct of benedictions. It is constantly associated in the Bible with actions of a more solemn character, as oaths (*e. g.* Gen. xiv. 22; Rev. x. 5), or prayer (*e. g.* Psalm xxvii. 2; xlv. 21 [20, E. V.]; lxxii. 5 [4, E. V.]; 1 Tim. ii. 8), or benediction (*e. g.* Lev. ix. 22; Luke xxiv. 50). An occasional addition is that of the *laying on of hands*: of this we find traces in Gen. xlviii. 14, 18; Matt. xix. 13, 15; Mark x. 16; and we may again refer to the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 9), where the benediction upon penitents is associated with the laying on of hands (*χειροθεσία*). The feeling of the greater worth and power of the right hand is shown in patriarchal times (Gen. l. c.); and in later times it is either taken for granted or is expressly commanded that the right hand should be used.

(7) With this natural and almost universal gesture, the act of benediction is constantly represented in ancient art. Thus, the Lord extends His open hand over the demonic, in the bas-reliefs of a sarcophagus at Verona (Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*, pars iii. p. 54); and also over a kneeling figure in an ARCOSELTUM of the cemetery of St. Hermes (Dottari, *Pittura e Scultura*, clxxxvii. No. 2).

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Christian ritual, a particular disposition of the fingers in the act of blessing became usual. In the Greek church, and in Greek paintings for the most part, the hand outstretched in blessing has the thumb touching the tip of the ring-finger, while the forefinger, the middle, and the little finger are erect. According to a view mentioned by Ciampini (*De Sacris Aedif. Const.* p. 42, from Theoph. Raynaud, *De Attribu is Christi*, 4, p. 733, who cites it from some fragments of a Greek writer of uncertain date, Nicolaus Malaxus), the erect forefinger with the curved middle finger make IC, i. e. 'Iησοῦς,' and the curving of the thumb and ring-finger and the curving of the little finger make XC, i. e. 'Χριστός.' One cannot but agree here with the remark in the *Actu Sanctorum* (June, vol. vii. p. 135) that this is rather an ingenious speculation of Malaxus than a received doctrine of the Greek church. According to Gear (*Euchologion*, p. 923) the thumb and ring-finger crossed made a X, the other fingers erect with the fore and middle fingers slightly separated were supposed to represent *υ, ι*, the whole standing for 'Iησοῦς Χριστός *υικτός*.' He also gives (pp. 114, 115) pictures of St. Methodius and St. Germanus, with the fingers disposed as above, save that the fore and middle fingers are united. Evidence, however, is not forthcoming as to the date of these representations. (Cf. Leo Allatius, *De Cons. Eccl. Occid. et Orient.* pp. 1358 sqq., who describes as used by the Greeks a disposition of the fingers akin to that spoken of by Malaxus, and considers it as indicating the doctrines of the Trinity and of the twofold nature of our Lord.) Neale (*ib.* 352, n.) thus describes the eastern method, "The priest joins his thumb and third finger, and erects and joins the other three; and it is thus supposed to symbolize the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone; and, according to others, to form the sacred name IHC by the position of his fingers."

In the Latin manner of benediction the fingers are the thumb, the forefinger and the middle finger, while the other two are doubled down on the palm of the hand. The hand of the Lord is thus represented in some monuments, when He works a miracle, not holding a rod in the hand: for instance, in the healing of the man born blind (Bottari, tav. xix.), that of the woman with an issue of blood (xxi.), and in the representation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem (cxxxiii.); see also the illustrations of ANANIAS, HEALING OF, and BETHESDA. The same arrangement of the fingers is observed in the bas-relief of an ancient sarcophagus, representing the God Shepherd blessing His sheep. In some cases the representation of the natural gesture of an orator or teacher resembles the act of blessing; as, for instance, in the representation of Christ in the midst of the doctors, given by Bottari (liv.). This arrangement of the fingers is said to be found in the most ancient pictorial representations of the Popes (Molanus, *Hist. SS. Invginum*, p. 468 n.; ed. Lournain, 1771). Pope Leo IV.



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(*Hom. de Cura Pastoralis*, Migne's *Patrol.* avv. 678) seems to enjoy a somewhat different arrangement, still for the purpose of symbolizing the Trinity; "districtis duobus digitis at pollice intus recluso, per quod Trinitas annuitur." These words, however, though given by Labbe, are wanting in many authorities.

But it seems certain, that it is only in comparatively modern times that the rite of benediction has constituted a distinction between the Greek and Latin Churches. For instance, in the most Roman of monuments, the Vatican cospicuo (or crypt) of St. Peter (see the frontispiece to Borgia's *Vaticana Confessio B. Petri*), the Lord gives the blessing in the Greek manner; in the triumphal arch of St. Mark's Church, in the Latin manner; in the tribune of the same church, after the Greek manner; so also in a mosaic of the ancient Vatican (Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedif.* p. 43), executed under the direction of Innocent III. (1198-1216), who, treating expressly of this matter (*De Sacro Altaris Myst.* ii. 44), prescribes the elevation of three fingers, without indicating which. On the other hand, the bas-relief of a Greek diptych given by Foggi (*De Roma. Itin. Petri*, p. 471), represents St. Peter giving the blessing in the Latin manner, while St. Andrew, the reputed founder of the Church of Constantinople, blesses in the Greek manner; a circumstance which may perhaps indicate that different gestures of blessing were regarded as characteristic of East and West respectively (see Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* p. 84).

(3) THE SIGN OF THE CROSS (see the article) constantly accompanies benedictions both in the Eastern and the Western rites, and was thought to impart validity to the act; "quod signum nisi adhibeatur . . . nihil horum rite perficitur," says St. Augustine (*Tract. in Joannem*, 118, § 5).

(e) INCENSE is a frequent accompaniment of Benedictions; and the employment of Holy Water to be sprinkled on persons or things may be regarded as a form of benediction [HOLY WATER]. The modern Romish Ritual makes a special vestment incumbent on the priest who gives a blessing. This, however, is beside our present purpose.

V. *Benedictionals*.—It has been already shown that various early forms of benedictions are found interspersed in ancient Sacramentaries. In that attributed to Pope Leo are found forms of blessing "ascendentibus a fonte," and "lactis et mellis," as well as a "benedictio fontis," which is possibly a later addition. It is, however, in the somewhat later Sacramentary of Gregory the Great that we meet with specimens of benedictions on a more extended scale, in some MSS. variously interspersed through the book, and in some given separately, forming the so-called *Benedictionale*. This is the case with the very ancient MS. of the Caesarean Library, edited by Lambecius, not knowing that the greater part of it had, under a different arrangement, already been edited by Ménard. Another of somewhat different form has been edited by Pamelius (*Liturg. vol. ii.*) from two MSS. of the time of Charlemagne now in the Vatican. The *Liber Sacramentorum* of Ratoldus, of the tenth century, also contains numerous benedictions, but the fullest *Benedictional* is that found in two MSS. of the Monastery of St. Theodor, near Rheims, written about the year 900. Ménard has also edited a *Benedictional* from a MS. in the abbey

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and almost universal ion is constantly re- nus, the Lord extends emonic, in the bas- at Verona (Maffei, o. 54); and also over ANACOLOGUM of the ottari, *Pittura e Scul-* the Jewish so in the

of St. Eligius, and Angelus Rocca another from a MS. in the Vatican. A large collection of benedictions is also to be found in the *Pontifical* of Egbert (Archbishop of York, A.D. 732-766), published by the Surtees Society in 1853. It will be observed that all the above are merely recensions, more or less added to, of the benedictions in the Gregorian Sacramentary; it will suffice to mention, in addition to those, the benedictions of the Gothic Missal, first edited by Joseph Thomassin and then by Mabillon (*Museum Italicum*, vol. ii.), which are numerous, but of very different form.

VI. *Literature*.—For the matter of the present article we have to express considerable obligations to the essay *Sejen und Fluch* in Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten* (vol. vii. part 2), and to Augusti's *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archæologie*, vol. x. pp. 165 seqq. We have also consulted the articles *Benedictiones* and *Sejnen* in Herzog's *Realencyclopædie*, and in Wetzer and Weite's *Kirchen-Lexicon*. See also Gerhard, *De Benedictione Ecclesiastica*, and Haerner, *De Ritu Benedictionis sacerdotialis*. A vast mine of information is to be found in Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, and in Gretser, *De Benedictionibus*. [R. S.]

BENEDICTUS, of Nursia, abbot of Monte Cassino, born A.D. 480, and died probably 542. [See *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* s. v.] His festivals are as follows:—

Under March 21, the *Mart. Rom. Vet.* has "In Cassino Castro, Benedicti Abbatibus;" *Mart. Hieron.* "Depositio Benedicti Abbatibus;" *Mart. Bedae*, "Natale Benedicti Abbatibus."

Under July 11, *Mart. Bedae* has, "Floriano adventus S. B. A.;" *Mart. Adonis*, "Translatio S. B. A.;" while M. *Hieron.* has again "Depositio S. B. A."

Under Dec. 4, the M. *Hieron.* has "Floriano adventus Corporis S. B. A."

The *Cal. Byzant.* celebrates "Benedict of Nursia, Holy Father," on March 14.

We see that the festival of March 21 commemorates the death (or burial) of the saint; that of July 11, the translation of his relics to Fleury (St. Benoit sur Loire), in 653. The *Mart. Hieron.*, here as in some other places, is inexplicable.

The name of St. Benedict is recited in the prayer *Communicantes* of the Gregorian canon, and in the ancient canon of Milan (Ménard's *Greg. Sacram.*, p. 546). The Corbey MS. of the *Sacram. Greg.* has on vi. Idus Julii (July 10) "Vigilia S. Benedicti Abbatibus," with proper collect, &c., and on v. Id. Jul. (July 11) "Natale S. B. A.," with proper collect, &c., for the mass. The MSS. of Reims and of Ratold have also the *Natale* on this day, but the office is simply *de communi unius abbatibus* (Ménard, u. s. p. 407). Antiphon in *l. b. Antiph.* p. 703. Compare *Liber Responsalis*, p. 810.

Stephen of Tournai (*Epist.* 105) tells us that the ancient church of St. Benedict at Paris was built so that the sanctuary was towards the west, an arrangement which was afterwards altered (in Ménard, u. s. p. 329). [C.]

BENEDICTUS. The song of Zacharias contained in S. Luke i. 68-79, so called from its first word. This canticle has been said at lauds in the Western Church from early times every day throughout the year, whatever be the service. The introduction of the custom is attributed to S. Benedict. It is said with a varying

antiphon which is double, i. e., said entire both before and after the canticle, on double feasts; in the Roman, Monastic, and other offices derived from a Gregorian or Benedictine origin, at the end of lauds, immediately before the *oratio* or collect, and occupies the same position at lauds which the *Magnificat* occupies at vespers. In the Ambrosian office it occurs on the contrary at the very beginning of the office, after the opening versicles. The Ambrosian rules too for the duplication of antiphons are different from the Roman. The *Benedictus* is also found elsewhere, e. g., in the Mozarabic lauds for the nativity of S. John Baptist. In the Greek rite, the *Benedictus* called *προσευχη Ζαχαρίου*, τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Προφῆτου, forms together with and following the *Magnificat* the list of the nine odes [ODE] appointed for lauds.

The introductory part of the *Song of the Three Children*, which precedes the *Benedictiones*, or *Benedicite* proper, is also known as the *Benedictus* from its opening, "Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum, &c. . . ." This is said daily in the Ambrosian rite at matins before the psalms, in the place the *Venite* occurs in other western rites. The whole of the *Song of the Three Children* is also called the *Benedictus* in the Mozarabic breviary, and said daily at lauds, as has been already stated. [H. J. H.]

BENEFICE. This subject occupies a larger space in the writings of Canonists than almost any other question within the cognisance of ecclesiastical law; but its history prior to the year 814 may be compressed into a small compass.

The term *benefice* is thus defined—the perpetual right of receiving profits from real property established, by authority of the Church in favour of a spiritual person in respect of the performance of a spiritual office.

The expression seems to have originated in the practice of granting the right of occupation in Church lands to laymen in exchange for protection afforded to the Church. These were called *benefices*, and the property, when restored to the Church, retained the name.

The custom of assigning to ecclesiastics a life interest in Church property appears to have commenced about the beginning of the 6th century, and is referred to in the 22d canon of the Council of Agde (A.D. 506) and in the 23rd canon of the first Council of Orleans (A.D. 511), also in a letter of Pope Symmachus to Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (A.D. 513).

But the grant was not larger than a life interest to the beneficiary; and it therefore lacked the condition of perpetuity, which was an essential characteristic of a *benefice* in later ecclesiastical law (Ducange, *Glossarium*, sub voce; Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica*, sub voce; Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesie Disciplina*, ii. 3, 13, 5; Boehmer, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, iii. 5, 492). [H. B.]

BENIGNUS. (1) Martyr at Tomi in Scythia; commemorated April 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(2) Presbyter, martyr at Dijon under M. Aurelius; commemorated Nov. 1 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis*).

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CONCILIUM. [Br-]

BERONICUS, martyr at Antioch in Syria; commemorated Oct. 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis*). [C.]

BERSTED, COUNCIL OF (BERGHAMSTEDENSE CONCILIUM), or rather WITENAGEMOT, of Kent, at Bersted near Maidstone, A.D. 696, at which the ecclesiastical laws of Wihtrud, king of Kent, were passed. The date is uncertain, Gebmund, bishop of Rochester (who was present), living until 696 according to the *Textus Roffensis* (whence the laws are taken), but dying as early as at least 694 according to the *Saxon Chronicle*. "To the Church, freedom from imposts," or, more probably, "freedom in jurisdiction and revenue," is the beginning of the first law (Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* iii. 233-238; Thorpe, *Anc. Laws and Institutes*, ii. 16-19). [A. W. H.]

BERYTUS, COUNCIL OF, A.D. 448, as Mansi thinks (vi. 501-2), in September, to hear a charge preferred against Ibas, bishop of Edessa, by nine of his clergy, which was twofold: first, that he had said, "I envy not Christ being made God, having been made so myself as much as I," which he denied indignantly; and next, that he had called St. Cyril a heretic, which he avowed he never had after the reconciliation between John of Antioch, his own superior, and St. Cyril. To refute this, his celebrated letter to Maris, of subsequent date, was adduced in evidence, containing a narrative of the whole controversy between Nestorius and St. Cyril. He rejoined by producing a testimonial in his favour addressed to Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, and Photius, bishop of Tyre, two of his judges, and signed by upwards of sixty presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons of his diocese. His acquittal followed: which, having been reversed at Ephesus by Dioscorus of Alexandria the year following, was confirmed in the tenth session of the Council of Chalcedon, where the acts of this Council are preserved (Mansi vii. 211-72). His epistle to Maris, indeed, was afterwards condemned at the fifth General Council. [E. S. F.]

BETHESDA, MIRACLE OF (IN ART). Of this miracle there is an ancient representation on a sarcophagus from the Vatican cemetery, engraved in Bottari (*Sculture e Pitture*, tav. xxix.: see woodcut). The subject occupies the centre of the tomb. A wavy line, representing water, divides the composition horizontally into two compartments: on the lower, the impotent man is seen lying on his couch, which is covered by a *stragulum* or coverlet; on the upper, he is seen healed and carrying his couch, while the Lord stretches forth his hand towards him; another figure raises his hand, the fingers arranged as in the Latin form of benediction. The background is

formed by an arcade of three arches supported by columns, intended, no doubt, to represent one of the "five porches" (St. John v. 2) in which the impotent folk were laid (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* p. 542). The same miracle is represented, in a very different style, in the great Laurentian MS. See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Medicea Catal.* tab. xix., and Westwood's *Palaographia Sacra*. [C.]



Miracle of Bethesda, from an ancient Sarcophagus.

BETHLEHEM (ARCHITECTURE). In the Ethiopic churches, a small building is thrown out from the east end of the sanctuary, where the bread for use in the eucharist is prepared by the Deacon alone, and baked in the oven with which the place is furnished. This building is called the *Bethlehem*, or "house of bread" (Neale, *Eastern Church*, *Intro.* 190). [C.]

BETHLEHEM (SYMBOL). In an ancient mosaic of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, in the Via Sacra at Rome (Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, ii. tab. xvi.; see woodcut) two flocks, each of six sheep, pass from cities labelled respectively JERUSALEM and BETHLEHEM towards the figure of a lamb, representing the Lord, which stands on a moand in the centre. Similar representations are found in Buonarroti (*Frammenti di Vasi*, tav. vi. 1) and Perret (*Cat. combes de Rome*, v. pl. iii.). The Abbé Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* p. 225) supposes Jerusalem and Bethlehem to symbolize respectively the Jewish and Gentile Churches; but this scarcely seems a probable opinion. It



Bethlehem and Jerusalem as Symbols.

is difficult to see how Bethlehem could represent the *Gentile* church, and the twelve sheep are generally supposed to represent the Apostles, none of whom came forth from the Gentiles. On the whole, it seems more probable that the issuing forth of the flock of Christ from Jerusalem and Bethlehem symbolizes the fact that the church is founded on the Nativity, the Passion and the Resurrection of the Lord. Bethlehem was the scene of the former, Jerusalem of the two latter. See Ciampini (*Vet. Mon.* i. 189).

[C]

BETHPHANIA. [EPIPHANY.]

BETHURIUS, martyr at Carthage under Saturninus; commemorated July 17 (*Mart. Rom. Vit.*). [C]

BETROTHAL. Under this head we shall consider only the ordinary contract of that name, reserving for the head of ESPOUSALS the specially religious applications of the idea.

The two influences which must have chiefly built up the earliest practice of the Church must have been the Jewish and the Roman, as embodied in the civil law of the Empire. But as respects marriage, these influences were different in character. The Jewish law of marriage embodied much of the old and to this day widely prevalent custom among uncivilized races, of treating it as the purchase of a wife; with this remarkable feature indeed, that the woman was at a very early age (i. e. within her 12th year, see Selden's *Uxor Hebraica*, bk. ii. c. iii.) held fit to dispose of herself. Under this system, betrothal, if not the actual marriage, which was held to consist in the leading of the bride to the nuptial bed, was yet really, for most purposes, the marriage contract, the violation of which by connexion with another was deemed adultery, and punishable as such, the dissolution of which could only take place by a "writing of divorcement" (Selden, quoting Maimonides, u. s. c. l.). The contract was made by persons held to be of full age (i. e. speaking generally, and neglecting some exceptional *minutiae*, males in the last day of their 13th year, women in the second half of their 12th) at their own will; but girls under age might be betrothed by their fathers or guardians (though only by money or writing), with power, however, at 10 to repudiate the engagement; it could also be entered into through go-betweens,—those *proreneticici* of the Greeks and Romans,—whose name has, in ordinary parlance, been shortened in form and widened in meaning into that of our "proxies," but who represent a still recognised function and calling in the Jewish communities of our day. Where the contract was in writing, with or without the giving of earnest money, it was to be written out by the man in the presence of witnesses, and handed over to the woman, who must know its purport, otherwise there was no contract. Selden gives the form of such a writing, specifying the man's pronouncing of the words of betrothal, the assent of the girl, and his promise of a jointure.

The Roman looked upon the marriage contract with different eyes from the Jew. At the time when the Christian Church grew up, the idea of it as the purchase of a wife had quite died out from men's minds. Marriage, and still more betrothal, was (with one exception) a purely

civil contract, verbally concluded. Under the later Roman law (we need not here go in detail into the enactments of the *Lex Julia*, or *Papian*, which forms the second and main basis of church practice on the subject, betrothal is viewed simply as a contract for future marriage. It was of more weight indeed than our "engagement," since it was held as much a note of infamy to enter into two contracts of betrothal as of marriage (*Dij.* 3, tit. 2, s. 1, 13), so that Tacitus says of the younger Agrippina, when thinking of marrying her son Domitian to Octavia, daughter of Claudius, that it could not be done "without crime," since Octavia was already betrothed to Silvanus (*Ann.* bk. xii. c. 3), but it was a compact for which mere consent without writing, even of absent parties, was sufficient (*Dij.* 23, tit. 1, s. 4), although for its full validity the consent of all parties was required whose consent would be necessary to marriage (s. 7). The consent of a daughter, however, to her father's betrothal of her was implied, in default of proof to the contrary (s. 12); and Julianus held that the like consent of a father was to be implied, in default of proof of his dissent, to his daughter's betrothal of herself.

No forms were requisite for the early Roman betrothal, and there seems no reason for supposing that the stage betrothals which are so frequent in Plautus would not have been strictly legal. (*Aful.* ii. 2, vv. 77-9; *Poenul.* v. 3, vv. 37, 8; *Trinum.* ii. 4, vv. 98-103.) In these the essence of the contract lies evidently in the question and reply (the interrogatory form being a characteristic of the early Roman law): "Spondesne?"—"Spondeo." At the same time, the early Roman betrothal was generally accompanied with the sending to the woman of the iron BRIDAL RING (see this head).

We may infer from the much larger space assigned to betrothal and its incidents in the Code (5, tit. 1-3.) than in the Digest that with the growth of the empire the contract both assumed greater importance, and was at the same time more frequently broken. The practice of giving earnest-money [ARRHAE] becomes now prominent; whilst gifts on betrothal are also largely dwelt upon. Under Constantine we see that the passing of a kiss between the betrothed had come to have a legal value. (Code 5, tit. 3, s. 16.)

A glimpse at the forms usual in the later Roman betrothals, towards the beginning of the 3rd century, is given to us by Tertullian. In his treatise *de Veland. Virgin.* c. ii., he observes that even among the Gentile girls are brought veiled to betrothal, "because they are united both in body and spirit to the man by the kiss and the joining of right hands." This passage evidently shows that in his time Gentile betrothal had grown to be a ceremony, of which the veil, the kiss and the clasped hands were among the elements; his mention of the kiss illustrating the before quoted constitution by Constantine, later indeed by nearly a century and a half. He does not indeed name the ring; but the use of it [BRIDAL RING] is testified to by himself in another passage, and by several other authorities.

The greater prominence of the betrothal contract under the later emperors—say from the 3rd century inclusively—is best explained through the gradual permeation of the Roman empire

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by the barbarian races, the main source from which all the most energetic elements of its population were recruited, long before any collective invasion. For when we turn to the barbaric Codes, we generally find betrothal in a position of prominence quite unlike anything in the earlier Roman law—the ruling idea being almost invariably that of wife-buying. The Salic law deals with the subject, after its wont, solely through money-payments. If any one carries off a betrothed girl and marries her, he is to pay 62½ soldi, and 15 to her betrothed. (*Pactus antiprior*, t. xiv. arts. 8, 9.) If any, whilst the bridegroom is conducting the betrothed to her husband, kills on her in wrath and with violence commits adultery with her, he shall pay 200 soldi (art. 10). Amongst our forefathers of the Anglo-Saxon period, we find the laws of Ethelbert (597-616) decreeing that "if a man errs off a maiden betrothed to another man in money," he is to "make bot with 20 shillings" (83). The laws of Ina (688-725), though a century later, do not any more than those of Ethelbert seem to distinguish betrothal from purchase: "If a man buy a wife and the marriage take not place, let him give the money," &c. (31).

But it is in the Wisigothic and Lombardic laws that we find most matter under this head. The former attribute almost absolute authority in the betrothals of women to the father or his representative. One of the more ancient enactments bears that "if any have had a girl betrothed to him with the will of her father or of the other near relations to whom by law this power is given," the girl may not marry another she do, both parties shall be handed over to the power of him who had had her betrothed to him with her parents' will, and any relatives abetting the marriage shall pay 1 pound of gold. The betrothal contract is by the Wisigothic law treated as so far equivalent to marriage, that the term adultery is freely used of its violation by the parties. A husband or betrothed are moreover declared not to be responsible for killing those who commit adultery with their wives or betrothed (l. 4). Again, the same title of the law embraces the rupture of both contracts (*De divorciis Nuptiarum et discidio Sponsorum*, t. i.).

The Wisigothic Code has been always held to have been drawn up under priestly influence. The Lombards were never looked on with favour by the Church. Yet between the two systems of legislation there is less difference on the head which occupies us than might be expected. The Lombard law, like the Wisigothic, adopts from Rome the two years' maximum for delay in carrying out a betrothal contract. (Laws of Rotharis, A.D. 638 or 643, c. 178.)

The laws of Luitprand (A.D. 717) are very severe against too early marriages of girls. If any betroth to himself or carry away [as his wife] a girl under 12, he is to compound as for rape.

The forms of betrothal among the barbarian conquerors of the Roman Empire must have been infinitely varied. The Salic betrothal was by the offer of a *sedes* and *denarius*, and the contract could be made between absent parties; as when Chlodowig (Clovis) espoused Chlotildi through his envoys (Nelegarius, *Epit.* c. 18).

Cauciani, from the Euphemian Codex of Verona, has published two *formulae*, one apparently of a Lombard, the other of a Salic betrothal (vol. ii. pp. 467, 476), which, although the text of them may be somewhat later than the period to which this work relates, no doubt, like most written *formulae*, exhibit with some faithfulness the usages of an earlier period. In both of them the betrothal has palpably become a judicial act. A sword and a glove are the main features of the former: "For this cometh M., for that he willeth to espouse D., daughter of P. Camest thou because of this?" "I came." "Give pledge, that thou wilt make unto her a fourth part of whatever thou hast; and by this sword and this glove I betroth to thee M., my daughter, and thou, receive her by title of betrothal." "Thou, father of the woman, give pledges to him that thou givest her to him to wife, and sendest her under his *mundium*. And thou, give [pledge] that thou receivest her; and whoever shall withdraw, let him compound in a thousand soldi." The Salic formula is confined to the case of the second marriage of a "Salic widow;" it belongs self-evidently to the Carolingian era, and in it the ideas of betrothal and of marriage seem to run into each other.

We come now to the legislation of the Church itself on the subject of betrothal. Tertullian in his treatise on Idolatry (c. 16), seeking to determine what actions and matters a Christian is not to meddle with on account of their idolatrous character, says: "But as concerning the offices of private and common solemnities, as these . . . of betrothal or marriage, I think no danger is to be apprehended from any the objects must be considered for which the office is performed. I deem those pure in themselves, for neither . . . the ring nor the marriage bond flows from the worship of any idol." It may be fairly concluded from this passage that towards the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century, betrothal was considered by the Church as being in itself a perfectly valid and lawful contract, and even when celebrated between heathens, involving no contamination for the Christiana who should take part in the proceedings connected with it.

It is unnecessary to notice the forgeries which support sacerdotal claims. The first unimpeachable authority on the subject is found in Basil's Canonical Epistle to Amphilochous, bishop of Iconium. It will be seen that he treats of betrothal in a quite incidental manner. In one passage (c. xxii.) he takes the case of men who have violently carried away the betrothed of another; these are not to be received to communion until they put their wives away, and submit to the will of those to whom these were at first betrothed. Yet he views betrothal as so far approximating to marriage that he allows (c. 69) a reader or subdeacon seducing his betrothed before marriage to be admitted to communion after a year's penance, without loss of office, but so that he cannot be promoted; but in case of his misconducting himself without betrothal with a woman he is to be deprived of his office itself.

Of more interest, both in itself, and as being probably, the first genuine utterance of a Pope which suffices to dispose of a whole mass of antedated forgeries, is a letter of Pope Bene-

diet I. (A.D. 573-7) to the Patriarch of Gran. The Pope had been asked whether, where a girl had been betrothed by word of mouth only, and died before marriage, her sister could marry the same man. The Pope replied that it was consanguinal intercourse that made two one; "how by bare words of betrothal they can be made one we can in nowise see. Do not therefore deny, that which you can show no reason for denying."

It is indeed evident, from the application itself, that the question whether the contract of betrothal did not of itself create a consanguinity between the parties, sufficient to render the subsequent marriage of either with a kinsman or kinswoman of the other unlawful, was already a moot one. We might not be surprised if Gregory the Great (A.D. 590-603), in whose powerful mind a strong vein of ascetic feeling is discoverable—should have taken the opposite side to Benedict. He remains indeed quite within the law in allowing a betrothed woman to dissolve her engagement in order to enter a convent; writing (bk. vi. *Ep.* 20) to the bishop and *defensor* of Naples, where one Stephen, betrothed to a girl who had been "converted" in one of the monasteries of the city, was alleged to detain her and her property, that after due examination he was to be exhorted to restore the girl herself and her things, and if he did not, then to be compelled to do so.

The Council (3) of Constantinople in Trullo (A.D. 680-1) is the first oecumenical authority for assimilating betrothal to marriage, so far as to make it adultery to marry a betrothed woman in the life-time of her first betrothed. Now about this period indeed betrothal becomes a very frequent subject of church legislation or church jurisprudence. One of the canons (105) of a Council held in England, under Archbishop Theodore, towards the end of the 7th century, provides that if a man after betrothing to himself a wife, will not live with her, he shall restore the money given to him and add a third to it. Another (129) forbids parents to give a betrothed girl to another "if she resist altogether," but they may send her to a convent (for this seems the cruel sense of the enactment). A collection of canons of the Irish Church, supposed to be also of the end of this century, enacts, somewhat singularly, that when betrothed girls have been dishonoured by other men, they are to be *bought* and given back to their first betrothed (bk. xli. c. 37). The "Excerpt" of Pope Gregory III. (A.D. 731-41) mentions five years, "or more humanely three," as the penance for attempting to seduce another's betrothed. In the case (which is that mentioned in the 25th canon of the Council of Ancyra) of a man seducing the sister of his betrothed, and of his victim killing herself, all who are implicated in the deed must do ten years' penance, or some say seven (c. 18). The first Council of Rome under Pope Zacharias, A.D. 743, anathematizes those who rashly presume to steal a maid or widow for their wife, unless betrothed to them (c. 7). The Carolingian Capitularies enact that a betrothed girl ravished by another man is to be given back to her former betrothed, but that in case of his refusing to take her she may marry a stranger, but not her ravisher, under pain of anathema (c. 124), and follow generally in the tracts of the spurious letters of Evaristus and Siricius.

Finally, the reply of Pope Nicolas to the Bulgarians in 860, shows that at the end of the 9th century the form of betrothal had become confined to the placing of the ring, by way of earnest, on the woman's finger, and her endorsement by the man in the presence of invited witnesses, a greater or less interval separating betrothal from marriage.

If we are not mistaken, the history of the 8 or 9 first centuries shows in the Church a gradual recession from the freedom both of the Jewish and of the Roman law upon the subject of betrothal. Two causes seem to have operated to produce this result,—on the one hand, the influence of the barbarian codes, which generally look upon the woman more or less as the property of her father, if not of her family generally,—on the other, that of the growing spirit of asceticism in reference to the relations between the sexes, leading to the encroachment of the Church upon the domain of the civil power as respects the whole subject of marriage, and thereby again fostering restrictive church legislation with all its attendant covetousnesses and corruptions. The Carolingian era, with which we break off, is that of the first establishment of this system. [J. M. L.]

BEZIERS, COUNCIL OF (BITERRESE CONCILIIUM), provincial, A.D. 356, summoned by command of the Emperor Constantius, under Saturninus, Bishop of Arles; one of those minor Councils of the West, at which an attempt was made to condemn St. Athanasius. St. Hilary of Poitiers, who defended the orthodox cause, was shortly afterwards banished to Phrygia by the emperor through the false dealing of Saturninus (*S. Hilar. Pictav., De Synod. § 2, Ad Constant. § 2, Opp.* ii. 460, 563; Hieron. *De Script. Eccl.*; Sulp. Sever. *H. E.* ii.; Labb. v. 783). [A. W. H.]

BIBIANA, martyr at Rome; commemorated Dec. 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); as **VIVIANA** (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

BIBLE, USE OF IN SERVICES. [CANONICAL BOOKS; EPISTLE; GOSPEL; LECTONARY; PROPHECY.]

BIBLIOTHECA. [LIBRARY.]

BIDDING-PRAYER. This term is used by Bingham to designate a prayer of a particular form uttered by the Deacon in the Liturgy. As, however, the modern English Bidding-Prayer appears to be of mediæval origin, it seems best to treat of the ancient prayer under its proper designation [PROSHONESIS]. [C.]

BIGAMY. Under this head we shall designate only, according to modern usage, the case of matrimonial union to two persons at the same time; premising that until the beginning of the 17th century, at least, the term was applied to all cases of second marriage, whether during the existence of a prior union or after its dissolution; the word "polygamy" being applied to the former case. Thus Sir E. Coke in his 3rd Institute (p. 88) writes: "The difference between bigamy or trigamy and polygamy, is *quia bigamus seu trigamus, etc., est qui diversis temporibus et successive duas seu tres, etc., uxores habuit: polygamus qui duas vel plures simul duxit uxores;*" the distinction being thus made entirely to turn on the simultaneous or successive nature of the marriage relations. [BIGAMY.]

It is of Christendom bigamy. in this Matt. xix in the dev (Compare authority. Apost. Cor indeed it is expression our versio of one wi only, or t ordinary them the conclusion ful, the mo of the tim Jewish the whatever i or polygam was certain when the E to the Res negamy wa So long the monogam enforced by state of this have been ancient Ger barbarians wife, except but for hon rages" (Ge to have applt races. On raes, or the Scots, and Hi munity of w to it is testif Subjectio did not suffi and we find men were no quenting har tea, sed scort well as to t known. It weakening of old polygami to revive. W we shall end Church legis The first au that of those Niene (A.D. 5 the Arabic ve the version of bears that " once, nor to b for pleasure an person is to be from commun the second, wh and so of a le the Echeleusis detail into the another wife, having dismis

It is of course not from Jewish precedent that Christendom has borrowed its condemnation of bigamy. The foundation of the Church's law in this matter lies in the teaching of our Lord, Matt. xix. 4 and foll.; Mark x. 5 and foll., and in the developments of that teaching by St. Paul. (Compare also, as an early and quite consonant authority, Hermas, Bk. ii. Man. 4; likewise *Apost. Const.* Bk. vi. c. 14.) In church practice indeed it has been always contested whether the expressions in 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6, which our version renders "husband" or "husbands of one wife," apply to simultaneous marriages only, or to successive marriages as well. The ordinary Protestant interpretation assigns to them the more restricted meaning; but this conclusion will probably appear the more doubtful, the more Christian antiquity and the usages of the time are studied. Whatever might be Jewish theory on the subject, there is no hint whatever in the New Testament at either bigamy or polygamy as a Jewish practice, and neither was certainly legal in either Ephesus or in Crete, when the Epistles above referred to were written to the respective bishops of those churches. Monogamy was the law both of Greece and of Rome. So long therefore as the Roman power subsisted, the monogamy inculcated by the Church was also enforced by the law. The influence upon this state of things of the barbarian invasions must have been very various. Tacitus notes of the ancient Germans that "almost alone among the barbarians they content themselves with one wife, except a very few, who not through lust but for honour's sake enter into several marriages" (*Germ.* 18). His words, however, appear to have applied more or less to all the Teutonic races. On the other hand, among the Celtic races, or those mixed with them, e.g. the Britons, Scots, and Hibernians of our own islands,—a community of wives or something closely equivalent to it is testified to by Caesar, Jerome, and Strabo. Subjection to Rome, the preaching of Christianity, did not suffice to introduce monogamic habits, and we find Gildas lamenting that his countrymen were not restrained by polygamy from frequenting harlots (*quam plurimas uxores habentes, sed scortantes*). Monogamy seems to have been equally unknown to the Slavonic races, as well as to the Tartar; Attila's harem is well known. It is also to be presumed that the weakening of the Roman power in Asia allowed old polygamic practices, familiar to Orientals, to revive. With these preliminary observations we shall endeavour to trace briefly the course of Church legislation on the subject.

The first authority we find is a doubtful one—that of those Canons attributed to the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), which are only to be found in the Arabic version. The 24th of these (26th in the version of the Monroite Abraham Echellensis) bears that "none ought to marry two wives at once, nor to bring in to his wife another woman for pleasure and fleshly desire." If a priest, such person is to be forbidden to officiate and excluded from communion, until such time as he cast out the second, whilst he ought to retain the first; and so of a layman. The 66th Canon (71st of the Echellensian version) enters in still more detail into the case of a priest or deacon taking another wife, whether free or slave, without having dismissed the first, the penalty being

deposition; or for a layman in the same sin, excommunication. The 67th Canon again (22nd Echellensian) enacts that whosoever shall have accepted two women at once in marriage shall himself be excommunicated with his second wife. It is difficult to attribute Nicene authority to these Canons, which show so vividly the corruptions that grew up in the more distant Oriental churches. But whether illustrative of the degeneracy of Arabian Christendom before the rise of Mohammedanism in the 7th century, or of the influence of Mohammedan polygamy itself upon it at a later period, they are not the less valuable. The tradition of a condemnation of bigamy by the Nicene fathers appears also from the singular collection attributed to them, from a Vatican Codex, intitled by Labbe and Mansi (see vol. ii. p. 1029 and foll.), "Sanctiones et decreta alia ex quatuor regum ad Constantinum libris decernpta." The 5th chapter of the 1st book bears that "to no Christian is it lawful to have two or more wives at once, after the manner of the Gentiles, who marry three or four at once; but one is to be married after the other, that is, the contract is to be made with a second after the death of the first." If any dares to go counter to this prohibition, he is to be excommunicated. Reference is made to the holy fathers assembled in the Council, and the enactment is declared to be binding on all Christians, whether laymen or clerics, priests, deacons, princes, kings and emperors.

The "Sanctions and Decrees," whatever be their authority, belong evidently to the Eastern Church. But from the canonical epistle of Basil to Bishop Amphilochius of Iconium, the spuriousness both of the above quoted canons from the Arabic, and of the "Sanctions and Decrees," so far as they claim Nicene authority, may be inferred, since he says that the subject of polygamy has been pretermitted by the fathers, assigning a four years' penance for it before the offender can be admitted to communion (C. lxxx.).

The practice of the West, except in far outlying provinces, seems to have been generally more strict than in the East, and we have thus to infer the spirit of the Western Church towards bigamy chiefly from enactments against concubinage. The first Council of Toledo (A.D. 400) excludes from communion a man having a faithful wife and a concubine, but not one who has a concubine and no wife, so long as he contents himself with one woman (c. 17). Passing over an alleged decree of Pope Celestin (A.D. 423-32), which declares that of Pope Celestin (A.D. 423-32), which declares that a second wife married against church forbiddance is not a wife, although the first should not have been betrothed (c. 4, Gratian); we should notice a letter (12) of Leo the Great (A.D. 440-61), addressed to the African bishops of the province of Mauritania Caesariensis, which speaks of an actual case of bigamy in the priesthood of that province. Neither apostolic nor legal authority, it says, allow the husband of a second wife to be raised to the pastoral office, much less him who, "as it has been related to us, is the husband of two wives at once" (c. 5). Another letter of Leo's (dated 458 or 9), to Rusticus Bishop of Narbonne, is probably the first authority for the lower modern view of the concubinate. Not every woman united to a man is the man's wife, for neither is every son his father's heir. . . . Therefore a wife is one

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the history of the 8 or e Church a gradual both of the Jewish the subject of be- to have operated to e one hand, the in- less, which generally less as the property family generally,—on g spirit of asceticism s between the sexes, of the Church upon ver as respects the and thereby again legislation with all es and corruptions, h which we break establishment of this [J. M. L.]

OF (BITERRENE 356, summoned by Constantius, under one of those minor which an attempt was pasius. St. Hilary of orthodox cause, was to Phrygia by the dealing of Saturninus § 2, *Ad Constant.* § 2, *De Script. Eccl.*: v. 783.) [A. W. H.] Rome; commemorated ; as VIVIANA (*Mar.* [C.]

SERVICES. [CA- JOSEPH; LECTONARY;

BRARY.]

This term is used by prayer of a particular n in the Liturgy. As, English Bidding-Prayer l origin, it seems best rayer under its proper [C.]

is heard we shall desig- oderna usage, the case two persons at the same il the beginning of the e term was applied to age, whether during union or after its dis- "bigamy" being applied Sir E. Coke in his 3rd : "The difference be- and polygamy, is quia , est qui diversis tem- sen tres, etc., uxores duas vel plures simul action being thus made ultaneous or successive relations. [BIGAMY.]

thing, a concubine another; as a handmaid is one thing, a freewoman another. . . . Wherefore if a clerk of any place give his daughter in marriage to a man having a concubine, it is not to be taken as if he gave her to a married man; unless haply the woman appear to have been made free, and lawfully jointured and restored to honour by a public marriage (c. 4). Those who by their father's will are married to men are not in fault if the women which such men had were not had in marriage (c. 5). Since a wife is one thing, a concubine another, to cast from one's bed the bondmaid and to receive a wife of ascertained free birth is not a doubling of marriage, but a progress in honourable conduct (c. 6).—The Council of Angers in 453 enacts excommunication against those who abuse the name of marriage with other men's wives in the lifetime of their husbands (c. 6). That of Vannes (A.D. 465) deals in the same way with those who having wives, except by reason of fornication, and without proof of adultery, marry others,—both enactments, however, pointing perhaps rather to marriage after separation.

Towards the same period, however (latter half of the 5th century), we must notice a Nestorian Synod held in Persia, under the presidency of Barstamas Archbishop of Nisibis, as affording probably the first instance of what may be called the modern Protestant interpretation of the Pauline *μὴς ἑνωμένοις ἀνψ.* A priest, its canons declare, "should be one who has one wife, as it is said in the Apostle's Epistle to Timothy, 'Whoever marries, let him have one wife; if he transgresses, he is to be separated from the Church and the priestly order. But if a priest not knowing marriage, or whose wife is dead, should wish for lawful marriage, let him not be forbidden by the bishop, whether he have wished to marry before or after his priesthood.'" Any one who contravenes these canons is anathematized, and if a priest, to be deposed (see Lubbe and Mansi, *Conc.*, vol. viii. pp. 143-4). It is clear that the Nestorians in this case interpreted St. Paul as speaking not of successive but of simultaneous marriage. That this was not however the view of the Greek Church generally is evident from many authorities; see, for instance, the Canons of the Council of Constantinople in Trullo, A.D. 691 and following years.

If Burchard's collection is to be credited, a canon (16) was adopted by the 4th or 5th Council of Arles (A.D. 524 or 554) forbidding any man to have two wives at once, or a concubine at any time (see neque unquam concubinam). A collection of Irish Canons, supposed to belong to the close of the 7th century, shows that the Celtic kings of Ireland must, as in Britain in the days of Gildas, have had regular harems. The barbarous Latin title of one of its chapters (bk. xxiv. c. vii.) is, "De rege non habente uxores plurimas," and the Synod is represented as enacting (if the term can be used) as follows: "According as is the dignity which the king receives, so great should be his fear; for many women deprave his soul, and his mind, divided by the multitude of his wives, falls greatly into sin."

To the 8th century belongs one of the most curious incidents in the treatment of this question by the Church. In a letter of Pope Gregory II. (A.D. 714-30) to Boniface, the Apostle of Ger-

many, written in answer to a series of questions put to him by the latter, we find the Pope treating the case of a wife, who through bodily infirmity becomes incapable of fulfilling the conjugal duty. Can the husband in such an event take a second wife? The Pope replies, that it is good for him to remain united to her. "But he who cannot contain" (referring evidently to 1 Cor. vii. 9), "let him marry rather," but without withdrawing maintenance "from her whom infirmity hinders, but no detestable fault excludes" from his bed—a decision closely akin to that of Luther and the Protestant theologians in the case of the Landgrave of Hesse. Further on (c. 6) the Pope condemns bigamy generally, "since that is not rightly to be deemed marriage which exceeds the number of two, for the yoke is not borne except by two" (quia nisi in duobus non geritur jugum)—not a very complimentary argument in favour of monogamy (*S. Bonif. Epist. ed. Würdtwein*, No. 24).

We find the question of the lawfulness of a second marriage in case of a wife's bodily infirmity recurring in a work not of much later date than Pope Gregory's letter to Boniface, Archbishop Egbert of York's Dialogue on Church Government (*Dialogus per interrogationes et responsiones de institutione ecclesiastica*). The archbishop is however more cautious than the Pope. He puts the case (c. 13) only in the shape of a dissolution of the marriage tie by agreement of both parties (ex convenientia amorum), because of the infirmity of one of them; can the healthy one marry again, the infirm one consenting, and promising continence? The archbishop implies that he may: "By change of times necessity breaks the law . . . in doubtful cases one should not judge (in ambiguis non est ferenda sententia)."

Another example in the 8th century, though bearing rather on concubinage than on bigamy, is to be found in certain replies reported to have been given by Pope Stephen III., whilst he was in France, in the town of Kierzy, at the Breton monastery (in Carisio villa Britannico monasterio), to various questions addressed to him A.D. 754. He expressed his approval of Pope Leo's view as to the propriety of dismissing a bondmaid concubine and marrying a freewoman, and (c. 3) in further reply to a case put to him of a man marrying a bondmaid in a foreign country, then returning to his own and marrying a freewoman, then again going back to the former country and finding his bondmaid wife married to another, gave it as his opinion that "such a one may take another bondmaid (si potest aliam accipere)," but not in the lifetime of the free wife.

The relaxation of the sanctity of the marriage tie in the Carolingian era seems indeed to have become extreme. This may be inferred, for instance, from the frequency of enactments forbidding married men to have concubines, for which see Ansegis, bk. vi. cc. 230, 433, and again bk. vii. c. 338, the last garnished with the somewhat naïf argument, "lest love of the concubine detach the man from his wife." A contemporary capitulary (A.D. 774) by Arechis Prince of Benevento, forbids a man having a lawful wife to give ought by any device to his sons or daughters born during her life of another unlawful wife (c. 8), an enactment which seemingly points at

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series of questions find the Pope throughout bodily infirmities, filling the conjugal such an event take place, that it is good her. "But he who evidently to 1 Cor. 13:13) only in the shape of agreement by agreement of one of them; again, the infirm one of continence? The may: "By change of law . . . in doubtful (in ambiguis non est

the lawfulness of a wife's bodily infirmity is not of much later date than Boniface, Dialogue on Church Interrogations (eclesiastica). The lawfulness of a wife's bodily infirmity is not of much later date than Boniface, Dialogue on Church Interrogations (eclesiastica). The lawfulness of a wife's bodily infirmity is not of much later date than Boniface, Dialogue on Church Interrogations (eclesiastica).

8th century, though earlier than on bigamy, is reported to have been in III., whilst he was at Kierzy, at the Breton in Brittanico monasterio addressed to him A.D. 430, approval of Pope Leo's of dismissing a bonding a free woman, and case put to him of a in a foreign country, and marrying a free woman back to the former maid wife married opinion that "such a man (is potest aliam lifetime of the free

city of the marriage seems indeed to have been in force, for in of enactments forbidding concubines, for c. 230, 433, and again punished with the same love of the concubine life." A contemporary records Prince of Beche a lawful wife to give sons or daughters mother unlawful wife in seemingly points at

practices avowedly bigamous. The dismissal of wives by the Carolingian sovereigns, in order to marry others, becomes likewise so common that it is almost impossible to distinguish between patent bigamy and bigamy veiled under the name of divorce. At the summit of the Carolingian world the great emperor, besides actual and divorced wives, sets the law at defiance by keeping concubines. The East was even below the West in servility towards the vices of the sovereign. In the year 809 a Council of Constantinople pronounced a second marriage of the reigning emperor Constantine, after sending his first wife to a convent, lawful, on the ground that "the Divine law can do nothing against kings."

The reader is referred to the head DIGAMY for the further consideration of this subject; in the meanwhile we may conclude that, whilst the church of the eight or nine first centuries never formally sanctioned simultaneous marriage relations with two persons, it yet sometimes indirectly permitted them in outlying provinces in the case of a wife's infirmity, and certainly was not powerful enough to check them among the great of the ruler races, nor probably generally in the Carolingian era.

[J. M. L.]

BIOTHANATOS (*Βιοθανάτος*). "Qui morte violenta perit," says Suicer, *sub v.*: as if it had been contracted from "biathanatos" which is the definition of "*ol Biothavatoúvres*," given by St. Chrysostom in disputing against the opinion that the souls of such after death become demons (*De Lazaro Serm.* ii. § 1; *Op.* vol. i. p. 727; *Ed. Mozart. Comp. Tertull. De Anima*, c. 57). According to Baronius, A.D. 138, n. 4-5, it was one of the terms applied to Christians generally by way of reproach for preferring to lose their lives sooner than deny Christ: an application that would have been unmeaning had not the prominent notion attached to the hands upon themselves, and hence, according to the story told by Cassin (*Collat.* iii. 6; *comp. las.* viii. 14), a monk who had thrown himself into a well under temptation of the devil, and been drowned, was all but reckoned by his abbot among such, as being unworthy to be commemorated among those who had gone to their rest in peace. Pagan moralists, we are told by Mr. Lecky (*Europ. Mor.* ii. 46, et seq.), condemned suicide upon four grounds. "Christian theologians," he adds, "were the first to maintain dogmatically that a man who destroys his own life has committed a crime similar both in kind and in magnitude to that of an ordinary murderer. . . . On the other hand, the high position assigned to resignation in the moral scale, . . . and, above all, the Christian doctrine of the remedial and providential character of suffering, have proved sufficient protection against despair. Enthusiasm, in early times, indeed, animated many to court martyrdom; and Christian women were honoured, or at least excused, for committing suicide to guard their chastity. But this feeling died away with the occasions which evoked it, and even asceticism was gradually subjected to rule, when experience had shown the extreme limits to which it could be carried without injury to the constitution." The "*Circumcelliones*," a wild sect of the Donatists, are frequently reproached for looking upon

suicide in the light of a virtue by St. Augustine (*Cont. Ep. Parm.* iii. 6; *Brev. Coll. com. Dom.* Die iiii. c. 8, § 13, &c.). By the 18th canon of the first Council of Braga, A.D. 560 (Mansi ix. 774-84, and Pagi, *Ibid.*), those who committed it in any way "were neither to be commemorated at the oblation, nor to be carried to the grave with psalm-singing." Comp. Gratian, *Decret.* Part ii. cause 23, 9, 5; where this canon and other passages in point are cited. [E. S. FE.]

BIRD (AS SYMBOL). The birds represented in the earliest Christian art are generally distinguished by their species [see DOVE, EAGLE, PHOENIX, &c.]. This is not only the case in the early sarcophagi and frescoes of the catacombs, but it is specially remarkable in the first gothic works of the Lombard churches in the North of Italy. See Ruskin (*Stones of Venice, Appendix*, vol. i., *Byzantine and Lombard Carvings*) where early Lombard work is contrasted with Byzantine. But in the very earliest tombs (see Aringhi, *Il.* 324, and De Rossi almost *passim*, Bottari t. 178. *vill. tav.* 174, &c.) birds assignable to no particular species are introduced, apparently with symbolic purpose. In De Rossi they occur so often on tombs, with or without the palm branch, that they may clearly be taken as images of the released soul seeking its home in heaven. Aringhi recognizes this in a passage of some beauty (*Il.* 324); he takes the lightness and aerial nature of the Bird as a symbol of the aspiration of faithful spirits "quorum jugis potissimum conversatio, ut Apostolus ait, in coelis est" (see also Ps. cxxiii. 6 of the released soul). He refers to Bede who says "Volucres sunt qui *aurum* cor habent, et celestia concupiscunt;" and who looks on the bird also as a sign of the resurrection. The faithful, like birds "obviam Xti in aëre ex mortuis sunt ituri." [Note the curious analogy of the Psyche-butterfly, and compare with it Hadrian's "Anima vagula, blaudula," &c., as if addressed to a thing of uncertain flight.] Caged birds are occasionally found in paintings or other representations (Boldetti, p. 154, *tav.* vi.). They are supposed to represent the human soul in the prison of the flesh, or they may be emblems of the imprisonment of a martyr. Martigny describes a mosaic in the tribune of St. Maria in Transtevere, in Rome, where one of these cages is placed near the prophet Jeremiah, with inscription "Christus Dominus captus est in peccata nostris;" and another by Isaiah, with the words "Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium"—referring thus to the Passion and the Incarnation of our Lord.

The symbolism of the cross by a bird's outspread wings is Tertullian's (*De Oratore*, c. 29 [al. 24]): Herzog conjectures that the pictures or carvings of birds with flowers and fruits combined are symbolic of Paradise. In the illustrations to Le Blant's *MSS. Chrétiennes de la Gaule* nondescript birds are found almost *passim*, generally in pairs on each side of the monogram of Christ, and almost always with the letters A ω, which appear more frequently in the ancient documents of Christian France.

Pairs of drinking birds, peacocks (see s. v.), and also of conventional shape, are still to be seen among the most ancient fragments of Byzantine domestic sculpture in Venice (*Stones of Venice*, ii. 138, plate xi.). They may be carried back to the 11th or 12th century, perhaps: at

all events they are clearly decorative repetitions of the bird-symbols in the catacombs and earlier monuments.

[K. St. J. T.]

BIRRUS, cf. BYRRHIUS. (*Bēpos, Βύρριος*.) The word *Birrus* or *Byrrhus* was an old Latin word (*Festus in con.*) equivalent to "rufus" or red, and identical probably with the Greek *ροῦβός*. So St. Isidore seems to have thought, though late copyists, ignorant as most of them were of Greek, have made nonsense of his text. "Birrus a Graeco vocabulum trahit: illi enim birrum bibrium (? *ροῦβός* or *Βύρριος*) dicunt." (*Orig.* lib. xx. cap. 24.) No traces of the word, as the name of a garment, are to be found before the Christian era. The earliest known instance of such an use is in Artemidorus (early in 2nd century). Speaking of the significance of various articles of dress, when seen in dreams, he says that the *Chlamys* (a short military cloak), "which some call *Munyas*, others *Ephestris*, others *Byrrus*, portends trouble and difficulty, and to prisoners under trial portends condemnation, by reason that it compasses about and confines the body" (*Oneirocritica*, lib. ii. cap. 3). Other writers identify it with the "amphibalus" (q. v.). "Birrus: amphibalus villosus," says Papius. And the author of the life of St. Deicolus (*Acta SS. Ord. Bened.* saec. 2, p. 105), "Birrum . . . quem Graeci amphibalum vocant." A fresco in the cemetery of Pontianus (Aringhi, *Roma Sotterranea*, tom. i. p. 383), in which are represented three laymen, SS. Milix, Abdon, and Sennes, and one ecclesiastic, St. Vicentius, will probably give a good idea of the difference between the *Chlamys*, the *Birrus*, and the *Casula* (or *Planeta*). St. Milix is represented wearing a *Chlamys*; Abdon and Sennes a heavy cloak reaching from the shoulders to the back of the knee, and in form differing but little from the *Chlamys* (see woodcut, p. 8). But the *Birrus* (if such be the garment intended) is provided with a hood, or cowl, for wearing over the head, as were most such outer garments when intended, as was the *Birrus*, for out-door use. And this hood is here represented as worn on the head. Such a rough *Birrus* as this was allowed to be worn by slaves under the provisions of the Theodosian Code (*Lex I. de Habitu*, speaking of them as *viles birri*). And hence some have inferred, though wrongly, that the *Birrus* was at that time regarded as a garment suitable only for persons of the lowest class. This was not so. There were "viles birri," cheap cloaks, such as those here allowed as a privilege to slaves; there were "pretiosi birri," costly cloaks, such as those of which St. Augustine says that they might perhaps be fitting for a bishop, but not fitting for Augustine, "a poor man, as his parents had been poor before him" (*Sermo de Diversis*, 356, tom. v. p. 1579). From the 4th century onward the mention of the *Birrus* is not unrequent, as of an out-door dress used alike by laymen (St. Augustine, *De Verbis Apost.* Serm. xviii. cap. 10) and by ecclesiastics. And in these later notices it is almost always

referred to as being either a somewhat expensive dress, or as having a certain secular character attaching to it as compared with the dress worn by monks. Thus Cassianus (*circ.* 418 A.D.) describing the dress of monks, says (*De Habitu Monach.* lib. i. cap. 7) that they avoid the costliness and the pretence to dignity implied in the *Planeta* and the *Birrus* (*Planetaeum simul atque birrorum: pretia simul et ambitionem declinant*). And St. Isidore in like manner couples together the *Planeta* and the *Birrus* as garments which are not allowable to monks (*Linco non licet Monachum Indui. Orarium, birros, planetas, non est fas uti, Regula*, cap. 13). And this will account for the peculiar language of the 12th Canon of the Council of Gangra (a. 319), warning men against attributing too much importance to the monastic dress for its own sake, and despising those who wore "birri" (*τροῖς Βύρριος ποροῦντας*). Towards the close of the 6th century we find St. Gregory the Great using the term "*Birrus albus*" in speaking of the vest: "*Christening-Cloak*" worn by the newly baptized (*Lib. vii. Indict. i. Epist.* 5). And the word has many descendants in mediæval Latin, such as *Biretum*, *Birra*, *Biratti* (the Carmelite Monks, "Les Freres Barrez," were so called); and in old French, as "*Bure*" (same cloth, *Bureau* (Fr. and Eng.), a table covered with coarse cloth, such as was used for official business (Menage). [W. B. M.]

BIRTHDAYS OF SAINTS. [FESTIVALS.]

BISHOP. Names and titles. Origin of the office.

I. Appointment.

1. Election.
 - a. Who elected. β. Who were eligible. γ. Time, mode, and place of election.
2. Confirmation.
3. Ordination.
 - a. Matter and form. β. Ordainers. γ. Place and time of ordination. δ. Register of ordinations.
4. Enthronization.
5. Oaths.
 - a. Profession of obedience to metropolitan. β. Oath of allegiance to the emperor or king. γ. Oath against simony.

II. Removal.

1. By translation.
2. By resignation.
 - a. Simply. β. In favour of a successor. γ. So far as to obtain a coadjutor.
3. By deposition, absolute or temporary.
 - A. For what cause.
 - a. Of irregularities which vitiated the consecration *ab initio*. β. Of such as entailed deposition from the office already conferred. γ. Of such as also entailed excommunication. δ. Of such as entailed only anathematism.
 - B. By what authority.

III. Offices and Functions, in relation to the Church.

1. Spiritual, arising from his office as bishop.
 - a. Singly, in respect to his own diocese.
 - i. Ordination. ii. Confirmation. iii. Administration of sacraments. iv. Preaching. v. Discipline. vi. Creeds, liturgy, church worship, &c., and church affairs generally. vii. Visitation of diocese, viii. Was the representative of the diocese:
 1. in issuing *litterae formatæ*; 2. in communicating with other dioceses. ii. Aims and church property. x. Admonition of benefices in the diocese. xi. Arbitration of lawsuits. xii. How far allowed to act out of his own diocese. xiii. A single bishop to each diocese.

β. J. Y. C. 2. Temp. 1. Ju. Social. I. Of. II. III. VI.

IV. Position.

1. All in
2. Archb.
3. Special
4. Apos.
5. Choroep.
6. Suffrag.
7. Coadjut.
8. Intres.
9. venter
10. Commu.
11. Episcopi
12. Episcopi
13. Episcopi
14. Episcopi
15. Episcopi
16. Episcopi
17. Episcopi
18. Episcopi
19. Episcopi
20. Episcopi

BISHOP (Επίσκοπος) Christian Church and first by the *ἐπίσκοπος* [Act express the title of Epistles, and in Rome (but worn Epist. of St. Ign. an appellative changeable title) referred to the seventh from the apostle and from St. Ign. name, adopted

by Christians,

Arabic, *مُسْتَفِي*

НИСКОП (Episcopus) Christian and T. the single presb. (episcopi), who can having presbytery and possessing e. primarily of cont. in the administ. CURS. ANT.

slightly expensive
secular character
with the dress wore
(*circ.* 418 A.D.)
s, says (*De Habit*
ey avoid the costli-
ness implied in the
lanctianum simul
et ambitionem de-
cense manner couples
Burrus as garments
monks (Linteum non
nam, birros, planeta,
13). And this will
ingage of the 12th
gra (a. 319), warn-
no much importance
its own sake, and
birri) (rōis *Shpen*
lose of the 6th cen-
the Great using the
weakening of the robe
by the newly *Ep-*
epist. 5). And in
in mediæval Latin,
Birriati (the Car-
s Barrez) were so
as "Bure" course
(?), a table covered
was used for official
[W. B. M.]

FESTIVALS.]

titles. Origin of the
were eligible. *γ.* Time,
election.
β. Ordainers. *γ.* Place
to the emperor or king.
ony.

to metropolitan. *β.*
to the emperor or king.
ony.

ur of a successor. *γ.* So
adjudator.
y temporary.

which violated the com-
mū. *β.* Of such as ap-
on from the office already
Of such as also created
on. *δ.* Of such as entailed
on.

, in relation to the
office as bishop.
his own diocese.

Confirmation. *iii.* Admi-
nistrations. *iv.* Presching,
vi. Greeds, liturgy, church
and church affairs, gra-
tification of Diocese. *viii.*
representative of the diocese;
litæ formate; *2.* in
with other dioceses. *iii.*
in the diocese. *xi.* Ar-
tawants. *xii.* How far
out of his own diocese.
le bishop to each diocese.

and a single diocese to each bi-hop.
xiv. Six of dioceses, their union, subdivi-
sion, &c. *xv.* Residence.
β. Jointly, in synod, in respect to his province.
γ. Collectively, in general council, in respect to
the Church at large.
2. Temporal, conferred by the state.
i. Judicial authority in secular causes. *ii.* Be-
came a member of state councils witness-
genotes, &c. *iii.* Authority over subordinate
civil magistrates. *iv.* Protection of minors,
widows, prisoners, &c. *v.* Office of crowning
emperor or king. *vi.* Not sworn in a court
of justice. *vii.* Intercession for criminals.
viii. Special legal protection of his life and
property. *ix.* Exemption from jurisdiction
of civil courts. *x.* Legal force of synodical
decrees and canons. *xi.* But restricted also
by law or canon in various ways. *as, 1.* In
the disposal of his property by will; *2.* in
the reading of books or of heretical books;
3. in ways of living; *4.* in the matter of
fiscal burdens, military service, &c. *xii.* Of
the education given in the bishop's house.
3. Social and honorary privileges.
i. Of bowing the hands and the
kiss, &c. *ii.* Mitra, ring, pastoral staff, and
other vestments and insignia. *iii.* Of sing-
ing Hosannas before him. *iv.* Of the phrase
"Corona tua" v. Of the bi-hop's throne, &c.
vi. Bishops attended by two presbyters, &c.

IV. Position, in relation to other bishops.
i. All in their inherent office equal—*litære commu-
nicationis*—order of precedence.
2. Archbishop, primate, metropolitan, exarch, pa-
triarch, pope. (See under the several articles).
3. Special cases, as in Africa and at Alexandria.
4. *Αἰρεσιζαλοί*.
5. Chorepiscopi
6. Suffragani.
7. Chalcidiotæ.
8. Interecclesiarum et inter-
ventura.
9. Communitarii.

(See under the
several articles.)

V. Anomalous cases.
1. Episcop vagantes, *σχολαστροφες*, ambulantes, &c.
2. Anomalous bishops.
3. Ambrosius palatii.
4. Episcopus cardinalis.
5. Episcopus regiarum.
6. Noni bishops, and in partibus infidelium.
7. Episcopus orthonum.
8. Libra, as the collective name of the suffragans of
the see of Rome.
9. Lay holders of bishoprics.
10. Episcopi Factorum—Innocentium—Puerorum.
(Authorities.)

BISHOP (*Επίσκοπος*, a term adopted by the
Christian Church through the LXX. usage of it,
and first by the Hellenic portion of the Church,
ἐπίσκοπῃ [Acts i. 20] being formed from it to
express the office) = in the Acts, in St. Paul's
Epistles, and in the contemporary St. Clement of
Rome (but wrongly so interpreted in the spurious
Epist. of St. Ignatius to *Hero*, ec. iii. viii.), first
an appellative (Acts xx. 28), and then an inter-
changeable title, of the *ἑπισκόποι*, who minist-
ered to the several Churches under the Apostles;
but from the earliest years of the 2nd century,
and from St. Ignatius onwards, the distinctive
name, adopted as such in every language used

by Christians, Eastern (Syriac, *ܩܦܕܝܐ*);
Arabic, *مُسْتَف*; Ethiopic, *ሉዲዎስ*; Coptic,
ΜΕΤΡΙΚΟΝΟΡ) as well as Western (Scandi-
navian and Teutonic, as well as Latinized), of
the single president of a diocese (*παροικία, διοί-
κηση*), who came in the room of the Apostles,
having presbyters, deacons, and laity under him,
and possessing exclusive power of ordination, and
primarily of confirmation, with primary authority
in the administration of the sacraments and of
CONFIRMATION.

discipline (St. Ignat. *ad Polycarp.* init. and v. v.
viii.; *ad Ephes.* i. ii.; *Martyr. S. Ignat.* § iii.;
Martyr. S. Polycarp. § xvi.; *Polyerast.* ap. Euseb.
ii. E. v. 24; Hadrian. *Imper. Epist.* ap. Vojsic,
in *V. Saturnin.*; *Hermas Pastor.* lib. iii. tit. 5;
Murator. Canon. p. 20, ed. Tregeles [of Pius,
bishop of Rome]; *Hegelepp.* ap. Euseb. *ii. E. ii.*
23 [of St. James of Jerusalem]; and *iv. 22* [of
Symeon of Jerusalem, A. D. 69]; *Dion. Cor.* ap.
Euseb. *ii. E. iv. 23* [of Dionysius (appointed by
St. Paul), Publius, Quadratus, of Athens]; *St.*
Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 13, and ap. Euseb. *ii. E.*
ii. 1; &c. &c. &c.)—"Episcopi" being thenceforth
occasionally still called "presbyteri," but not
vice versa [see, however, St. Clem. Alex. *Quis*
Dives Salvator. xiii. and Tertull. *de Præscript.*
iii.]; see Pearson, *Vind. Tertul.* ii. 13, pp. 547,
54, ed. Churton—*Τότε γὰρ τῶν ἐκωνόμων*
*ὀνόματι λαοὺν δὲ τὸ ἰδιόμα ἐκείνῳ ἀπονεύ-
οντο τῶν ἐπίσκοπων Ἐπισκόποι, πρεσβύτεροι*
πρεσβύτεροι (St. Chrys. in *Phil.* i. *Hom.* i.).

Called also *Apostolus* at first, but for so short a
time as to leave little more than a tradition of the
fact (Theodor. Mopsuest. in *1 Tim.* iii. 1, ap. Rab.
Maur. vi. 604; Theodor. in *1 Tim.* iii. 1, in *Phil.*
i. 1, ii. 25; Ambrosiust. in *Lyces.* iv. 12, and
ap. Amalari. *de Off. Eccl.* ii. 13—N. T. usage,
as in Rom. xvi. 7, 2 Cor. viii. 23, *Phil.* ii. 25,
is indecisive).

Called likewise, but rarely after the fourth
century, by names applied also to presbyters
(cf. *πρεσβύτεροι*, *1 Thess.* v. 12 and see Herm.
Past. *Vis. ii. 4*; *ἡγούμενοι*, *Heb.* xiii. 7, 17, and
see Herm. *Past.* *Vis. ii. 2*, iii. 9, St. Clem. Rom.
ad Cor. i. 21); as, e.g. *Πρεσβῆρας* or *Πρεσβῆρας*
τῆς Ἐκκλησίας (of bishops, in Euseb. *ii. E. iv.*
23, vi. 3, 8, vii. 13, viii. 18, &c.; and probably in
St. Greg. Nyss. *de Scopo Christian.* *Opp.* iii.
306; of presbyters, in St. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* i.;
St. Basil. M. *Key. Moral.* lxx. 36; of bishops and
presbyters together, in *Conc. Antioch.* A. D. 341,
can. 1; the word is ambiguous in St. Justin Mart.
Apol. i. 67); *πρεσβύτερος* (of bishops, in
Eusebius; or again, *πρεσβῆρας*, Euseb. vi. 10,
and so *δ προσβατῶν Ἀγγέλως*, *Oecum.* ed. Areth.
in *Apoc.* ii. 1; and *προσβατῆς* of a bishopric,
Euseb. *ii. E. iv. 4*, vi. 35; and of the presbyterate
in St. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 1; and St. Chrys. *Hom.* xi.
in *1 Tim.* iii.); *πρόεδρος* (of bishops, in Euseb.
ii. E. viii. 2, &c.; *Conc. Trull.* cap. xxxvii.; and
προεδρία ἀποστολική = a bishopric, Theodor. et
iii. 14; of presbyters in Euseb. *ii. E. z. 4*, Synes.
Epist. xii.); *Præsidens* (Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* iii.,
and *Senator* of both, *id. Apol.* 39); *Præpositus*
(of bishops in St. Cypri. *Epist.* iii. ix. xiii. &c.;
St. Aug. *de Trin.* xv. 26, *Epist.* xiii.; of pres-
byters, in St. Cypri. *Epist.* 3, 21); *Antistes* (of
bishops repeatedly, as in Justinian's Code, St. Greg-
ory the Great, &c. &c.; and so expressly Isidor.
Hispal. Etymol. vii. xii. § 16; of presbyters, as in
Ambrosiust. in *1 Tim.* v.; of both bishop and pres-
byter, in St. Aug. *Serm.* 251 *de Poenit.*; but "an-
tistes ordine in secundo" of a presbyter, by the
time of Sidon. Apollin. *Epist.* lxx. 11); and sometimes
at first by the name itself of *ἑπισκόπος* (St. Iren.
adv. Hæc. iii. li. 2, IV. xxvi. 2, and ap. Euseb.
ii. E. v. 24; St. Clem. Alex. *Quis Dives Salvator*,
xlii., who calls the same person both *ἐπίσκοπος*
and *πρεσβύτερος*); while St. Augustin, after 1 Pet. v. 1, call presbyters "com-
presbyteri nostri;" and 4th century writers, as
Ambrosiust. in *1 Tim.* iii. 10, and the *Qu. Vot.*

et Nov. Test. cl. in Append. to St. Aug. III. li. 93, describe the bishop as "primus presbyter" or "inter presbyteros," and speak of "compresbyteri" and "consacriotes" (the use of "prælati" for bishop exclusively is altogether modern; but "De Prælatore Simplicitate" was a title of St. Cyp. *de Unit. Eccl.*; and the word is used for bishops and presbyters together in St. Greg. M. *Reg. Pastoral.*; it is used also of an abbat, as in *Conc. Suss.* li. A. D. 853).

Called also, and from an early date, by names exclusively belonging to bishops specifically such, as Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, or *Principes, Ecclesie, or Populi* (Origen, *cont. Cels.* li.; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 28, viii. 1; St. Chrys. *de Sacerd.* li. 14; St. Jerome repeatedly; Paulinus, *Epist. ad Alys.* xlv.; Optat. i. p. 15, ed. 1679; and so ἀρχιεπίσκοπος for bishopric, as e. g. in Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 29); or *Principes* simply (St. Jerome in *Ps.* xlv. and *Ev. Ix.* 17, &c.; and so in the 5th century [or more probably, in D'Achery, and in Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc. II.*]; *Rector*, as in Hilary the Deacon, in *Epist. Iv.*, and Greg. M. *Reg. Pastor.*; *Præsul* (Pope Julius, *Epist. ad Euseb.* ap. Constant. i. 382 [see Du Cange], and so *Præsulatus* = *Episcopatus* in e. g. Cassiodor.); Προηγούμενος and Πρωτοκαθήμενος (Herm. *Past. Vra.* li. 9); Πάπας or *Papa* (especially, at first, in Africa, Dion. Alex. *ad Philen.* in Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 7; Tertull. *de Pudic.* xlii.; Letters of St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Silvan. Apollin. &c., and in St. Jerome, Prudentius, Sulp. Severus, &c.—compare also *Abbas*, in the Church of Abyssinia), used down to a period later than Charlemagne (e. g. in Walaf. Strab. *de Reb. Eccl.* vii., about A. D. 840, and *Eulog. Cordub.* about A. D. 850) of all bishops (Bligh. II. li. 7; Casaubon, *Exercit.* xiv. § 4; Thomassin, I. l. 4, 50; Suicer; Du Cange); and in the East (as still in the Greek and Russian Churches) of presbyters also, and especially of abbots (but Gour's distinction, πάπας = a bishop, and παπάς = one of the lower orders of clergy, seems a refinement), but gradually restricted by usage in the West to the bishop of Rome (see *Conc. Tolet.* A. D. 400, Labbe, ii. 1227; *Conc. Rom. Patm.* A. D. 503; and Ennodius, *Lib. Apologet.*, of the same date; *Conc. Constantin.* A. D. 681, Act. 1, and 2; Gieseler refers to Jo. Dieemann, *de Vocis Papæ Actibus*, Viteberg. 1671), and finally and absolutely so limited by Greg. VII. in a Council of Rome, A. D. 1073 (Baron. *Martyrol.* Jan. 10); and in the East to the bishop of Alexandria (Thomassin, I. i. 50, § 14, Du Cange; but that it was granted formally to St. Cyril of Alexandria by Pope Celestine [Niceph. xiv. 34] is a manifest and confessed [Baron. as above] fiction);—sometimes, again, in the 5th century, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος (St. Aug. *Epist.* 142; St. Ambrose in 1 *Cor.* xi. 1; St. Jerome in 1 *Cor.* xi. 1, iv. 14, and from Rev. i. 11, and compare Gal. i. 8, iv. 14, and possibly 1 *Cor.* xi. 10); and so, in Saxon England, God's "Bydels," or messengers ("Bydels" *Laus of Ethelred*, vii. 19, and of *Canute*, 26);—and Ἐπίσκοπος, and the office Ἐπισκοπία (Philostorg. iii. 4, 15); and, in the 8th and later centuries, latinoised into *Speculator* (in *Conc. Suss.* li. A. D. 862); and varied by Anglo-Saxon "pompositas," in episcopal signatures to charters, into *Inspector, Superspector, Visitor, Inspector Plebis Dei, Katescopus Legis Dei*, &c. &c. (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl. passim*);—called also *Patriarcha* (so

Dupin, *Dissert.* i. § 5, and Suicer; the name being first confined to the higher bishops, see, to Suicer, by Socrates v. 8, c. A. D. 440), yet only theoretically so called in St. Greg. Naz. (*Orat.* 20, 30, 41) and St. Greg. Nysa. (*Orat. Funer. in Melet.*); and see Bligh. II. li. 9), but as an ordinary name under the Gothic kings of Italy (Athalaric, *Epist. ad Joann. Pap.* in Cassiodor. ix. 15).

Called also by names indicative of their functions) as, ἱεραρχία (Pseudo-Dion. Areop. *Eccl. Hierarch.* c. v.; &c.);—*Sacerdos* or *Pontifex*, often of bishops exclusively (Taylor, *Epist. Assert.* § 27); and so *Aeropyria* for bishopric, e. g. in Euseb. vi. 29.—*Summus* or *Maximus Pontifex*, or *Summus Sacerdos* (ironically in Tertull. *de Pudic.* i., but seriously, *de Bapt.* xvii.; and of all bishops as such, in St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Silvan. Apollin. *Qu. in Vet. et Nov. Test.* ci. &c.; *Conc. Agath.* A. D. 508, can. 35, and down to the 11th century [see Du Cange], the analogy of the Jewish Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος occurring as early as St. Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 1);—*Pater Patrum* and *Episcoporum Episcoporum*, but rhetorically only (Silvan. Apollin. *Epist.* vi. 1, after Pseudo-Clem. *ad Jacob.* *Epist.* 1); while in Africa, where the power of the metropolitan developed more slowly, St. Cyprian (p. 158, Fell) in *Conc. Carth.* declares that no one in Africa "Episcoporum se Episcoporum constituit;" and *Conc. Carth.* A. D. 256 (in St. Cyprian), and *Conc. Hippon.* Reg. A. D. 394, can. 39, in *Cod. Con. Eccl. Afric.*, forbid expressly the assumption of such titles as "Principes Sacerdotum, aut Summus Sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi," and command even the Primate of Africa to be called by no other title than that of "primæ sedis Episcopus;"—or again from the 4th century (but the term was also in substance in St. Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* vi. Ἐπισκοπῶν ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν Κόριον, and St. Cyp. *Epist.* 55, 63; and cf. 2 *Cor.* v. 20), *Vicarius Christi*—*Domini*—*Dei* (St. Basil. M. *Constit. Monast.* 22; Opp. li. 792 [δὲ τοῦ Σωτήριος ὑπέρων ὑπόστατος]; St. Ambrose in 1 *Cor.* xi. 10; Pseudo-Dion. Areop. *Eccl. Hier.* li. 2; *Qu. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 127, in App. ad Opp. St. Aug. iii.);—and from a considerably earlier date, *Vicarius* or *Successor Apostolorum* (Hippolyt. *Haer. Proem.* p. 3; St. Iren. *adv. Haer.* iii. 3; St. Cyp. *Epist.* 62, 69; Firmilian in St. Cyp. *Epist.* 55, 75; *Conc. Carth.* lii. in St. Cyprian, A. D. 256, can. lxxix.; St. Jerome, *Epist.* li. al. lvii.; Pseud. Dion. Areop. *Eccl. Hier.* ii. 2; and in substance St. Aug. in *Ps.* xlv. 16, *De Bapt.* c. in Donat. vii. 43, *Serm.* cii. c. 1, *De Util. Credienti.* § 35, *Epist.* 42, &c.);—also *Mediator* (Origen, St. Basil M., St. Chrys., *Apost. Constit.* iv. 26, &c., in *Cotel. ad Constit. Apost.* vol. i. p. 237; and *μετρίων Θεοῦ καὶ ἀσθράτων, τούτο γὰρ ἴσως ὁ ἱερός*, St. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* i.); but by St. Augustine's time it had become expedient to condemn the calling a bishop by the name of "Mediator" (*Cont. Parmen.* ii. 8, Opp. ix. 35);—*Ποιμήν*, *Pastor* (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 36; St. Greg. Naz. and St. Hilar. *passim*; *Conc. Sardic.* A. D. 347, can. vi.; Theodoret, iv. 8, &c. &c.; so in the English Prayer-book, "The bishops and pastors of Thy flock;" "pastores ovium;" in St. Cyp. of presbyters, but not *pastor* simply; so Taylor, *Episcop. Asserted.* § 25; see, however, the use of *μεταίτων*, in Acts xv. 28);—extravagantly denominated *Θεὸς Ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ Θεοῦ*, and by other extreme designations, in *Apost.*

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Constit. ii. 26; and at a later date, *Thomas Dei*
(Conc. Tolet. xi. A.D. 675, can. 5, and Charlevoix.
Cyprian, quoted by Du Cange).
 Designated also by the titles of,—1. *Apostolicus*,
 applied to all bishops (and their sees called "sedes
 Apostolica") as late as Charlemagne (St. Aug.
Epist. 42; Greg. Tur. *H. F.* ix. 42; Venant.
 Fortun. *Poen.* iii.); *Formulæ* in Marcellus;
 Gunthram in *Conc. Motis.* i. A.D. 585; and see
 Casinon, *Execrit.* xiv. § 4; and Thomassin, l. i.
 4); restricted at one time to metropolitans
 (Sirleius, A.D. 381-398, *Epist.* iv. c. 1; Alcuin,
de Div. Off. xxxvii.); but gradually turned into
 a substantive appellation of the bishop of Rome
 (as in Rup. Tuit. *de Div. Off.* l. 27, A.D. 1111);
 while a council of the 11th century is said to
 have excommunicated an archbishop of Gallicia
 for so styling himself [ARISTOCRATES]; and used in
 the 12th and following centuries as the Pope's ordinary
 designation (e. g. in the English Year-books,
 "L'Apostolle," or "L'Apostole"; Spelman's
 further statement—that he was called also
Apostolus—seems a mistake);—2. *Beatus*—
Sacrosanctissimus—*Reverendissimus*—*Deo Amabilis*
—Theofilóstatos—*Αγιάστατος*—*Μακαριόστατος*
—Οσιώστατος—*Αιδεσιμόστατος* (in the Councils,
 Justinian's Laws, superscriptions to letters, as St.
 Cyprina's, St. Augustin's, &c. &c.; and Soerates
 [H. E. vi. *Prooem.*] apologizes for not calling the
 bishops, his contemporaries, *Θεοφιλεστάτους ἢ*
ἀγιωτάτους ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα);—3. *Dominus*—*Δο-*
κράτης—*Συνέκτας Τύτ*—*Ἡ Σὴ Χρηστέτης, Μα-*
καρίστης, Ἀγιώτης (like authorities);—4. "Dei
 gratia Archiepiscopus" first occurs in England
 of Archbishop Theodore (Council of Hatfield, A.D.
 680, in *Baed. H. E.* iv. 17), and so on in general
 of his successors (e. g. of Nothelm, in Kemble,
Col. Dipl. 65), &c.;—5. Lastly, "Servus Ser-
 vorum Dei" is found as early as Desiderius,
 bishop of Cahors, A.D. 650, who so styles himself
 (Thomassin, l. i. 4, § 4).
 For the nature and institution of the Christian
 ministry as such—in so far as it is common to
 bishops and presbyters—see CLERGY, PRESBY-
 TERS. The special episcopal office as above de-
 scribed,—consisting in a presidency over the
 clergy and laity of a particular diocese, with a
 veto, and with a sole power of ordination,—and
 whether regarded [with later schoolmen] as one
 order with the presbyterate, on the ground of
 the powers of the ministry common to both,
 differed only by peculiar and additional powers
 belonging to bishops, or (according to the earlier
 and more common view) as a distinct order,
 on the ground of those additional powers,—finds its
 actual institution implied and recorded in the
 N. T.: 1. in the position of St. James of Jeru-
 salem (Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18, thl. ii. 0),
 affirmed also by all antiquity to have been bishop
 of Jerusalem;—2. in the appointment by St. Paul
 when his "measure" (1 Cor. x. 16) grew too
 large for his own personal supervision, of single
 officers, with powers of ordination (1 Tim. iii. 13,
 Tit. l. 5) and jurisdiction (both in church wor-
 ship, 1 Tim. ii. 1-12, and over all church mem-
 bers, including presbyters, 1 Tim. v. 1-22, Tit. i.
 5, ii.), and probably of confirmation (1 Tim. v.
 22), in the Apostle's stand (1 Tim. i. 3, Tit. i. 5),
 i. e. of bishops in the later sense of the term
 (removable, like later bishops, and, as it seems,
 actually removed, when the needs of the Church
 in a particular case required it),—viz. Timothy

at Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, certainly (and as
 the Fathers with one accord); and, not improb-
 ably, Epaphroditus at Philippi (Phil. ii. 25, and
 eo Theodoret in 1 Tim. vi. 1), and Archippus at
 Colosse (Col. iv. 17); to whom the Fathers add a great
 many more (see a list in *Apost. Constit.* vii. 47,
 and among moderns in Andrewes, *Epist.* l. ad Pet.
Molin., *Opp. Posth.* pp. 185, 180);—3. in the "Ἀγ-
 γελος of Rev. i.-iii. [ANGELS OF CHURCHES], who
 were real individual persons, although symbol-
 ized as stars (Rev. i. 20), just as the Churches
 they governed were real Churches, which are
 symbolized likewise as ecclesiasticks; and who
 are proved to have been bishops, (i.) by the
 analogy of Gal. i. 8, iv. 14; (ii.) by their stand-
 ing for and representing their several Churches;
 (iii.) by the fact (see further on) that St. John
 appointed bishops from city to city in these ve-
 rified; (iv.) by the current interpretation of
 the term from early times, as in St. Jerome,
 St. Ambrose, St. Aug., Oecumen. and Arctans in
Apost. p. &c.; to which may be added the
 probable mention (the reading of Rev. ii. 20 being
 not altogether certain) of the wife of one of them.
 And these intimations find their counterpart and
 confirmation, (1) in express statements of early
 Fathers, as (i.) St. Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* l. 44,
 that the Apostles, having appointed presbyter-
 bishops and deacons in the several Churches
 in the first instance, proceeded, as a further and
 distinct step, in order to provide for the con-
 tinuance of the ministry without schisms or
 quarrels, to appoint some further institution,
 whereby the succession of such presbyters and
 deacons might be kept up, as first by the Apostles
 themselves, so after them by other chosen men;
 i. e. in other words, instituted the order of bishops:
 ἐπίσκοπον [οἱ Ἀπόστολοι] τοὺς προεπιμένον-
 [ἐπίσκοπους καὶ διακόνους], καὶ μετὰ ἐπινοῶν
 δεδόκασι, ἵνας ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαβίωται
 ἑτέροι δέδοκιμασμένοι ἄνθρωποι τὴν λειτουργίαν
 αὐτῶν τοὺς οὖν κατατάθῃτας ὅτι ἐκείνων [i. e.
 the Apostles themselves] ἢ μετὰ ὅψ' ἑτέρων
 ἄλλογιων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. (ii.) The *Murillovium*
Glossa (p. 17, ed. Tregelles). "Quartii Evan-
 geliorum Johannis ex decipulis." [John the Apostle
 as distinguished from John Baptist], "cohor-
 tantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis";—Ter-
 tullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 5). "Ordo episcoporum
 aut originem recensens in Joanne stabit au-
 thorem."—St. Clement Alex. (*quis Dives Selectur.*
xliii. Opp. p. 959, and in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 21).
 Ἀπῆκε [sc. St. John when returned from Patmos
 to Ephesus] παρακαλοῦμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πη-
 γιῶν ἡρώδων, ἵνα γέ τινος κληρώσων τῶν ὀψὲ
 πνεύματος σημαίνοντες;—St. Jerome (*Catal.*
Script. *Ecol.* ix.), "Novissimum omnium scriptis
 [Joannes] Evangelium, rogatus ab Asine Epit-
 scopis";—testifying to the appointment by St.
 John of bishops from city to city, and to their
 existence as a settled and established order from
 his time. (2) In the fact, that bishops in the
 later sense are actually found in every Church
 whatsoever, from the moment that any evidence
 exists at all; and that such evidence exists,
 either simply to an actual bishop at the time,
 or more commonly to such a bishop as in suc-
 cession to a line of predecessors traced up to

Apostles, and with no intimation of such episcopate being anything else but the original, appointed, and unbroken order: and this, in the case of Antioch, and of Asia Minor generally, as early as the first decade of the 2nd century, in other cases within the first forty years of that century; in others, as *e. g.* Ephesus, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Athens, within the last quarter of the first—*i. e.* either close upon the death of the last Apostle, or within about a quarter of a century of it, or long before it happened—a space of time within which, taken at the longest, it is historically impossible that so great a revolution (if it had been one) should have been not only accomplished but forgotten. A detailed list of these cases may be found in an *Excursus* by Professor Lightfoot *On the Philippians*. The only discoverable exceptions,—that of the Church of Corinth when St. Clement wrote to it, and that of Philippi when St. Polycarp wrote to it,—are so few and so temporary, as to prove merely that the whole of the needs of a rapidly growing Church could not be supplied at once, and that circumstances (as *e. g.* the martyrdom perhaps, or that deportation, of an Apostle) might leave this or that Church temporarily unprovided with a bishop. In the words of Ambroaster (*i. e.* Hilary the Deacon), it so happened, "quia aliqui rectores Ecclesie non omnibus locis fuerant constituti" (*In 1 Cor.* xi. 2). And there certainly were bishops in both the places named immediately afterwards. Nor, further, (3) was there any substantial difference in the office itself from that subsequently so styled. St. Clement of Rome, for instance, so absolutely represented his Church as to write in the name of that Church; and is described by Irenaeus Pastor (*Vis.* ii. 4) as officially communicating in its name with foreign Churches; and is placed by St. Irenaeus and others as one in a series of bishops, all so called in the same sense. And although the succession of the heads of the school at Alexandria (for which see Bing. III. x. 5) may well have been more important in point of influence than that of the bishops of that see, it did not interfere with the office and succession of those bishops, which is carefully recorded (as is that of all the principal sees) by Eusebius. Nor again does St. Irenaeus, who speaks of a "succession" also of "presbyters," and indeed calls bishops themselves occasionally "presbyters," know of any difference between the bishop of Rome of his own time (assuredly a bishop in the later sense) and the succession of single heads of the Church of Rome, whom he names in order from Apostolic times down to that same bishop.

The Episcopate then is historically the continuation, in its permanent elements, of the Apostolate. And, accordingly, the reasons assigned for the actual appointment of the episcopate are: (1) as given by St. Paul himself, to take the place of the Apostles (*Tim.* i. 3; *Tit.* i. 5), and for the better maintenance of the faith (*ib.*), and in order to a due ordination of the ministry (*Tit.* i. 5). To these the Fathers add, (2) other reasons, drawn apparently from their own experience of the benefits of the episcopate: as St. Clem. Rom. and St. Jerome, who allege it to have been instituted as a preventive of schisms; and St. Irenaeus and Tertullian, a little later than the first named, who regard it as a safeguard of the faith (and see 1 Tim.

i. 3; *Tit.* ii. 1); and St. Cyprian, a little later still, who chiefly dwells upon it as a bond of unity; in which point of view St. Ignatius also had regarded it at the beginning. The further suggestion hazarded by St. Jerome—that it was an afterthought of the Apostles, suggested to them by the schisms at Corinth—is inconsistent with the fact that bishops existed before those schisms. And the gradual spread of the institution is best explained by the sensible and natural remark of Eriphanus, that *ὅτι πάντα εὐθὺς ἠδυνήθησαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καταστήσαι*, and that presbyters and deacons could administer a church for a while, until *χρεία γέγονε* (*Haer.* lxxv. § 5; *Opp.* i. 908). Bishops, who came in place of Apostles, could not, indeed, have existed both coincidentally and contemporaneously with those in whose place they came, but only as the growth of the Church, and the removal of the Apostles, required and made room for them. A theory started recently (by Rothe, *Aufstieg der Christlichen Kirche*, 354–392, quoted by Lightfoot) of a special and formal Council of the Apostles, which among other things instituted episcopacy, as one among a series of "second ordinances," seems to rest upon insufficient grounds (see Lightfoot's *Excursus* to the Philippians, before quoted), and to transform a really apostolic origin into a single definite and formal apostolic act: like the parallel but ancient tradition respecting the composition of the Creed. On the other hand, space of time literally shuts out the much older theory, viz. that there was a period at the beginning when each Church was governed by a college of presbyters, until "ecclesiastical authority" established a bishop over each college, in order to put an end to schisms, and notably to those at Corinth; unless, with St. Jerome, the originator of it, we take the "ecclesiastical authority" to mean the Apostles themselves, and the period in question to be reduced therefore so as to fall within the lifetime of the Apostles, and so refer it simply to the colleges of presbyters, who during such lifetime did undoubtedly govern the several Churches under the Apostles: thus rendering the hypothesis at once very true and equally innocuous, and in effect identifying it with the contemporary statement of St. Clem. Rom. before quoted. Later repetitions of St. Jerome's theory, and often of his words, may be found in writers of the Western Church (see quotations in Morinus, *de Sac. Ord.* III. ii. 11 sq.) down to the 10th or 11th century. But these are of course simply St. Jerome over again. Contemporaneously however with him,—yet (as it should seem) chiefly with the view of repressing the presumption (not of bishops but of deacons, or (as in Augustin's case) in order to turn a courteous compliment to a presbyter (viz. St. Jerome),—the original identity both of the names, and of the offices, of bishop and presbyter, became a current topic: *e. g.* in St. Aug. *Epist.* 19 ad S. Hieron.; Ambrosian, in 1 *Tim.* iii., and in *Eph.* iv.; *Qu. Vet. et Nov. Test.* ci.; Anon. in 1 *Tim.* iii. 17, in App. ad *Opp.* s. Hieron.; *Lit.* ad Euseb. de *VII. Grad. Eccl.* in the same App.; and *Sedul. Scot.* in *Epist.* ad *Tit.* i.; Isid. Hispal. de *Offic. Eccl.* vii.; and of course St. Jerome himself. And while St. Augustin assigns the "usus Ecclesiae" as the ground for the subsequent appropriation of the names ("honorum vocabula"), St. Jerome (as already said) affirms of the office itself, as dis-

inct from the Ecclesiastical Dominion, that it is himself the one and in as such above or could do like duties of the general curacy, in *Eph.* caretur, evangelic explanation est Ecclesiae tor et et nullum resset, pte creditum pressurae had fully had still law, acts which w particular and of ar of contr stances, are here the Church discharge are done tullian's whether absolute minister that in s for the d lions, see 1. *Ellec* a. *Illo* *goravla* se from the and (exce bishop sent by St. At i. 19, The Sixtus by diocese ov clergy and the relative apparently but by Ap instance b. vian [Nim tione"] [Ac Fell],—anc mon sense; scopus pra pleissime inivis detu or that, "C bus eligat Παπὰ πάρρη (Suenos) (C iv. 698) commonly t

finet from that of presbyter, that it arose "ex Ecclesie consuetudine magis quam dispositionis Dominice veritate" (which means, apparently, that it rests upon no written words of our Lord Himself) asserting, at the same time, that it was the one absolutely necessary preventive of schism, and in effect that the Apostles had established it as such; and also (in common with all the others above quoted) that presbyters, whatever else they could do, could not ordain. Another view, of a like date with St. Jerome's, probably represents the general facts of the case with very fair accuracy, viz. that contained in Hilary the Deacon, in *Ephes.* iv.: "Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare: ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est Ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt et rectores et cetera officia in Ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum." In other words, under pressure of necessity, before the Church could be fully organized, and before a longer duration had stiffened it into orderly system and regular law, acts were allowed and held good to any one, which were properly and primarily the office of particular officers, viz. of "Rectores," i. e. bishops, and of an ordained clergy; those acts being done of course not against—but owing to circumstances, not by—the clergy. And those which are here specified, moreover, are such only as the Church has ever held to be capable of being discharged by any Christian man, so that they are done in unity with the Church. Even Tertullian's well-known words do not make it plain, whether he meant to affirm that, in case of absolute necessity, laymen might formally administer the Eucharist, or whether not rather that in such a case the will would be accepted for the deed. For this, however, and like questions, see PRIEST, BAPTISM.

1. The first step towards making a bishop was his

1. Election.

a. *Who elected.*—The election of bishops [*γερουσία* sometimes, commonly *ἐκλογή*] pertained from the beginning to the neighbouring bishops, and (except in the obviously special cases of a bishop sent to the heathen [as *e. g.* Frumentius by St. Athanasius to the Abyssinians,—Socrat. i. 19, Theodoret, i. 23,—or St. Augustine to the Saxons by St. Gregory], or of one sent to a diocese overrun with heresy or schism), to the clergy and laity of the particular Church. But the relative rights of each class of electors were apparently determined, not by express enactment, but by Apostolic practice, defended in the first instance by Jewish precedent—"Traditione Divina" [Num. xx. 25, 26] and Apostolic observation" [Acts i. 15, vi. 2] (St. Cyp. *Epist.* lxxvii. Fell.)—and subsequently upon grounds of common sense and equity,—as that, "Deligatur episcopus preesente plebe, quae singulorum vitam pleissime novit" (*id. ib.*), or that, "Nullus invitatus detur episcopus" (Caelestin. *Epist.* ii. 5); or that, "Qui praefaturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur" (Leo M. *Epist.* lxxix); or again, Παρὰ πάντων τῶν μελλόντων ποιμαίνεσθαι ψηφισμένοι (Conc. Chalc. A. D. 451; Act. xl. Labbe, iv. 698). The judgment [*ἐπιτελεῖς iudicium*] i. e. commonly the choice, and the ratification [*κρῆσις*],

naturally inclined to the bishops, so that for the first 500 years such elections were ordinarily ruled by them. The approval [*συνεδοκασία*, *consensus*] and the testimony to character [*λαογραφία* *testimonium*] were the more proper office of the clergy and laity of the diocese itself. While the formal appointment [*κατάστασις*, which included the ordination] belonged exclusively, as to the Apostles at first, so to the *ἐλλόγιμοι ἄνδρες* (St. Clem. Rom. ad *Corinth.* i. xlvii.) who succeeded them, i. e. the bishops. But both classes of electors are found (so soon as we have any evidence to the point, i. e. from the middle of the 3rd century) taking the initiative in different cases. And the clergy, and the people, alike, possessed the right of giving a "suffragium de personā," as well as a "testimonium de vitā" (Andrews, *Resp. ad Bellarm.* xiii.); a right, however, alternating in point of fact between a choice and a veto, and fluctuating with circumstances.

The germ of such a mode of election is found in the N. T. The *κατάστασις* (Acts vi. 3, Tit. i. 5, and compare Heb. v. 1, viii. 3, and St. Matt. xxiv. 45, &c.) was throughout reserved to the Apostles or their successors; but the "choice" of the persons and the "testimony" to their character pertained to the people in the case of the seven deacons (Acts vi. 2, 3); the former to St. Paul and the latter to "the brethren," in that of Timothy (Acts xvi. 2, 3); St. Paul alone (unless so far as the "presbytery" joined in the act) both chose and sent Timothy and Titus respectively to Ephesus and to Crete (1 Tim. i. 3, 18; Tit. i. 5); the whole of the disciples appear to have chosen the two between whom lots were to be cast in the case of St. Matthias (Acts i. 23), which is however an exceptional case; while the word *χειροτονέω* (Acts xiv. 23) leaves it undetermined whether St. Paul and Barnabas only ordained, or did not also choose, the Pisidian presbyters. The earliest non-Scriptural witness, writing however before the N. T. canon was closed, St. Clement of Rome (as above), agrees precisely with the N. T., in terms as well as substance. He reserves the *κατάστασις*, as by express Apostolic appointment, to the Apostles and their successors, but *συνεδοκασίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πάσης*: speaking, it is true, of the case of *ἐπίσκοποι* who were presbyters, but in language which must almost certainly apply also to that of bishops properly so called. In conformity also with this we find, after A. D. 69, and upon the martyrdom of St. James, the remaining Apostles and personal disciples of Christ and His surviving relatives, meeting together and joining in the appointment of Symeon the son of Cleopas to the bishopric of Jerusalem (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 11). The theory, that at first the "senior presbyter" succeeded as of right to the episcopate, and that at some early time a change was effected, "prospiciente cœcilio," such that thenceforth "meritum, non ordo," should select the bishop, seems to be only a 4th century hypothesis, based upon what no doubt was a frequent practice, of Ambrosiaster, i. e. Hilary the Deacon, in *Eph.* iv. 12; who however is thinking of the election, not of the consecration, of a bishop, whose specific office is also he distinctly recognizes in the passage itself.

The natural course of things, and the increasingly fixed and detailed organization of the Church, gradually defined and modified the ori-

ginal practice thus inaugurated: 1. by introducing the metropolitan (and, further on, the patriarch), as a power more and more preponderant in such elections; and 2. by regulating the rights of the provincial bishops; both points formalized into canons by the great Nicene Council; 3. by substituting for the unavoidable disorder and evil of a strictly popular suffrage (*ὄχλοισι*), an election by the chief only of the laity (a change begun by the Councils of Sardica, A.D. 347, and Laodicea, A.D. 363, and finally established by Justinian); still further restricted in practice in important cases to a nomination by the emperor alone; and changed from the middle of the 6th century into a general right of royal consent, converted commonly, and as circumstances allowed, in the case of the European kingdoms, and partially in that of the Eastern empires also, into a right of royal nomination, concurrent with, but gradually and in ordinary cases reducing to a mere form, the old canonical mode of election. The substitution, further, in the West, of the clergy of the cathedral as the electoral body, and in the East of the provincial bishops solely, in place of the old "plebs et clerus" of the diocese, or at the least of the cathedral town, hardly dates before the 6th and 10th centuries.

The classical passages for ante-Nicene times are principally from St. Cyprian, and belong to Africa, A.D. 252-254.—"Diligenter de traditione Divina et Apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum (quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias totas tenetur), ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui praepositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provinciae proximi qui conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe praesente, quae singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione prospexit" (*Epist.* lxxvii. addressed to the Spanish Churches).—"Instruit et ostendit (Deus) ordinationes sacerdotales nominis sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere" [*scil.* Num. xv. 25, 26; Acts i. 15, vi. 2]; "ut plebe praesente vel detegantur in malorum crimina vel honorum merita praedicentur; et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quae omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata" (*id.* *ib.*).—"De universae fraternitatis suffragio, de episcoporum qui in praesentia conveniant judicio (*id.* *ib.*).—"Episcopo semel facto, et collegarum et plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato" (*id.* *Epist.* xlv.).—"Cornelius factus est episcopus [Romae] de Dei et Christi Ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis quae tunc adfuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et honorum virorum collegio" (*id.* *Epist.* lv.).—"Post Divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post co-episcoporum consensum" (*id.* *Epist.* lix.).—"Episcopo Cornelio in Catholica Ecclesia de Dei judicio, de cleri ac plebis suffragio, ordinato" (*id.* *Epist.* lxviii.).—In which passages, *suffragium, judicium, testimonium, consensus*, appear to be used without precise discrimination, either in regard to meaning, or to the several classes of electors and their respective functions, and to express little more than St. Clement of Rome's vaguer term, *συνεὸδοκτος*.

The same rule is testified in the East by the joint evidence of Origen.—"Requiritur in ordinando sacerdote praesentia populi, ut sentiant omnes et certi sint, quia qui praesentior est ex omni

populo, qui doctior, qui sanctior, qui in omni virtute eminentior, ille eligatur ad sacerdotium; et hoc, adstante populo, ne qua postmodum retractatio culpam, ne quis serpens residet" (*Hom.* vi. in *Levit.*, Opp. ii. 216, ed. Leharue);—and of the cases mentioned by Eusebius; as, e. g., *Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν ὁμῶν Ἐκκλησίαν προσηκόων*, to elect Dins bishop of Jerusalem, c. A.D. 190 (*H. E.* vi. 10);—Alexander, ordained Bishop of Jerusalem, A.D. 214, *μετὰ κοινῆς τῶν Ἐπισκόπων οἱ τὰς περὶ διέσειον Ἐκκλησίας γνώμης* (*ib.* 11);—*Τὸν πάντα λαὸν . . . ἄξιον ἐπιβοῆσαι* [seried out that Fabian was worthy to be bishop of Rome], *τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάντων χειροτονίας ἐνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλουτος διαδόχου τῆν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας συγκαροτημένων* (*ib.* vi. 29, A.D. 236);—and, similarly, the neighbouring "bishops, presbyters, deacons, and the Churches," assembled at Antioch A.D. 269 or 270, deposed Paul of Samosata, and appointed Demas bishop of Antioch in his place, *The Apostolic Canons* (can. i.), and *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 27, require three or at least two bishops to the *χειροτονία*, which at least involves the election, of a bishop. The former (can. xxiv.) take also the farther step of requiring reciprocally the *γνώμη τοῦ πρώτου* (the metropolitan), and the *γνώμη πάντων* to all church acts. And the latter (viii. 4) enjoin that the people shall be thrice asked if the candidate is worthy. *Apostolic Canon* lxxvi. further enjoins, that no bishop, in order to gratify a brother or any other relative, shall *εἰς τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὄν βούλεται, χειροτονεῖν*. And the Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314, can. xviii.) proves the power of the people, as the last quoted canon does that of the bishops, by providing for the case of one "constituted" (*κατασταθείς*) a bishop, but rejected by the diocese (*παροικία*) to which he had been consecrated, such rejection being apparently assumed to be conclusive as regarded the particular diocese; although in *Apost. Can.* xxxvi. it is ordered, on the contrary, that the bishop in such a case shall "remain." The case of Alexandria in early times was confessedly exceptional, and arose from the seditious character of the Alexandrians (*Epphan. Haer.* lix. 11). The presbyters of that city by themselves chose one of their own number (nec. to the well-known words of St. Jerome), and that immediately, i. e., as it should seem, without waiting for the voice of the people, or for that of the bishops of the patriarchate (see also the strange story in Liberatus, *Breviar.* xx.). The Christian (and Jewish) practice, "in praedicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt," was also recognized, and copied, in the case of provincial governors, by the emperor Alexander Severus (Lampyril, in *V. Alex. Severi*). The Council of Nice (A.D. 325) reorganized and established the power of the provincial bishops, and the authority of the metropolitan, by requiring (can. iv.), if it can be had [*πρωτεύου μάλιστα*], the personal presence of "all the bishops of the province (*ἐπαρχία*)," in order to the appointment (*καθίστασθαι*) of a bishop; but if this cannot be had, then of at least three, *συνάξιον γινόμενον καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ συγθεμιμένων διὰ γράμματα*, the ratification (*εἶρησι*) being reserved to the metropolitan; and (can. vi.) by voiding elections made *χωρὶς γνώμης μητροπολίτου*. The Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, recognizes also both people, provincial bishops, and metropolitan, by voiding (can. xvi.) an elec-

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tion made *δίχα τελείας συνόδου* (defined to be one "at which the metropolitan is present"), *καὶ εἰ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἔλοιτο*. It repeats also in substance (can. xix.) the 4th Nicene canon; while (in can. xviii.), providing for the case of a bishop refused by his diocese, it refers the final decision to the synod. And it voids (can. xxiii.) an appointment by a single bishop of his own successor, referring such election, according to *τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν θεσμὸν*, to the synod and judgment of the bishops, whose right it was. The Council of Sardica, A.D. 347 (can. ii.), cancels an election made by the "clamour" of the people, with suspicion of bribery or undue influence; and (can. vi.) also requires the consent of the metropolitan [*τὸν ἐξάρχου τῆς ἐπαρχίας*]. That of Laodicea, A.D. 365, assigns the choice (*κρίσις*) to the metropolitan and *οἱ περίε* Ἐπίσκοποι (can. xii.); and, on the other side, takes the first step against popular elections by forbidding (can. xix.) *τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὸν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἱερατείαν*. The Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, informs Pope Damasus of the validity of the election of Nectarius to the see of Constantinople, as having been made "by the common consent of all, in the presence of the emperor, with the applause of clergy and all people"—of the like validity of that of Flavian to Antioch, because "canonically elected by the assembled bishops" *τῆς ἐπαρχίας καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διακονίας, πάσης συμφήρου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*—and of that of Cyril to Jerusalem, because, similarly, *παρὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας χειροτονηθέντα* (*Epist. Synod. ap. Theodoret. v. 9*). Of the Councils of Carthage, the Second (so called), A.D. 390 (can. xii.), requires the consent of the primate; the Third, A.D. 397 (can. xxxix.), three bishops at least, appointed by the primate; the Fourth, A.D. 398 (can. i.), the "consensus clericorum et laicorum," and the "conventus totius provinciae episcoporum, maximeque metropolitanorum auctoritas vel presentia." The Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 (can. xix.), secures their right to the bishops of Cyprus as against the patriarch of Antioch, but as not being within his jurisdiction. And that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Act. xvi. Labbe, iv. 817), requires the consent of all or the major part of the bishops of the province, *τὸ κύριος ἔχουτος τοῦ μητροπολίτου*; and affirms the authority of the metropolitan also in Act. xiii. (p. 713), and in can. xxv. (p. 768). Similar testimony to the necessity of the metropolitan's consent is borne by Pope Innocent I., "Extra consentium metropolitani episcopi nullus audeat ordinare episcopum" (*Epist. i. c. 2, A.D. 402 x 417*); by Boniface I. (*Epist. iii. A.D. 418 x 423*); by Leo the Great (*Epist. lxxxix. i. c. 1*); by Pope Hilary (*Epist. ii. A.D. 461 x 468*); by *Conc. Turin.*, can. i. A.D. 401; and by *Conc. Arelat.*, can. v. A.D. 452.

On the other hand, these enactments respecting the provincial bishops, and the growing power of the metropolitans, did not extinguish the rights of the clergy and all people; who remained a real power for many centuries still, and continued so in name (in the West) down to the 12th century. The Council of Nice itself, in dealing with the Meletian schism, required the choice of the people (*εἰ ὁ λαὸς ἀποίτη*), as well as the sanction of the Alexandrian metropolitan (*συνεπιψηφίζοντας καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντας τὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας Ἐπισκόπου*), in case a recon- ciled

Meletian bishop was appointed to a see (*Epist. Synod. ap. Theodoret. i. 9, Socrat. i. 9*). St. Athanasius, immediately after the council, was elected bishop of Alexandria, *ψήφῳ τοῦ λαοῦ πάντος* (St. Greg. Naz. *Orat. xxi.*), and by the acclamation and demand of *πάν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (*Epist. Synod. Alex. ap. Athanas. Apol. ii.*); and Peter, who succeeded him, was chosen first by the priests and magistrates, and then accepted by the people (*ὁ λαὸς ἄπας ταῖς εὐφημίαις ἔδηλουν τὴν ἡγήνην*, Theodoret, iv. 20); which indicates that Alexandrian elections did not then at any rate possess any exceptional character. So also Pope Julius (in S. Athan. *Apol.*) condemns the intrusion of Gregory into the see of Alexandria, as being, 1. A stranger; 2. Not baptized there; 3. Unknown to most; 4. Not asked for by either presbyters, bishops, or people. Later still, the rights of the "clerus" and "plebs" are testified by a continuous chain of witnesses: as, e. g., by the Councils of Antioch, A.D. 341, can. cviii., and the 4th Council of Carthage, A.D. 398, can. i. (both above quoted), and *Con. Loc. African.*, can. xiii., *ὅπῳ πόλλων*—a multis—*χειροτονεῖσθαι*; and again, (1) in the West, by Pope Siricius (A.D. 394 x 398, *Epist. i. c. 10*, "Si cum cleri ac plebis evocaverit electio," and this either to presbyterate or episcopate); Pope Zosimus (A.D. 417, *Epist. iii.*); Pope Caecilius (A.D. 422 x 422, *Epist. ii. c. 5*, "Cleri, plebs, et orlinus"); Leo the Great (A.D. 440 x 461, *Epist. lxxxv.*, "Cleri plebsque," and the metropolitan to decide a disputed election;—*Epist. lxxxix.* "Vota civium, testimonia populorum, honoratum arbitrium, electio clericorum";—*Epist. xcii.* "A clericis electi, a plebibus expetiti, a provincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani iudicio consecrati"); Pope Symmachus (A.D. 498 x 514, *Epist. v. c. 6*); Pope the Great (*Gratian*, see quotations in Thomassin, II. ii. 10); by the form itself of election in the *Ordo Romanus* (*Suppl. PP. c. 104*); by the system of *Episcopi Interiores* or *Interiores*, or, later, *Visitatores*, sent down to the vacant see to superintend the election, and not only existing in Africa, but repeatedly mentioned in the letters of Gregory the Great, of Innocent, &c. See [INTERVISITATORES; VISITATORES]; by St. Jerome ("Spectulator Ecclesiae vel episcopus vel presbyter, qui a populo electus est," in *Eccl. lib. x. c. 33*; *Opp.* iii. 933); Optatus ("Suffragio totius populi," lib. i.); Sulpic. Severus (*de V. B. Martin.* c. vii., of the election of St. Martin of Tours, A.D. 371); Silius Apollinaris (*Epist. lib. viii. Ep. 5, 8, 9*, of the election of the metropolitan of Bourges, A.D. 472); St. Augustine (*Epist. cx. Opp. ii. 601*, of the election of his own successor); by *Conc. of Orleans II. A.D. 533*, can. vii.,—of Clermont in Auvergne, A.D. 535, can. ii.,—of Orleans III. A.D. 538, can. iii.;—and (2) in the East, by the case of Eustathius, compelled to accept the see of Antioch, A.D. 325, by *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ λεῖται καὶ ἄπας ὁ λαὸς ὁ φιλόχριστος, ψήφῳ κοινῇ* (Theodoret, l. 7); by that of Eusebius to the see of Caesarea in Pontus, A.D. 362, *ὁ δῆμος ἄπας . . . ἔκοντα συναρπάσαντες . . . τοῖς Ἐπισκόποις προηγήσαντο, τελεσθῆναι τε ἤξιον καὶ κηρυχθῆναι, πειθὸν βίαν ἀναμίζοντες* (St. Greg. Naz. *Orat. xix.*, condemning also the carrying such elections *κατὰ φρατρίδας καὶ συγγενείας*); by that of Nectarius to the see of Constantinople, A.D. 381, *κοινῇ ψήφῳ τῆς συνόδου* (Sozom. vii. 8), but also

actor, qui in omni v. r. ar ad sacerdotium; et a postmodum retrahuntur resisteret" (*Hom. d. Velarue*);—and of obius; as, e. g., *Δόξαν προστάσσειν*, to elect c. A.D. 190 (*Il. E. vi.* bishop of Jerusalem, *ἐπισκόπων οἱ πᾶς περίε* (*ib. 11*);—*Τὸν πάντα* (cried out that Fabian [Rome], *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐν ἐπί τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* 29, A.D. 236);—and, "bishops, presbyters, assembled at Antioch Paul of Samosata, and of Antioch in his place, i.), and *Ἀριστολιό* *Conc.* three or at least two *αἰα*, which at least in bishop. The former further step of *μελλόντων τοῦ πρώτου* (*ἐν ἡμερῶν πάντων* to all (viii. 4) enjoin that asked if the candidate *nom* lxxvi. further enjoin to gratify a brother all *eis* τὸ ἄξιωμα τῆς *χειροτονίας*. And the 314, can. xviii.) proves is the last quoted canon i.), by providing for the (*κατασταθείς*) a bishop, *αἰε* (*παροικία*) to which, such rejection being conclusive as regarded although in *Apost. Can.* the contrary, that the "l" remain." The case *ones* was confessedly ex- the seditious character *iphian. Theor. lxx. 11*). *ity* by themselves *ce* (acc. to the well-known *f* that immediately, i. e., *f* it can be had *πρωτεύου* presence of "all the (*ἐπαρχία*)," in order to *τασθα*) of a bishop; but then of at least three, *αἰ* τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ συν- *α*, the ratification (*κρίσις*) metropolitan; and (can. vi.) *αἰ* *χωρίς γνώμης μητρο- λ* of Antioch, A.D. 341. *people*, provincial bishops *iding* (can. xvi.) an elec-

ἀρπασθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ (Socrat. v. 8); by that of St. Chrysostom, A.D. 397, to Constantine, whom ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδιος μεταπέμψεται, to make him archbishop, ψηφίσματι κοινῷ ὁμοῦ πάντων, κλήρου τε φημι καὶ λαοῦ (Socrat. vi. 2); to which may be added the recognition by Leo the emperor (A.D. 457 × 474) of the κλήρος καὶ τοῦ κοινῷ (Evagr. iii. 12); and abundant other evidence, of which some will occur further on.

The Laonicene Council, however, A.D. 365 (as above quoted), took the first step towards the ultimate practical extinction of really popular elections; although elections by acclamation, held to be not irregular as springing from a kind of supposed Divine inspiration, or again by cries of *Dignus* or ἄξιος, still occurred: as, e.g. in the cases mentioned by St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, Philostorgius, Photius, cited by Bingham, IV. ii. 6; in the case of St. Ambrose himself (Paulin. in *V. S. Ambrosii*, Theodoret, iv. 7; Sozom. vi. 24); in that of Sisinius at Constantinople, A.D. 426 (Socrat. vii. 26). But a general suffrage was from that time gradually superseded as the ordinary rule by the votes of the rich or high in station. And successive councils recognized the practice, up to the time when Justinian enacted it by express law. In the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, complains that his opponent sought to be elected by the votes of τὸ σέμνον βουλευτήριον καὶ τοὺς λαμπροτάτους (*Epist. Cathol. in Conc. Ephes.* Labbe ii. 764). Leo the Great and the Roman Council, on occasion of Flavian's condemnation by the *Catrociniūm Ephesinum*, A.D. 442, write in his favour, "Clero, honoratis, et plebi, consistenti apud Constantinopolim" (*Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, p. i. c. 22; Labbe, iv. 47). And the same Leo also mentions the "honorati" expressly, although not exclusively, *Epist.* lxxxix. cvi. Stephen of Ephesus (*Conc. Chalced.* Act. xi.; Labbe, iv. 687) claims to have been appointed by forty bishops of Asia, ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων καὶ τῶν λογάδων καὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου πάντος κλήρου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων τῆς πάλεως πάσης. And in Act. xvi. of the same council (Labbe, *ib.* 618), the right of election is said to belong to the clergy, the κλήρους καὶ λαμπροτάτους ἄνδρες, and the bishops, "all or most," of the province. Again (*ib.* p. lii. c. 21, Labbe, *ib.* 890), the people of Alexandria and its "honorati et ciriales et nauticari," are said to have demanded Timothy as their bishop; while Liberatus (*Breviar.* xiv. xv.) affirms that Proterius, on the other hand, the bishop upon whom Timothy was intruded, was elected by the "nobiles civitatis," which he also expresses as "decreto populi." Finally, Justinian established by direct law that the κληρικοὶ καὶ πρῶτοι τῆς πάλεως should choose three persons, whenever a vacancy occurred, of whom the ordainer [*i. e.* the metropolitan] should ordain the one who in his judgment was the best qualified (*Novell.* cxxiii. c. 1, cxxvii. c. 2, and *Cod. lib. i. tit. lii. De Episcopis*, l. 42). The 2nd Council of Arles, A.D. 452, had previously adopted a different plan for attaining the same end; viz. that the bishops should choose the three candidates, out of whom the "clerici vel cives" were to select one (*can. liv.*). And the Spanish Council of Barcelona subsequently, A.D. 399, so far varied the rule of Justinian as to enact (after the pattern of St. Matthias' election) that the decision should be made by lot, between two or three,

electd by the "clerus et plebs," and presented to the metropolitan and bishops (*can. liii.*). The common phrase in St. Gregory the Great's Letters is "clerus, ordo, et plebs;" or, "clerus et nobiles, ordo et plebs."

From the time of Justinian onwards, both in East and West, the chief power in the election of bishops, on the Church side, inclined to the metropolitan, but as choosing with the provincial bishops from three candidates elected by the principal people, clergy and laity, of the see; the whole process, however, being summarily overruled upon occasion by the emperors; as also in course of time, and much more continuously and absolutely, by the Frankish, Spanish, and Gothic kings. Before this time, indeed, both Theodosius the Great, and Theodosius the Younger, had interferred by an absolute nomination in three several appointments to the see of Constantinople (Socrat. vii. 8, 29, 40), for obvious political reasons. And Valentinian had interferred in a like manner to enforce the popular demand for the consecration of St. Ambrose to Milan (Theodoret, iv. 6). But such interference was confessedly irregular, had been expressly condemned by *Can. Apostol.* xxx., and was in earlier times protested against, as, e.g. by St. Athanasius (*Epist. ad Solit. V. Agentes*, § 51, Opp. i. 375), demanding, Ποῖος κανὼν ἐπὶ παλαιῶν πέμπασθαι τὸν Ἐπισκοπον). But from the 6th century onwards, in the case of at least important sees, the emperors, although leaving the old forms of election intact, appear to have commonly interferred to make (or at the very least to sanction) nominations themselves. St. Gregory the Great treats the sole imperial nomination in such cases as a matter of course. Instances will also be found, both from him and from later times, down to Heraclius, Justinian II., Philipppicus, Constantine Copronymus, A.D. 754, in Thomassin, II. ii. 17; while the 2nd Council of Nice, A.D. 787, protests against such lay interference uncomproisingly (*can. liii. Πᾶσαν ψήφον παρὰ ἀρχόντων, Ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἔκτρον μένει*). Saracen conquerors, as might be expected, interferred in a like manner: as, e.g. in Syria, A.D. 736, in the case of the patriarch of Antioch (Thomassin, II. ii. 17, § 7). But it remained for Nicophorus II., A.D. 963 × 969, to enact as an universal law, that no bishop whatever should be elected or consecrated ἄνευ τῆς ἀποῦ γνώμης (Cehren, p. 658, and so also Zonaras); a law however which did not last long. Finally, in the East, the custom settled down into an election by the clergy, and ultimately only by the provincial bishops, of three, of whom in such cases as the see of Constantinople the emperor, but ordinarily the metropolitan, selected one (Morinus, ii. 193). The ancient form of election however, as modified by Justinian, still held its ground for a considerable time. In the case, e.g. of Epiphanius of Constantinople, A.D. 528, "the emperor (Justin) and empress, the magnates, the bishops, priests, monks, and the most faithful people," concurred (*Epist. Epiphani.* inter *Epist. Hormisd. Papie* post *Epist.* lxxi., Lal' xv. 1534). In that of Sophronius of Jerusalem, A.D. 634, "the clergy, monks, faithful laics, in a word all the citizens" (Sophron. *Epist. ad Sergium Constantinop.* ap. *Conc. Constantin.* A.D. 680, Act. xi.; Labbe, vi. 854). In that of Stephen of Larissa, who was chosen out of three, elected by the "clerus"

and "erat a provincial omnes nunti sten. t in Tru the bis ton" t. vii. bishop and by present such e to the samon, of their allegot metrop the "d bishops (accord sent) l in *Sym.* bably th whereve elined, h ordinary however. In the election apparent than els politan, sole non king. I A.D. 533, can. ii. of the "cler metropolitan comprov metropol leans V., the signifi although and with comprovinc ment that see per oves aut checked al Paris III., "principis metropolit by the king Theodorico de SS. *Pat* the appoint I. mensis, A.D. 512, politan or raised A.D. Santes; wh the see in de his precedes II. E. iv. 26 a re-enactm Paris, made (*can. i.*), and Kiehm, A.D. of Chaloux, elections, mo

and "populus," and by those "quorum consensus erat acti necessarius," A.D. 531, the "sancta provinciae synodus et totius civitatis possessores nunc omnium testimonio ordinatus sum" (Hollsten. *Collect. Rom.* pp. 6, 7). While the council in Trullo, A.D. 681, speaks of an election by all the bishops of the province as the "ancient custom" (can. xxxix.); and Joh. Antioch. (*Nomocan.* l. i. vii. in *Bibl. Jur. Can.* p. 610) rules that a bishop must be elected by the metropolitan, and by all the bishops of the province, either present or sending a written consent; and that such elections (ἐκλογαί) must not be entrusted to the multitude; and, lastly, Zonaras and Balsamon, glossing the older canons by the custom of their own time, exclude the "clerus et plebs" altogether, and refer the whole matter to the metropolitan and bishops, the former choosing the "dignissimus" out of three, elected by the bishops without the presence of the metropolitan (according to Symeon of Thessalonica), and presented by them to him (see the form at length in *Syn. Thessal.* ap. Morin. ii. 149, sq.). Probably the emperor really determined the choice, wherever his power enabled, and his policy inclined, him to do so; while as a rule he left ordinary cases to the ordinary methods. See, however, Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* i. 136, 169.

In the West, a like retention of the old form of election ran parallel with a gradual increase (less, than elsewhere) of the power of the metropolitan, and with the practical assumption of the sole nomination, especially in France, by the king. In France, the Councils of Orleans II., A.D. 533, canons i., viii., of Clermont, A.D. 535, can. ii., of Orleans III., A.D. 538, can. iii., specify the "clerici, cives," bishops of the province, and metropolitan, but require the consent of *all* the provincial bishops only in the election of the metropolitan himself. But in the Council of Orleans V., A.D. 549, canons x. and xi., occurs first the significant phrase, "cum voluntate regis," although still "juxta electionem cleri ac plebis," and with consecration by the metropolitan and provincial bishops, and with a special enactment that "nullus invitis detur episcopus, sed nec per oppressionem potentium personarum . . . cives aut clerici inclinatur;" and although also checked almost immediately by the Council of Paris III., A.D. 557, can. ii., which voids the "principis imperium," if against the will of the metropolitan and bishops. Absolute nominations by the kings, however, occur earlier: e.g. under Theodoric of Austrasia, A.D. 511 x 534 (Greg. Tur. *de SS. Patrum* VI. c. iii.). And compare also the appointment to the see of Léon, of Paulus I.ensis, by Childbert (*V. S. Paul. Leon.*), A.D. 512. The issue between royal, and metropolitan or ecclesiastical, nominations was directly raised A.D. 563, in the case of Emerius, bishop of Santes; whom the king (Charibert) forced upon the see in defiance of the metropolitan, as being his predecessor Lothaire's nominee (Greg. Tur. *II. E. iv.* 26). And Lothaire II.,—in confirming a re-enactment of can. ii. of the second Council of Paris, made by the Council of Paris V. A.D. 615 (can. i.), and again re-enacted at the Council of Rheims, A.D. 625, can. xxxv., and at the Council of Chalons, A.D. 649, can. x.,—requires to such elections, made "a clero et populo," the sub-

sequent "ordinatio principis," with no other qualification than that "certe si de palatio eligi (Mansi. x. 543). Thenceforward, the action of the people of the diocese, under the Frankish kings, is commonly termed, not "electio," but "agitatio" or "petitio," or is expressed as "suppliciter postulamus," addressed to the king. Regular forms for the donation of a bishopric by the king, nominally "cum consilio episcoporum et procerum"—in Marculphus, and in Sirmund (*Conc. Gallie.* ii. Append.; see also the *Quo modo a clero et a populo eligitur episcopus in propria sede cum consensu regis archiepiscopis et ceterisque omnium populo* [sic], in Morinus, *de Ordin.* ii. 304)—exhibit the choice, even when made by the clergy and people, and sanctioned by the metropolitan, as ultimately and in effect made by the king. And in point of fact, the bishops were so nominated. Carloman, however, and Pipin (*Conc. Liptin.* A.D. 743, and *Conc. Stess.* A.D. 744), professed to restore liberty of election to the church. And a new set of "formulae" occurs accordingly (in Baluz. ii. 591, and in Sirmund), as "usurpatae post restitutum electionum libertatem." And Charlemagne, upon the advice of Pope Adrian, that he should leave episcopal elections to the "clerus et plebs" according to the canons (*Conc. Gallie.* ii. 96), issued a capitulary, A.D. 803 (*Conc. Aquisgran.* c. ii., repeated by Louis, A.D. 816, *Capit. Aquisgran.* c. ii.), consenting "ut episcopi per electionem cleri et populi secundum statuta canonum de propria diocesi eligantur;" but he did so as granting a grace, not as admitting a right. And as the bishops in point of fact continued to be appointed by the emperors (see e.g. Baluz. *ad Conc. Gall. Narbon.* p. 34, and *ad Capit.* ii. 1141), and no choice could be made save by the emperor's special permission (so Gieseler, and this as late as *Conc. Vatican.* A.D. 855, can. vii.), and special privileges of free election were given to particular churches (Baluz. *ib.*), which imply the universality of the opposite practice,—not to add also the much disputed but after all possibly genuine grant by Adrian to Charlemagne (in Gratian, *Dist.* 63, c. 22) of an absolute right to the appointment and investiture of all bishops and archbishops in all provinces of his empire,—it is obvious that the change was more in name than in reality (as indeed the "formulae" themselves, as above in Sirmund, &c., shew), until at least the 9th century in the time of Hincmar. On the other hand, the power of the metropolitan and the right of free election were continually reasserted, although with little effect (see the councils above quoted, from that of Orleans in 523 to that of Rheims in 649); until under Charlemagne's immediate successors, whose right to nominate is actually recognized at the Council of Paris VI. A.D. 829 (can. xxii.), and that of Thionville in 845 (*Capit. Car. Calv.* tit. ii. c. 2), &c.; and this, although Carloman and Pipin had both of them professedly restored the rights of the metropolitan as well as freedom of election (A.D. 742, *Capit.* c. i., and A.D. 755, can. ii.). See the whole subject carefully treated in Henry C. Lea's *Studies in Church History*, pp. 81-90 (Philad. U. S. 1869).

In Saxon England, king, witan, and metropolitan appear to have predominated, although

the first gradually became as a rule the real nominator. At the same time, the canonical form of election was kept up; and when the king was weak and the Church strong, it occasionally became a reality. The Kentish and Northumbrian kings agreed in choosing Wighard, but accepted Theodore, A.D. 688, as Archbishop of Canterbury, at the hands of the pope, upon Wighard's unexpected death at Rome (Baed. *H. E.* iii. 29, iv. 1). Northumbrian kings and witenagemots adjudicated the various disputes about Wilfrid's sees. And Theodore and a synod of bishops chose and consecrated Cuthbert to the see of Lindisfarne, A.D. 684, but "sub presentia Regis Egfridi" (*id.* iv. 28). Wiltreat's privilege, A.D. 696 × 710, in its genuine form refers to Kent and to abbots and presbyters, not to England at large, or to bishops (Haldan and Stubbs, *Counc.* iii. 238-247). And Agatho's privilegium to the "congregatio" of the monastery of St. Paul's, A.D. 673 × 681, to elect their own bishop, is a forgery (*ib.* 161). On the other hand (although no doubt contemporary both with the Carolingian nominal restoration of liberty of election in France, and with the breaking up of the Northumbrian kingdom), Alcuin's letters, "ad Fratres Eboracenses," of Aug. 796, before the election of Eanbald to York, distinctly affirm, that "hucusque sancta Eboracensis Ecclesia in electione sua inviolata permansit," adding, "violete ne in diebus vestris maneat;"—imply that Alcuin himself had a voice in the election;—and urgently exhort the York clergy to elect a proper person, if he himself cannot come in time for the election (*Ejst.* 54, 55, Migne; 48, 49, Froben.). "Professiones," also, of a little later date, distinctly assert an election by the diocese: e. g. that of Beornmod of Rochester, A.D. 805, or a year or two earlier,—"electus ab Ethelardo archiepiscopo et a servis Domini in Cantia constitutis" (in Wharton, A. S.),—and that of Aethelfield (probably Kynferth, A.D. 833 × 836),—"quoniam ne tota Ecclesia provinciae nostrae sibi in episcopatum officium elegerunt" (*Cotton MSS.* (Clop. E. 1).)—and that of Helmstun of Winchester, A.D. 838, "a sancte et Apostolice sedis dignitate et ab congregatione civitatis Wentanae nonnullis Ethelwulfis regis et totius gentis occidentalis Saxorum ad episcopalis officii gradum electus" (*ib.*),—and that of Deorlaf of Hereford, A.D. 857 × 866,—"quoniam ne tota congregatio Herefordensis Ecclesiae sibi in officium episcopate elegerunt" (*App. ad Text. Raff.*). In a little later time, we find Olo made archbishop, A.D. 942, by the "regia voluntas," followed by the "assenus episcoporum" (Will. Malm. *G. P.* A. i.); Dunstan, A.D. 960, made so by Edgar (*id.* *ib.*), but with an election also by acclamation according to his *Life*; and Living, A.D. 1013, "suffragio Regis Ethelredi" (W. Malm. *ib.*). And in the time of Edward the Confessor, Aelfric is elected by the monks of Canterbury, but set aside by the king in favour of Robert, made archbishop "regis munere" (T. Eadoc. ed. Luard, pp. 399, 400). By that time the election by the "clerus et plebs" of the diocese, so far as it still survived at all, had gradually shrivelled up into an election by the clergy, and by the clergy of the cathedral,—a process materially accelerated by the monastic character of the chapters, coupled with the monastic privilege of choosing their own abbots,—but which was also perpetually set aside

by the necessity of the royal consent, running naturally into a right of royal nomination. See also the evidence collected by Freeman, *Hist. of Norm.* Conq. ii. 61, 117, and 571-577. The case of the see of Rochester was exceptional, the archbishop of Canterbury claiming, and frequently obtaining, the right of nomination to that see, as against the crown, until the days of King John.

In Spain, the power of the bishops in the election of the kings preserved and extended also their own power, and among other things, in episcopal elections. The Council of Toledo X., A.D. 656, for instance, elected a metropolitan of Braga (the former bishop being deposed for incontinence) without consulting the diocese. See however Dunbar, *Hist. of Spain and Portugal*, bk. ii. c. ii., who rather leans towards the royal power in such elections. Ultimately the king and the metropolitan of Toledo seem to have acquired practically a joint power of nomination. *Conc. Tolet.* XII., A.D. 681, empowers the archbishop of Toledo, as primate, to consecrate at Toledo, "quoscunque regalis potestas elegerit et jam dicti Toletani episcopi iudicium dignus esse probaverit" (can. vi.). And see also the history of King Witiza, A.D. 701-710. Martin of Braga too, distinctly says that the people are not to elect bishops.

In Italy, also, the royal power gradually overruled without superseding the older canonical form of election. But that the latter continued in all ordinary cases, save that the metropolitan's influence and veto had grown more powerful, is palpable by St. Gregory the Great's letters. On the other hand, Orosius, A.D. 476-483, with the "advice" of Pope Simplicius, forbade the election of a bishop of Rome without his (the king's) consent. And the interference of (the Arian) Theodoric in the disputed election of Pope Symmachus, A.D. 501, was both asked for and submitted to; although it called forth Anodius' Apologetic Letter, and also a protest from the *Conc. Palm.* A.D. 502, which declare Orosius' law invalid. Yet the Gothic kings continued to exercise such a power. Theodoric appointed successive popes during his reign, down to Felix III. A.D. 526 (*Greenwood, Cathed. Pet.* iii. c. 4). And Athalaric issued regulations about papal elections on occasion of the outrageous simony that attended the accession of John II. A.D. 533 (*Cassiod.* ix. 15). And not only so, but the Greek emperors, when they recovered Italy, exercised it likewise; so that, e. g. Gregory the Great, A.D. 590, after due election by the "clerus, senatores, populusque Romanus," still required the "praeceptio" of the emperor Maurice to complete his election (Jo. Diae. in *f. Greg.* M. lib. i. ep. 39, 40). And Pipin and Charlemagne fell heirs to the like "jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem;" for all which see details under POPE. The election of the pope indeed remained like other elections of the kind, until the decree of the *Conc. Rom.* of A.D. 1059 under Nicholas II. (for which see Gieseler, ii. 369, Eng. transl.); which itself was a change analogous to the contemporary changes elsewhere.

In brief, then, during this period, the old canonical diocesan election continued throughout the Western Church as the right and proper mode of election; but (1) was in itself gradually absorbed into a vote of the cathedral clergy ("electio

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clericorum est, petito plebis." Is the utmost allowed in Gratian, *Decr. l. dist. 62*), and (2) was overruled perpetually by the royal nomination, which itself was concurrent with but commonly superseded the consent of metropolitan and provincial bishops.

For special conditions attending the election of metropolitans, and for the relation of the metropolitans to the patriarchs in the matter, see METROPOLITAN, PATRIARCH.

At what times special questions arose respecting the qualifications which gave a right to vote in the election of a bishop—how such questions were determined—in what way votes were actually taken—and other questions of like detail—there remains no evidence to shew; except that we may infer from such accounts as *c. g.* that in Synesius, *Epist.* 67, that where there was a popular assembly ordinarily acting in other and civil matters, such assembly acted also, at first, in the choice of a bishop. Synesius' description also illustrates forcibly the *ἄλαος* of the Laodicean Council, the women being preeminently noisy on the occasion, and even the children.

B. Who were eligible.—Such being the electors, it follows next to consider the qualifications of those who were to be elected. The general disqualifications for the clerical office—such as, *c. g.* having been a demoniac, or done public penance, or lapsd, the occupations of pleader, soldier, play- actor, usurer, the being a slave, or illegitimate, the having any of his own immediate family still unconverted heathens, &c. &c.—will be best treated under PRESBYTER, CLERGY, or the several subjects themselves. The special conditions of eligibility for a bishopric were, (1) that the candidate should be, acc. to *Apost. Const.* ii. 1, fifty years of age; but acc. to *Conc. Neocaes.* A.D. 314 (requiring 30 for a presbyter, on the ground of St. Luke iii. 23—a canon adopted by the Church universal), and acc. to similar later canons (*Ardt.* IV. A.D. 475, can. i., *Agath.* A.D. 506, can. xvii., *Ancient.* III. A.D. 533, can. vi., *Tolet.* IV. A.D. 581, can. xx.; and again, Justin. *Novell.* cxxxiii. 1; and again, Charlemagne at Aix, A.D. 789, *Capit.* l. 49, and at Frankfurt, A.D. 794, can. xlix.), the age of 30 only was insisted on. And so also Balsamon. Photius in one place (*sp. Snicer.*) says 35, which is likewise Justinian's rule in another *Novel* (cxxxvii. 1). And Socrates and apparently Zosimus (*Sir. ad Himer. Epist.* 1 § 9, *Zos. ad Hesych.* *Epist.* 1, § 3, a detailed *lex omnibus* in both cases) place the minimum at 45. Special merits, however (St. Chrys. *Hom. in 1 Tim.* v. xi.), and the precedent of *ed Mignes.* 3, speaking of *νεωτερικῆ τάξις* = a youthful appointment), repeatedly set aside the rule in practice (see instances in Bingham, II. x. 1); apparently not much more than 23 when consecrated bishop. (2) That he should be of the clergy of the church to which he was to be con- secrated.—*ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑπαρχείου*—"de propria clero" (so Pope Julius, *Epist. ad Orient.* np. S. Athanas. *Apol.* ii.; Pope Celestinius, *Epist.* ii. c. 4; Pope Hilary, *Epist.* i. c. 3; Leo M., *Epist.* lxxxiv.; Gregory the Great repeatedly; and as part of the old canonical rule, the *Capit.* of Charle- magne above quoted, "de propria diocesi")—a rule likewise repeatedly broken under pressure

of circumstances, special merit in the candidate, the condition of the diocese itself, &c., and by translations, so far as translations were allowed; but one also enforced by the nature of the case so long as the voice and testimony of the people of the diocese was an important element in the election, and on like grounds disregarded in proportion as metropolitan, or still more royal, nominations became prelominent. St. Jerome's well-known statement about Alexandria seems to speak of it as almost a special privilege of that see from early times; which it plainly was not. If the presbyter chosen was not of the diocese itself, the consent of his own bishop was requisite (*Conc. Nicean.* can. xvi. &c. &c.; and see below, III. 1, α. x.). (3) That he should be a presbyter, or a deacon at the least, and not become a bishop *per saltum*, but go through all the *interstitia* or several stages;—also at first an ecclesiastical custom, grounded on the fitness of the thing (*c. g.* Pope Cornelius "non ad episcopatum subito pervenit sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia," &c. and again, "cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit," St. Cypr. *Epist.* 52 nl. 55; and similarly Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xx. of St. Basil; and so repeatedly St. Gregory the Great, objecting to a layman being made bishop), but turned into a canon by *Conc. Sardic.* A.D. 347, can. x. (*καθ' ἑκαστον βαθμῶν κ.τ.λ.*, and naming reader, deacon, priest; the object being to exclude neophytes), and by some later provincial councils (*Conc. Aurelian.* III. A.D. 538, can. vi.; *Bracon.* I. A.D. 563, can. xxxix.; *Barcinon.* II. A.D. 589, can. iii.); and so Leo the Great (admitting deacons however on the same level with priests), "Ex presbyteris ejusdem Ecclesie vel ex diaconibus optimis eligatur" (*Epist.* lxxxix. c. 6);—broken likewise perpetually under special circumstances (see *Motin. de Sacr. Ordin.* III. xi. 2). Instances of deacons, indeed, advanced at once to the episcopate, are numerous, and scarcely regarded as irregular, beginning with St. Athanasius (see a list in Bingham, II. x. 5; but St. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi. speaks of St. Athanasius as *πάσαν τῆν τῶν βαθμῶν ἀκολουθίαν διεξελθόν*). But the case of a reader also is mentioned in St. Aug. (*Epist.* cxlii.), and of a subdeacon in Liberatus (*Breviar.* xxii.). And although expressly forbidden by Justinian (*Novell.* vi. 1, cxxiii. 1, cxxxvii. 1) and by *Conc. Ardet.* IV. A.D. 455, can. li., yet the well-known cases of St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, St. Martin of Tours, St. Germanus of Auxerre, and others, prove the admissibility of even a layman, if under the circumstances—as, *c. g.* by reason of the sudden acclamation of the people—such a choice was held to be "voluntate" or "judicio Dei" (Hieron. in *Jonam.* iii. Opp. iii. 1489; Pontius, in *V. S. Cypri.*; Paulin, in *V. S. Ambros.* iii.; &c.). Instances may also be found in the Alexandrian church (Renaudot, ap. Denzinger, *Bib. Orient.* 145, 146). And the rubric in the Nestorian Pontifical expressly admits the possibility of a bishop elect being a deacon as well as a presbyter (Denzinger, *ib.* 146). At the same time there is the well-known case of the patriarch Photius, deposed, because ordained on five successive days respectively monk, reader, subdeacon, deacon, priest, and on the sixth day bishop (*Conc. Nicean.* II. A.D. 787, can. iv.). See also under ADVOCATE OF THE CHURCH. But then (4) such candidate was not to be a neophyte (1 Tim. iii. 6), or a heathen recently baptized, who had not

yet been tried (*Apost. Can. lxxx.*; *Conc. Nicaen.* can. ii.; *Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 365, can. iii.); but one converted at least a year before (*Conc. Aurelian.* III. A.D. 538, can. vi.); or who had been a reader, or a subdeacon, or (acc. to one copy) a deacon for a year (*Conc. Bracar.* II. A.D. 563, can. xx.); or acc. to yet another provincial council (*Epimn.* A.D. 517, can. xxxvii.), at the least a "praenissen religione." Yet here too special circumstances were held to justify exceptions; as in the case of St. Cyprian himself, "adhuc neophytus" (*Pont. ib.*); of St. Ambrose and of Eusebius of Caesarea in Pontus, not yet baptized (Theodoret, *iv. 7*, Socrat. *iv. 30*, Sozom. *vi. 24*, St. Greg. Naz. *Orat. xix.*); of Nectarius, *την μυστικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπιλαβισσάμενος*, &c. (Sozom. *vii. 8*). And all these are cases of immediate consecration; and the later practice of ordaining to each step on successive days, in order to keep the letter while breaking the spirit of the rule, dating no earlier than the case of Photius above mentioned (Bingh. II. x. 7). (5) *Apost. Can. xxi.* permits the consecration of one made a eunuch by cruelty, or born so; and (*ib. lxxvii.*) of one maimed or diseased in eye or leg; but (*ib. lxxviii.*) forbids it in the case of a deaf or dumb person. (6) Lastly, the bishop who was appointed *Interrentor* to a see during the vacancy was *pro hoc vice* ineligible to that see. [INTERVENTORES.] It remains to add (7) that the candidate's own consent was not at first held to be requisite, but that in many cases consecration was forced upon him *ἔκοντα*; as in the instances in Bingh. IV. vii. 2: to which may be added others, *us. c. g.* that of Eusebius of Caesarea in Pontus, A.D. 362 (Greg. Naz. *Orat. xix.*). And *Apost. Can. xxxvi.* orders the excommunication of a bishop who refuses the charge of the people assigned to him. But first St. Basil (*id. Amphilo. h. x.*) exempts those who in such a case had "sworn"—*ὀμνούντες μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν*. And afterwards the emperors Leo and Majorian forbade forced ordinations altogether (*Nordl. ii. in Append. ad Cod. Theodos. vi. 34*). And similarly Pope Simplicius (*Epist. ii.*), and *Conc. Aurelian.* III. A.D. 538 (can. vii.). At the same time the law of Leo and Anthemius (*Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. iii. De Episcopis, l. 31*) describes the "nolo episcopari" temper proper to one to whom a bishopric is offered—"ut quaeratur eogendus, rogatus recelat, invitatus refugiat, sola illi suffragetur necessitas obsequendi;" and that "profecto indignus est sacerdotio, nisi fuerit ordinatus invitus." And so the Fathers generally (Thomassin, II. ii. 65).

γ. Time, mode, and place of election.—Further, (1) the election was ordered to be made, and the new bishop consecrated, *ἐν τῷ τριῶν μηνῶν*, unless delay was unavoidable, by *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 431, can. xxv. And the alleged practice at Alexandria (doubtless from the special character of the place already mentioned) was to elect immediately after the death of the last bishop, and before he was interred (Epiphani. *Haer. lxxix. § 11*, Liberat. *Heretic. xx.*, and see Socrat. *vii. 7*); a practice followed in one instance, that of Proclus, A.D. 434—447, at Constantinople also (Socrat. *vii. 40*). The time allowed in Africa, however, was much longer, the *episcopos interrentor* being only superseded if he allowed the election to be delayed beyond a year (*Conc. Carthag. V. A.D. 398*, can. iii.; *Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric. lxxiv.*). On the other hand, *Conc. Rom.* A.D. 606, to prevent

bishops nominating their own successors, forbids election until the third day after the last bishop's death. (2) Such election was not to take place *ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ*—"in the presence of the hearers," i. e. the class of catechumens so called (*Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 365, can. v.); probably because accusations might on such occasions be brought forward against clergy. (3) Later canon law (*Greg. IX. Decret. l. vi. De Elect. et Electi Potest. c. 42*) specifies three modes of electing; scil. by "compromissarii" (delegates by whose act the body of electors bound themselves to abide), by scrutiny of votes, by "inspiration" (if the electors agree in an unanimous and unpremeditated choice). Of these three, *compromissarii* are mentioned by Gregory the Great, although not under that name (*Epist. iii. 37*). And election by acclamation was (as we have seen) not unknown. The other was of course the ordinary way, viz. by some kind or other of scrutiny of votes. (4) The election was properly to take place in the diocese itself (whereas "compromissarii" might be sent elsewhere to perform it), that the people might be able to give their testimony (St. Cypri. *Epist. lxxvii.*). *Conc. Aurelian.* IV. A.D. 541, can. v. &c. &c., refer to the place of ordination, for which see below. So long as that also took place in the diocesan cathedral (see *c. g.* St. Aug. *Epist. 261*, and below), so long no doubt the election took place there likewise. But even when the ordination came to be transferred to the metropolitan see, the election still remained commonly as to be done on the spot itself. [INTERVENTORES; VISITATORS.]

2. *Confirmation.*—The bishop elect was next to be confirmed, viz. by the metropolitan. And so far as such confirmation merely referred to the metropolitan's share in the election, it would certainly seem to follow from *Conc. Nicaen.* can. vi. (*κρατέτω ἡ τῶν παλαιῶν ψήφισι*), from *Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341, can. xix. (repeating the Nicene canon), and even from so late a witness as *Conc. Aurelian.* II. A.D. 452, can. v., that in the first instance and canonically the voice of the majority of bishops was final. At the same time, a certain right of ratification is assigned to the metropolitan, even from the time of the Council of Nice itself. And it certainly seems that the metropolitan in course of time, practically, if not expressly, came to have a veto. So, *c. g.* Pope Hilary, A.D. 465, *Epist. ii. c. 1*. In the form of election, however, in *Sym. of Thessal.*, the bishops alone vote at all, the metropolitan not being even present. [METROPOLITAN.] So likewise with the patriarch, later still (see, however, for both, *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, Art. xvi., Labbe, *iv. 818*, and PAVIARUCH). But from xvi. no doubt the earliest times, and corresponding to the proof (*δοκιμασία*) required in 1 Tim. iii. 7, 10, something must have existed like: "Qui enactum of *Conc. Cath. IV. c.* called: "Qui episcopus ordinandus est, antea examinatur, si natura sit prudens, si docibilis, si moribus temperatus, si litteratus, si in lege Domini instructus, si in Scripturarum sensibus cautus, si in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatus; et ante omnia, si fidei documenta verbis simplicibus assentit, id est, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum esse confirmans," &c. &c. So also Theodoret (*in 1 Tim. v. 22*).—*Ἐξῆτάειν γὰρ πρότερον χρῆ τῶν χειρονομούμενων τὸν βίον εἶθ' οὕτως καλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν χάριν τοῦ Πνεύ-*

ματος. scription to be ἐπιστέλλειν from the was a dis election; (from the Maren, d. You Esp. more pro confirmatio bishop u diction, b that a b "rules la Church," ordinar competent profession nation, sha Gregory t siring the into his j (elected by him; and morte ma atque file quidem vit pagina, ves stola, desti antistes." centuries a of Gillebe Hincmar, a bishops of abbots, ear subdecons, Laon)—the Sens, being ples" of Ch to Hincmar explanation had been set sent to it of nobles" of interrogated country, cor ordinations; been "conlu lucra vel exa exercens;" a court office, settled; to t cleric; and n for the latte sealed, and c royal wish fo bishop and ce were then p archbishop of into another p at Tours. Hi of Tours as hi read, or listen total of Grego rules dated, and w him in writing the Creed, and metropolitan. Th bishops were t

αγορας. See also the *Apost. Constit.*, and the description in the Greek Pontificals of the bishop to be consecrated, as already *επιψηφιστος* και *επιερωμενος*=elect and confirmed. Certainly, from the 4th century onward, the confirmation was a distinct technical act, following upon the election; so far distinct, indeed, that in time (from the 4th century itself according to De Marca, *de Conc. Sacerd.* et *Imp.* VIII. ii. 1; but Van Espen, *Jur. Eccl. Univ.* I. xiv. 1, § 7, more probably refers it to the 11th or 12th) confirmation was held to confer upon the bishop not yet consecrated the power of jurisdiction, but not that of order. Justinian enacts that a bishop elect shall carefully peruse the "rules laid down by the Catholic and Apostolic Church," and shall then be interrogated by his ordainer (i. e. the metropolitan) whether he is competent to keep them; and upon his solemn profession accordingly, and after a solemn admonition, shall then be ordained. And so we find Gregory the Great, A.D. 596 (*Epist.* vii. 19), desiring the archbishop of Ravenna to summon into his presence the bishop elect of Ariminum (elected by "clerus et plebs"), and to examine him; and if "ea in eo quae in textu Heptatici montis muletata sunt, minime fuerint reperta, atque fidelium personarum relatione ejus vobis quidem vita placent, ad nos cum decreto pagina, destinata, iuxta tenus a nobis . . . consecratur antistes." So again in Carolingian times, two centuries and a half later, upon the election of Gillebert to the see of Chalons sur Marne, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, with the other bishops of the province, or their vicars, the abbots, canons, monks, presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, being assembled at Chiersi (near Laon)—the archbishops of Rouen, Tours, and Sens, being also present—the "clerus, ordo, et plebs" of Chalons presented the decree of election to Hincmar and his fellow-bishops, and (after an explanation respecting a previous election that had been set aside) declared the unanimous consent to it of the "canonici, monachi, parochi, et nobiles" of the diocese. Thereupon Hincmar interrogated the bishop elect respecting his country, condition, literary proficiency, and past ordinations; and ascertained that he had not been "conductor alienarum rerum, nec turpia lucra vel exactiones sine tormenta in hominibus exercens;" and further, as he had held some court office, that his accounts with the king were settled; to the former of which points certain clerical and noble laymen bore testimony, while for the latter he produced a royal letter, duly sealed, and containing also an intimation of the royal wish for his consecration. Testimonies of a bishop and certain monks to his good behaviour were then produced; and the consent of the archbishop of Tours was given to the transfer into another province of one born and ordained at Tours. Hincmar, then, with the archbishop of Tours as his assessor, desired the candidate to read, or listen to, and promise to keep, the Pastoral of Gregory the Great, the Canons, and the rules usually given by the ordainer to the ordained, and which were subsequently given to him in writing; and to write out and subscribe the Creed, and hand it so subscribed to the metropolitan. The written consents of the absent bishops were then produced and read, and the

day and place of consecration fixed (*Chron. Gallie*, Simond, ii. 651). See also the Ordinals in Martene (ii. 386) and Morinus (*de Sac. Ord. li.*). A *professio*, i. e. at first both of his faith and of canonical obedience to his archbishop, came also to be part of the formal proceedings of the confirmation of a bishop. The English "Professions" begin early in the 9th century; and the early ones commonly contain a kind of creed, as well as a promise of obedience. So likewise in the East, the 2nd Conc. of Nice, A.D. 787 (can. ii.) requires a careful enquiry to be made whether the candidate is well acquainted with the Canons, with the Gospels, Epistles, and the whole Scriptures, and is prepared himself to walk, and to teach the people committed to him, according to God's commandments. And the bishop elect was required to profess that he "receives the Seven Synods, and promises to keep the canons enacted by them, and the constitutions promulgated by the Fathers." A solemn recitation and subscription of the Creed, and a disclaimer of simony, were required also of the bishop elect before his consecration (Syn. Thessal. ap. Morin. ii. 156). In the Western Church, even at this date, no further confirmation was usual or necessary. The pope only intervened in a few extraordinary cases (Thomassin, II. ii. 30, § 1; and see PATRIARCH, POPE).

3. *Ordination* (*χειροτονια* most commonly, as probably in Acts xiv. 23, although the word is also used of election, as 2 Cor. viii. 19; *χειροθεσια*, which also means sometimes benediction only, as *δ προεβότερος χειροθετει, ου χειροτονει*, *Apost. Constit.* viii. 28 [and so *χειροτονει* and *χειροθετει* are distinguished in the spurious *Epist.* of St. Ignat. to Ihero, c. iii.]; *καθησους; τελεσιουργια; ἀφορισμος*; and in Pseudo-Dion. Areop., rhetoricized into *τελεισιους ιερατικη αποπληρωσις, διακοσμησις, κ. τ. λ.*)—followed upon the completion of the confirmation.

And (a) first, the matter and form (as it was afterwards called) of ordination was, from the beginning, laying on of hands (*ἐπιθεσις των χειρων*, Acts vi. 6, 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 22, 2 Tim. i. 6; *χειροθεσια*, Euseb.), accompanied necessarily by words expressive of the purpose of the act, but by no invariable and universal formula claiming apostolic authority. Other rites, added as time went on, cannot claim to be either apostolical or universal, and pertain therefore, at best, "to the solemnity, not to the essence," of the rite. (i.) The only other rite indeed in episcopal ordination, that has any appearance of a claim to the "ubique et ab omnibus," but which is not traceable (although it very probably existed) before the 3rd century, is the laying of the Gospels, open in the ancient and in the Greek church, shut acc. to the *Ordo Romanus*, upon the head (in some rites, upon the neck and shoulders) of the bishop to be ordained.—*Const. Apostol.* viii. 4: *Και σωπης γερομενης, εις των πρωτων επισκοπων εμα και δυσιν ετεροις πλησιον του θυσιαστηριου εστως, των λοιπων επισκοπων και προεβυτερων σωτη προσεχομενων,*

* The special appropriation of the term *consecration* to episcopal ordination is purely modern; Leo M., e.g., uses the term indifferently of bishops, priests, or deacons; and Gillebert, quoted by Du Cange, opposes it to "dedicare," the latter meaning to devote to God, the former to set apart for holy uses.

vn successors, for- day after the last election was not to πορευειν—"in the . . . the class of cate- chetic. A.D. 365, can. tions might on such rd against clergy, IX. *Doct. d. l. vi. 42*) specifies three "compromissarii" ie body of electors y scrutiny of votes, ctors agree in an el choice). Of these ntioned by Gregory r that name (*Epist.* mation was (as we e other was of course e kind or other of ection was properly self (whenever "con- se where) to perform e able to give their xvii.). *Conc. An- e slow. So long as the n cathedral (see e.g. w), so long no doubt e likewise. But even e to be transferred to ection still remained on the spot itself. res.]*

ishop elect was next e metropolitan. And e election, it would n *Conc. Nivona* can. r *ψηφιστος*, from *Conc.* e (repeating the Nicene e a witness as *Conc.* e that in the first i- voice of the majority e same time, a cer- assigned to the me- ine of the Council of nly seems that the e time, practically, if e a veto. So, e.g. *ist.* ii. c. 1. In the n Syn. of Thessal., e all, the metropol- t. [METROPOLITAN.] arch. later still (see, *Thal. ed.* A.D. 451, Act. THABED). But from e and, corresponding equired in 1 Tim. iii. e have existed like the IV. so called: "Qui antea examinatus, s i bilis, si moribus tem s in lege Domini in n sensibus canus, s is exercitatus; et ante lata verbis simplicibus at Filium et Spiritum e confirmans," &c. &c. (*im.* v. 22).—*Εξετασαν πορευομενου των βιωσ αν την χανιν του Πρι-*

van δὲ διακόνων τὰ θεία Ἐπαγγλία ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῆς ἀνεπιτογμένα κατεχόμενων λεγέτω, κ.τ.λ.—And with unimportant variations, *Conc. Ca th.* IV. A. D. 398, can. 11: "Episcopus cum orlabitur, duo episcopi ponant et tenent Evangeliorum codicem super caput et cervicem ejus, et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangunt."—And so also *Constit. Apostol.* iii. 3 (assigning the act to deacons), Pseudo-Chrys. (*Hom. de Uno Legislator.* Opp. vi. 410, Montfauc.), Pseudo-Dion. Areop. (*de Eccl. Hier.* V. i. 7, iii. 7), and almost every ritual, Eastern and Western, including (so Denzinger) Nestorian, Maronite, and Jacobite (assigning it either to the patriarch or to the assisting bishops). And although it came to be used in Egypt in the consecration of the patriarch only, yet there too if the Pseudo-Dionysius represents the Alexandrian rite, it must have been used at first for all bishops (Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.* 135). Alcuin however (*de Div. Off.*) Amalarius (*de Offic. Eccl.* ii. 14), and Isidor. Hispal. (*de Div. Offic.* ii. 5), quoted by Merinus, seem (rather unaccountably) to imply its absence in Gaul, Germany, and Spain, in the 8th and 9th centuries. And it is certainly wanting in two pontificals in Mahillon (*Mus. Italic.* tom. ii. numm. viii. ix.). The actual delivery of the Gospels to the consecrated bishop occurs among the Maronites, but not among the Jacobite Syrians or the Nestorians (Denzinger); and in the West, it is in the present Roman Pontifical, but was unknown until the 11th century (Morinus, iii. 25).—(ii.) Anointing of the head in episcopal ordination is a much less ancient or general rite than the imposition of the Gospels. Among the Easterns it never existed at all (Morinus, Denzinger, &c.); the few ambiguous expressions in Eastern rituals (cited by, e. g., J. A. Assmann) referring to spiritual anointing, while the testimony to the absolute non-occurrence of the material rite is express. It is found in Gaul in the 6th century (*Rit. ap. Morin. de Ordin.* ii. 261, sq.); in Africa not at all; doubtfully in Spain (Morinus); but in Italy, also in the 6th century (S. Leo M., *Serm.* viii. *de Passion. Domini*; Greg. M. in *Cap.* l. x.; ap. Morin. *ib.* iii. vi. 2, § 2); and in Saxon England it was extended to hands as well as head in the 8th century (Egbert's *Pontif.* c1. Greenwell); and so also in the Roman ordinal in Morinus, ii. 288.—(iii.) The sign of the cross, accompanying the imposition of hands (which is therefore called *appayis*), is mentioned by St. Chrys. (*Hom. Iv. in Matth.*), and by the Pseudo-Dionysius as above. In the later Greek ritual it occurred thrice (see Morinus, iii. 254).—(iv.) Delivery of pastoral staff and ring became also a part of the Western rite from about the latter part of the 6th century (Maskell, *Mon. Lit.* vol. iii. 273). It occurs in the Pontificals of Gregory the Great and Egbert, but not in those of Gelasius or Leo. The staff indeed dates from the 4th century, as one of the insignia of a bishop, both in East and West. And the ring, which is unused in the East (except by the Maronite Syrians, and by the Armenians, the latter of whom borrowed it from Rome—so Denzinger—and the *σφραγίς*, or sign of the cross, is ἀντί δακτυλίου, acc. to Sym. Thessalon.), occurs in the West as early as Isid. Hispal. *de Div. Off.* ii. 5; but "is not in either Amalarius, Alcuin, or Rab.

Maurus" (Maskell). Both staff and ring are in *Conc. Tolet.* IV. A. D. 633, can. xviii. (mentioning "orarium, anulum, baculum"); and, seemingly, in *Conc. Frey* of A. D. 781, can. x. (mentioning, however, only in general, "episcopalia"). [RING; CROSSED STAFF.] But as part of the rite of ordination, they belong to the West, and to the latter part of the 6th century. [SYMBOLISM.] The staff, however, occurs in a late Greek Pontifical in Morinus (*de Sac. Ord.* ii. 124).—(v.) The *ζωοφόριον*, or *pallium* (a linen vestment marked with crosses), also came to be given at episcopal ordination in the East. It is mentioned as an (Eastern) episcopal vestment as early as Isidor. Pelus. in the 5th century (lib. i. Ep. 136; beginning of the 5th century (lib. i. Ep. 136; and see Morinus, p. ii. pp. 220 sq., and Denzinger); and occurs in the Eastern rituals. In the West, the delivery of a vestment also called by the name of *pallium* followed ordination, not of all bishops, but of archbishops, as a totally distinct ceremony, and with an entirely different meaning and purpose. And this began about A. D. 500; see Gieseler, ii. 133, Eng. ed., and under PALL.—(vi.) The delivery of the mitre at ordination (vi.) The delivery of the mitre at ordination in the West dates only after the close of the period to which this article refers; occurring first about the 10th century (see Maskell's *Mon. Lit.* iii. 275). It is in the Sursum, as in all later Pontificals. As part of the episcopal dress during Divine service, in some shape or other, and under various names, it occurs both in East and West, from apparently the 4th century. [MITRE].—(vi.) The delivery of the paten, "cum oblativis" and of the chalice "cum vino," which forms a principal part of the later additions to the ordination of a presbyter [ΠΡΑΞΥΤΙΚΑ], is found for the first time in the *Sacram.* of Gregory the Great (Morinus, ii. 277, iii. 134), and in the consecration of a bishop (in which however it does not occur again). Among the Syrians, however, the consecrating bishop touched the consecrated elements with his hands before laying hands upon the head of the bishop to be consecrated (Denzinger); and in the *Apost. Constit.* viii. 5, one of the consecrating bishops is ordered *ἀναφέρειν τὴν θυσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ χειροτονουμένου*.—(vii.) The *ἀνάβηθρον* or proclamation (*proclatio*, *pronuntiatio*, *ἀνακρούσις*, *ἐπικρούσις*, or *κρούσις ἐξ ὀνόματος*), and (viii.) the *litis* of *pace*, are mentioned by Pseudo-Dion. Areop. as following upon the consecration. The latter is mentioned also in *Apost. Constit.* viii. 5, but as occurring at the subsequent enthronization. And it was repeated four times during the service in the East in the time of Sym. of Thessal. (ap. Morin. ii. 171). The former occurs in the time of Symeon before the consecration, and was in that position a public proclamation by name of the appointment (*ἡ θεία χάρις προχειρίσεται*) of the elect bishop, made by the consecrating archbishop (among the Jacobites and Copts, however, by the archdeacon—Denzinger). There were indeed two such *ὑμνηματα*: one, the declaration made to the bishops, intimating the choice made by emperor; and the other, the proclamation of the name to the people (Morinus, iii. 254). In the older Latin Rituals the same form occurs in substance in like phrase (*ut ib.* 27); viz. as a declaration by the consecrator, that "cives nostri elegerunt sibi illum pastoreca,

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oremus itaque pro hoc viro," &c. It is also in use among the Syrians (*id. ib. 31*). The *Apost. Constit.* do not mention it. But St. Greg. Naz. seems to allude to it under the term ἐπισημίζερα (*Mor. ib. 30*). Ἀναθήσις is also used in Synesius (*Epist. 67*) as equivalent to consecration; and see also Suler in *voce*.

All these, however, are later additions to the rite; arising (as was not unnatural) out of the gradual extension of the "traditio instrumenti" which had constituted the ordination of the minor orders from the beginning (see *Conc. Carth. IV.*), to the higher orders also; and accompanied in the case of some of them by an equally natural conversion of accessories in course of time into essentials. It is waste of words to prove that the one and only essential act from the beginning was imposition of hands. This also, however, in process of time, became varied, 1. by repetition, 2. by the use of one or both hands, and the like; for which details see IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

The form of ordination was not similarly fixed. Pope Innocent III., speaking as a canonist, and Habert, writing of the Greeks as a theologian, expressly declare that the Apostles appointed no form of words; that it rests therefore with the Church to appoint such a form; and that, apart from Church authority, any words whatever, adequate to the purpose, would suffice. And the facts of the case are in themselves enough to establish this. In the Greek Church, the form in *Syn. Thessal.* runs thus: Ἡ θεία χεῖρς προσημίζερα τὸν δεῖνα εἰς Ἐπίσκοπον, κ.τ.λ.; these words, which are used at the ἀναθήσις, being repeated at the actual consecration. Denzinger, however (pp. 140, 141), considers the essential words in the Eastern rites which he mentions to be found in the prayers which accompanied the laying on of hands, and to be of a precatory form. In the Latin Church, since the 11th century, it has been simply, "Accepit Spiritum Sanctum," without express mention in the act or by description, the context sufficiently limiting the purpose of the words (Vazquez, &c.). Prior to that date, the "consecratio" of a bishop was not an imperative declaration, but was in the form of a prayer. [ORDINATION.]

β. The ordiners were necessarily bishops (see below, III. 1. a. 1). "Two or three at the least," was the rule of the *Apostolic Canon* (1), and of the *Apost. Constit.* (viii. 4, 27); the latter also deposing both ordained and ordainer, if any were ordained (of course, without sufficient cause), by one bishop (viii. 27), yet expressly not voiding such ordination if the case were one of necessity. But while St. Cyprian (*Epist. 67*) implies the ordinary presence of all or most of the provincial bishops, the Nicene Council (can. iv.) requires the actual participation in the consecration, of three absolutely, as a minimum—of all, if possible—but in any case with the consent of least of the rest of the provincial bishops, or (can. vi.) of the major part of them. And so also *Conc. Chalced.* Act. xvi. Several Gallican provincial councils go further, by requiring in one case (*Conc. Arlet. I.* A. D. 314, can. xx.) seven as a rule, but if that is impossible, at least "infra tres non aude[re] ordinare;" or again (*Conc. Arlet. II.* A. D. 353, can. v.) the metropolitan with three suffragans (or, according to another reading, the

metropolitan in person or by letter, and three suffragans), with the consent of the remainder, or of at least the major part of the whole number, in case of division; or yet again (*Conc. Aracensis, I.* A. D. 441, can. xxi.), by actually deposing the ordainer, and (if a willing participant in the irregularity) the ordained bishop also, if "two bishops presume" to ordain; while yet a fourth like council (*Acephens, A. D. 439, can. ii.*) not only censures but voids a consecration, which shall lack any of the three conditions, of consent of provincial bishops, presence of three of them, and assent of metropolitan. The rule requiring three is also matter of constant reference (as, e. g., in *Conc. Epton. A. D. 517, can. 1*; or again by popes from Damasus onward to Leo III., in discussing the position of *chorepiscopi*; see *Morin. iii. 58*). Spanish councils simply repeat the Nicene canon on the subject (e. g., *Conc. Tolet. IV.* A. D. 681, can. xviii.; and so Isidor. Hispal. *de Offic. Eccl. II. 5*). And in Africa, at an earlier date, *Conc. Carth. III.* A. D. 397, can. xxxix., condemns consecration by two bishops, pronounces the requirement of twelve (which had been suggested) impracticable, and repeats accordingly the old rule of three: can. xl. of the same council prohibiting the three from proceeding to consecrate, in case objections are taken to the bishop-elect, until themselves with "one or two" more have enquired into those objections on the spot, and found them groundless. The rule in the East was the same (Denzinger, p. 142), "scilicet non minuat numerus ternarius," and *Conc. Seleuc. et Ctesiph. A. D. 410* (ed. Jamy, 1869), deposes (if the record is genuine) both consecrated and consecrators, if any be ordained bishop by one bishop or by two. But then the principle which underlay this rule, was not the inability of one bishop by himself to consecrate, but the desirableness that many, and if possible all, should co-operate in, and testify to, the act of consecration. So expressly the *Apost. Constit.* viii. 27; adding with like clearness a proviso, that "one" may consecrate in case of necessity, if only a greater number signify their sanction of the act. So Gregory the Great, in the well-known *Answers* to Augustine, requires "three or four" if possible, but speaks of the presence of more than one only as "valde utilis," as of those "qui testes assistant;" and distinctly authorizes consecration by one on the ground of necessity. So Synesius (*Epist. 67*) censures the consecration of Siderius, bishop of Palaeiscea, as (not invalid but) *εὐθέτως*, i. e. because not in Alexandria or with the consent of the patriarch; but also, 2. because performed by "not three," but a single bishop; and Theodoret (v. 23) that of Evagrius of Antioch, as also *παρὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν θεσμόν*, "because (among other things) Paulinus alone consecrated him. But Synesius adds, that necessity justified the former of these consecrations, and had led St. Athanasius to allow the like; and in that of the latter, both the bishop of Alexandria and the Western bishops recognized it none the less (Theodoret, *ib.*; Innocent I. *Epist. 14*). So again the bishops of Pontus (*Epist. ad fin. Conc. Chalced.*) speak of Dioscorus of Alexandria as actually bishop, although consecrated by only two bishops (and those under censure), "cum regulæ patrum . . . tres episcopus corporaliter adesse . . . prospiciant." Of the very councils then, *Arles II.* and of Riez, above quoted, the former

recognizes the reality of the consensual consecration by appointing the bishop consecrated by two to one of the sees vacated by the deposition of his consecrators, if the irregularity had been without his consent; and the latter,—although its canon can scarcely be explained away (as by Thomassin) by referring it to election and not consecration,—yet both permits the deposed bishop to confirm, and allows the orders he may have already conferred, subject only to the favour of the metropolitan; or in other words, does not venture to quash the consecration outright. The Welsh and early Irish and Scotch practice—of only one consecrator—was no doubt at first a matter of necessity; although continued after it had ceased to be so. The Saxon Church resumed the canonical rule of three, on the other hand, as soon as possible. And even in 664 a Wessex bishop called in two British bishops, albeit he must have thought them schismatical, to complete that number (Baed. *H. E.* iii. 28). The sees of Pope Pelagius I. A. D. 555, ordained by two bishops and a presbyter (*Lib. Pontif.* in *V. Felux.*), and of Novatian long before, calling in three bishops, ἀποστατικούς καὶ ἀνομοτάτους, from some corner of Italy, to ordain him to the see of Rome (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43), and long afterwards, the permission given by the popes (see Bellarm. *de Eccl.* iv. 8) to make up the number of three by two or more nitred abbots, so that there was one bishop (Labbe, i. 53),—prove at once the existence of the rule which they violate its spirit. Pope Sirivius also (*Epist.* *H. E.* c. 2, A. D. 384 × 398) forbids “ne unus episcopus episcopum ordinare presumat;” but it is “propter arrogantiam,” and “ne futurum beneficium praestitum videntur.” Michael Oxita (patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 1145–6) also rejected two bishops who had been ordained by a single bishop (Bever. *Pandect.* ii. *Annct.* p. 10). Among the Nestorians, again, the patriarch Timotheus, about A. D. 900, asserting the “need” of three bishops, allows in a case of necessity the sufficiency of two, so long as the necessity lasted; but enjoins that the Gospels shall be placed on the right hand upon a throne in lieu of a third bishop (Assenmani, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. l. 163). Compare finally the distinction drawn in the Pontificals between the consecrator and the “assisting bishops”—“socii ordinationis” (*Coptic Rit.*): or again the words of the bishops of Pontus mentioned above, “per suffragium consensuumque duorum episcoporum cum ipso (patriarcha) praesentium.” Whether *chorepiscopi*, consecrated by one bishop, were bishops themselves, see CHOREPISCOPI.

7. The place of ordination was properly and originally the actual see itself to which the bishop was to be ordained. So St. Cyprian (*Epist.* 67), Possid. (in *V. S. Aug.* viii.), St. Augustin himself (*Epist.* 261), Pope Julius (*Epist.* *Aud.* *Orient.* ap. St. Athan. *Apol.* ii.), Conc. *Chalced.* Act. xi. (Labbe, iv. 700), Conc. *Rom.* A. D. 531 (in Holstein. *Collect.* *Rom.* p. 7), and Synesius (*Epist.* 67, as above). The practice however came in time to be that the metropolitan appointed the place to be that the metropolitan (see *Constit.* iii., Synes. *ib.*; Conc. *Tol.* IV. A. D. 581, can. xviii.), although it was commonly the metropolitan see, and the metropolitan himself was always to be consecrated there (Conc. *Tol.* *ib.*). If, however, not there, then, by Conc. *Tarracon.* A. D. 518, can. x., the bishop consecrated elsewhere was to present himself to the metropolitan within two

months. And Conc. *Auchlin.* IV. A. D. 541, can. v., restricts it to the metropolitan see, unless unavoidably removed elsewhere; and even in that case commands the presence of the metropolitan, and that it shall be within the province. In whatsoever town it was, the rite was always celebrated at the altar of the church, the candidate kneeling (Pseudo-Dion. as above, and repeatedly; Theodoret, iv. 15, *κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν περὶ*). A natural custom also in course of time marked out the Lord's Day, or at any rate some great festival, as the “legitimus dies” for a bishop's consecration (Pope Zosimus, *Epist.* vi.; Conc. *Tol.* IV. can. xviii.); while Leo the Great (*Epist.* ix.) insists upon the Lord's Day, but as beginning from the Saturday evening; and Pope Gelasius actually limits the ordinations of presbyters and deacons to the Saturday evening exclusively. But there was certainly no restriction of days at all until the 4th century (Pagi, ap. Bingham, IV. vi. 7). In the East the same rule of Sunday came to prevail universally (Benzinger); but the Nestorian rubric (as does also common Western practice) admits festivals likewise (*ib.*). Ember-days, when they came to exist, belonged to presbyterial and diaconal ordinations. The hour also came to be limited as well as the day, viz. to the time of the celebration of the Eucharist, i. e. the morning (τῆς ἑσπέρης ἑσπέρης) (as *σπουδαίως*, says Theodoret, *Hist. Reliq.* xiii., speaking however of presbyterial ordination); and this at an early period, inasmuch as Novatus is censured (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43), as having been (among other things) consecrated *ἕως ἑσπέρης*, i. e. somewhere about 4 P. M. In the East the rule became equally fixed, and on like grounds; and this as regards bishops universally; save (as before) the one exception of the Nestorians, who leave it optional, and provide rubrics for ordinations made “extra missam” (Benzinger). Theodore in England enacts (*Constit.* ii. iii. 1), that in the ordination of a bishop “debet missa cantari ab episcopo ordinante.” The particular part of the liturgy, however, at which the ordination was to be (so to say) interpolated, differed in East and West. The “dies anniversarius” of the ordination, i. e. the “dies natalis” or the “natalitia” of the bishop, was also commonly kept as a kind of festival (St. Aug. *Cont. Lit. Petil.* ii. 23, *Hom.* xxxii. *de Verb. Dom.* *Hom.* xxiv. et xxv. *ex Quinquagesima*, *Hom.* cxxi. ed. Bened.; Leo M., *Hom.* i. li. iii.; Paulin. ed. Bened.; St. Ambros. *Epist.* v.; Pope Hilary, *Epist.* ii.; Sixtus, *Epist.* ad *Joh.* *Antioch.* Labbe, iii. 1261; Pagi, ap. Bingham, IV. vi. 15).

8. The ordainers were also, according to African rule (*Cod. Can. Afric.* 89), to give letters under their own hand to the bishop ordained, “continentes consulem et aliam.” In order to prevent future disputes about precedence. And a register of ordinations (*archives, matricula, ἀρχερωσ, μαρτυριον*) was to be kept both in the primate's church and in the metropolis of the province for the like purpose (*ib.* 86; and see Bingham, II. xvi. 8).

4. *Euthronization* (ἐυθρονισμῶν, *invechthronē*), which is mentioned in the *Apost. Constit.*, and in Greek Pontificals, as the concluding act of ordination, followed upon ordination, either (as at first) immediately or (in course of time) after an interval; a regular service being then provided for it, which is described by Sym. Thess. c.

viii. A. in the E. styled “are give communicatio” were written of the communicatio, ad made by the. This has a rule that the b. of the arch. him person him in the consecrate bishops, th. “In sella m. 1137. x. 5. A. J. politan, an. colla of alle to be requi from the t. the time of elate success earliest written metropolitan de oblient metropolit. Thessalonie. 450 (*Epist.* written pro. unus-quisque timus, studi male to the by his suffrag. But Spanish might be exp. Emocit, inde bishops, &c., A. D. 581, ca. deacons,—on time of his case, recte, A. D. 673, can. of clergy, be not only to k the canons, banorem atq. deest sibi un shortly after consecrated b. long step fur (addressed to S. nique two B. gius;” that h. &c., and that “praelectio vi per omnia ex ed. Jaffe; an i was not repe. Doctice's own on, in Gaul, C. expressly forbi. d. ordination, “non sint factur eos ordina.” & c. calesum est, on CHRIST. ANT.

V. A. D. 541, can. v., an see, unless un- and even in that of the metropolitan, the province. In a rite was always a church, the can- as above, and re- *καθ' ἑνὴν ἐπαρ- τῶν* in course of time or at any rate some "trous dies" for a casimus, *Epist.* vi., while Leo the Great Lord's Day, but as evening and Pope ordinations of pres- tuesday evening certainly no restric- 4th century (Pagl).

East the same rule universally (Denzin- able (as does also limits festivals like, they came to exist, official or unofficial, nified as well as the celebration of the *ἡμῶν μυστηρίων ἑορῶν- ἀρχαίων, Hist. Reliq.* presbyterial ordina- period, inasmuch eb. II. E. vi. 43), as things) consecrated about 4 P. M. In the y fixed, and on like bishops universally: ception of the Nes- and provide rubrics era missam" (Den- dated enactments (Pocuit, li. n of a bishop "debet inante"). The partic- iver, at which the o say) interpolated. The "dies anni- e. the "dies natalis" bishop, was also- tival (St. Aug. *Cont.* xxi. de *Verb. Dom.* *fragm. in*, Hom. cexli. n. i. li. iii.); Paulin. i. v.; Pope Library, *ist. v.*; Pope Library, *Joh. Antioch. Labbe*, IV. v. 15).

as, according to African to give letters under shop ordained, "con- " in order to prevent dence. And a register *matriculi, ἀπερώτος*, both in the primate's lis of the province for ; and see Bingh. II.

ωνία (see, in *theodreone*). e *Apost. Constit.*, and the concluding act of ordination, either (as a course of time) after vice being then pro- bided by Sym. *Thess. c*

vil. A sermon was thereupon preached, at least in the East, by the newly consecrated bishop, styled "sermo enthronizationis," of which instances are given in Bingh. II. xi. 10. And *il levois communicatiois, or ἀποδοξια, or ἐνθρονιστιῶν, γράμματα κανονικά, ἀλλὰ ἀβαλ ἐθ' ουσιακά*, were written to other bishops, to give account of the sender's faith, and to receive letters of communion in return (Bingh. *ib.*). Τὰ ἐνθρονιστικά, also, were payments which came to be made by bishops on occasion of their enthronization. The Arabic version of the Nicene canons has a rule about enthronization (can. lxxi.), viz. that the bishop be enthroned at once by a delegate of the archbishop, and that the archbishop visit him personally after three months, and confirm him in the see. In 694 or 5, when Wilfrid was consecrated at Compiègne by twelve French bishops, they carried him, with hymns and chants, "in sella aurea seclentem, more eorum" (Edd. in I. *Wulf.* xii.).

5. A Profession of Obedience to the metropolitan, and (in the Carolingian empire) an oath of allegiance to the emperor or king, began to be required, prior to confirmation, the former from the 6th century onwards, the latter from the time either of Charlemagne or of his immediate successors; but far earlier in Spain. a. The earliest written profession of obedience to the metropolitan produced by Thomassin—"cartula de obedientie sponsione"—is one made by the metropolitan of Ephrus to the archbishop of Thessalonica, and is condemned by Pope Leo I. A. D. 450 (*Epist.* lxxxiv. c. 1). And some kind of written promise—"tempore ordinationis nostrae unusquisque sacerdos cautionem scriptis emittimus, studiosae fidei ordinatoris nostri"—was made to the patriarch of Aquileia, c. A. D. 590, by his suffragans (Baron. in *an.* 590, num. xviii.). But Spanish councils of a little later date are (as might be expected) most express on the point. *Con. Emerit.*, indeed, A. D. 606, can. iv.,—extending to bishops, &c., an enactment of *Conc. Tolos.* IV. A. D. 581, can. xvii., respecting presbyters and deacons,—only enjoin the metropolitan at the time of his ordination, and the bishops at the time of theirs, respectively to promise "vivere caste, recte, et sobrie." But *Conc. Tolet.* XI. A. D. 675, can. x., requires every one of all grades of clergy, before "consecration," to bind himself, not only to keep the faith, live piously, and obey the canons, but also "ut debitum per omnium honorem atque obsequium reverentiam praecelesti sibi unanquisque depndat." St. Boniface shortly after, in Germany, A. D. 723, when consecrated bishop by Pope Gregory II., goes a long step further, by giving a written promise (addressed to St. Peter), "vobis, beato Petro, vicario tuo B. Papae Gregorio, successoribusque eius," that he will keep the faith in its purity, &c., and that he will "fitem et puritatem," &c., "praedicto vicario tuo atque successoribusque per omnia exhibere," &c. (S. Bonif. *Epist.* xvii. c. l. *Juste*); an innovation which Thomassin tells us was not repeated by any one, not even by St. Boniface's own successors at Mentz. Further on, in Gaul, *Conc. Cabillon.* A. D. 813, can. xlii., expressly forbids the oath which some then exacted at ordination, "quod digni sint, et contra canones non sint ficturi, et obedientes sint episcopo qui eos ordinat," &c.; "quod juramentum quia periculosum est, omnes una inhibendum statuimus."

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And a Capitulary of Ludov. Plus, A. D. 816 (*Capit.* l. c. 97), noticing the "sacramenta," as well as "munera," which Lombard bishops then exacted "ab his quos ordinabant," forbids "omnibus modis, ne ulterius fiat." But this prohibition applied to the exacting of an oath of fealty (Canelan, *Leg. Barbar.* v. 121). Professors to the metropolitan by the bishop to be consecrated were, certainly, from that time forward the regular practice. The form of that of the bishop of Terouenne to Hincmar of Rheims is in *Conc. Gallie.* II. 655. And English professions likewise run on from the like date. A special oath to the pope, and the meaning attached to the reception of the St. Boniface's oath a lone excepted. In the East, made by the bishop to the patriarch, is in *Jur. Orient.* l. 441; and is expressly sanctioned by the 8th can. of *Conc. Constantin.* A. D. 863, while condemning certain unauthorized additions to it. It may also be mentioned here that St. Augustin procured an enactment, at a Council of Carthage, that all canons relating to the subject, "ab ordinantibus ordinandis vel ordinatis in notitiam esse deferenda" (Pessid. I. 8. *Jur.* viii). B. A general oath of allegiance to the king, from all subjects, occurs repeatedly in the Spanish councils (e. g. *Conc. Tolet.* XVI. A. D. 693). And a promise of fidelity from bishops is mentioned in Gaul as early as the time of Leo I. A. D. 450, and St. Eligius, c. A. D. 610. But special mention of an oath of fidelity taken by a bishop at his ordination seems to occur first at the Council of Toul, A. D. 850, where it is declared that the archbishop of Soys had three sworn allegiance to Charles the Bald, the first time being when the king gave him his bishopric. Such an oath of allegiance seems also to be meant by *Conc. Tur.* III. A. D. 813, can. i.; and by *Conc. Aquigr.* II. A. D. 833, cap. ii. can. xli.; although spoken of with no reference to ordination. But the absence of all *formulae* for it in earlier times is conclusive against throwing back the date before Charlemagne. Homage in the feudal sense belongs to a later period still. At the same time Charlemagne introduced an oath of fealty in the case of bishops, and invested a bishop with the temporalities of his see by ring and crossier (De Marca, *de Conc. Eccl.* et *Imp.* pp. 402, 426). As regards the East, there is no mention whatever in Symeon Thessalon. of any oath to the emperor taken by a bishop at ordination. 7. The oath against simony may also be mentioned here, enacted by Justinian (*Novell.* cxxvii. c. 2) as to be taken by a bishop at ordination; an enactment repeated by Pope Adrian I. (*Epist. ad Car. M.* in *Conc. Gallie.* ii. 97). (See also above, I. 2; and *SIMONY*.)

II. We have next to consider how a bishop ceased to be so, either of a particular see, or altogether. And,

1. Of *Translation*, which, as a rule, was forbidden, but only as likely to proceed from selfish motives, and therefore with the exception, expressed sometimes, but seemingly always understood, of cases where there was sufficient and good cause. Before the period of the Apostolic Canons this prohibition would have been hardly needed. *Apost. Can.* xiv. forbids it, unless there be a *εὐλογος αἰτία*, scil. a prospect of more spiritual "gain" in saving souls; and guards the

right practical application of the rule by the proviso, that neither the bishop himself, nor the παροικία desiring him, but "many bishops," shall decide the point, and that παρακληθῆσι μεγίστοις. The Council of Nice (can. xv.), *Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341 (can. xxi.), *Conc. Sardic.* A.D. 347 (can. i.), *Conc. Carth.* III. A.D. 397 (can. xxxvii.), and *Conc. Carth.* IV. A.D. 398 (can. xxvii.), forbid it likewise: the first two without qualification; and the second, whether the suggestion proceed from the bishop, the people, or other bishops; but the third, if ἀντὶ πόλεως μικρᾶς εἰς ἐρέταν; and the fourth, also in case it be "de loco ignobili ad nobilem," while allowing it if it be for the good of the Church, so that it be done "by the sentence of a synod," and at the request of the clergy and laity. And the Council of Nice itself both shewed that exceptional cases were not excluded, by actually itself translating a bishop (Sozom. l. 2, quoted by Pagi), and is explained by St. Jerome as prohibiting it, only "ne virginalis pauperumque societate contempta, ditioris adulescentis quaerat amplexus" (*Epist.* lxxxiii. ad *Occum.*). St. Athanasius indeed gives us the *alter dictio* of an Egyptian council, condemning translation as parallel with divorce, and therefore with the sin of adultery (*Athan. Apol.* ii.). And similarly St. Jerome (*Epist.* lxxxiii. ad *Occum.*). But Pope Julius condemns it on the assumption throughout that its motive is self-aggrandizement. Pope Damasus also condemns it, but it is when done "per ambitionem;" and Pope Gelasius, but only "nullis existentibus causis." Leo the Great, c. A.D. 450 (*Epist.* lxxxiv. c. 8) deposes a bishop who seeks to be translated, but it is "ad majorem plebem," and "despecta civitatis suae mediocritate." And Pope Hilary, in *Conc. Rom.* A.D. 465, condemns a proposed Spanish translation, among other things, as contrary to the Nicene canon (Hilar. *Epist.* 1-3). While *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, can. vi. re-enacts the canons against "transmigration." At the same time, both translations, as a matter of fact, were repeatedly sanctioned, beginning with the noted case of Alexander and Narcissus of Jerusalem (Hieron. *de Script.* *Ecol.* 62); as may be seen in Sozom. vii. 35, &c., St. Greg. Naz., indeed, A.D. 382, speaks of the Antiochene canon on the subject as a *σβῶσις πάσαις τεθῆναι*; and St. Socrates actually tells us in terms, that translations were only forbidden when persecutions ceased, but had previously been perfectly free to all; and asserts that they were a thing ἀδιόφορος, whenever circumstances made them expedient (v. 8, vii. 35); and the author of the tract *De Translationibus* in the *Jus Orient.* (i. 293) sums up the matter tersely in the statement that ἡ μετᾶβασις κεκάλυπται οὐ μὴν ἢ μετᾶθεσις; i. e. the thing prohibited is "transmigration" (which arises from the bishop himself, from selfish motives), not "translation" (wherein the will of God and the good of the Church is the ruling cause); the "going," not the "being taken," to another see. The same rule and practice prevailed both in East and West down to the 9th century, complicated however in the West by frequent cases of sees destroyed in war, or removed "ad alia loca quae securiora putamus" (St. Greg. M. *Epist.* ii. 14). Many cases occur in Gregory's letters, of bishops of Italy, Corsica, &c., translated by him for these or like causes, but always under

pressure of necessity (see Thomassin, II. ii. 62); and Joann. Dinc. (iii. 18) asserts expressly that Gregory "nunquam episcopum ab integritate suae Ecclesiae vel ipse in aliam commutavit vel sub quacunque occasione migrare consensit." Gregory of Tours supplies instances of like translations in Gaul, all made "consensu regum et episcoporum," but "iaconsulta sede apostolica" (Thomassin, *ib.* § 5). So in Spain (*Conc. Tolet.* X. A.D. 658, and XVI. A.D. 693, can. xii.). In Saxa England, after the first shifting of sees consequent upon the settlement of the Church down to Abp. Theodore was passed, no translations occurred at all, except the simoniacal instance of Wine in 666, until that of Dunstan from Worcester to London, A.D. 959, except in the cases of (1) the ever-shifting sees of Hexham and Whitby, and there once, in 789, and (2) the archbishops of Canterbury and York; and even in the case of the archbishops, Cuthbert's was the only instance (A.D. 740) until the 10th century. In the East, while the case of Anthimus, condemned by *Conc. Constantin.* A.D. 536, Act. i., for τὴν μοιχικὴν ἀρχαίην τῆς βασιλείας Ἐκκλησίας, viz. Constantinople, and for leaving his own (smaller) see of Trapezus, "widowed and without a husband, against the canons,"—condemned also by Pope Agapetus I. ("Impossibile translatum in illa sede permanere," Liberat. *Breviar.* 21).—shews the existence of the old feeling on the subject; the counter case of Germanus of Cyzicum, translated A.D. 714 to Constantinople, "suffragio atque consensu religiosorum, presbyterorum, diaconorum, et totius sanctoris cleri sacrique senatus et populi imperatricis hujus civitatis" (Thomassin, from Theophanes in *an.* and Anastasius), shews equally that translations, if circumstances were thought to justify them, were not prohibited. In the Alexandrian Church the rule appears to have been exceptionally strict, so that originally it was forbidden to translate a bishop, already such, to the patriarchate, although in later and Mohammedan times this rule after great contentions became relaxed (Benzinger); and among the Nestorians, as one result of such relaxation of a like rule, it came to pass that patriarchs were often actually re-consecrated (Assemani and Renaudot, *op.* Douzinger).

2. Of Resignation, and (a) of resignation simply; respecting which there is no express canon, absolutely speaking; but *Can. Apostol.* can. xxxvi. *Conc. Ancyr.* can. xviii., *Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341, can. xvii. xviii., assume or enact that a bishop once consecrated cannot refuse to go to a see, even if the people will not receive him; and the two latter refer the decision to the synod, which may allow him to withdraw or not as it judges best. Instances accordingly occur of resignations allowed because circumstances rendered it expedient for the good of the Church, as where the people obstinately refused to submit to the bishop; e. g. St. Greg. Naz., when archbishop of Constantinople, with the consent of the Council of Constantinople (Theodoret, v. 8; Sozom. v. 7; Sozom. vii. 7; *Orat.* xxxii., and *Carmen de Vita Sua*); Meletius when bishop of Sebaste in Armenia (Theodoret ii. 31); Martryrius, bishop of Antioch (Theod. Lector i.); all cases in point to the canons above mentioned, the people in each case being factious and perverse; but the second and third (although the latter was at Antioch itself), apparently in

direct synodic the will tyrius, "Ἐκκλησία occur a tingham (*Hom.* x. Theodos African at the *Carthag.* of Perga, *Conc. Ep.* *Pamphyl.* τὸ τε τῆν κωνσταντίνου bishop un a pension granted to Antioch, I al. Act. x. Maximus, like instam ent of a circumstan Church, so the provin resignation the East oc same time against resi for Christ. Alex. puts continue; if he deposed" quoted by T like case bid resign rather c. 10) Fron tions occur r list in Thom; the clergy, council, and la the East, the patriarch as in the case Justin (inter lxx.). The such that no the West) than itself prominent after at least grounds for a still, in the *Co* tit. ix. d. *Reau* already intima from earlier see discharge of th which case Gre mitted a condju rse rebellious schism; vi. A desire to take infrequent case tolerated, was ntion. (B.) Resig however, was di *Conc.* A.D. 341, ca *Conc.* A.D. 341, ca *Conc.* A.D. 341, ca τῶν τῆ τελευτ *Conc.* A.D. 341, ca τῶν τῆ τελευτ

the Thomassin, II. ii. 62); asserts expressly that episcopum ab integritate in aliam commutavit vel uno migrare consentit." as instances of like transference "consensus regum et consulta sede apostolica" in Spain (*Conc. Tolet. X.* 693, can. xii.). In Saxony shifting of sees consent of the Church down passed, no translations the simoniacal instance of at of Dunstan from Worcester 959, except in the cases of Hexham and Whitby in 789, and (2) the archbishop and York; and even in copies, Cuthbert's was the only until the 10th century. In case of Anthimus, *Constantin. A.D. 539*, Act. i. for τῆς βασιλῆος Ἐκκαθλια, and for leaving his own as "widowed and without canons,"—condemned also "Impossible translationum permanere." Liberat. *Interdictio* of the old feeling minister case of Germanus of Aux. 714 to Constantinople, *consensus religiosorum, presbyteri et totius sanctioris cleri populi imperatricis hujus*, from Theophrastus in an, as equally that translations, thought to justify them. In the Alexandrian Church been exceptionally strict. was forbidden to translate a to the patriarchate, although edian times this rule after came relaxed (Denzinger); cians, as one result of such rule, it came to pass that an actually re-consecrated lot, ap. Denzinger).

(a) of resignation simply; re is no express canon, *absolan. Apost. l. can. xxxvi. Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, can. xvii.* that a bishop once consecrated to go to a see, even if he the him; and the two latter the synod, which may allow ot as it judges best. Instances resignations allowed because ed it expedient for the good here the people obstinately the bishop: e.g. St. Gregory of Constantinople, with Council of Constantinople *decret. v. 7; Sozom. vii. 7. c. xlii. al. xxxvi. lxx. al. lxxii. canon de Vita Sacer.* Meletius waste in Armenia (Theodore) bishop of Antioch (Theod.) in ship to the canons above le in each case being factioe second and third (although Antioch itself), apparently it

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direct contradiction to the Antiochene rule, no episcopal decision being mentioned, but only the will of the bishops themselves: e.g. of Mar- tyrius, *Καὶ ἄπο ἀνοσιώδους, καὶ λαφ' ἀπειθεί, καὶ ὁ Ἐκκλησία ἐβήρωσεν ἀποτάττωμαι.* Instances though not accepted) for peace' sake: as St. Chrys. (*Hom. xi. in Epheos*), Flavian of Antioch under Theodosius (Theodoret, v. 23), the Catholic African bishops under Aurelius and St. Augustine at the time of the Donatist schism (*Collat. Carthg. A.D. 411, die i. c. xvi.*). And Eustathius of Perga again, was permitted to resign by the *Conc. Ephes. A.D. 431* (Act. vii. in *Epist. ad Synod. Pamphyliae*), on account of old age, retaining τῶ τε τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὄνομα καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν κωνανίαν, but without authority to act as bishop unless at a fellow-bishop's request. And a pension out of the revenues of the see was granted to Domnus, who had resigned the see of Antioch, by the *Conc. Chalced. A.D. 457* (Act. vii. Act. x. Labbe, iv. 681), at the request of Maximus, who had succeeded him. These and like instances testify to the gradual establishment of a rule, permitting resignations under circumstances of obvious expediency for the Church, so that they were sanctioned by at least the provincial synod. And forms of voluntary resignation both for patriarchs and bishops in the East occur in Leunclav. *Jus Orient.* At the same time the feeling of the Church ran strongly against resignations, as being a giving up of work for Christ. So Leo M., *Epist. xcii.* And Cyril Alex. puts the dilemma: "If worthy, let them continue; if unworthy, let them not resign but be deposed" (*Epist. ad Domnum ap. Balsam.*, quoted by Thomassin). Although St. Chrys. in like case bids a bishop, conscious of serious guilt, resign rather than be deposed (*de Sacerd. lib. iii. c. 10*). From the 6th century onward, resignations occur not unfrequently in the West (see a list in Thomassin, II. ii. 52), with the consent of the clergy, or at least the metropolitan and council, and of the laity, or at least the king. In the East, the consent of the emperor and of the patriarch of Constantinople became necessary; as in the case of Paulus of Antioch in the time of Justin (inter *Epist. Hormisd. Papae, post Epist. lxx.*). The conception of a matrimonial tie, such that no authority could sever it unless (in the West) that of the bishop of Rome, developed after at least the 8th century. The canonical grounds for a resignation, as summed up, later lit. ix. *de Roman. c. 10*), are in substance those already intimated:—i. Guilt, limited however from earlier severity to such only as impedes the discharge of the episcopal office: ii. Sickness (in which case Gregory the Great would have permitted a coadjutor only); iii. Ignorance; iv. Perverse rebelliousness of the people; v. The healing of a schism; vi. Irregularity, such as, e.g. bigamy. A desire to take monastic vows, although a not infrequent case, and in some instances not tolerated, was not a canonical ground of resignation. (B) Resignation in favour of a successor, however, was distinctly prohibited, by *Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, can. xxiii.*: Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐξείναι τὸ αὐτὸ καθίστην ἕτερον αὐτοῦ διδδοχον, κεν τὸς τῆ τελευταίῃ τοῦ βίου τυγχάνῃ· εἰ δέ τι ταῦτον γίγνηται, ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν κατάστασιν.

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But it was so, as the rest of the canon shews, only in order to secure canonical and free election when the see became actually vacant,—μετὰ τῆς κόλλησιν τοῦ ἀπαυσαμένου. And the object was, not to prohibit, but to prevent the abuse of aged bishops of their successors; a practice the recommendations very commonly made by aged bishops of their successors; a practice strongly praised by Origen (*in Num. Hom. xxii.*), in *Num. c. xlvii.*), but which naturally had often a decisive influence in the actual election: as, e.g. in the case of St. Athanasius recommended by Bishop Alexander, and Peter recommended by St. Athanasius, both of whom were duly elected; &c., but after the bishopric was actually vacant; the story being apparently without grounds, of an intervening and rival episcopate before St. Athanasius, of Aehillas, and of Theonas (Epphan. *Haer. lxxviii. 6, 12*; Theodoret, iv. 18). So also St. Augustine recommended his own successor, Euraclius. But such recommendations slipped naturally into a practice of consecrating the successor, sometimes elected solely by the bishop himself, before the recommending bishop's death, thus interfering with the canonical rights of the coming provincial bishops and of the diocese itself. Limiting then the prohibition to the actual election by a single bishop of a successor to take his own place during his own lifetime, the Antiochene canon is repeated by, e.g. *Conc. Paris. V. A.D. 615, can. ii.* ("ut nullus episcoporum se vivente alium in loco suo eligeret"), and became the rule; and though one often broken in the West in the 7th and 8th centuries, as e.g. in the noted case of St. Boniface, who was permitted by Pope Zacharias, although after strong remonstrances, and with great reluctance, to nominate and ordain his own successor. But then we must distinguish (?) that qualified resignation, which extended only to the appointment of a coadjutor—not a coadjutor with right of succession, which was distinctly uncanonical, but simply an assistant during the actual bishop's life, and no further. The earliest instance indeed of a simple coadjutor, that of Alexander, coadjutor to Narcissus of Jerusalem (Euseb. *II. E. vi. 11*), was supposed to require a precedently thenceforward, both in East and West (e.g. in Sozom. ii. 20; Theodoret, v. 4; St. Ambros. *Epist. lxxix.*; St. Greg. Naz. *Orat. xii. ad Patr. Opp. i. 248. c.*, quoted by Bingham); including St. Augustin himself, who did not "succeed," but "accede," to the see of Hippo, predecessor therein first of all to his predecessor Valerius, by the consent of "his metropolitan, and the whole clergy and people of Hippo," yet this "contra morem Ecclesiae" (Possid. *V. S. Aug. viii.*); the canon of the Nicene Council, which prohibits two bishops in one city, being held to prohibit only two independent and distinct bishops, and not where one was (as English people might now call it) curate to the other, although Augustin afterwards thought that canon condemned himself. But a coadjutor with right of succession was distinctly uncanonical; although instances occur of this also: as of Theotecnus of Caesarea in Palestine (Euseb. *II. E. vii. 32*), before the Antiochene canon, and of Orion, bishop of Palaestina (Synes. *Epist. lxxvii.*); and of Augustin himself, but with this difference, that he was formally and canonically elected, so that the one point in his case was his being can-

separated before his predecessor's death. So also Paulinus of Antioch, whose act was condemned as uncanonical by St. Ambrose (*Epist.* lxxviii.), and by Theodoret (v. 23) and by Socrates (ii. 15). And a like case in Spain, where a bishop of Barcelona, with consent of the metropolitan and provincial bishops and the whole of his own diocese, sought to make a neighbouring bishop (who was also his heir) his coadjutor and successor, but was condemned for so doing by Pope Hilary and a Roman Council, A. D. 465, protesting against making bishoprics hereditary (*Hilar. Epist.* ii. iii.). So also Pope Boniface II. A. D. 531, was compelled to desist from his attempt to appoint Vigilus his own successor. And Pope Boniface III. in a Roman Council, A. D. 606, forbade any formal discussion about a successor to a deceased bishop until "tertio die depositionis ejus, adnotato clero et filiis Ecclesiae; tunc electio fiat." Thomassin sums up the case by laying down, (1) that coadjutors or successors were up to the 9th century never asked for from the Pope; (2) that the consent of metropolitan and provincial synod was necessary; and (3) after the 5th century that of the king; but that, lastly, with these last-named sanctions, coadjutors were permitted whenever it was for the good of the Church, although coadjutors with right of succession were forbidden. The hereditary benefices of the Welsh Church of the 11th and 12th centuries, and of the contemporary Breton Church, and, indeed (in some degree or other), of other churches also, are too late to come into this article. So far of the removal of bishops merely from a particular see. But, next, of

3. The *Deposition* of bishops. And here only of the case of bishops as such, referring to CLERGY, DEGRADATION, for the general "irregularities," which affected all clergy, and therefore inclusively bishops also.

(A.) The grounds upon which bishops as such were deposed were as follows. (a.) First, there were certain irregularities which vitiated an episcopal consecration *ab initio*; and these were for the most part, although not wholly, irregularities such as disqualified for consecration at all, as those already referred to above. (i.) If prior to ordination to a bishopric the candidate had not been examined in the faith, or had failed to meet such examination, Justinian (*Novell.* cxxxvii. c. 2) deplored both the ordainer and the recently ordained. (ii.) Although the *Conc. Neoces.* (can. ix. A. D. 314) speaks of a belief that ordination remitted sins, except fornication, yet *Conc. Nicean.* (canons ix. x.) rules that those who are ordained through ignorance or laxity, being guilty of sins (without any exception) that would rightly disqualify them, *ῥωσθίβητες καθαράντα*. (iii.) The canons that require the consent of metropolitan and synod, &c., to the consecration of a bishop, sometimes proceed to void a consecration made in violation of them, *μηδὲν ισχύει* (*Conc. Antioch.* A. D. 341, can. xix.), and similarly *Conc. Rejiens.* can. ii., *Conc. Aurelian.* v. canons x. xi., *Conc. Carthagen.* I. can. x. &c. Yet it does not appear that in such a case the consecrated bishop suffered commonly more than the forfeiture of the see, *ἔκρουσεν εἶναι τὴν καθόριστον*. (iv.) Consecration of a bishop into a see already lawfully filled was reckoned as no consecration (Bingh. XVII. v. 3, quoting St. Cyp. *Epist.* lv.; *Conc. Sardic.* acc. to Hilary, *de Syn.* p. 128; *Conc. Chalced.*

P. iii. *Epist.* 51, 54, 56, 57, &c., about Timothy the Cut; *Liberat. Brevarii.* xv.). (v.) The ordination of one under sentence of deposition was also void (*Conc. Chalced.* Act. xi.). But then (B) bishops already validly consecrated were liable to deposition, as well for the general causes affecting all clergy, as also in particular for causes relating to their own especial office; as, e. g. (i.) if they ordained, or if they preached (*Conc. Trull.* can. xx.), without permission, outside their own dioceses (*Apostol. Can.* xxxv.; *Conc. Antioch.* A. D. 341, c. xii.); or (ii.) if they received a clergyman who had disobediently quitted his own diocese (*Conc. Antioch.* A. D. 341, can. iii.; *Conc. Chalced.* A. D. 457, can. xx. excommunicated them in this case); or (iii.) if they ordained for money (*Apostol.* *Can.* xxix.; *Conc. Chalced.* A. D. 451, can. ii.); or (iv.) according to a late Gallican council (*Conc. Arac.* A. D. 441, can. xi.), if two bishops presumed to consecrate by themselves, whereupon both of them were to be deposed; or (v.) according to Pope Innocent I. (*Epist.* xxiii. c. 4, A. D. 402 x 417), bishops who ordained soldiers were themselves to be deposed; or (vi.) if they ordained a bishop into a see already full (*Conc. Chalced.* A. D. 451, as above); or (vii.) if they ordained any that had been baptized or rebaptized or ordained by heretics (*Apost. Can.* lxxviii.); or (viii.) if they ordained any of their own unworthy kindred (*Apost. Can.* lxxvi.); or (ix.) if they absented themselves from their diocese for longer than a year (*Conc. Constantin.* IV. A. D. 870, can. xvi., says six months), and persisted in disobedience when duly summoned to return (Justinian, *Novell.* vi. c. 2; see also below under III. 1, a. xv.). (x.) For simony, see SIMONY; or (xi.) if they did not duly enforce discipline [DISCIPLINE]; or (xii.) if they sought to create a bishopric for themselves out of another, either in a place where there had been none (*Conc. Tolet.* XII. A. D. 681, can. iv.; see however below), or by getting royal authority to divide a province, so as to erect a new metropolis in it (*Conc. Chalced.* A. D. 451, can. xii.). And yet further (γ), bishops were liable to excommunication as well as deposition, if (i.) they received as clergy such as were suspended for leaving their own diocese (*Apost. Can.* xvi.; *Conc. Carthag.* V. A. D. 398, can. xiii. &c. &c.); or (ii.) if they "made use of worldly rulers to obtain preferment" (*Apost. Can.* xxx., often repeated); or (iii.) if, being rejected by a diocese to which they have been appointed, they move sojourn in another diocese (*Conc. Ancyr.* A. D. 314, can. xviii.; &c. &c.). (B.) Lastly, bishops were liable to suspension or other less censure, (i.) if they refused to attend the synod when summoned (*Conc. Carthag.* V. A. D. 398, can. x.; *Ardat.* II. A. D. 452, can. xix.; *Tarracon.* A. D. 536, can. vi. &c. &c.); and if when summoned to meet an accusation, they failed to appear even to a third summons, they were deposed (*Conc. Chalced.* A. D. 451, Act. xiv.); or (ii.) if they unjustly oppressed any part of their diocese, in which case the African Church deprived them of the part so oppressed (St. Aug. *Epist.* cxlxi.); &c. &c.

(B.) The authority to inflict deposition was the provincial synod; and for the gradual growth and the differing rules of appeal from that tribunal, see APPEAL.

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degradation of a bishop to the rank of a priest: he must be degraded altogether or not at all. And Conc. Antioch. canons xi. xii. A.D. 341, forbids recourse to the emperor to reverse a sentence of deposition passed by a synod. [DEGRADATION; ORDERS.]

III. From the appointment and the removal of a bishop, we come next to his office, as bishop. And here, in general, the conception of that office—consisting in, 1. τὸ ἔρχεσθαι, and, 2. τὸ ἐπαρτινεύειν (so St. Ignat. *interpol. Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. 9)—was plainly, at the first, that of a ruler; not autocratic, but (so to say) constitutional, and acting always in concert with his clergy and people, as he had in the first instance been elected by them; and of a chief minister, in subordination to whom, for the sake of the essential unity of the Church, all Christian sacraments and discipline were to be administered, yet not as mere delegates, but as by the due cooperation of subordinate officers, each having his own place and function: for the former of which points and no less so St. Ignatius for the latter. The legal powers and the wealth gradually acquired by the bishop, the weight derived from his place in synods, and the gradual increase of the power of a single ruler holding office for life, and habitually administering discipline and the property of his diocese, naturally rendered the essential "monarchy" of the episcopate more and more absolute, from Constantine onwards, and especially under Justinian; while, on the other hand, the bishops, *pari passu*, became also more and more under State control, especially in the East. In the West, and from the break up of the Roman empire, the monopoly in the hands of charismen of knowledge and of civilization, the political powers thrown (and necessarily thrown) into the hands of the bishop, the unity of the Church of all the separate kingdoms, and its relations to the still respected imperial, as well as to the pontifical, influence of Rome,—to which no doubt might be added at the first the reverence for the priesthood as such felt by barbarians, and especially by Germanic peoples, met and strengthened by the Christian view of the priestly office,—gave to the bishops special weight, as the leaders of the Church: a weight exceptionally increased in Spain by the elective position of the Visigoth kings; but qualified there, and much more elsewhere, especially in France, by the right of nomination of bishops assumed by the kings, and by their simoniacal and corrupt use of it, and by the assumption on the part of the State of a full right of making laws for the Church. But to proceed to details. And here—

(1.) OF THE SPIRITUAL OFFICE of a bishop, as pertaining to him essentially and distinctively. And of this, first (a), in respect to his own diocese.

(a.) I. the power of ordination belonged to bishops exclusively. They were the organ by which the Church was enabled to perpetuate the ministry. Starting with the fact, that no one is spoken of in the N. T. as ordained except either by an Apostle, or by one delegated by an Apostle to this special office, the earliest intimation we meet with is the statement of St. Clem. Rom., already quoted, which draws a plain distinction between the original appointment of presbyter-

bishops and deacons, and the subsequent provision made by the Apostles of an order of men who should be able to perpetuate those offices. When next the subject happens to be mentioned, the ordainers are assumed, as of course, to be bishops, and the question is only of their requisite number and acts, or the like; as in *Conc. Apost. I.*, "Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονέσθω ὑπὸ ἐπικόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν, and can. ii. πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐπικόπου χειροτονέσθω; and in *Conc. Carthag. III.*, A.D. 397, can. xlv. "Episcopus unus . . . per quem presbyteri multi constitui possunt;" and IV. A.D. 398, canon ii. iii. &c., which is the classical passage (so to call it) respecting the rites of ordination, and which allows presbyters no part at all in episcopal consecration; and in presbyterial, only to hold their hands "juxta manum episcopi super caput illius" (qui ordinator), and "episcopo eum benedicente et manum super caput ejus tenente." And this latter practice (which however does not exist in the Eastern church [Denzinger]), although supposed to be based upon I Tim. iv. 14) appears to be alluded to by Firmilian (in St. Cyp. *Epist. lxxv.*, "majores natu . . . ordiandi habent potestatem." Similar assumptions occur in *Conc. Nic. can. xix.*, *Antioch. A.D. 341*, can. ix., *Chalced. A.D. 451*, can. ii. &c. &c.; and in *Conc. Sardis. A.D. 347*, can. vi., "Ἐπίσκοποι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπίσκοποι; and also Pseudo-Dion. *Aerop. Eccl. Hier. v.* So also not affirming simply but assuming the fact, St. Jerome (*Epist. ad Evangel.*, "Quid facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?") and St. Chrys. (*Hom. xiii. in 1 Tim.*), Οὐ γὰρ δὲ πρεσβύτερος τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτονοῦν (and similarly, *Hom. i. in Philipp.*) and (*Hom. xi. in 1 Tim. iii. 8*), Τῆ γὰρ χειροτονία μόνον (οἱ ἐπίσκοποι) υπερβέβηκασι, καὶ ταῦτα μόνον δοκῶσι πλεονεκτεῖν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις; while Eriphranus (*Haer. lxxv.*), expressly affirming what at length Aetius had denied, lays down that Πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ (ἢ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τάξει) τῆ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἢ δὲ (τῶν πρεσβυτέρων) πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾶν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λειτουργοῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ. So again, in actual practice, the cases of Ischyras, denied to be only a "layman" by an Alexandrian synod, A.D. 324 or 325 (Neale, *Hist. of East. Ch. Alexandria*, vol. i. p. 135), because ordained presbyter ὑπὸ Κολλοῦθου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου φαντασθέντος ἐπισκόπῳ (St. Athanas. *Apol. ii. Opp. i. p. 193*, ed. 1698), and of certain presbyters declared to be laymen for the like reason by *Conc. Sardis. A.D. 347*, can. xix.; while the much later Council of Seville (*Conc. Hispal. II. A.D. 619*, can. v.) pronounced certain presbyterial and diocesan ordinations void, because, although the bishop had laid his hands upon the candidates, a presbyter, the bishop being blind, "illis contra ecclesiasticum ordinem benedictionem dedisse fertur." The one and only distinct assertion of a contrary practice upon this point, and this too (even had it been trustworthy) of a single and exceptional case, is that of Euty chius, patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 933-940, born A.D. 876, who affirms in his *Origines*, that in Alexandria, from the beginning, the twelve city presbyters not only chose the Alexandrian patriarch, upon a vacancy, out of their own number, but also by imposition of hands and benediction created him patriarch; and that this lasted down to the

... &c., about Timothy (xv.). (v.) The ordinance of deposition was (Act. xi.). But then they consecrated were well for the general (y, as also in part to their own especial they ordained, or if (l. can. xx.), without A.D. 341, c. xii.); or rgyman who had dis- diocese (*Conc. Antioch. Chalced. A.D. 457*, can. in this case); or (iii.) by (*Apostol. Can. xxix.*; a. ii.); or (iv.) accord- council (*Conc. Arusi-* o bishops presumed to 1; or (v.) according to xxii. c. 4, A.D. 402 rained soldiers were ed; or (vi.) if they a see already full as above); or (vii.) if had been baptized or by heretics (*Apost. f they ordained any of red (*Apost. Can. lxxvi.*); themselves from their year (*Conc. Constantin.* say six months), and when duly summoned *caell. vi. c. 2*; see also xv.). (x.) For simony, they did not duly enforce or (xii.) if they sought themselves out of amol- here there had been rove 341, can. iv.: see however yal authority to divide a t a new metropolis in d 1, can. xii.). And yet re liable to excommuni- on, if (i) they received e suspended for leaving *Can. xvi.*; *Conc. Carthg.* &c. &c.); or (ii.) if they rulers to obtain prefer- (often repeated); or (iii.) iocese to which they were no more solution in another d. 314, can. xviii.); &c. &c. re liable to suspension or if they refused to attend moned (*Conc. Carthg. V. at. II. A.D. 452*, can. xix.; a. vi. &c. &c.); and if when a. vi. &c. &c.), they failed to d summons, they were de- d. 451, Act. xiv.); or (ii.) pressed any part of their e the African Church de- art so oppressed (St. Aug. to inflict deposition was and for the gradual growth s of appeal from that tri- . xlix. A.D. 451, forbids*

patriarchate of Alexander, who was at the Nicene Council, i. e. down to about A.D. 308 or 313; or, in other words, that the bishop, in whose time an Alexandrian synod deposed one who had received presbyterial ordination, and on that very ground, viz. Ischyrius, was himself ordained by presbyters, and that all his predecessors had been so likewise. Both date, and the internal evidence of this and of many other equally gross blunders (see Pearson, *Vindici. Ignit. c. XI. ii. 2*, pp. 270, 282 sq., ed. Churton), make Eutycheus' statement unworthy of the notice it once attracted. And it is, besides, an obvious perversion of the fact alleged by St. Jerome, that up to the time (not of the patriarch Alexander, but) of the patriarchs H. acilas and Dionysius, viz. A.D. 232 or A.D. 264, "Alexandrine presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori loco collocaunt, episcopum nominant;" and of the stranger practice still, mentioned by Liberatus (as above in l. 1, γ). That there were bishops enough in Egypt to consecrate legitimately (Eutycheus also affirming that there were no others except the bishop of Alexandria until A.D. 190), is evident by the testimonies collected in Pearson (as above, pp. 296, sq.: there were above a hundred at one of Bishop Alexander's councils). The further assertion of both Ambrosiaster (in *Ephes. iv. 11*) and of the author of the *Quest. in Vet. et Nov. Test. cl.*, that in Egypt "presbyteri consignant si presens non sit episcopus," and tant "in Alexandria et per totam Aegyptum, si desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter," is ruled to mean either the consecration of the Eucharist or the rite of confirmation, not that of ordination, whether to the episcopate or the presbyterate, 1. by the date of the statements, viz. long after the period fixed even by Eutycheus, and much more that named in St. Jerome; 2. by the meaning of the word *consignare*; 3. by the case of Ischyrius, above mentioned, which is conclusive. Other instances of alleged presbyterial ordination are either "mere mistakes," (see a list with explanations in Bingham, II. iii. 7), or depend upon the assumption that *chorepiscopi* were not bishops, or upon a misinterpretation of an obscure canon of the Council of Ancyra, can. xiii. [CHOREPISCOPI.] The early Scotch and Irish Churches, in which the presbyter-abbats of certain monasteries exercised an anomalous jurisdiction, never allowed presbyterial ordination (see Adamnan in *Y. S. Columbae*, and other authorities, in Grub's *Hist. of Ch. of Scotl. c. xi. vol. i. 152-160*). That a bishop however was not at liberty to ordain clerks "sine consilio clericorum suorum, in ut civium conventum et testimonium quaerat" (*Conc. Carth. IV. can. xxii.*), but did so "communio consilio" (St. Cyprian, *Epist. xxxviii.*), see below in (a) x. Moreover, he was strictly forbidden to ordain in the diocese of another bishop (see below, (a) xii.), or indeed in any way ἀλλοτριουσιαστικῶν.

(a) ii. *Confirmation*, in accordance with the intimations in the N. T. (Acts viii. 17, xix. 6), appears also, when first mentioned, as the office of the bishop (*Constit. Apost. iii. 16*; Pseudo-Dionys. *Hierarch. Eccl. ii. p. 254*; *Conc. Carthage. II. A.D. 390, can. iii.*, "ut chrismata, &c., a presbyteris non fiant"). But (through the difficulty of always securing the bishop's presence) the practice gradually issued in a severance between

the two acts, of imposition of hands, which was restricted to the bishop (St. Cyprian, *Epist. lxxiii.*; Firmilian, ap. St. Cyprian, *Epist. lxxv.*; Anon. de *Bapt. Hier. in Append. ad S. Cyprian. Opp.*; *Conc. Elberit. A.D. 205, canons xxxviii. lxxvii.*; Euseb. *H. E. vi. 43*; St. Chrysostom, *Hom. xviii. in Act. Apost. § 3*; St. Jerome, *cont. Lucif. iv.*; St. Ambrose, *de Sacram. iii. 2*; St. Aug. de *Trin. xv. 26*; de *Sacram. iii. 2*; *decent. iii.*; Gelasius, *Epist. ix.*; Leo M. *Epist. lxxxviii.*; Greg. M. *Epist. iii. 9*; Leo M. *Epist. i. ad Himer.*; *Conc. Huspil. II. Siricius, Epist. i. ad Himer. Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, can. A.D. 613, can. vii.*; *Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, can. xlv.*); and of anointing with the consecrated chrism, the consecration of which was also restricted to the bishop (*Conc. Carthage. III. A.D. 397, can. xxxvi.*; *Tolet. I. A.D. 400, can. xx.*; *Bracar. II. A.D. 563, can. xix.*, and *III. A.D. 572, can. iv.*; *Autissiod. A. 578, can. vi.*; *Barricem. can. iv.*; *Autissiod. A. 578, can. vi.*; Pope Innocent I. *Epist. i. II. A.D. 599, can. ii.*; Pope Innocent I. *Epist. i. ad Decent. c. iii.*; Leo M. *Epist. lxxxviii.*; Gelas. *ad Decent. c. iii.*; and to the bishop of the diocese (*Conc. Carth. IV. A.D. 398, can. xxxvi.*; *Vascon. I. A.D. 442, can. iii. &c. &c.*); but the actual application of it, with some qualifications and in certain cases, allowed to presbyters: as e. g. in the Church of Rome, there being a double anointing, that of the forehead was restricted to the bishop, the rest not so; in Gaul, a single anointing was ordinarily the presbyter's office; in the East, a single anointing also, but ordinarily the bishop's office, and only in his absence, as at Alexandria and in Egypt, allowed to presbyters; but in West and East alike, allowed to presbyters in cases of urgency, as of emergens, or of those at the point of death, or again by commission from their bishop (see Bingham, XII. ii. 1-6). The *Constit. Apostol. vii. 43, 44*, describe the practice of the 3rd or 4th century. [CONFIRMATION.]

(a) iii. In the administration of *sacraments*, the bishop's authority was primary, that of presbyters, and a *fortiori* of deacons, subordinate. St. Ignatius, *ad Smyrn. viii.*: *Ὁὐκ ἔδωκεν ἑστὶν ἑπιτοπῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὅτι βαπτίζουσιν ὅτι ἀγάσαν ποιεῖν*. Tertull. de *Bapt. 17*: "Dandi (baptismum) jus quidem habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyter et diaconi; non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiae honorem; quo salva, salva pat. est." Hieron. *cont. Lucif. IV.*: "Inde venit ut sine jussione episcopi neque presbyter neque diaconus jus habere baptizandi." St. Ambrose, *de Sacram. iii. 1*: "Licet presbyteri fecerint, tamen exordium ministerii a summo est accipere." Similar statements are numerous (Bingham, *Lay Bapt. i. § 2, sq.*). So e. g. *Conc. Elberit. A.D. 205, can. lxxvii.*—"If any are baptized by a deacon, episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet." So also *Conc. Vern. I. A.D. 755, can. viii.*, forbids presbyters baptizing, or celebrating mass, "sine jussione episcopi." Although no doubt the statement of Ambrosiaster in *Ephes. iv.* is true also,—as it is indeed perfectly consistent with the principle above laid down, and both would be and is in like case the Church's rule now,—that, before the Church was settled, laymen were allowed "evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare." See also Van Espen, *Jur. Eccl. Univ., De Bapt. c. iii. § 1*; and Bingham on *Lay Baptism*.

(a) iv. The office of *formal preaching*, as distinct from exposition of Scripture, belonged also properly to bishops. So e. g. in the African

Church, time of presbyterate, this, "Y. S. A. A.D. 619 otherwise ecclesiastic, scopis no. Yet then consent of Alexandrian presbyter 22; Sozomenus Arius. I that no b. acc. to Soz. Hist. Trip. (Thomass every Sunday as well as ground (so ὁρθωσ St. Chrysostom Epist. ad —and Soz. εκκλ. ἐπισκοπ. And see also dia. c. A. D. can. i, take tram, A. D. exhort. b. magne euj. (Cyprian. i. A. Magist. et all of their sees was a fixed day enjoins bishop their vicars A.D. 850, o bishops who and holidays bishops to Cant. Lay Tolet. XI. A. joined by h. to have holy life, n. "in rusticam quo facillius the East, the xix. xx.), w. outside their enjoins all b. day, and if p. on can. lxiv. principle, the divine grace whom bishops to be the b. lib. xvi. tit. i. tit. xl. de Po. ir. tit. xix. c. (a) v. As to also in the bishop took t. rectly in some proper subord. his council.

hands, which was
 ypr. *Epist.* lxxiii.;
 t. lxxv.; Anon. de
Cypr. (yp.; *Conc.*
 xviii. lxxvii.; Euseb.
 xviii. in *Act.* Apost.
 iv.; St. Ambros.
 de *Trin.* xv. 26;
 Gelastus, *Epist.* ix.;
 g. M. *Epist.* iii. 9;
 g. *Conc. Hispan.* II.
 i. c. 845, can. 11.
 th the consecrated
 which was also re-
 c. *Carthag.* III. A. D.
 A. D. 400, can. xx.;
 can. vi.; *Barcinon.*
 Innocent I. *Epist.* i.
 i. c. lxxxvii.; Gelas.
 i. *Epist.* de *diocese*
 can. xxxvi.; *Fascus.*
 c. 2.; and the actual
 qualifications and in
 presbyters: as e. g. in
 being a double moni-
 was restricted to the
 final, a single anou-
 trary's office; in the
 5, but ordinarily the
 his absence, as at
 allowed to presbyters;
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 ergumens or of those
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 b. XII. ii. 1-6). The
 describe the practice
 [CONFIRMATION.]
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 primary, that of pres-
 deacons, subordinate.
 Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις χροῖς
 ἰστῆν ὅστις ἀγάσῃ
 t. 17: "Dandi (bap-
 tumus sacerdos, qui
 tyteri et diaconi; no
 tate, propter Ecclesie
 renat ut sine jussione
 equo diaconus jus ha-
 b. de *Sacram.* iii. 1:
 tamen exordium mi-
 edate." Similar state-
 h. *Lay Bapt.* i. § 2, sq.
 305, can. lxxvii.—If any
 a, "episcopos eos per
 ebebit." So also *Conc.*
 iii., forbids presbyters
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 doubt the statement of
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 laymen were allowed
 are et Scripturas in
 e also Van Espen, *Jur.*
 iii. § 1; and Bingham

formal preaching, as dis-
 cripture, belonged also
 to e. g. in the African

Church, if the bishop were present, until the
 time of St. Augustin; who was the first African
 presbyter that preached "coram episcopo," but
 this, "accepta ab episcopis potestate" (Possid.
 V. S. *Ant. v.*). So also in Spain, *Conc. Hispan.* II.
 A. D. 619, can. vii. In the East the practice was
 otherwise, since there it was only "in quibusdam
 Ecclesiis, tacere presbyteros et presentibus epi-
 scopo non loqui" (Hieron. *Ad Nepot.* Epist. li.).
 Yet there also the privilege depended on the
 consent of the bishop, and was taken away in
 Alexandria by an absolute prohibition: Πρεσβύ-
 τερος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ οὐ προσομιλεῖ (Socrat. v.
 22; Sozom. v. 17, vii. 19), from the time of
 Arius. In Rome, on the other hand, it is asserted
 that no bishop (ὄντε δ' ἐπίσκοπος ὄντε ἄλλος τις,
 sec. to Sozom. vii. 19, repeated by Cassiodorus,
Hist. Tripart.) preached at all until Leo the Great
 (Thomassin, II. iii. 83, § 5). To preach, however,
 every Sunday, was reckoned ordinarily the duty,
 as well as the privilege, of the bishop; on the
 ground that he is to be διδασκτικὸς = apt to teach
 (see ὁρθὸς διδασκαλικὸς = the bishop's throne, in
 St. Chrys. *Hom.* ii. in *Tit.*, and ἀξίωμα διδασκα-
 λικὸν = the bishop's office, in St. Cyril Alex.
Epist. ad Monach. in *Conc. Ephes.* Labbe, iii. 423;
 —and Sozom. vii. 19, Μάρτυς δ' τῆς πόλεως ἐπί-
 σκοπος διδάσκει, —and St. Ambros. *de Offic.* i. 1,
 "Episcopi proprium munus docere populum").
 And see also Origen, *Hom.* vi. in *Levit.* *Conc. Lau-
 dic.* c. A. D. 366, can. xix., and *Conc. Valent.* A. D. 855,
 can. 1, take the practice for granted. King Gun-
 tram, A. D. 585 (*Edict. confirm. Conc. Mit.* c. II.),
 exhorts bishops to frequent preaching; Charle-
 magne enjoins their leaving suitable homilies
 (*Cayn.* I. A. D. 813, c. xiv., and *Conc. Arelat.* can. x.,
Moyn. can. xxxv., and *Rhem.* canons xiv. xv.,
 all of the same year), and deprives bishops of
 their sees who should not have preached before
 a fixed day (*Monach. S. Gall.* i. 20); Ludov. Pius
 enjoins bishops to preach either in person or by
 their vicars (*Cayn.* i. 109); and *Conc. Trivan.*
 A. D. 850, can. v., threatens deposition to all
 bishops who did not preach at least on Sundays
 and holidays. Ethelred also in England enjoins
 bishops to preach (*Laws.* vii. 19; repeated by
Cont. Law xxvi). And similarly in Spain, *Conc.*
Tolat. XI. A. D. 675, can. ii. Bishops are also en-
 joined by *Conc. Turon.* III. A. D. 613, can. xvii.,
 to have homilies about the Catholic faith and a
 holy life, and to cause them to be translated
 "in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theoliscam,
 quo facilis enecti possint intelligere," &c. In
 the East, the Council in *Trullo* (A. D. 691, canons
 rx. xx.), while deposing bishops who preached
 outside their own dioceses without permission,
 enjoins all bishops to preach at least every Sun-
 day, and if possible every day. And Balsamon,
 on can. lxxv. of the same council, lays down the
 principle, that "to teach and expound belongs by
 divine grace to bishops only, and so to those to
 whom bishops delegate the office." It is assumed
 to be the bishop's duty, also, in *Cod. Theodos.*
 lib. xvi. tit. ii., de *Episc.* l. 25; and also lib. ix.
 tit. xi. de *Poenis* l. 16; and in *Cod. Justin.* lib.
 i. tit. xix. de *Crim. Sacrilegii*, l. 1.

(a) v. As in the points hitherto mentioned,
 so also in the administration of discipline, the
 bishop took the lead; the presbyters (and appar-
 ently in some cases the deacons) held their
 proper subordinate place under him, and formed
 his council. Bishop and presbytery occur to-

gether *passim* in St. Ignatius. The condemna-
 tions of Origen (*Amphil. Apol.* ad *1. hoc. Cod.*
 cxviii.), of Novatian (Euseb. II. E. vi. 43), of
 Paul of Samosata (*id.* vii. 28, 30), of Noëtus
 (Euphian. *Itier.* lvii. 1), of Arius at Alexandria
 (*id.* lxx. 3; and see Coteler. ad *Constit. Apost.*
 viii. 28), proceeded from the bishop, or bishops,
 but with presbyters, the πρεσβύτερον alone in-
 deed being mentioned in the case of Noëtus, and
 deacons as well as presbyters in that of Arius.
 So also Pope Siricius in the case of Jovinian,
 "facto presbyterio" (Siric. *Epist.* ii., the deacons
 also it appears concurring); and Synesius, bishop
 of Ptolemais, in that of Andronicus, a layman
 (Synes. *Epist.* lvii. lviii.). At the same time,
 the bishop was the chief, and ordinarily the sole
 judge in the first instance in cases of excommuni-
 cation ("nucro episcopalis"), following the
 authority of 1 Tim. v. 1, 19 (but see also 1 Cor.
 v. 4, 2 Cor. ii. 10:—so St. Cypr. *Epist.* xxxviii.
 xxxix. lxx. &c.; *Conc. Nicen.* can. v.; *Conc. Carth.*
 I. A. D. 390, can. viii.; *Conc. Carthag.* IV. A. D.
 398, can. lv.; *Can. Apost.* xxxi.; *Conc. Ephes.*
 can. v.; *Conc. Agath.* A. D. 506, can. ii.; and
 countless other evidence—see EXCOMMUNI-
 CATION); subject however to an appeal to the
 synod [APPEAL]: although his power came to be
 limited in Africa by a Carthag. Council (II. A. D.
 390, can. x.), by the requirement of twelve
 bishops to judge a bishop (which came to be the
 traditional canonical number), of six to judge a
 presbyter, and of three, in addition to the ac-
 cused's own diocesan, to try a deacon. The power
 of formal absolution from formal sentence is
 throughout assumed by the canons to be in such
 sense in the bishop, that presbyters could only
 exercise it (apart from him) in cases of imminent
 danger of death, unless by leave of the b' p:
 (Dion. Alex. in Euseb. II. E. vi. 44; *Conc. Carth.*
 II. canons ii. iv., and III. can. xxxii.; *Conc. Arausic.*
 I. A. D. 441, can. i.; *Conc. Eyaou.* A. D. 517, can.
 xvi. &c. &c.). St. Cypr. (*Epist.* xiii.) allows a
 deacon to absolve, only if neither bishop nor
 presbyter can be had, and in a case of extreme
 urgency. But he also speaks of "episcopos et
 clerus" as both uniting in the solemn act of
 absolution by imposition of hands. And the rule
 is laid down fully in *Conc. Eliberit.* A. D. 305,
 can. xxxii.: "Apud presbyterum . . . placuit agere
 poenitentiam non debere sed potius nrius episcopo-
 rum: cogente tamen infirmitate, necesse est
 presbyterum communionem preestare d. bere. et
 diaconum si ei jusserit episcopus." See also Mar-
 shall's *Penit. Discip.* pp. 91, sq.; and Taylor's
Episcop. Asserted, § 36. [DISCIPLINE; PENANCE.]
 See also under PENITENTIARY, PRESBYTER, for
 the πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας (Socrat. v.
 19), and the like delegates of this part of the
 bishop's office.

This authority extended over the whole diocese
 and all its members. Exemptions, as of monas-
 teries, from episcopal jurisdiction, are directly in
 the teeth of the Council of Chalced. canons vii. viii.,
 of Justinian's law (*Cod.* I. tit. iii. de *Episc.* l. 40),
 of the provincial councils of Orleans, I. A. D. 511,
 can. xix.; *Conc. Agath.* A. D. 506, can. xxxviii.;
Conc. Ilerdens. A. D. 546, can. iiii.; &c. The well-
 known case of Faustus of Lerins ar his bishop
 at the Council of Arles in A. D. 455, was an
 adjustment of rights as between abbat and
 bishop, but not an exemption in the proper

sense of the word (as Hallam superficially states). The earliest rent came to belong to the 8th century, when Zachary, A.D. 750, granted a privilege to Monte Casino, "ut nullius iuri subiacent nisi solius Romani pontificis" (Mabil. *Act. S. Ord. Bened.*, Sac. iii. p. 643). Precedents for such exemptions, as granted by royal authority, occur in the *Formulae* of Marculfus. [EXEMPTION; MONKS.]

(a) vi. As in the special subject of discipline, so generally in the affairs of the diocese, the bishop had the primary administration of them, with the power of veto, but (as throughout) with the counsel and consent of his presbyters, and of the diocese at large. So e. g. St. Cyprian, repenting the statement over and over again in equivalent terms,—"Nihil sine consilio vestro (presbyterorum) et sine consensu plebis mea privata sententia gerere." The same rule, as regards the presbyters, and in their place the deacons, is prominent in the language of St. Ignatius in the earliest time. And the "concessus presbyterorum" is likened by St. Jerome to the bishop's "senate," and by Origen and others to the βουλή Ἐκκλησίας, and by St. Chrysostom and Synesius to the *Sahebdrim* (συνέδριον). That presbyters also shared in diocesan synods, "adstantibus dincousi," see COUNCIL, SYNOD. On the other hand, μηδὲν ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ("conc. *Laodic.* can. lvii.) is repeated so endlessly by *Laodiceans*, and asserted by church writers, as to make it needless to multiply quotations. Imperial legislation, in conferring special powers upon bishops, tended largely to increase episcopal authority. Yet provincial synods of presbyters (and of abbots) still continued, throughout, down to Carolingian times. [COUNCIL; SYNOD.] And Guizot (*H. de la Civ. en France*, Leçon 15) joins priests with bishops as the really governing body of the Church in the earlier Frankish period. In the particular matters of creeds, liturgies, and church worship generally, the bishop is also inferred to have had authority to regulate and determine all questions, partly as being a natural portion of his office, partly from the fact, that in essentials, even the creeds, much more liturgical points, varied in various dioceses, within undefined but obvious limits. And so Basil of Caesarea, we learn, composed certain εὐχῶν διατάξεις καὶ ἐνομοίας τοῦ βήματος for his own Church while still a presbyter, of which Eusebius his bishop sanctioned the use. St. Augustin (*Epist.* 86, *ad Casulan.*) assumes a like power in the bishop to appoint fasting days for his own diocese. And the like is implied in the tradition, that St. Ignatius introduced antiphons and doxologies into his own church (Cassiod. *Hist. Tripartit.* x. 9). So Proclus of Constantinople, A.D. 434-447, is said to have introduced the Trisagion into that Church. It was the bishop's office also to consecrate churches and cemeteries [CHURCH, CEMETERY; mentioned as early as Euseb. *H. E.* x. 3, Ἐγκαινῶν ἑορτὰν . . . καὶ τῶν ἁγίων νεοταγῶν προσευκτηρίων ἀφιεράσεις, ἐπισκόπων τε ἐπὶ ταῦθ' ἐνελεύσας.

(a) vii. *Visitation* of his diocese was, at first, rather a duty following as a matter of course from a bishop's office, than a legal and canonical obligation: see St. Athanas. *Apol.* ii. § 74; St. Chrys. *Hom. l. in Epist. ad Titum* (ἐπισκέψεις); Sulp. Sever. *Dial.* ii. (of St. Martin); St. Aug. *Epist.* vi. Opp. ii. 144; Greg. Tur. *II. E. v.* 5, and *De Glor.*

Confess. lix. cvl.; St. Greg. M. *Dial.* iii. 38, &c.; and see also under CHOREPISCOPI, and ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΥΤΗΣ or VISITATOR. Accordingly, no enuons at first defined or enforced the duty. But in course of time, so soon as enuons came to be made upon the subject, the bishop became bound to visit his diocese once a year, both to confirm and to administer discipline, and generally to oversee the diocese: St. Bonif. *Epist.* lix. ed. Jaffé; *Conc. Tarraco.*, A.D. 516, can. viii.; *Conc. Braac.* III. A.D. 572, can. i.; *Conc. Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, can. xxxvi.; *Conc. Tolet.* VII. A.D. 643, can. iv.; *Conc. Liptin.* A.D. 743 (i. e. St. Bonif. see, as above); *Conc. Suess.* A.D. 744, can. iv.; *Conc. Arelat.* A.D. 813, can. xvii.; *Capit. Car. M.* lib. vii. cc. 94, 95, 109, 305, A.D. 769, 813, &c.

(a) viii. Further (1), it was the bishop's office to issue letters of credence to any members of his diocese, which alone enabled them to communicate in other churches; see *Litterae formatae*, or *canonicae*, &c. So, *Can. Apost.* xxxii., no stranger bishop or clergy were to be received ἄνευ συστατικῶν; *Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 368, can. xii., Ὁ δὲ ἱερατικὸν ἢ κληρικὸν ἄνευ κωνοικῶν γραμμάτων ὀδένειν; *Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341, can. vii., Μηδένα ἄνευ εἰρηλικῶν δέχεσθαι τῶν ξένων; *Conc. Carthay.* I. A.D. 348, can. vii., "Clericus vel laicus non communicet in aliena plebe sine litteris episcopi sui." So also *Conc. Midevit.* A.D. 402, can. xx. ("formatam ab episcopo accipit"); *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, can. liii., and repeated *Conc. Epaon.* A.D. 517, can. vi. ("sine antistitis sui epistolis"); but, in each case, of the clergy, who should travel from home. And the Councils of Arles (A.D. 314, can. ix.) and of Eliberis (A.D. 305, can. xxv.) forbid "confessors" to give such letters, and order those who have them to procure fresh "communicatorie" from the bishop. The Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, can. viii., permits *choriepiscopi* διδόναι εἰρηλικὰς, but forbids presbyters doing so; and the Council of Eliberis (A.D. 305, can. lxxxi.) prohibits the worse abuse of the wivas (apparently of bishops) giving and receiving such "pacificae." These letters, according to their purpose, were called "commendatitiae" (of credence, or recommendation), "pacificae" (also "ecclesiastice" or "cannonice," of communion), or "dimissorie" (ἀπολυτικά, συστατικά, or again εἰρηλικαί, or "concessorie"); see e. g. *Conc. Trull.* can. xvii. (not necessary or granted, like modern letters dimissory, to any one who desired to be ordained in another diocese than his own—vivo, however, had of course to obtain leave to do so—but only when a clergyman desired to change his diocese); and they are to be distinguished from the unauthoritative "libelli" given by martyrs or confessors during a persecution to those who had lapsed. *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, can. xi., orders *systraticas* to be given only to such as were "suspectae" but to those who were poor and in want, or εἰρηλικαί, and not *systraticas*—*pacificas*, and not *commendatitias*. (2.) The bishop also represented his diocese collectively, besides answering for its individual members; as in communicating with other dioceses. So, e. g. St. Clement of Rome writes to the Corinthian Church, as speaking for the Church of Rome, of which he was bishop; and is spoken of by Hermas Pastor (*Via.* ii. 4) as officially communicating with Christians of other dioceses. It is needless to give evidence from later times.

(a) i. Church, instance, be dispenser officers PERTY, NOMUS); 35, 37, general c. Τα τῆς ἑκκλησίας τῆς α. Α. Α. And Conc puts an a church I τοῦ ἐπισκόπου So *Can. 2* τικῶν πρι τῶν καὶ τ so also th. ii. 25. A "Episcopo Nepot. Ep missa est coraqueo But *Conc.* the bisho μὴ μετὰ κῶνον, ἀνὸς τῆς bils him church dis ἐπισκόπου φερὰ τὰ A.D. 398, porum ve slastione, clerorum ceptional e be sold, vi brose, de ent. vii. 2 *Utic de Po* in *V. S. A.* famine (as ii. 27, and cases of r disposed of of the pri porum" (C "apud duo episcopos" which last himself to d nut ecclesie *Conc. Epaon* scientia mea Orleans, III rules. An canons ix. a xviii., and Italy, the le *Rom.* VI. n the East, Ju shew a like held good of each diocese appropriate and to parti cessed to h share, excep tutions, ano

M. *Dial.* iii. 38, &c.: bishops, and periodically, no canon at duty. But in course came to be made upon bound to visit his confirm and to address the xx. ed. Jaffé; *Conc. i. Conc. Braac.* III. *et. IV.* A.D. 633, can. A.D. 613, can. iv.; it. Boniface, as above); v.; *Conc. Archel.* A.D. M. lib. vii. c. 94, 95,

was the bishop's office to any members of his led them to communicate, *litteras formatas*, or received *ἀνευστα* 366, can. xli. *ὄδε κενονίαν γραμμάτων* D. 341, can. vii., *Μῆθαι τῶν ζήνων*: *Conc. i.*, "Clericus vel laicus plebe sine litteris episcopali." A.D. 402, can. xx. *incipit*"); *Conc. Agath.* repeated *Conc. Epion.* *istis tui epistolis*"); *Argy.* who should travel *cils of Arles* (A.D. 314, (A.D. 305, can. xv.) give such letters, and them to procure fresh the bishop. Th. Coan. viii., permits *chor-* but forbids presbyters of Eliberis (A.D. 305, e worse abuse of the ops) giving and receiving letters, according ed "commendatitio" *endation*), "pacific" *enunciation*, "of com- *antolonicas, susta-* "concessoria"); see xvii. (not necessary or *ters* dismissory, to any *ained in another di-* *however*, had of course *so*—but only when a *ange his diocese*); and *ed from the unauthor-* *ty martyrs or confessors* *ose who had lapsd.* *can. xi.*, orders *συστα-* *asons ix.* and xlix., and *Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, can. xviii., and the *Capit.* of Martin of Braga; in *Italy*, the letters of Gregory the Great, and *Com. Rom.* VI. under Symmachus, A.D. 504; and in the East, Justinian (*Novell.* 123, c. 23, 131, c. 11), shew a like system. This general rule, however, held good only so long as the church goods of such diocese formed a common fund. After the appropriation of special incomes to special officers and to particular parishes, the bishop of course ceased to have control over more than his own there, except over alms and general contributions, and in like cases (see *TRINES*): un-

(a.) ix. The income and offerings of the Church, and its alms, were likewise, in the first instance, under the disposition of the bishop, to be dispensed either by himself or by his proper officers (see ALIENATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY, ALMS, ARCHDEACON, DEACON, OECONOMUS); and this upon the ground of Acts iv. 35, 37, v. 2, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4; but with the general consent of his presbyters, as Acts xi. 30. *Τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας . . . διοικῆσαι προσήκει μετὰ κλήσεως καὶ ζήλου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου* (*Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341, can. xlv., and see can. xxv.). And *Conc. G. nyr.* A.D. 325, canons vii. and viii.) puts an anathema on those who intermeddle with church property, *παρὰ γνώμην (or παρεκτός) τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐκτελεσθέντος τὰ τοιαῦτα*. So *Can. Apost.* xxviii.: *Πάντων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἔχει τὴν φροντίδα καὶ διοικῆσά αὐτὰ ὡς Θεοῦ ἐφορῶντος*. And so also *ib.* can. xl.; and at length, *Constit. Apostol.* ii. 25. And *St. Cyp.* (*Epist.* xxxviii. al. xli.). "Episcopo dispensante." And *St. Hieron.* *ad Nepot.* *Epist.* xxvii., "Sciat episcopus, cui commissa est Ecclesia, quem dispensationi pauperum carereque praeficiat." And *Possid.* in *V. S. Aug.* *Bat Conc. Antioch.* (as above, can. xxv.) forbids the bishop from dealing with church revenues, *μη μετὰ γνώμης τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἢ τῶν διακόνων*, and orders him *εὐθύνας παρέχειν τῇ συνόδῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας*. And *Can. Apost.* xxxix. al. xl. bids him keep his own goods and those of the church distinct, so that *ἴστω φανερὰ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα (ἐλ γὰρ καὶ ἴδια ἔχει) καὶ φανερὰ τὰ κυριακά. κ.τ.λ.* And *Conc. Carth.* IV. A.D. 398, can. xxxii., "Irrita erit donatio episcoporum vel venditio vel commutatio rei ecclesiasticae, absque conviventia et subscriptione clericorum." Compare also the established exceptional cases wherein church plate, &c., might be sold, viz. for redeeming captives, &c., might be sold (as *St. Cyril* of Jerusalem, in *Theodorët.* ii. 27, and *Sozom.* iv. 25); in which, as in other cases of real necessity, the bishop allowably disposed of the property, but with the consent of the primate "cum statuto numero episcoporum" (*Conc. Carth.* V. A.D. 398, can. iv.), or "quod duos vel tres comprovinciales vel vicinos episcopos" (*Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, can. vii.); which last canon, however, permits the bishop by himself to dispose of "terrulae aut vineolae exiguae aut ecclesiae minus utiles," &c. (can. xlv.); and *Conc. Epion.* A.D. 517, can. xii., requires the "consentia metropolitani" to a like sale, Councils of Orleans, III. and IV. A.D. 538, 541, repeat like rules. And in Spain, *Conc. Hispal.* II. A.D. 619, canons ix. and xlix., and *Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, can. xviii., and the *Capit.* of Martin of Braga; in Italy, the letters of Gregory the Great, and *Com. Rom.* VI. under Symmachus, A.D. 504; and in the East, Justinian (*Novell.* 123, c. 23, 131, c. 11), shew a like system. This general rule, however, held good only so long as the church goods of such diocese formed a common fund. After the appropriation of special incomes to special officers and to particular parishes, the bishop of course ceased to have control over more than his own there, except over alms and general contributions, and in like cases (see *TRINES*): un-

less so far as he still retained the power of appointing clergy and ordaining them to particular benefices. The era of such limitation may be taken to be the *Conc. Troasian.* (Trois, near Soissons), A.D. 909, can. vi.; the old rule lingering still during the time of Charlemagne (see Thomassin, III. l. 8). About 600, a year is Gibbon's estimate of an average episcopal revenue in the time of Justinian; the valuation fluctuating at the time from 2 pounds of gold to 30 (*Justin. Novell.* 123, c. 3).

(a.) x. The bishop also appears, in the first instance, to have so taken charge of his whole diocese, as that, the diocesan city being served by clergy of his own ordaining, the country districts were served from the city by clergy at his appointment, although with counsel and consent of both presbyters and laity. The diocese was in fact one parish, there being no such thing as a parish in the modern sense. And this original condition of things gradually settled into rule, as follows:—1. That no clergyman could migrate to, or be ordained to a higher order in, another diocese than that in which he had been born and ordained, or (if this involved two dioceses) in which he had been ordained, without the express leave of the bishop who had ordained him; the presbyters being bound to the bishop who had ordained them, as he in turn was bound to certify them if in need. See *CLERGY, LITURGICAL DIMISSORIAE, PRESBYTER*. An exception however came to exist in favour of the bishop of Carthage, in relation to Africa, "ut soli ecclesiae Carthaginensis licent alienum clericum ordinare" (*Ferrand. Breviar.* c. 230). 2. That no clergyman, when benefices came to exist, could resign his benefice, or remove to another, within the particular diocese, without his bishop's consent. *Conc. Carth.* IV. A.D. 398, can. xvii., probably refers to different dioceses,—"Inferioris gradus sacerdotis vel alii clerici concessione suorum episcoporum possunt ad alias ecclesias transmigrare." But in later times, *Conc. Remens.* A.D. 813, can. xx., *Conc. Turon.* A.D. 813, can. xiv., and *Conc. Nismet.* can. xvi., are express, "De titulo minori ad majorem migrare nulli presbytero licitum est"; and are confirmed by Charlemagne, *Capit.* liii. vi. c. 197.—"Nullus presbyter exaltatus sibi ecclesiam sine consensu sui episcopi derelinquat et licetum suasionem ad aliam transeat;" and see also *ib.* vi. c. 85, lib. vii. c. 73. But, at the same time, the bishop could not remove or eject a clergyman against his will or at his own pleasure, the rule composing to be that three bishops were required to judge a deacon, and six a presbyter, including their own diocesan, and with an appeal to the provincial synod; see *APPEAL, DEACON, PRESBYTER, SYNOD*. 3. That the bishop as a rule collated to all benefices within his diocese, concurring, by ordination to a particular "title," the spiritual jurisdiction, which drew with it the temporal endowments (see *Bingh.* IX. viii. 5, 6; Thomassin, II. l. 33–35). But, 4. that the right of nominating to a church in another's diocese was granted, as time went on, to a bishop who had founded that church (and apparently to his successors, on the assumption that he founded it out of church property), in the West (*Conc. Arlesic.* I. A.D. 441, can. x.); and in the East from Justinian, and ultimately in the West likewise (e.g. *Conc. Tolet.* IX. A.D. 655, can. ii.; *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, can. liv.), to laymen also in like position;

and in both East and West, by the time of Justinian and of Charlemagne respectively, to kings, nobles, and other laymen, without any such ground: although the right of the bishop to determine whether the presentee was fit, and if unfit, to reject him, remained still, even in the case of noblemen's chaplains. Further, 1. in the East, a limit also was put to the "requests" (*δυσωπήσεις*) of the nobles, and to the "command" (*κέλευσις*) of the emperor, in making such presentations (*Novell. 3. in Praef. and c. 2.*); and, 2. in the West, the Council of Arles, VI. A. D. 813, can. iv., commands, "ut laici presbyteros absque iudicio proprii episcopi non eji- ciant de ecclesiis nec alios inmittere praesumant"; and the Council of Tours, III. A. D. 813, can. xv., "interdicendum videtur clericis sive laicis ne quis cullebit presbytero praesumat dare ecclesiam sine licentia et consensu episcopi sui"; while, on the other hand, both Charlemagne and Louis the Pious guard the lay side of the question by enacting, "Si laici clericos probalibus vitae et doctrine episcopis consecrandos suisque in ecclesiis constituendas obtulerint, nulla qualibet occasione eos rejiciant"; or if they do reject them, then, "diligens examinatio et evidens ratio, ne scandalum generetur, manifestum faciat" (*Capit. lib. v. c. 178, and Lud. Pii Capit. in Conc. Gall. ii. 430.*); an enactment repeated by *Conc. Paris. A. D. 829, can. xxii.* See also *Conc. Rom. A. D. 826 and 853, can. xxi.* The right of presentation to such a benefice by lapse, as developing upon the bishop, is not traced by Thomassin (li. i. 31, § 5) higher than the time of Hincmar. The consent of the Church, necessary in the time of St. Cyprian to the ordination of a presbyter, does not appear to have been required in that of a deacon—"diaconi ab episcopis fiunt" (*St. Cyp. Epist. lxx.*)—and a *fortiori* not in the case of minor orders.

(a.) xi. The bishop became also a judge or arbitrator in secular causes between Christians, on the ground of 1 Cor. vi. 4; necessarily, however, by consent only of both parties, and by an authority voluntarily conceded to him; an office which continued so late as the time of St. Augustin; sitting on Mondays for the purpose: for which, and for other details, see *Apost. Constit. ii. 45-53.* See also under APPEAL. As an office conferred by the State, and endowed with legal power, see also below under (2).

(a.) xii. All these powers belonged to a bishop solely in relation to his own diocese. Beyond that diocese—not to discuss here, 1. the authority of synods, or, 2. the gradual growth of the offices of archbishop, primate, metropolitan, exarch, patriarch (for which see the several articles)—each bishop had no right to interfere, except under circumstances (such as the prevalence of schism or heresy, or of persecution, or the like) which would obviously constitute a necessity superseding law. So, e. g. St. Athanasius *καὶ χριστονομίας ἐποίησε* in cities out of his diocese, as he returned from exile (*Socrat. ii. 24.*) And similarly Eusebius of Samosata, in the Arian persecution under Valens (*Theodoret, iv. 13, v. 4.*) And Epiphanius likewise in Palestine; defending his act on the ground that, although each bishop had his own diocese, "et nemo super alienam mensuram extenditur, tamen praepunitur omnibus caritas Christi" (*Epist. ad Joann. Hieros. Opp. ii. 312.*) Compare also the letters of Cle-

ment of Rome to the Corinthians, and of Dionysius of Corinth (*καθολικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ*) to the Lae- daemonians, and to the Athenians, and many others (*Euseb. H. E. lv. 23.*) and St. Cyprian's interference in Spain in the cases of Martial and Basilides, and in Gaul in that of Marcinus. And see Du Pin, de *Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. pp. 141, sq.* Still, the rule was—

(a.) xiii. A single bishop to each diocese, and a single diocese to each bishop. "Unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos," is St. Cyprian's dictum (*Epist. lli. al. lv.*). And St. Jerome, "Singuli Ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archipresbyteri, &c., in navi unus gubernator, and repeatedly." And similarly St. Hilary, *Diac. (in Phil. i. 1, in 1 Cor. xii. 28, &c.)* And *Socrat. vi. 22; Sozom. lv. 15; Theodoret, ii. 17 (ἐἰς Θέος, ἐἰς Χριστὸς, ἐἰς ἐπίσκοπος)*, and iii. 4; and, above all, *Conc. Nicæn. A. D. 325, can. viii. &c. &c. &c.* And to the same effect the numerous canons forbidding the intrusion of any one into a diocese as bishop during the lifetime of the bishop of that diocese, unless the latter had either freely resigned or been lawfully deposed. The seeming exceptions to this, indeed, prove the rule. Merely as a temporary expedient, in order to heal a schism, the Catholic bishops in Africa offered to share their sees with the Donatist bishops (*Collat. Carthag. l. die c. v. in Labbe, ii. 1352.*); as Meletius long before had proposed to Paulinus at Antioch to put the Gospels on the episcopal throne while they two should sit on either side as joint bishops (*Theodoret, v. 3.*); the proposal dropping to the ground in both cases. See also what is said above of condutors; and the conjecture, not however solidly grounded, of Hammond and others, respecting two joint bishops, respectively for Jews and Gentiles, in some cities in Apostolic times (see *Bingh. II. xiii. 3.*) It must be added, however, that Epiphanius (*Haer. lxxvii. 6.*) does say that Alexandria never had two bishops, *ὡς αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις*. On the other side, two sees to one bishop was equally against all rule. The text, "Unius uxoris virum," says the *De Dign. Sacerd. c. iv. inter Opp. S. Ambros.*, "si ad altiorum sensum concessimus, inhibet episcopum duas usurpare Ecclesias." And later writers, e. g. Hincmar, work the same thought with still greater vehemence, and loudly inveigh against spiritual adultery. And apart from this exalted view, the canon of Chalcedon, which forbids a clergyman being inscribed upon the roll of two dioceses, was (very reasonably) held to include bishops. The exceptional cases (indefinitely *Interventores*, and of the temporary "commutation" of a diocese to a neighbouring bishop [*INTERVENTORES, COMMENDA*]) occur, the former in the early African Church, the latter as early as St. Ambrose himself (*Epist. xlii.*). And a case occurs in St. Basil the Great's letters (290 and 292), where a provincial synod, under urgent necessity, and not without vehement opposition, by a dispensation (*τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀναγκάτων*), allowed a bishop, promoted to the metropolitan see of Armenia, to retain his previous see of Colonia. And Gregory the Great in several cases joined together in Italy ruined or impoverished or depopulated sees. St. Mehard also, in 532, united the sees of Noyon and Tournay, upon the urgency of his metropolitan and provincial bishops, and of the king, nobles, and people (Surius, in

V. S. M. of two o held tog seem to times; v archbishi subseque the abbe Gemetti he was n the first t Worcester to furthe And this archbisho Worcester by the un- cester to Living, 10 ment, as began muc stances ter, s together, s the provin in which n own petiti- Act. vii. su- case more, i those bisho brings us r- ing the siz- limited to and if so, et (c.) xiv. involved bei to the partic in each case bourhood and towns as necessarily r- pletely Chri- different var- division of t- In some coun- so far as to c- bishops by k- Sardic. A. D. 3- nus kal ἐν τ- 368, can. lvii- prohibits clo- mentsly conde- &c., in Africa- made an objec- ply their num- vills et in fu- (*Collat. Carth-* prohibition is- Gregory III. A- 743. The prac- theless; as is o-ustom. Synesiu- xii. 2, 3; and l- as an exceptio- nians ἐπίσκο- και Κερπύρι- cul conser of n- tions, as it w- on of their kin- Europe to sees- to sees therefo- in Scythia, ρολλ- ἐπίσκοπον ἔχου-

Y. S. Med. Jun. 8). But pluralities, in the sense of two or more previously independent bishoprics held together for merely personal reasons, do not seem to have crept in until early Carolingian times; when, e. g., Hugh, son of Drogo, became archbishop of Rouen, A. D. 722, and added thereto the abbey of Jumièges and Fontanelles (*Chron. Gemnetic.*), for no other apparent reason than that he was nephew of Pippin the Elder. In England, Worcester and London together, in order no doubt to further his monastic schemes, A. D. 957-960. And this is followed by the well-known series of archbishops of York who were also bishops of Worcester, from 972 to 1023; and this, again, by the union of the same unfortunate see of Worcester to that of Crediton in the episcopate of Living, 1027-1046. The union of other preferment, as of deaneries or abbey, to bishoprics, began much about the like period, when circumstances tempted to it. And for two abbey held together, see ANAT. The apparent exception of the province of Europa in Thrace in earlier times, in which two bishops were allowed upon their own petition by the Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431, Act. vii. sub finem) to hold each two, and in one case more, bishoprics together, on the ground that those bishoprics had always been held together, brings us rather to the previous enquiry respecting the size of dioceses, and whether necessarily limited to one city and its dependent country, and if so, of what size the city must be.

(c.) xiv. And here, there being no principle involved beyond that of suitability in each case to the particular locality, and the original diocese in each case being the great city of the neighbourhood with so much of its dependent country and towns as was converted to the faith, questions necessarily arose, as the district became completely Christianized, and were determined in different ways in different places, as to the subdivision of the original vaguely limited diocese. In some countries that subdivision was carried so far as to call forth prohibitions against placing bishops *ἐν κἀμῃ τινὶ ἢ ἐν βραχέει πόλει* (*Conc. Sardic.* A. D. 347, can. vi.); or again, *ἐν ταῖς κώμας καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις* (*Conc. Laodic.* about A. D. 366, can. lvii.), which latter canon perhaps only prohibits *chorepiscopi*. Leo the Great also vehemently condemns the erecting sees "in castellis," &c., in Africa (*Ejst.* lxxxvii. c. 2). And it was made an objection to the Donatists that (to multiply their numbers) they consecrated bishops "in villis et in fundis, non in aliquibus civitatibus" (*Collat. Carth.* c. 181; Labbe, ii. 1399). The prohibition is repeated in later times, as by Pope Gregory III. A. D. 738, and Pope Zacharias, A. D. 743. The practice however had continued nevertheless; as is obvious by St. Greg. Naz., St. Chrysostom, Synesius, and others, quoted in Bligh. II. xii. 2, 3; and by Sozomen (vii. 19), stating, but as an exceptional case, that *ἐστὶν ὄρη καὶ ἐν κώμας ἐπίσκοποι ἱερουργοῦναι. ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίους καὶ Κυρπύσις ἔχουσι*. On the other hand, the conversion of the German and other European nations, as it were, wholesale, upon the conversion of their kings, led in a large part of northern Europe to sees of nations rather than cities, and to sees therefore of often unwieldy extent. E. g., in Scythia, *τοιαῦτα πόλεις ὄντες ἔκδοται ἐνὰ πάντες ἐπίσκοπων ἔχουσι* (Sozom. vii. 19; and see also vi.

21); viz. the Bishop of Tomi. In the older countries it might obviously happen, very naturally, that (as in the province of Europa) two or more towns or "civitates" of small but nearly equal size might come to be united in one diocese, of which yet neither of them could claim to be pre-eminently the city. Just as, on the other hand, Sozomen tells us, that Anastas and Majuma, being two "civitates" (although very small ones) and also two bishoprics, were united by the emperors into one "civitas," yet remained two bishoprics still (v. 4). The actual number of bishops in the time of Constantine is reckoned by Gibbon as 1800, of whom 1000 were Eastern, 800 Western. The authority for subdivision was "voluntas episcopi ad quem ipsa diocesis pertinet, ex consilio tamen plenarie et primitivis auctoritate" (Ferrand. *Breviar.* xiii. in Justell. *Bibl. Jur. Can.* i. 448). See also *Conc. Carthag.* II. A. D. 397, can. v., and III. A. D. 397, can. xlii. (Labbe, ii. 1160, 1173), and St. Aug. *Ejst.* cclxi., respecting his erecting the see of Fussula with the consent of the primate of Numidia. The consent of the bishop of Rome was not asked or thought of, until in the West in the time of St. Boniface, and even then it was chiefly in respect to newly converted countries. Compare the well-known history of Wilfrid in England in the end of the 7th century, the action of Pope Formosus a century later in respect to the same country, and the history of Nominot and the Breton sees in 845. The Pope's consent became needful about the time of Gregory V. The consent of the king became also necessary from the commencement of the Frank kingdom, and in Saxon England. While in the East the absolute power of erecting new sees accrued to the emperors solely, without respect to diocesan bishop, metropolitan, council, or any one else (Thomasin. *De Mtra.* &c.). An exceptional African canon (*Cod. Can. Afric.* cxlv.), in order to reconcile Donatists, allowed any one reclaiming a place, not a bishop's see, to retain it for himself as a new and separate bishopric upon a prescription of three years. And so again in Spain, according to *Conc. Tolet.* A. D. 633, can. xxxiv., and *Conc. Emerit.* A. D. 666, can. viii., thirty years' undisturbed possession by one bishop, of what had previously been a part of another's bishopric, constituted a prescriptive right on behalf of the possessor. The *Conc. Chelvi.* A. D. 451, can. xi., had fixed the same period. The union of sees was subject to the same rules with the subdivision of them. There were in England no instances of such union within our period, except in the cases of the temporary sees of Hexham and of Whitherne, and of the possible brief-lived see of Ripon; the union of Cornwall and Devonshire being of considerably later date. The transference of the episcopal see from one place to another within the same bishopric, as distinct from any change in the limits or independency of the bishopric itself, seems to have followed a like rule with the larger measures of union or division. The bishop, with sanction of his comprovincials, and with the acquiescence of the State, was sufficient authority at first in European kingdoms or in the East; as, e. g., in the shifting of the see of East Anglia, or of that of Wessex, &c. The consent of the Pope came to be asked afterwards; as in the time of Edward the Confessor, in the case of the removal of Crediton to Exeter, or in that of the great movement of sees from smaller

to larger towns in the time of William the Conqueror in England generally; which however were both of them done, and the latter of the two expressly, "by leave of the king."

(c.) xv. Finally, bishops were required to reside upon their dioceses. The Council of Nice (can. xvi.), enjoining residence on the other orders of clergy, plainly takes that of bishops for granted, and as needing no canon. The Council of Sardien, A.D. 347, can. xv., in the case of bishops who have private property elsewhere, permits only three weeks' absence in order to look after that property, and even then the bishop so absent had better reside, not on his estate itself, but in some neighbouring town where there is a church and presbyter. And *Conc. Trull.* A.D. 691, can. lxxx., deposes a bishop (or other clerk) who without strong cause is absent from his church three Sundays running. A year's absence from his diocese forfeited the see altogether, acc. to Justinian's law (at first it had forfeited only the pay, *Novell.* lxxv. c. 2), or six months acc. to *Conc. Constant.* A.D. 870 (see above). Presence at a synod (which was compulsory) was of course a valid reason for absence. Bishops however were not to cross the sea, acc. to an African rule (*Cod. Can. Afric.* xxiii.); and so also in Italy, *Greg. M. Epist.* vii. 8), without the permission and the letter (*ἀπολυτική, τελευτωμένη, formati*) of the primate; nor to go to the emperor without bishops of both primate and provincial bishops (*Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341, can. xi.). Nor were they to go into another province unless invited (*Conc. Sardic.* can. ii.); nor indeed to go to court at all unless invited or summoned by the emperor; nor to go too much "in canali" or "canallo" (along the public road) "ad comitatum" (to the court) to present petitions, but rather to send their deacon if necessary (*ib.* can. ix.-xii.). Yet, A.D. 794, by *Conc. Francof.* can. lv., some four and a half centuries later, Charlemagne is permitted to have at court with him, by licence of the Pope and consent of the synod, and for the utility of the Church, Archbishop Angelram and Bishop Hildebald. Bishops, again, were not to leave their dioceses "negotiandi causa," or to frequent markets for gain (*Conc. Eliberit.* A.D. 305, can. xviii.). How far persecution, martyrdom, St. Augustin excuses an absence of his own on the ground that he never had been absent "licentia libertate sed necessaria servitute" (*Epist.* cxxxviii.). And Gregory the Great repeatedly insists upon residence. And to come later still, *Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, canon xl. xlv., renews the prohibition of above three weeks' absence upon private affairs. And Charlemagne at Aix (*Capit. Aquisgr.* A.D. 789, c. xli.) restrains the bishop's residence, not simply to his see, but to his cathedral town: just as previous Frank canons repeatedly enjoin his presence there at the three great feasts of Easter, Whitsunday, and Christmas. The bishop, too, by a canon of *Conc. Carthag.* IV. A.D. 398, can. xiv., was bound to have his "hospitium" close to his cathedral church. The sole causes, in a word, that were held to justify absence, were such as arose from service to the Church; as when at synod, or employed on church duties elsewhere, or summoned to court on church business or for Christian purposes (but this was an absence jealously watched: see *Conc. Sardic.* &c. &c. as above). Absence

also on pilgrimage was seemingly, yet hardly formally, acquiesced in. And a journey to Rome (by permission of the prince) would come under the same class of exemption as the attending a synod. By the time of Charlemagne, moreover, the office of *Missi Dominici*, and other State duties, were held to justify at least temporary non-residence.

β. From the spiritual office of the bishop singly, we pass to his joint authority when assembled in provincial synod; and this, i. as respects the consecration of bishops, for which see above; and, ii. as a court of appeal and jurisdiction over individual bishops, for which see *APPEAL, COUNCIL, SYNOD*; and, iii. as exercising a general jurisdiction over the province; for which, and for the relative rights of bishops and presbyters, &c. in synod assembled, see *COUNCIL, SYNOD*.

γ. Thirdly, for the collective authority of bishops assembled in general council, i. as respects doctrine, ii. as respects discipline, see *COUNCIL, OECUMENICAL*.

III. (2.) Over and above the spiritual powers inherent in the episcopate as such, certain TEMPORAL POWERS AND PRIVILEGES were conferred upon the bishop from time to time by the State; and these, partly, in his general capacity as of the clergy (for which see *CLERGY*), partly upon him as bishop.

(i.) The judicial authority in secular causes between Christians, which attached to the bishop as a matter of Christian feeling, became gradually an authority recognized and enlarged by state law. See details under *APPEAL*. He was limited in the Roman empire to civil causes, and to criminal cases that were not capital, and almost certainly to cases where both parties agreed to refer themselves to the bishop. In England, however, the bishop sat with the alderman in the Shire Gemot, twice a year, "in order to expound the law of God as well as the secular law" (*Eadgar's Laws*, ii. 5, &c. &c.); an arrangement to which (as is well known) William the Conqueror put an end. In Carolingian France, the bishop and the *comes* were to support one another, and the two as *Missi Dominici* made circuits to oversee things ecclesiastical as well as civil (*Capit.* of A.D. 789, 802, 806, &c.; see Gieseler, ii. 240, Eng. tr.). Questions relating to marriages, and to wills, were also referred to the bishops by the Roman laws, and by the Carolingian (see under *MARRIAGE, TESTAMENT*). The bishop also was authorized by *Cod. Justin.* l. v. 25, to prohibit gaming; as he had been by *Cod. Theod.* IX. iii. 7, XVI. x. 19, to put down idolatry; and IX. xvi. 12, sorcerers; and XV. viii. 2, pimps. He had also special jurisdiction, in causes both civil and (subsequently) criminal, over clergy, monks, and nuns — "episcopalis audientia" — from Valentinian, A.D. 452 (*Novell.* iii. *de Episc. Judicio*), and from Justinian, A.D. 539 (*Novell.* lxxix. and lxxxiii.), and so also cxxiii. c. 21); and from Heraclius, A.D. 628 (for the inclusion of criminal cases, see Gieseler, ii. 119, n. 14, Eng. tr.). And this exemption of the clergy from civil courts was continued by Charlemagne (Gieseler, *ib.* 256).

(ii.) Bishops also became members of the great council of the kingdom in all the European states; the result of such amalgamation being to merge ecclesiastical councils to some extent in civil ones. Their political position had also the effect of rendering them more despotic, while

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sanctity of their office. See for this Guizot,
Hist. de la Civ. en France, Leçon 13.

(ii.) Under the Roman emperors it would seem
also that civil magistrates were placed in a cer-
tain sense under the jurisdiction of the bishop in
respect to their civil office. *Conc. Arel. A.D. 314*,
can. vii., de Præsidibus, "placuit ut cum pro-
moti fuerint, literas acceptant ecclesiasticas com-
municatorias: ita tamen ut in quibuscunque
locis gesserint, ab episcopo ejusdem loci cura de-
illis agatur: ut cum eaperint contra disciplinam
publicam agere, tum denum a communione ex-
cludantur: similiter et de his qui rempublicam
agere volunt" (Labbe, l. 1427). And so Socrates
(vii. 13), writing of St. Cyril of Alexandria and
Orestes the *Profectus Augustalis* of Egypt. The
episcopal power of excommunication seemed to
afford ground for this authority. And so St.
Gregory of Nazianzum declares to the *Δυνασταί*
Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι: that δ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος ἑπορι-
θεῖται ὑμῶν τῷ ἐπιδοταρίῳ καὶ τῷ ἐπιδοθῆναί,
κ.τ.λ. (*Orat.* xvii.). In Spain, at a later period,
Conc. Tolet. III. A.D. 589, can. xviii., describes
the bishops as "prospectores qualiter iudices
cum populo agant," an enactment repeated by
Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, can. xxxii. And a con-
stitution of Lothaire in France, about A.D. 559,
enacts, in case of an unjust decision by the civil
judge, that, in the absence of the king, "ab epis-
copo castigetur" (Labbe, v. 828). And this
seems to have been based upon Justinian's Code
(l. iv. 26), and upon *Novell.* viii. 9, lxxxvi. 1
and 4, cxviii. 23 (see Gieseler, ii. 118, 119,
Eng. tr.)

(iv.) The more special office of protecting
widows, orphans, prisoners, insane people,
foundlings, in a word all that were distressed
and helpless, was also assigned to bishops;
at first, as a natural adjunct to their office (see,
e.g. *Conc. Sardic. A.D. 347*, can. vii.; St. Jerome,
ad Geront. [of a widow protected "Ecclesie
presidio"]; St. Ambrose, *de Offic.* ii. 29; St. Aug.
Epist. 252 al. 217, and *Serm.* 176, § 2); after-
wards by express law (*Cod. tit. l. c. iv. de Episc.*
Audientia, li. 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 38); repeated
further on by Gallic councils (*Aurelian.* V. A.D.
548, can. xx.; *Turon.* II. A.D. 567, can. xxix.;
Matic. II. A.D. 585, can. xiv.; *Francof.* A.D. 794,
can. xi.; *Aelat.* VI. A.D. 813, can. xvii.); and by
Spanish ones (*Tolet.* III. A.D. 589, can. xviii.);
and referred to in Italy in the letters of Gregory
the Great frequently. The manumission of slaves
belonging to the Church (e.g. *Conc. Agath. A.D.*
506, can. vii.), and the protection of freedmen (*ib.*
can. xxix., and *Conc. Aurelian.* V. A.D. 549, can.
vii. &c.) were also permitted and assigned to
bishops; and this not only in Gaul but else-
where (see Thomassin, II. iii. 87, sq.). And
the manumission of slaves generally was often
made in their presence (e.g. in Wales and
England, *Conc. I.* 206, 676, 686, Haddan and
Stubbs), and was furthered by their influence.

(v.) The practice of anointing kings at their
coronation, and the belief which grew up that
the right to the crown depended upon, or was
conveyed by, the episcopal unction, added further
power to the bishops. But this began in the West
(if we except the allusion in Gildas to the prac-
tice, and the well-known case of St. Columba

and King Aidan) only from about Carolingian
times; in the East, however, from the emperor
Theodosius, A.D. 408 (see Maskell's *Dissert.* in
Mon. Lit. iii.), and a list in Morinus, de *Sac.*
Ordin. ii. 243; and CONONATION, UNCTION).

(vi.) Bishops were further exempted from being
sworn in a court of justice, from *Conc. Chalced.*
(A.D. 451, Act. xi.); confirmed by Marcin and
by Justinian (*Cod. l. tit. iii. de Episc. et Cler.*
l. 7, and *Novell.* cxviii. 7); the privilege, however,
being mixed up in the first instance with the
general question of the legality of oaths at all to
any Christian. And this privilege was repeated
by the Lombard laws (L. ii. tit. 51, and L. iii. tit.
1), and is traceable in the *Capit.* of Charlemagne
(ii. 38, iii. 42, v. 197). But oaths of fidelity to
the king were imposed upon bishops by Char-
lemagne (see above). It was extended to presby-
ters also in so-called Egbert's *Excerptis*, xix. (9th
century), and by the provincial Council of Tribur
(near Mayence, A.D. 895, can. xxi.): as it was
always, by both law and canon, in the East, acc.
to Photius in *Nomocan.* tit. ix. c. 27, and Bal-
samon, *ib.* Bishops indeed had the privilege of
not being summoned to a court to give evidence
at all, from at least Justinian's time (as above);
possibly from that of Theodosius (*Cod. lib. xi. tit.*
xxxix. *de Fide Testium*, l. 8); but the latter law
is taken to mean only that a clergyman chosen
to act as arbiter could not be compelled to give
account of his decision to a civil tribunal (see
Bingh. V. ii. 1). The value of a bishop's evidence,
and that not on oath, was also estimated, accord-
ing to a very suspicious law assigned to Theodosius
(*Cod. xvi. tit. xii. de Episc. Audient.* l. 1), as to
be taken against all other evidence whatever;
and certainly was ranked by Anglo-Saxon laws
(Wiltred's *Dooms* xvi.) with the king's, as
"incontrovertible." See also Egbert's *Dialogus*,
Resp. l.; and a fair account of "compurgation,"
as required or not required of the clergy, in
H. C. Lea's *Superstition and Force*, pp. 30, sq.
Philadelphia, 1870. Gregory of Tours, when
accused, contended, "regis causa" and "licet
canonibus contraria," to exculpate himself by
three solemn denials at three several altars;
although it was held superfluous for him to do
this, because "non potest persona inferior"
[which was the case here] "super sacerdotem
credi." *Conc. Meld.* A.D. 845, can. xxxvii. forbids
bishops to swear. And the *Capit.* of Carolus
Calvus, A.D. 858 (*Conc. Curisic.* c. xv.) is ex-
press in forbidding episcopal oaths upon secular
matters, or in anything but a case of "scanda-
lum Ecclesie suae." The office of *Advocatus*
Ecclesie, among other things, was connected
with this inability to be sworn. See also H. C.
Lea, as above.

(vii.) Bishops had also a privilege of *intercession*
for criminals in capital or serious criminal cases;
which the Council of Sardica regards as a duty
on their part calling for frequent exercise:
"Ἐπει πολλὰκις συμβαίνει τινὰς . . . καταργεῖν
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν . . . τοῖς τοιοῦτοις μὴ ἀργη-
τέον εἶναι τὴν βοήθειαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς μελέτησού,
κ.τ.λ. (can. vii., transportation and banishment
to an island being the penalties named). As
an office naturally as well as legally attached to
the episcopate, such intercession is mentioned
by St. Ambrose, by St. Augustin (interceding for
the Circumcellions, *Epist.* clviii. and clx.), by
St. Jerome (*ad Nepot.*, *Epist.* xxxiv.), by Socrates

(v. 14, vii. 17). It did not extend to pecuniary causes, on the ground that in these to help the one side would be to injure the other (St. Ambros. *de Off.* iii. 9). It is mentioned later still by Sulp. Severus, *Diad.* iii. of St. Martin, by Eusebius of St. Epiphanius of Ticinum, &c. Restrictions, however, are placed upon the (admitted) right by *Cod. Theod.* (IX. tit. xl. c. 10, 17), renewed by Justinian (l. tit. iv. *De Episc. Aulicis*. l. 6), and again by Theodorik in Italy (*Filicet*. c. 114): free access being given nevertheless to bishops to enter prisons with a view to such "Interventiones" (*Append. Cod. Theod.* c. xlii.). And Charlemagne gives authority to bishops to obtain pardon for criminals from the secular judges at the three great festivals (*Capit.* vi. 106). A series of councils, mostly in Gaul, had put limits, before Charlemagne, to the Church's right of protecting criminals. See COUNCIL, SANCTUARY.

(viii.) A bishop's character, life, and property, were also placed under special legal protection: (1.) By the canons, rejecting the evidence of a heretic altogether, and requiring more than one Christian lay witness, against a bishop (*Apost. Can.* lxxix.); or again, rejecting in such case the evidence of one known to be guilty of crime (*Conc. Carth.* II. A.D. 300, can. vi.); or of one, cleric or lay, without previous enquiry into the character of the witness himself (*Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, can. xxi.); which provisions occur also in *Conc. Constantin.* (A.D. 381, can. vi.), with the qualification that they do not apply to suits against a bishop touching pecuniary matters, but only to ecclesiastical cases. (2.) By the canons which excommunicated any one proved to have falsely accused a bishop (*Apost. Can.* xliii.); extended also to priests and deacons by *Conc. Elvicit.* A.D. 305, can. lxxv. Under the Germanic states this protection was carried still further (see, e.g. for Anglo-Saxon laws, Thorpe's index, vol. i.; and across the Channel, *Leg. Alaman.* cc. x. xii.; *Leg. Longob.* l. ix. 27; *Leg. Bajuvar.* l. 11; and *Capit. Carol. et Ludov.* lib. vi. cc. 98, 127; vii. c. 362; and *Capit. Ludov. Add.* iv. c. 3): provisions suggested by Justinian's legislation of a like kind.

How far bishops were exempt, with other clergy, from civil jurisdiction, see under CLERGY. Justinian gave to bishops the special privilege, that they could not be brought before the civil magistrate for any cause, pecuniary or criminal, without the emperor's special order (*Novell.* xxxiii. l. 8).

(ix.) For the legal force attached to the decrees of (episcopal) synods, see under COUNCIL, SYNOD.

(x.) In addition however to privileges thus accorded to bishops by the State, their office as bishops entailed upon them also certain restrictions and burdens, partly in common with clergy generally (for which see CLERGY, PRESBYTERS, &c.), partly peculiar to themselves, or belonging to them more especially than to the clergy of lower rank. As (1.) in the disposal of their property by will: wherein, in the case of any lands acquired by them after ordination, they were required to leave such lands to the Church (*Conc. Carth.* III. A.D. 397, can. xlix.), and could only dispose of such as had come to them by inheritance or by gift, or such as they had possessed before ordination. And even those they could not leave save to their kinsfolk, nor to them if they were

heretics or heathens, but were bound to leave them by will to the Church in such case (*Con. Eccl. Afric.* 48). Justinian also allows bishops to leave nothing by will except what they possessed before being ordained. Bishops, or what might have accrued to them since that time by inheritance from kinsmen up to the 4th degree, and no farther; all else to go to the Church, or to works of piety (*Cod. I. de Episc. et Cler.* l. 33): the goods of a bishop dying intestate to go wholly to the Church (*ib.*). And Gregory the Great acts upon a like rule. And in Gaul, *Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, can. vi.; *Epston.* A.D. 517, can. xvii.; *Paris.* III. A.D. 557, can. ii.; *Luphan.* II. A.D. 567, can. ii., contain various enactments founded on like principles, although not quite so rigorous. So likewise Spanish councils from *Conc. Tarracon.* A.D. 516, can. xii.; *Conc. Valent.* A.D. 524, can. ii. iii., onwards; carefully guarding the right of the Church to all church goods (especially, it must be owned, in the matter of limiting the manumission of slaves belonging to the Church), while leaving the bishop's property, otherwise acquired, to his heirs. And all these enactments were backed by a strong feeling in favour of the principle, that a clergyman, and especially a bishop, should have no private wealth, but should give up all to the Church and the poor; see e.g. Possidius' *Life of St. Augustin.* He was to have "vilem suppellectile et mensam ac victum pauperum," acc. to *Conc. Carthag.* IV. A.D. 398, can. xv. Nor was he to become executor under a will (*ib.* xviii.); or to go to law "pro rebus transitoris" (*ib.* xix.). But see for this under CLERGY, POVERTY. The requirement of the royal consent to a bishop's will in England in Norman times arose from a totally different source, viz. the king's right to the temporalities during vacancy, and the regarding the bishopric as a fee in the feudal sense. See also the parallel case of abbats, under ABBAT. (2.) Acc. to *Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 398, can. xvi., a bishop was not to read "gentilium libros, hereticorum autem pro necessitate et tempore." But see, for the fluctuations of the dispute respecting classical study and the reading of Pagan writers, Thomassin, II. i. 92. (3.) For prohibitions about hunting and hawkling, and social matters generally, see CLERGY. (4.) Under the Frank kings also, and notably under Charlemagne and his successors, bishops, who with the other clergy enjoyed large exemptions under the Roman empire (see CLERGY), became liable to certain duties, arising from their wealth and position, and gradually assuming large proportions as the feudal system grew up; as, e.g. annual gifts to the crown, the entertainment of the king and his officers on progress (*jus githi, jus metatus*, &c., see Du Cange *sub vobis*, and Thomassin, III. l. 38, sq.), the fuelling soldiers for the emperor's service, &c. &c. But feudal dues belong to a later date. Clergy had been especially exempted from the "jus metatus" under the Roman emperors.

(xi.) We may also mention here the custom of educating boys in the bishop's house for the ministry (see Possid. in *V. S. Aug.*, and Sozom. vi. 31, speaking respectively of Africa and of Egypt); and *Conc. Tolot.* II. A.D. 531, can. i. and ii., and IV. A.D. 633, can. xxiv. (regulating the practice in Spain); and *Conc. Turon.* V. A.D. 567, can. xii. for Gaul). See Thomassin, III. l. 92-97.

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III. (3.) From the office, we pass to the HONORARY PRIVILEGES and rank of a bishop; of whom in general the *Apost. Constit.* (ii. 34) declare, that men ought *ὄν ἐπίσκοπον ἀρέσκειν ὡς πατέρα, φοβέσθαι ὡς βασιλέα, τιμᾶν ὡς κύριον*. But no doubt many of such privileges belong to Byzantine times, and date no earlier than the 3rd or 4th centuries at the earliest. And here—

(1.) Of the modes of salutation practised towards him from the 4th century onwards. As, 1. bowing the head to receive his blessing—*ὀμοχλίειν κεφαλήν*—Incline caput; see *Bingh.* ii. ix. 1, and *Vales.* in *Theoloret.* iv. 9, from *St. Hilary*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Ambrose*, &c. speaking of bishops only; and a law of *Honorius* and *Valentinian*, speaking of bishops as those "quibus omnis terra caput inclinatur." 2. Kissing his hand—*manu osculari* (*Bingh. ib.* 2, kissing *Savaro* on *Sidon. Apollin. Epist.* viii. 11). 3. Kissing the feet also—*pedes deosculari*—appears by *St. Jerome, Epist.* lxi. (speaking of a bishop of *Constantina* in *Cyprus*; and see *Cassanbon, Ecclesi.* xiv. § 4), to have been at one time a mark respected common to all bishops; being borrowed indeed from a like custom practised towards the Eastern emperors. The deacon is to kiss the bishop's feet before reading the Gospel, see to the *Ordo Romanus*. It was restricted to the Pope as regards kings, by *Gregory VII.* 4. The forms of address, and the titles and epithets, applied to bishops, have been mentioned already.

(ii.) The insignia of a bishop were,—1. the mitre; seemingly alluded to by *Eusebius*, x. 4, as *ὄν ὑβρίων τῆς δίξης στεφανον*, and certainly mentioned by *Greg. Naz. Ovat.* v, under the name of *κίδαρις*, and by *Ammian. Marcell.* lib. xlix. under that of "corona sacerdotialis," yet not occurring in *Pontificals* in the West until after the 10th century (*Meuardus*, in *Du Cange*), and not reckoned among the "episcopalia" even in A.D. 633 (see above); while in the East, *Symeon* of *Thessalonica* tells us that all bishops officiated with bare heads except the bishop of *Alexandria*, who did then wear a *κίδαρις*; and the homily attributed to *St. Chrysostom, de Uno Legislat.* (Opp. vi. 410, *Montf.*), implies that there was then no *τιάρα* or *κορυμβάσιον* appropriated to bishops at their consecration. The "aurea lamina," however, attributed to *St. John* by *St. Jerome (de Script. Eccl.)*, and by *Eusebius (vitalis)*, iii. 31, v. 24) on the authority of *Polycrates*,—and again by *Epiphanius (Hæc. xxix.)*, on that of *Eusebius* and *Clement* of *Alexandria*, to *St. James* of *Jerusalem*,—seem to favour the supposition that some kind of mitre soon became usual. See *Maskell, Mon. Rit.* iii. 274. [MITRE.] 2. The ring, peculiar to the West, and alluded to by *Optatus* (lib. 1); see above, and under *EXO.* 3. The staff, belonging apparently to patriarchs in the East (so *Balsamon*), and of a shape to supply the ordinary uses of a staff, viz. to lean upon; in the West, growing by *Charlemaign* times into a sceptre of some seven feet long, occasionally of gold (see the *Monach. S. Gall.* f. 19, quoted by *Thomassin*, l. ii. 58); so that instead of golden bishops carrying wooden staves, there had come to be (acc. to a saying quoted by *Thomassin*) wooden bishops carrying golden ones. See *STAFF*. The two last named, the ring and the staff, were so for the characteristic insignia of a bishop before the time of *Charlemaign* as to become the symbols by

which bishoprics were given (see above). And they are recognized as such A.D. 633 in *Spain*, in conjunction with yet another, viz. 4. the *oscularium*; for which see *ORARIES*. 5. A cross borne before him was peculiar in the East to a patriarch; in the West it does not occur until the 10th century, unless in such exceptional cases as that of the first entry of *St. Augustin* into *Canterbury*, A.D. 597; the cross of gold mentioned by *Aleuin* as carried about with him by *Willibrod* being apparently only a pectoral cross. See *CROSS*. 6. The *tonsure*, when general rules about modestly cut hair, &c., settled into formal rule about the 6th century, was not peculiar in any special form to bishops; see *TONSURE*. Nor yet, 7. was there apparently any special dress for bishops apart from solemn occasions and in ordinary life during the period with which this article is concerned; as appears, among other evidence, by the rebukes addressed by popes to the Gallic bishops of the 6th century onwards, who, being monks before they were bishops, retained their monastic habit as bishops (see at length *Thomassin*, l. ii. 43, sq.). For the vestments used during divine service, see *VESTMENTS*.

(iii.) Singing hosannas before a bishop on his arrival anywhere, is mentioned only to be condemned by *St. Jerome* (in *Matt.* xxi. Opp. vii. 174 b). But see *Vales.* ad *Euseb.* II. E. ii. 23; and *Augusti, Denkwürd. aus der Christl. Archæol.* v. 218.

(iv.) The form of addressing a bishop by the phrase *corona tua et vestra*, and of adjuring him *per coronam*, frequent in *St. Jerome*, *St. Augustin*, *Sidon. Apollin.*, *Enodius*, has been explained as referring to the mitre, to the tonsure, or to the *corona* or *consecratio* of the bishop's presbyters. The personal nature of the appellation appears to effect the last of these. Its being peculiar to bishops is against the second. While the objection taken by *Bingham* against the first, viz. that bishops did not wear mitres at the period when the phrase came into use, seems scarcely founded on fact. And the bishop's head-covering was also certainly called "corona," as by *Anianianus Marcellinus*. At the same time, the phrase after all possibly means nothing more definite than "your beatitude," or "your highness."

(v.) The bishop's throne—*θρόνος, θρόνος ἀποστολικός*—or (after the name of the founder of the see) *ὁ Μάρκου θρόνος*, for *Alexandria*, &c.—*βῆμα*—*θρόνος ὑψηλός*, in contradistinction to the "second throne" of the presbyters—"linteata sedes" (*Pacini. ad Senpiron.* ii.)—"cathedra velata" (*St. Aug. Epist.* cxi.)—*θρόνος ἐσθλασμένος ἐπισκοπικῶς* (*St. Athan. Apolog.*)—was also a mark of his dignity. The Council of *Antioch*, A.D. 364, condemns *Paul* of *Samosata* for erecting a very splendid throne, like a magistrate's tribunal (*Euseb. H. E.* vii. 30). See also above in this article under *Enthronisation*. By *Om. Carthag. IV.* A.D. 398, canons xxxiv. xxxv., a bishop is enjoined that, as a rule of courtesy, "quolibet loco sedens, stare presbyterum non patiar;" and that although "in Ecclesia et in consensu presbyterorum sullivaner sedet, intra domum . . . collegam se presbyterorum esse cognoscat." During prayers, according to the Arabic version of the Nicene canons (lxii.), the bishop's place in church was "in fronte templi ad medium altaris" (*Labbe,* ii. 334).

(VI.) If we are to take the pretended letter of Pope Lucius (Labbe, l. 721) to be worth anything as evidence in relation to later times, the bishop of Rome was habitually attended by two presbyters or three deacons, in order to avoid scandal.

IV. (1.) The relation of bishops to each other was as of an essentially equal office, however differentiated individuals might be in point of influence, &c., by personal qualifications or by the relative importance of their sees. St. Cyprian's view of the "unus episcopatus"—the one corporation of which all bishops are equal members—is much the same with St. Jerome's well-known declaration (*Ad Evangel. Epist.* c.), that "ubicunque fuerit episcopatus, sive Romae sive Egbubii, . . . ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii." And a like principle is implied in the *litterae communitative* or *synodicae*,—*συνωγράμματα κοινωνικά*, sometimes called *litterae eithronisticae*, *συλλαβαί εθρονιστικαί*,—by which each bishop communicated his own consecration to his see to foreign bishops as to his equals (Bingh. II. xi. 10). The order of precedence among them was determined by the date of consecration (see, e. g. the *Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric.* lxxxvi., *Conc. Bracar.* II. A. D. 563, can. vi., and *Tolet.* IV. A. D. 633, can. iv., and *Bracar.* IV. A. D. 675, can. iv.; and the English Council of *Hertford*, A. D. 673, can. viii.; and Justinian's *Cod. I. tit. iv. l. 29*; and above under l. 3. 5). But—

(2.) This equality was gradually undermined by the institution of metropolitans, archbishops, primates, exarchs, patriarchs, pope: for each of whom see the several articles.

(3.) However, apart from this, there came to be special distinctions in particular Churches: as, e. g. in Mauritania and Numidia the senior bishop was "primus;" but in Africa proper, the bishop of Carthage (Bingh. II. xvi. 6, 7); and in Alexandria the bishop had special powers in the ordinations of the suffragan sees: for which see *ALEXANDRIA*, (Patriarchate of), p. 48; *METROPOLITAN*.

(4.) The successive setting up of metropolitans and of patriarchs gave rise to exceptional cases [*ἀποκεφάλαι*], all bishops whatever having been really *ἀποκεφάλαι*, i. e. independent (save subjection to the synod), before the setting up of metropolitans, and all metropolitans before the establishment of patriarchs: see Bingh. II. xviii. [*ΑΥΤΟΚΕΦΑΛΑΙ*], *METROPOLITANS*, *PATRIARCHS*]. Whether there continued to be any bishop anywhere, *ἀποκεφάλαι* in such sense as to have neither patriarch nor metropolitan nor provincial bishops, appears doubtful: and such a case could only occur, either in a country where there was but one bishop (as in Scythia in the 5th century), or as a temporary state of things in a newly converted country: see Bingh. *ib.* 4.

(5.) For *Chorepiscopi*, in contradistinction from whom we find in Frank times *Episcopi Cathedralis* (Du Cange), 6. for *Suffragans*, 7. for *Coadjutors*, 8. for *Intercessores* and *Interventores*, and, 9. for *Commendatarii*, see under the several titles.

V. There remain some anomalous cases; as, (1.) *Episcopi vacantes*, *σχολαίοι*, *σχολάζοντες*, viz. bishops who by no fault were without a see, but who degenerated sometimes into epi-

scopi vagi or *ambulantes*, *ἀπόλιδες*, or *βακάντιβοι* (*Βακάντιβοι*, in Syues. *Epist.* 67), *εραυνίτι*, and among whom in Carolingian times, and in northern France, "Scotti" enjoyed a bad pre-eminence. Bishops indeed without sees, either for missionary purposes to the heathen, or merely *τιμῆς ἕνεκεν* (Sozom. vi. 34, οὐ πάλας τινός), existed from the time of the Council of Antioch, A. D. 341, can. xix.; and see *Apost. Can.* xxxvi., But "Episcopi vagi, vagautes, ambulantes, qui parochiam non habent," are condemned by *Conc. Vermer.* A. D. 752 or 753, cau. xiv., and *Conc. Vernens.* or *Yernotens.* A. D. 755, can. xiii., *Conc. Calc.* A. D. 816, can. v., and *Conc. Meld.* A. D. 845, can. x.; and the "Scotti, qui se dicunt episcopos esse," by *Conc. Cabillon.* II. A. D. 813, can. xliii. Compare the case of the early Welsh and Irish (Scotch) churches for honorary bishops, and again for the custom of diocessless bishops, "Episcopi portatiles" is a very late name for them (*Conc. Laud.* A. D. 1449).

(2.) For the *bishop-abbots* or *bishop-monks*, principally of Celtic monasteries, but also in some Continental ones, the former having no see except their monastery (see *ABBAT*), the latter being simply members of the fraternity in episcopal orders, but (nonnally) under the jurisdiction of their abbat, and performing episcopal offices for the monastery and its dependent district: see *Toll's St. Patrick*; Reeves' edition of Adamann's *Life of St. Columba*; Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*; Martene and Durand, *Theas. Nov. Anecd.* vol. i. Pref. Five bishops of this class—"episcopos de monasterio S. Mauricii, &c. &c.—were at *Conc. Attinia.* A. D. 765.

(3.) *Episcopus* or *Antistes Palatii*, was an episcopal counsellor residing in the palace in the time of the Carolingians, by special leave (see above, III. 1, a. xv.). For the court clergy, whether under the Roman emperors from Constantine, or under the Franks, see Thomassin, II. iii. 589, and Neander, *Ch. Hist.* vol. v. pp. 144, sq. Eng. transl.

(4.) For *Episcopus Cardinalis*, which in St. Gregory the Great means simply "proprius," i. e. the duly installed (and "incardinated") bishop of the place, see Du Cange, and under *CARDINALIS*.

(5.) *Episcopus Regionarius*, i. e. without a special diocesan city: see *REGIONARIUS*.

(6.) Titular bishops, and bishops in *partibus infidelium*, belong under these names to later times.

(7.) *Episcopus Ordinarius*, in Frank times, was an occasional name for a conajutor bishop to assist in conferring orders (Du Cange).

(8.) For the special and singular name of *Libra*, applied to the suffragans of the see of Rome, see *LIBRA*.

(9.) For lay holders of bishoprics, see *COMMENDATORS*.

(10.) And, lastly, it almost needs an apology to mention such mockeries as *Episcopi Fulwornii*—*Innocentium*—*Puerorum*; all too of later date: for which see Du Cange.

(Bingham; Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipuli*; Du Pin, *de Antiqua Eccles. Disciplin. Dissert.*; Morinus, *de Ordinibus*; Van Espen, *Jus Eccl. Univ.*; De Marca, *de Conc. Eccl. et Imp.*, and *de Primatis Dissert.* ed. Baluz.; Martene, *de Sacris Ordinationibus*; Cave, *Dissert. on Anc. Ch. Government*; Breerewood, *Patriarch. Gov. of the Church*; Bishop Potter, *Disc. on Ch. Government*; Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*. [A. W. H.]

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BISOMUS, a sepulchre capable of containing two bodies (*σώματα*). The word is found in inscriptions in Christian cemeteries at Rome and elsewhere, as in one found in the cemetery of Callistus, near Rome: "Bonifacius, qui vixit annis xxii. et ii. (menses), positus in bisomum in pace, sibi et patr. suo." [A. N.]

BISSEXTILE. [CHRONOLOGY.]

BITERRENE CONCILIUM. [BEZIER, COUNCIL OF.]

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BLANDINA, martyr at Lyons under M. Aurelius; commemorated June 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

BLASIIUS, or **BLAVIUS** (St. BLAISE), bishop, martyr at Sebaste (circ. 320); commemorated Feb. 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); Feb. 11 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Jan. 15 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

BLASPHEMY: lit. "defamation," and to *blaspheme*, *βλάπτει τὴν φήμην*, "to hurt the reputation; to reproach or speak injuriously of another;" which is the meaning of both words in Plato, Demosthenes, Isocrates, and other subsequent writers, where they occur: particularly the LXX. translators of the Old Testament. Accordingly, when the Proconsul bade St. Polycarp revile Christ, the answer was, "How can I blaspheme"—that is, speak evil of—"the King who has saved me?" (Euseb. *E. II.* iv. 15). By the writers of the New Testament this word would seem appropriated to any wickedness said or done against God, especially where used without adjuncts, as the Jews said of our Lord, "This man blasphemeth," (Matt. ix. 3), and St. Paul of his own doings at one time, "I compelled them to blaspheme" (Acts xxvi. 11); and it is the willful and persistent commission of this act against the Third Person in the Godhead, or the Holy Ghost, which is denounced by our Lord Himself as the one sin or blasphemy which is never forgiven (Mark iii. 29; cf. Heb. vi. 4-7 and 1 John v. 16), on which see Bingham at great length (xvi. 7, 3; cf. Bloomfield on Matt. iii. 31). He had previously shewn that "blasphemy" was by the primitive Church placed first of the sins against the third Commandment; for which reason it was, doubtless, that all Christians are forbidden by the 15th African canon to revile places where blasphemy was used. Very rarely the word occurs in a good sense for salutary chiding or remonstrance: see Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* for its classical, and Schleusner's *Lexicon* and Suicer's *Thes.* for its Scriptural and ecclesiastical senses. [E. S. F.]

BLESSING. [BENEDICTION.]

BLIND, HEALING OF (IN ART). The healing of the blind is frequently represented on ancient monuments, perhaps as a symbolical representation of the opening of the eye of the soul wrought by the power of the Saviour (1 Pet. ii. 2). See Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture*, tav. xix. xxxii. xxxix. xlix. lxxviii. cxxxvi.; Millin, *Mémoires de la France*, lxx. 5.

In most cases only one blind man, probably the "man blind from his birth" of St. John ix. 1, is being healed. He is generally represented sitting or reclining, to mark his inferiority to the Saviour and the Apostles (when any of the latter

are introduced), is shod with sandals and bears a long staff to guide his steps. The Saviour, young and beardless, touches his eyes with the fore-finger of the right hand. This representation is found on an antique vase given by Mamachi (*Origines*, v. 520), on an ivory casket of the fourth or fifth century, engraved by D'Agincourt (*Sculpture*, pl. xxii. No. 4); in a bas-relief of a tomb of the Sextian family, in the museum of Aix in Provence, of about the same epoch (*France Pittoresque*, pl. cxxxvii.); and elsewhere.

In a few cases (e.g. Bottari, tav. cxxxvi.) the blind man healed appears to be Bartimeus, from the circumstance that he has "cast away his garment" (*Judith*, Mark x. 50) before throwing himself at the feet of Jesus.

On a sarcophagus in the Vatican (Bottari, xxxix. see woodcut) is a representation of the healing of two blind men; probably the two who



Healing of Two Blind Men. From an ancient Sarcophagus.

were healed by the Lord as He left the house of Jairus (Matt. ix. 27-31). Here, too, the figures of those upon whom the miracle is wrought are of small size; the blind appears to lead the blind, for one only has a staff, while the other places his hand upon his shoulder. The Lord lays His hand upon the head of the figure with the staff, while another, probably one of the Apostles, raises his hand, the fingers arranged as for the Latin manner [BENEDICTION] in blessing. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chréti.*) [C.]

BODY, in the sense contemplated by St. Paul when he said of the Church, "Which is His body" (Eph. i. 23), meaning Christ's, which is expressed further on, "For the edifying of the body of Christ" (iv. 12), and of Christians generally, "Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular" (1 Cor. xii. 27). The Apostle, we know, spoke (Acts xxi. 37), as well as wrote, Greek; but being a Roman citizen (*ib.* xxii. 27) he probably had some knowledge of Latin as well; and it is to this circumstance, therefore, that we must ascribe his attaching a sense to the Greek word *σῶμα*, long before appropriated by its Latin equivalent "corpus," but which it had never itself shared hitherto. What Greek ears had always understood hitherto by *σῶμα* was a physical or material body, organic or inorganic, as the case might be; and occasionally the latter in a confused mass, as "body of water" or "of

the universe." But "corpus," besides these senses, had for some time been familiar to Latin ears as denoting a combination of living agents in various relations: a troop of soldiers, a guild of artisans, or the whole body politic; of these the second acceptation was beginning to be stereotyped in law, where "corpore" (corporations) quickly became synonymous with what, in classical literature, had been known as "collegia" (colleges). There must have been many such in existence at Rome when the Apostle wrote; and they were extended, in process of time, to most trades and professions. The general notion attaching to them was that of "a number of persons"—the law said, not fewer than three—"and the union which bound them together" (Smith's *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiq.*, p. 255). Tit. 1 of B. xiv. of the Theodosian Code is headed "De Privilegiis Corporationum urbis Romae," and Tit. 14 of B. xi. of that of Justinian is on the same subject. Writing from Rome, therefore, where such "bodies" abounded—his own craft possibly, that of tent-makers, among the number—what could be more natural than for the Apostle to apply this designation to the new brotherhood that was forming, and then paint it in glowing colours to his Ephesian converts as a corporation, whose head, centre, and inspiring principle was Christ? He was the union that bound it together and supplied it with life. So far, indeed, it stood on a different footing, and required to be placed in a different category from all other corporations; still, as outwardly it resembled them, might it not also be described in terms which they had been beforehand with it in appropriating, and invested with a new idea? The Apostle authorised this for all languages in communicating the adopted sense of the Latin word to its Greek equivalent. Accordingly with us too the Church of Christ is both spoken of and exists as a corporation. But though it has many features in common with all such bodies, it has essential characteristics of its own, evidenced in its history throughout, which are not shared by any other. Their agreement, therefore, must have been one, not of identity, but of analogy, to which the Apostle called attention. And this is clear from his having recourse to other kindred analogies elsewhere, to develop his meaning. "The husband," he says, "is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the Head of the Church; and He is the Saviour of the body." As if he had said, "Do not misunderstand me: the relation of the church to Christ is not merely that of corporations in general to the principle which binds them together: it is closer still. It may be compared to the marriage tie, described when first instituted in these solemn words: 'They two shall be one flesh' (Eph. v. 23-32). Even this falls short of my full meaning. I would have you 'grow up into Him in all things, which is the Head, even Christ, from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love' (Eph. iv. 15, 16). Realise the vital connexion that subsists between the head and members of each individual man; realise the depth of communion that there should or may be between husband

and wife; realise the full force of the bond determining the character and cohesion of every society, or corporate body; then from all these collectively, form your estimate of the church of Christ. Each of them illustrates some feature belonging to it which is not so clearly traced in the others; therefore none of them singly will bear overstraining, and all together must not be supposed to exhaust the subject." Unseen realities cannot be measured or determined by what can be seen or felt. "It is the description of a man and not a state," said Aristotle of the Republic of Plato, in which every body could say of every thing, "it is my property" (*Pol.* ii. 1). Spiritual union is neither political, nor conjugal, nor physical, nor anything earthly. It may be illustrated from such earthly relations, but it transcends them all; nor is it explained really, when called "sacramental," further than that it is then asserted to have been assumed to us by what are called in theological—not Scriptural—language, the Sacraments of the Church. As Hooker says: "Christ and His holy Spirit with all their blessed effects, though entering into the soul of man we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times when they use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible means those blessings which are incomprehensible" (*Ecc. Pol.* v. 57, 3). That is to say, when such blessings are communicated through the Sacraments. Another writer adds: "We are told in plain and indubitable terms that Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the means by which men are joined to the Body of Christ, and therefore by which Christ our Lord joins Himself to that renewed race of which He has become the Head. . . . These facts we learn from the express statements of St. Paul: 'For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body;' and again, 'We being many are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.'" Herein it is expressly declared that the one and the other of these Sacraments are the peculiar means by which union with the Body of Christ is bestowed upon men. They are the 'joints' and 'bands' whereby the whole body in its dependence on its Head has nourishment ministered" (Wilberforce's *Lectures*, p. 415). . . . Body, then, in the sense predicated by St. Paul of the Church, stands for a multitude of singulars, and not an abstraction. It means the collection or aggregate of Christian souls who, cleansed, quickened, and inhabited by Christ, form one brotherhood in Him. What each of them is separately, that all of them are collectively, neither more nor less. Numbers cannot affect its integrity. To say that a body so composed is one is to say no more of it than must, from the nature of the case, be said of every body corporate without exception. The fact of its unity resulting from a personal union of each of its members with one and the same Person, viz. Him who redeemed them, is its distinguishing feature. "From the oneness of His Body which was slain, results the oneness of His body which is sanctified." [E. S. P.]

BODY, MUTILATION OF THE. This subject may be considered under three aspects in reference to Church history; 1st, in respect to its bearing upon clerical orders; 2nd, as a crime to be repressed; 3rd, as a form of punishment.

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BODY, MUTILATION OF THE

I. The Pentateuch forbade the exercise of the priest's office to any of the Aaronites who should have a "blemish," a term extending even to the case of a "flat nose" (Lev. xxi. 17-23); whilst injuries to the organs of generation excluded even from the congregation (Deut. xxiii. 1). The Prophets announce a mitigation of this severity (Is. lvi. 3-5), which finds no place in the teaching of our Saviour (Matt. xix. 12), nor does any trace of it remain in the rules as to the selection of bishops and deacons in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. iii., Tit. i.). Nevertheless, the Jewish rule seems to have crept back into the discipline of the Christian Church,—witness the story of the monk Ammonius having avoided promotion to the episcopate by cutting off his right ear,—for which see Socrat. *H. E.* iv. 23 (Baronius indeed holds him to have been eventually ordained). And one of the so-called Apostolical Canons (learned probably antecedent to the Nicene Council of A.D. 325), which provides that one-eyed or lame men, who may be worthy of the episcopate, may become bishops, "since not the bodily defect" (*ἀσθεν, mutilatio*), "but the defilement of the soul, pollutes" the man (c. 69, otherwise numbered 76 or 77), leaves at least open the question whether such defects are a bar to the first reception of clerical orders. No general rule however as to mutilation is to be found in the records of any of the early General Councils, but only in those of the non-ecumenical ones of the West, or in the letters, &c., of the Popes, always of suspicious authority. Thus, a letter of Innocent I. (402-17) to Felix, bishop of Nucera, says that no one who has voluntarily cut off a part of any of his fingers is to be ordained (*Ep.* 4, c. 1). A Council of Rome in 465 forbade from admission to orders those who had lost any of their members, requiring even the ordaining bishop to undo his act (c. 3). So Pope Gelasius (492-6) in a letter to the bishops of Iuxentia, complains that persons with bodily mutilations are admitted to the services of the Church; an abuse not allowed by ancient tradition or the forms of the Apostolic see (*Ep.* 9, c. 16). A fragment of a letter of the same Pope to the clergy and people of Brindisi condemns in like manner the ordination of a man "weak and blemished in any part of his body." But a letter to Bishop Palladius says down—in accordance with the Apostolical Canon above quoted—that a dignity received whilst the body was yet whole was not to be lost by subsequent enfeeblement; with which letter may be connected, for what it is worth, a canon or alleged canon of the Council of Herda in 524, quoted by Ivo, to the effect that a cleric made lame by a medical operation is capable of promotion. Not to speak of an alleged canon of Gregory the Great, 590-603, against the ordination of persons self-mutilated in any member, to be found in Gratian; two centuries later, in a capitulary of Pope Gregory II. (714-30) addressed to his delegates for Bavaria, we find in like manner any bodily defect treated as a bar to ordination. On the other hand, we may quote a testimony later indeed than the period embraced in this work, but as occurring after the schism of East and West, above the suspicion of all Romanizing partiality, that of Balsamon (nd Marci Alex. interrog. 23, quoted by Cotelerius, *Patres Apost.* i. pp. 478-9), who says that

BODY, MUTILATION OF THE 243

bodily injuries or infirmities supervening after ordination, even if they rendered the priest unable physically to fulfil his office, did not deprive him of his dignity, as "none was to be hindered from officiating through bodily defect" (*ἀσθεν*), also rendered by Beverigo as mutilation).

We may take it therefore that the rule of the Church as to mutilations and bodily defects generally was this: such mutilations or defects were a bar to ordination, especially if self-inflicted; but supervening involuntarily after ordination, they were not a bar to the fulfilment of clerical duties, or to promotion in the hierarchy. There is, however, one particular form of mutilation—that of the generative organs—which occurs with peculiar prominence in early Church history, and is dealt with by special enactments.

One sect of heretics, the Valesians (whose example is strangely recalled by the practices of a well-known body of dissenters from the Russian Church at the present day), enforced the duty of emasculation both on themselves and others (*Epiph. cont. Haer.* 58; *Aug. de Haeres.* c. 37). Their catechumens, whilst uninitiated, were not allowed to eat flesh, but no restrictions as to food were imposed on the mutilated. They were said to use not only persuasion but force in making converts, and to practise violence for the purpose on travellers, and even on persons received as guests.

The most notorious instance of self-mutilation in Church history is that of Origen, who, when a young catechist at Alexandria, inflicted this on himself in order to quench the violence of his passions (*Euseb. H. E.* vi. 8). He was nevertheless ordained by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem, two of the highest authority among the prelates of Palestine. But Demetrius of Alexandria, who had formerly spoken of him in terms of high praise, began attacking the validity of his ordination, and the conduct of his ordaining bishops. It is indeed remarkable that Epiphanius mentions three separate traditions as to the mode which Origen adopted to maintain his continence—two of them not implying actual mutilation, but only extinction of the generative power—and seems to consider that a good many idle tales had been told on the subject (*Contra Haer.* 64). It is well known, at any rate, that Origen was condemned and sentenced to be deprived of his orders for self-mutilation by the Council of Alexandria, A.D. 230. This is not the place, of course, for dwelling on the unworthy motives mixed up in Origen's condemnation; but if what is recorded of the Valesians be true—whose heresy appears to have been contemporaneous with Origen—it was absolutely necessary that the Church should firmly resist not only the return to the emasculate priesthoods of the heathen, but the utterly ant-social tendencies which such practices portended or expressed. The Council of Achaia, by which the Valesians were condemned, is usually set down to the year 250.

If the Apostolical Canons are as a whole anterior to the Council of Nicene, they constitute the next authority on the subject. According to these, whilst a man made a eunuch against his will was not excluded from being admitted into the clergy, yet self-mutilation was assimilated to suicide, and the culprit could not be admitted, or

was to be "altogether condemned" (expelled?) if the act were committed after his admission (c. 17, otherwise numbered 20-22, or 21-23). A layman mutilating himself was to be excluded for 3 years from communion (c. 17, otherwise 23 or 24). It may however be suspected that on this head at least these canon laws have been interpolated after the Nicene Council (325), or they would have been referred to in that well-known one which stands first of all in the list of its enactments,—that if any one has been emasculated either by a medical man in illness, or by the barbarians, he is to remain in the clergy; but if any has mutilated himself he is, if a cleric already, on proof of the fact by examination, to cease from clerical functions, and if not already ordained not to be presented for ordination; this however, not to apply to those who have been made eunuchs by the barbarians or by their masters, who, if they are found worthy, may be admitted into the clergy. Contemporaneously, or nearly so, with the Council we find a constitution of the emperor Constantine rendering the making of eunuchs within the "orbis Romanus," a capital crime (*Cod.*, bk. iv. t. xlii. l. 1).

It is, however, at this period that we find the next most prominent instance of self-mutilation in Church history after that of Origen,—that of Leontius, Arian bishop of Antioch in the time of Athanasius, who, when a presbyter, had been deposed on this account, but was nevertheless promoted to the episcopate by the emperor Constantius, against the decrees of the Nicene Council, observes Theodoret (p. 23; cf. Fusb. vi. 8). This Leontius figures by no means favourably in the Church histories. Athanasius was very hostile to him, and he was accused of cunning and double-dealing, of promoting the unworthy and neglecting the worthy in his diocese.

A canon on bodily mutilation similar to the Nicene one was enacted by the Synod of Selucia in Persia, A.D. 410 (c. 4), and by a Syrian synod in 465, and the interdiction against the admission to orders of the self-mutilated was also renewed by the Council of Arles, A.D. 452 (c. 7). Pope Gelasius, in his before quoted letter to the Lucanian bishops, recalls as to the self-emasculation that the canons of the Fathers require them to be separated from all clerical functions, as soon as the fact is recognized (*Epist.* 9, c. 17). It thus appears that this most serious form of mutilation, so long as it was not self-inflicted, was no bar either to clerical ordination or promotion, but that if self-inflicted, it was a bar to the exercise of all clerical functions.

II. *Mutilation as a Crime.*—An alleged decretal of Pope Eutychianus (275-6) to be found in Gratian, enacts that persons guilty of cutting off limbs were to be separated from the Church until they had made friendly composition (the very idea of composition for such an act was entirely foreign to the Italy of the 3rd century) before the bishop and the other citizens, or, if refusing to do so after two or three warnings, were to be treated as heathen men and publicans. The document may probably safely be set down to the 9th century, but in the meanwhile we find in the records of the 11th Council of Toledo, A.D. 675 (from which it is perhaps borrowed), evidence that similar crimes were committed by the clergy themselves. The 6th canon enacts amongst other things that clerics

shall not inflict or order to be inflicted mutilation of a limb on any persons whomsoever. If any do so, either to the servants of their church or to any persons, they shall lose the honour of their order, and be subject to perpetual imprisonment with hard labour. The Excerpt from the Fathers and the Canons attributed to Gregory 111. bears that, for the wilful maiming another of a limb, the penance is to be three years, or more humanely, one year (c. 30). The Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789, c. 16, and the Council of Frankfort, 794, forbid abbots for any cause to blind or mutilate their monks (c. 18)—enactments which sufficiently shew the ferocity of the Carolingian era, and with which may be noticed the 2nd Capitulary of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, to his clergy, A.D. 797, treating amongst minor sins the maiming of a man so that he shall not die, the reference being at least mainly to clerical maimers.

In the early barbarian codes no difference was made in principle between the various shapes of bodily mutilation, and all cases were punished by pecuniary compensation. But in the later Roman law we find absolute distinction made between emasculation and every other form of mutilation, the former being the only one which it is deemed necessary to legislate against. We have already seen that Constantine had made the former a capital crime, when committed within the Roman world. The 142nd Novel goes further still. Speaking of the crime as having become rife again, it enacts the *lex talionis* against male offenders, with confiscation of goods and life-long labour in the quarries if they survive the operation; or as respects females, flogging, confiscation and exile. We may probably ascribe to the character of the imperial law on this subject the influence of the Christian Church, which, at the risk of whatever incongruities in its practice, has always treated emasculation as a crime *rei generis*, analogous only to murder and suicide, according as it is endured or self-inflicted.

III. *Mutilation as a Punishment.*—Mutilation is no infrequent punishment under the Christian emperors of the West: Constantine punished slaves escaping to the barbarians with the loss of a foot (*Cod.* 6, tit. 1, s. 3). The cutting off of the hand was enacted by several Novels; by the 17th (c. viii.) against exactors of tribute who should fail to make proper entries of the quantities of lands; by the 33rd (c. 1) against those who should copy the works of the heretic Severus. It is nevertheless remarkable that the 134th Novel finally restricted all penal mutilation to the cutting off of one hand only (c. xiii). In the barbarian codes, mutilation is a frequent punishment. The Saxon law frequently enacts castration of the slave, but only as an alternative for composition (for there above 40 denarii in value, t. xiii), and see also the law for adultery with the slave-woman, and the effects of it, t. xxix. c. 6). The 10th canon in law, by a late enactment (*Addit.*), supposed to be by Sigismund, extends the mode of dealing to Jews.

Even in the legislation of the Church itself mutilation as a punishment occurs; but only in its rudest outlying branches, or as an offence to be repressed. Thus, to quote instances of the former case, in the collector of Irish Canons, supposed to belong to the end of the 7th cen-

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(3) Deacon, commemorated

(4) " Natale *solus*).

(5) Confessor (*Mart. Hieron.*)

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lury, Patrick is represented as assigning the cutting off of a hand or foot as one of several alternative punishments for the stealing of money either in a church or a city within which sleep martyrs and bodies of saints (bk. xviii. c. 6). Another fragment from an Irish *synod*, appended by Labbe and Mansi to the above, enacts the loss of a hand as an alternative punishment for shedding the blood of a bishop, (collyrium) is needed; and no salve when it does reach the ground, and salve is required. Instances of the latter case have been already given in the enactments against abbats at least under pretext of enforcing discipline. In the 'Excerptions' ascribed to Egbert, archbishop of York (but of at least two centuries later date), we find a canon that a man stealing money from the church-box shall have his hand cut off or be put into prison (c. lxxiii.). [J. M. L.]

BONIFACIUS. (1) Martyr at Tarsus under Diocletian, is commemorated Dec. 19 (*Cal. Byzant.*). He was formerly commemorated in the Roman church on June 5, the supposed day of his burial at Rome (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); but in more recent martyrologies this Boniface is commemorated on May 14, the supposed day of his death; and,

(2) The Apostle of Germany, archbishop of Mentz, martyred in Friesland, is commemorated on June 5 (*Mart. Bedæ, Adonis*). This saint is figured in his episcopal vestments (9th cent.) in the *Acta Sanctorum*, June, tom. i. p. 458. See also Brower's *Theusaurius Antiq. Fuldensium*, pp. 161-165.

(3) Deacon, martyr in Africa under Hunneric; commemorated Aug. 17 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(4) "Natalis Bonifacii episcopi," Sept. 4 (*Jl. Bedæ*).

(5) Confessor in Africa; commemorated Dec. 8 (*Mart. Hieron.*); Dec. 6 (*M. Adonis*). [C.]

BONOSA. sister of Zosima, martyr in Porto under Severus; commemorated July 15 (*Mart. Euse. Vet.*, *Hieron.*). [C.]

BOOKS, CENSURE OF. A studious life was strongly enforced upon the clergy by the ancient Fathers, and enjoined by various canons of the earlier Councils. St. Chrysostom in particular insists strongly and very fully on the duty in the clergy of qualifying themselves by patient and laborious study for the office of preaching, and for the defence of the faith against heretics and unbelievers; resting his argument on the exhortation of St. Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 13)—"Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them; that thy profiting may appear to all men." Exhortations to the like effect occur also in the writings of St. Jerome, Cyprian, Lactantius, Hilary, Minucius Felix, and others. In all these writers the study of the Holy Scriptures is urged upon the clergy as being of primary obligation, and the foundation on which all the superstructure of a more general and extensive learning was to be raised. Certain canons also required, e.g. Conc. Tolet. li. c. 7, that in their most vacant hours, the times of eating and drinking, some portion of Scripture should be read to them—partly to exclude trifling and unnecessary discourse, and partly to

afford them proper themes and subjects for edifying discourse and meditation.

Next to the Scriptures the study of the best ecclesiastical writers was recommended as most profitable and appropriate to the clerical office; assigned the first place in such writings, however, being were always reckoned of the greatest use and not only of the Church's discipline and doctrine and government, but also rules of life and moral practice—on which account it was ordered that the Canons should be read over at a man's ordination; and again, the Council of Toledo (iv. c. 25) required the clergy to make them a part of their constant study, together with the Holy Scriptures. The Canons, it should be remembered, were then a sort of directory for the pastoral care, and they had this advantage of any private directory, that they were the public voice and authorised rule of the Church, and therefore so much the more entitled to respectful attention. In later ages, in the time of Charlemagne, we find laws which obliged the clergy to read, together with the Canons, Gregory's treatise *De Curi Pastoralis*.

With regard to other books and writings there was considerable restriction. Some of the canons forbade a bishop to read heathen authors; nor would they allow him to read heretical books, otherwise than as a matter of duty, i.e. unless there was occasion to refute them, or to caution others against the poison of them; e.g. Conc. Carth. iv. c. 16: "Ut episcopus Gentilium libros non legat: hæreticorum autem pro necessitate et tempore."

In some cases, however, the study of heathen literature might be advantageous to the cause of Christian truth; and the Church's prohibition did not extend to these. Thus St. Jerome observes that both the Greek and Latin historians are of great use as well to explain as confirm the truth of the prophecies of Daniel. St. Augustine says of the writings of heathen philosophers, that as they said many things that were true, both concerning God and the Son of God, they were in that respect very serviceable in refuting the vanities of the Gentiles. And in fact all who are acquainted with the Fathers and ancient writers of the Church know them to have been for the most part well versed in the classical or heathen literature.

On the whole it appears that the clergy were obliged in the first place to be diligent in studying the Scriptures, and next to them, as they had ability and opportunity, the canons and approved writers of the Church. Beyond this, as there was no obligation on them to read human learning, so there was no absolute prohibition of it; but where it could be made to minister as a handmaid to divinity, there it was not only allowed, but encouraged and commended; and there can be no doubt that in many instances the cause of Christian religion was advanced by the right application of secular learning in the primitive ages of the Church. The principles on which such studies were maintained are summed up by St. Ambrose, *Proem. in Luc. Evang.*: "Legimus aliqua, ne leguntur; legimus ne ignodiuemus;" (Bligham). [D. B.]

BOOKS, CHURCH. [LITURGICAL BOOKS.]

BORDEAUX, COUNCIL OF (BURDIGALENSIS CONCILIUM), provincial, at Bordeaux. (1) A.D. 385, condemned and deposed Priscillian, Instantius, and their followers, for complicity with Manicheism. Priscillian appealed to the emperor Maximian, who, however, put him to death the same year at Trèves (Sulp. Sever., *H. E.* ii. 46, who affirms the appeal to have been permitted only "nostrorum inconstantia," whereas it ought to have been made to other bishops; Labbe, ii. 1034).—(2) A.D. 670, under Count Lupus and the archbishops of Bourges, Bordeaux, and Eauze in Aquitaine, by order of King Chilperic, upon points of discipline (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, i. 291). [A. W. H.]

BOSCI (Boskoi), Syrian monks in the 4th century, so called because they lived on herbs only. Sczomen speaks of them as very numerous near Nisibis, and names a bishop among the most famous of them. They had no buildings but lived on the mountains, continually praying and singing hymns. Each carried a kaulis, with which to cut herbs and grasses (*Soc. H. E.* vi. 33). A connexion has been traced between them and the sect of Ascetians or Adumitae, who went about naked. The principle is the same—of returning to a state of nature—but the Bosci are not accused, as the Adumitae, of licentiousness; and with them the motive was apparently austere self-mortification. Frequent instances of similar abstinence are recorded of Eastern hermits in Moschus (*Prat. Spirit.*), Theodoret (*Philoth.*), and Evagrius (*H. E.* i. 21). (Tillemont, *H. E.* viii. 292.) [L. G. S.]

BOSTRA, COUNCIL OF, A.D. 243 or 244; instead, there probably were two such: one in which Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, was reclaimed from his strange views respecting the Person of our Lord by Origen; and another at which Origen refuted some Arabians, who said that the souls of men died with their bodies, and came to life with their bodies again at the resurrection (Euseb. vi. 33 and 7; Mansi, i. 787-90). [E. S. F.]

BOURGES, COUNCIL OF (BURIGENSIS CONCILIUM), at Bourges, but (1) A.D. 454, only conjecturally in that city. That there was a council in that year in that neighbourhood appears by a synodical epistle signed by the bishops of Bourges, Tours, and another (Sirmond. *Conc. Gall.* iii. App. 1507; Labbe, iv. 1819). Hincmar wrongly calls it a Council of Rome, under the mistaken impression that the Leo who signs it was the Pope.—(2) A.D. 473, to elect Simplicius to the see of Bourges (Sidon. Apoll. *Epist.* vii. 5, 8, 9, &c.); and his oration to the people for Simplicius, Labbe, iv. 1820-1827). Sidonius requests the intervention of Agroecius, archbishop of Sens (although out of his province), and of Euphronius of Autun, the provincial bishops being too few in number. And the "plebs Biturigena" appear to have referred the nomination to Simplicius himself.—(3) A.D. 767, under Pipin, mentioned by Regino and Fredegarius, but with no record of its purpose or acts (Labbe, vi. 1836). [A. W. H.]

BOWING. [GENUFLXION.]

BRACARENSE CONCILIUM. [BRAGA, COUNCIL OF.]

BRAGA, COUNCIL OF (BRACARENSE CONCILIUM), provincial, at Braga, in Spain,

between the Minho and Douro. (1) A.D. 411 (if genuine), of ten bishops, to defend the faith against Arians, Suevi, and Vandals, who were either Arians or heathens, under Pausanias of Braga (Labbe, ii. 1507-1510).—(2) A.D. 561 or 563, of eight bishops, "ex precepto Ariamiri (or probably Theodomi) Regis," to condemn the Priscillianists. It passed also twenty-two canons, about uniformity of ritual, church revenues, precedence, burial without and not within a church, and other points of discipline (Labbe, v. 836-845).—(3) A.D. 572, June 1, of twelve bishops, under Archbishops Martin of Braga and Nitigisus of Lucca, under Miro, king of the Suevi, passed ten canons, about bishops exacting undue fees, appointment of metropolitan to proclaim annually the date of Easter, and other points of discipline. It was also the first to use the formula, "regnate Christo" (Labbe, v. 894-902). Mailoc, bishop of Britonia, was one of the bishops present.—(4) A.D. 675, under Archbishop Leocadius, with seven suffragans (including a bishop of Britonia), passed nine canons; prohibiting the giving of milk, or of the bread dipped in the wine, or of grapes instead of wine, at the Eucharist; allowing a priest to have dwelling with him no other woman than his mother, not even his sister; and on other points of discipline (Labbe, vi. 561-570). [A. W. H.]

BRANE, COUNCIL OF (BRANNAGENSIS CONCILIUM), at Braine near Soissons (Berti near Compiègne, acc. to *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, but wrongly), rather a State than a Church Council, held, A.D. 580, under King Chilperic, excommunicated Leudastus (who had been Count of Tours) for falsely accusing Gregory of Tours of having calumniated Queen Fredegunda. Witnesses were not produced, "cunctis dicentibus, non potest persona inferior super sacerdotem credi." And Gregory exculpated himself by solemn oath at three several altars after saying mass, the accusers in the end confessing their guilt (Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* v. 50; Labbe, v. 965, 966). [A. W. H.]

BRANDEUM. The word *Brandemum* probably designated originally some particular kind of rich cloth. Thus, Joannes Diaconus (*Vita S. Greg.* lib. iv., in Du Cange, s. v.) speaks of a lady wearing a head-dress "candidis brandei." But the usages with which we are immediately concerned are the following:—

1. The rich cloth or shroud in which the body of a distinguished saint was wrapped. Thus Hincmar (*Vita S. Remigii*, c. 73) describing the translation of St. Remigius, says the body was found by the bishops who translated it wrapped in a red *brandemum*. Compare *Feuard, Hist. Remensis*, l. 20, 21.

2. Portions of such shrouds were used as relics; for instance, a portion of the *red brandemum* which enveloped St. Remigius, enclosed in ivory, was venerated with due honour (Hincmar, l. c.).

3. When relics of some saint could be regarded as absolutely essential to the consecration of a church [CONSECRATION], pieces of cloth which had been placed near them were held to be themselves equivalent to relics. St. Gregory the Great sets forth his view of this practice in a letter to Constantia (*Epist.* lib. vi.). It is not, he says, the Roman custom, in placing relics of saints, to presume to touch any portion of the

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The breviary is usually divided into four parts, called after the four seasons of the year, "Pars biennalis, vernalis, nivalis [v. nivalis], autumnalis." When this fourfold division was first adopted is doubtful. Traces of it have been found in the 11th century. Each of these parts, in addition to the introductory rubrics, calendar, and other tables, has four subdivisions: (1) the *Psalter* [*Psalterium*], comprising the psalms and canticles arranged according to the order of their weekly recitation, and also other subordinate parts of the office which do not vary from day to day; (2) the *Prayer of the Season* [*Proprium de tempore*], containing those portions of the offices which vary with the season; (3) the *Prayer of the Saints* [*Proprium Sanctorum*]; i. e., the corresponding portions for the festivals of saints; and (4) the *Communion of the Saints*. [See *OURS OF PRAYER; OFFICE; THE DIVINE; PSALMODY.*] [H. J. H.]

BRIBERY. The Old Testament is so full of warnings against "the gift" that "blindeth the wise, and perverteth the works of the righteous" (Ex. xxiii. 8), of denunciations of those that "judge for reward" (Micah iii. 11), that we could not expect otherwise than to find the like teachings embodied in the more spiritual morality of the New Testament. It may indeed be a question whether the qualification required of bishops and deacons by the Pastoral Epistles, that they should not be "given to filthy lucre" (*αἰσχροπρεβείας*), 1 Tim. iii. 3, 8; Tit. i. 7, implies proneness to bribery, properly so called, or covetousness generally. If, however, we reckon the Apostolical Constitutions as representing generally the Church life of the 2nd century, we see that the offence was then beginning to take shape. The bishop is directed not to be open to receive gifts, since unconscious men "becoming acceptors of persons, and having received shameful gifts" will spare the sinner, letting him remain in the Church (bk. ii. c. 9). Another passage speaks of either the bishops or the deacons sinning by the acceptance of persons or of gifts, with the addition of the remarkable words: "For when the ruler asks, and the judge receives, judgment is not brought to an end" (ib. c. 17). A third deals with the still more heinous offence of condemning the innocent for reward, threatening with God's judgment the "pastors" and deacons who, either through acceptance of persons or in return for gifts, expel from the Church those who are falsely accused (ib. c. 42).

There was of course nothing exceptional in this morality. In the Roman law there were numerous enactments against bribery. Theodosius enacted the penalty of death against all judges who took bribes (*Cod. Theod.* v, tit. 27, s. 5). In Justinian's time, although the penalty of death seems to have been abrogated, the offence is subjected to degrading punishments (*Nov.* viii., cxxiv.).

The law of the Church on the subject of bribery was substantially that of the State. The spiritual sin was looked upon as equivalent to the civil offence, and the Church needed no special discipline to punish the former. One form of bribery indeed, that relating to the attainment of the orders or dignities of the Church, is considered separately under the head of **SIMONY**.

[J. M. L.]

BRICCIUS, or BRICTIUS. (1) Bishop,

confessor at Martula in Umbria; is commemorated July 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*); July 9 (*M. Adonis*).

(2) St. Brice; succeeded St. Martin as bishop of Tours; commemorated as confessor, Nov. 11 (*Mart. hietie, Haron., Adonis*). Proper office in the Gregorian *Liber Responsalis*, p. 855. [C.]

BRIDAL RING. That the present use of the ring in marriage has grown out of its use in betrothal, is historically clear. The origin of the latter is, however, obscure, though probably it is the meeting-point of several different ideas and practices. If marriage was originally wife-catching, as seems probable, the ring may be considered as the symbol of the wife's captivity. Again, before money was invented, or before its use became common, a ring would be one of the aptest representatives of wealth, and as such would easily constitute either the actual price of betrothal, or the earnest of it; whilst we know that in some countries the ring has actually taken the place of money, e. g. the "ring-money" of our Teutonic forefathers. Again, as signet-rings came into use, the ring itself would easily grow to be looked upon as a pledge of contracts, a symbol of faith between man and man. Lastly, as men's feelings became more refined, the idea of the ring, (1st) as a symbol of the wife's subjection, (2nd) as the price, or the symbol of the price, of her purchase, (3rd) as the pledge of the contract for her person, would lose itself in that of its spiritual significance as a symbol of endless indissoluble union.

It is certain, at any rate, that the bridal ring of early Christian custom was not derived from Jewish practice, since it appears clearly that its use by way of earnest on betrothal among the Jews was of late introduction, derived from the Gentiles, and depended for its validity on the ring being worth money [*ARRHAE*]. But the early Christians, as above indicated, found it in use among the Romans, unconnected (as was ordinary marriage itself) with any superstitious practices, and naturally adopted it. Tertullian uses the term *annulus* metonymically for betrothal itself, in that passage of his treatise on idolatry, in which, examining what transactions among the Gentiles a Christian man may lawfully take part in, he decides that betrothals are among the number, since "the ring" is not derived from the honour paid to any idol (c. 16). The same author shews in his Apology that by his time the use of gold for the betrothal ring must have long replaced that of iron, since he speaks of the woman of old knowing "no gold, save on one finger," which her betrothed "oppignorasset pronubo nunulo" (c. 6), with which may be compared Juvenal's "digito pignus fortasse delicti" (Sat. vi. 17).

It will be obvious from the last two passages that the main significance of the betrothal ring in the early centuries of the Christian era was that of a pledge. Hence its abiding significance as representing the *arrhæ*. Its value in this respect was by no means confined to the betrothal contract; thus in the Digest, Ulpian, in reference to the *arrhæ* on an ordinary contract of sale, puts the case of a ring being given by way of earnest and not returned after the payment of the price and delivery of the thing sold (*Dig.* 19, tit. 1, s. 11, § 6; with which compare 14, tit. 3, s. 15).

There is the expression "a well-known Ambrose, with the governor marry his son" "given her (annulo fidelis)

Historical) prominently in M. Augustin 2nd ed. vol. reine des Goths of his "Saint relates the story in A. D. daughter of rebellion again by a eunuch recently come earnest, requ brother Valerius (who had a notice of the away; and ti lavade Italy, s complaining t been ignomini was kept in a free and resto he reckoned a emperor Const pire; and he f time her ring, —which howe probably never was married a reply, and as r

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The bridal Wisigothic and speaks of it as forcible marr "where a ring came of earnest between the p knowise broken v and terms (def. bk. iii. t. i. c. same effect: w a woman; "wit for her and ma can subarrat et he marry ano amount of 500 s grand, A. D. 717)

As late as the ring was constit rage. This is a to the Bulgarian future bridegroom

of the Crown, which would answer to a Bull. It may be added that a Brief may be suppressed, as it is not issued in the same open form as a Bull; and there are, it is said, instances of Briefs being suppressed altogether. It may also be cancelled or superseded by a subsequent Brief, whereas a Bull can be cancelled only by a Bull. For the most part also a Brief is of less extensive application than a Bull, the latter being sometimes binding on the entire Christian world in communion with Rome.

It must be stated, however, that some of the particulars just specified, though characteristic of Bulls and Briefs at this day and for a long period, are not observed in very early documents. Thus, for instance, in the *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, a work probably of the 8th century (printed in Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursum Completus*, vol. xv.) forms of commencements of Papal letters are given, in which the name of the Pope follows instead of preceding that of the great person to whom the letter is addressed.

Thus to a Patrician the letter begins "Domino excellentissimo, atque præcellentissimo filio [name] patricio, [name of Pope] Episcopus servus servorum Dei." And to the archbishop of Ravenna—"Reverendissimo et Sanctissimo fratri [name of archbishop] Coepiscopo, [name of Pope] servus servorum Dei." And even to a Presbyter we have—"Dilectissimo filio [name of presbyter], [name of Pope] servus servorum Dei." In a Dissertation annexed to the edition of the *Liber Diurnus* of 1860, the Jesuit Gesner states that the custom of putting the Pope's name first does not seem to have come in until about the 9th century. It will thus probably be nearly contemporaneous with the appearance of the Forged Decretals, and will appropriately mark the era when the Popes first put forward regal and ultra-regal pretensions.

Authorities.—Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica* vol. i. edit. 1844, sub vocibus "Breve, Bulla;" Aylmer's *Parson's Juris Canonici*, tit. "of Bulls Papal;" Burn's *Eccles. Law*, tit. "Bull;" Weiss *On the Letters Apostolic of Pope Pius IX.* London, 1851, p. 2. [L. S.]

BRITAIN, COUNCILS IN. [BRITANNICUM CONCILIUM.]

BRITANNICUM CONCILIUM; i. e. Councils of the Welsh Church. See CAERLEONENSE; LLANDEWY-BREFFI; LUCUS VICTORIAE; AUGUSTINE'S OAK; VERULAMIUM.

2. Breton Councils [BRITTANY].

The Councils called "Britannica," in Cave, Wilkins, Labbe, &c., are either those above named (mostly misdated and incorrectly described), or are pure fables; while Cave has chosen to add to them the Northumbrian Synod of Ousestreth of A.D. 702, which see under its proper title. [A. W. II.]

BROTHERHOOD. The origin of brotherhoods or fraternities in the Christian Church and world, whether clerical, lay, or mixed, is far from being satisfactorily ascertained. The history of monastic fraternities will be found under their appropriate headings, though we may here remark that the formation of such fraternities was in direct opposition to the very impulse which produced monachism itself, and sent the *monachos*, or solitary, as a 'hermit' into the wilderness (*ερημους*). Yet such fraternities were

practically in existence in the Egyptian *lousae*, when Serapion could rule over a thousand monks; they received their first written constitution from St. Basil (328-379), and both Basil and Jerome (who had himself been a hermit) having declared their disapproval of solitary monachism, the social or fraternal type must be considered to have become fully impressed on the monastic system during the course of the 4th and 5th centuries.

Dr. Brechtius, in his work *On the History and Development of Guilds* (London, Triibner, 1870), expresses indeed the opinion "that the religious brotherhoods of the middle ages, and as they still exist in Catholic countries, have their origin in a connexion with monasticism, and in an imitation of it . . . and that this origin is to be sought in Southern lands, in which Christianity and monasticism were first propagated" (p. 9). If this be so, it must be admitted that the imitation was almost coeval with its model, for he himself ascribes to the 3rd century—the age of the Egyptian hermits—the "Christian brotherhood for nursing the sick" of the *Parabolani*,—whose Muratori was the first to point out as a sort of religious fraternity, in opposition to various writers quoted by him (in the 75th Dissertation of his *Antiquitates Medii Aevi*, vol. vi.), who had held that such fraternities date only from the 9th or even the 12th centuries. [PARABOLANI.] Muratori also suggests that the *lectarii* or *decani*, who are mentioned in the Code (1 tit. 2, s. 4), and in Justinian's 43rd and 50th Novels, by the latter as fulfilling certain functions at funerals, must have been a kind of religious fraternity. On the other hand, the old *sedulitas*, or its equivalent the Greek *φρατρια* (henceforth Latinized as "phratría" or "fratéria"), appears to have become more and more discredited, since the 18th century of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) requires the cutting off of all clerics or monks forming "conjuraciones vel sedalitates" (Isidore Mercator translates "phratris vel factiones"); for if "the crime of conspiracy or of *sedulitas* is wholly forbidden even by external laws, much more should it be so in God's Church." A decree of the Vandal king Gunlemar (to be found in the 10th vol. of Labbe and Mansi's *Councils*, p. 510), about A.D. 610, directed to the priests of the city of Carthage, speaks in like manner of *fratris et conjurationis* against the Metropolitan Church. So again the 6th Ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople in *Trullo*, A.D. 680-1, has a canon (34) against clerics or monks *επισημασμενοι η φρατριας* (translated "signati conjurationes vel sedalitates inuncte"), who are to lose their rank; and other similar enactments could be adduced.

In the 8th century we find a disposition on the part of the Church to confine the idea of fraternity to clerical and monastic use. We may take as an instance of this in our own country the 'Dialogue by question and answer on Church government' of Archbishop Egbert of York (middle of the century), in which the terms *frater* and *soror* will be found applied both to clerics and monks or nuns, but never apparently to laymen. But there is at the same time ground for surmising that the term "fraternity," which in the 12th and 13th centuries is used ordinarily as a synonym for "guild," was already current in

the 8th century organization, been on the 8th century the bulk usually. The Council has been others as repeated of Arch 852 or 8 of "thos termed co consortia collectis vocant," called gild ful are lights, in dead, in feasts and exactions, quarens, went to clerics dejection from satisfaction.

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the Egyptian *laurae*, over a thousand monks; written constitution, and both Basil and been a hermit) having of solitary monachism, must be considered as based on the monastic of the 4th and 5th

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BROTHERHOOD

the 8th or 9th to designate these bodies, the organization of which Dr. Brentano holds to have been complete among the Anglo-Saxons in the 8th century (Brentano on Gilds, pp. 11-12), and the bulk of which were of lay constitution, though usually of a more or less religious character. The connection between the two words is established in a somewhat singular manner. A Council of Nantes of very uncertain date, which has been placed by some as early as 658, by others as late as 800, has a canon (9) which is repeated almost in the same terms in a capitulary of Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, of the year 852 or 858 (c. 16). But where the canon speaks of "those gatherings or confraternities which are termed *consortia* (de collectis vel confratris quae consortia vocant)," the archbishop has "de collectis quas *gildonias* vel *confratris* vulgo vocant,"—"gatherings which are commonly called gilds or confraternities." Whilst the faithful are authorized to unite "in oblations, in lights, in mutual prayers, in the burial of the dead, in alms and other offices of piety," those feasts and banquets are forbidden, where "undue exactions, shameful and vain merriment and quarrels, often even hatred and dissensions are wont to arise;" the penalty assigned being for clerics deprivation, for laymen or women exclusion from communion till they have given due satisfaction.

But the term "gild" itself was already in use to designate societies for mutual help before the days of a reform. We meet with it in a capitulary of Charlemagne's of the year 779, treated by Caucani and Muratori as enacted for Lombardy, but by Pertz as the contrary (in his *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*) as enacted for France, which bears "As touching the oaths mutually sworn by a gild (per gildum, Cauc.; gildonia, Pertz), that no one presume to do so. Otherwise as touching their maintenance (*alimonia*; or "alms," *elemosinis*, Pertz), or fire, or shipwreck, though they may make covenant (*quavis convenientis faciant*) let none presume to swear thereto" (see also bk. v. of the general collection, c. 290, "de sacramentis pro gildonia (*gildonia*) in vicem conjuratum"; and the sacramentum fieri audent.") It is thus clear that the gilds of the latter half of the 8th century existed for purposes exactly the same as those which they fulfilled several centuries later. So far indeed as they were usually sanctioned by oath, they were obviously forbidden by the capitulary above quoted, as well as by several others against "conjurations" and conspiracies which Dr. Brentano refers to from Pertz, the last (the Thionville Capitulary of 805) of a peculiarly treacherous character.

It may be suspected that the subject of religious or quasi-religious brotherhoods or fraternities in the early Church (apart from monastic ones) has been but imperfectly investigated as yet. It may at least be said that specific bodies are found apparently answering to the character, attached to particular churches, during the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries. In the West, however, we seem first to discern them under the feutonic shape of the *gild*, which in its freer forms was palpably the object of great jealousy to the political and spiritual despots of the Car-
[J. M. L.]

BURIAL OF THE DEAD 251

BUCOLUS, Bishop of Smyrna, consecrated by St. John; commemorated as "Holy Father," Feb. 6 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [C.]

BULLS. [BRIEFS AND BULLAS.]
HURDGALENSIS CONCILIIUM. [BORDEAUX, COUNCIL OF.]

BURFORD COUNCIL OF (BERGHFORDENSE CONCILIIUM), provincial, "juxta vadium Berghford," at Burford in Oxfordshire, A.D. 685; witnesses a grant by King Hertwald, an under-king of Ethelred of Mercia, to Althelm and the abbey of Malmesbury (charter in *Will. Malm. G. P. A. F.*, and Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 20; the latter correcting the impossible date DCXXXV into DCLXXXV, and thus removing the main objection to the genuineness of the document, which however he still marks as spurious; Haddan and Stubbs, *Counc. liii.* 169.) [A. W. H.]

BURIAL OF THE DEAD. Among the many points of contrast between the Christian Church and the systems which it supplanted, the treatment of the departed furnished one of the most conspicuous. Side by side with their unexampled hospitality and their austere purity of life, Julian enumerates their care for the burial of the dead as one of the means by which the Christians against whom he strove, had succeeded in converting the Empire (*Epist. ad Arsac.* lix., *Opp. ed. Spahnheim*). That which was characteristic of the new faith was not only its belief in the resurrection of the body, but its reverence for that body as sharing in the redemption, and this showed itself in almost every incident connected with the funeral rites.

1. *Mode of Burial*. In Egypt and in Palestine the Christian Church inherited the practice of embalming. It had prevailed from the earliest period of which we have any record. It had originated in a belief which Christians recognised as analogous to their own (*August. Serm. de Div. ex. 12*). So the patriarchs and kings of the Old Testament had been interred, so had been their Lord himself. It was natural that those who found the practice in existence should not discard it, even though they no longer looked on it as essential. The language of Tertullian implies that it was in general use in Western Africa (*Apol.* c. 42); that of Augustine (*l. c.*) shows that it was adopted in Egypt. In Greece, on the other hand, the dead had been consigned to the funeral pyre, and the ashes collected in an urn of bronze or clay, from the heroic age downward. Rome, which in the earlier days of the Republic had interred its dead, had adopted the Greek usage in the time of Sulla (the dictator is said to have been the first Roman whose body was so disposed of) and had transmitted it to the Empire (*Plin. Hist. Nat.* vii. 54; *Cic. de Legg.* ii. 25). Against this usage Christian feeling naturally revolted. Even while contending that no variation in the mode of burial could affect the resurrection of the body, Christian writers protested against cremation as wanting in reverence, and suggesting a denial of the truth which they held so precious. We, they said, "veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humani frequentamus" (*Minuc. Felix, Octav. c. 39*; *August. de Civ. Dei.* i. 12, 13). And accordingly, when their persecutors sought to inflict the most cruel outrages on their feelings, they added to the tortures by which they inflicted

death, that of burning the bodies of the dead. In this way, they thought, they should rob the Christians of that resurrection which they hoped for, or at least trample on that which they held sacred (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1, *ad fin.*). As a rule, accordingly, it may be held, that interment, with or without embalming, according to local custom or the rank of the deceased, obtained from the first in all Christian Churches.

2. *Place of Burial.* At first, in the nature of things, it was not in the power of Christians to transgress the laws of the Empire which forbade interment within the walls of cities (Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 58). The Jewish custom had in this respect agreed with that which prevailed throughout the heathen world, strengthened by the feeling that contact with the graves where the dead reposed brought with it a ceremonial defilement. The tomb of Christ, *e.g.*, was in a garden high unto the city, but outside the gates (Matt. xxvii. 60), and the same holds good of the burial at Nain (Luke vii. 12), and of that of Lazarus (John xi. 30). The demoniac of Gadara had "his dwelling in the tombs," because they were remote from human habitations (Mark v. 5). Commonly, as on the Appian way, and the road from Athens to the Piræus, the strip of ground on each side of the most frequented highway, beginning at the city gate, became the burial-place of citizens. Slaves and foreigners were laid in some less honourable position. The Jews at Rome and in other cities had burial-places of their own.

The wish to avoid contact with idolatrous rites, and to escape interruption and insult in their own funeral ceremonies, would naturally lead Christians to follow the example of the Jews, and to secure, as soon as possible, a place where they could bury their dead in peace. The earliest trace of this feeling is found in an inscription, which records the purchase by Fanstus, a slave of Antonia, the wife of Drusus, from Jacundus, a Christian, of the "jus ultimum," the right, *i.e.* of burying the remains of the dead in a *columbarium*. The Christian, *i.e.* will no longer burn the bodies of those for whom he cares, nor have his own body to be burnt, but sells his interest in the pagan sepulchre, and provides another for himself (Muratori *Inscr.* xviii. 6). So in like manner Cyprian (*Ep.* 68) makes it a special charge against Marcellus, bishop of Astura, that he had allowed his sons to be "apud profana sepulera depositos." During the long periods in which they were exempt from persecution, they were allowed in many cities to possess their burial-grounds in peace. At Carthage, *e.g.*, they had their *areæ*, and it was only in a time of popular fury that their right to them was disputed (Tertull. *ad Scap.* c. 3). At Alexandria they had what they had been the first to call *κοιμητήρια*, and it was not till the persecution under Valerian and Gallienus that they were forbidden to have access to them (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11). [CEMETERY.] Soon afterwards, however, they must have been restored, as we find Diocletian and Maximian again closing them. Special edicts of this nature are, of course, exceptions that prove the rule. Where, as at Rome, Naples, and Milan, the nature of the soil lent itself readily to subterraneous interment, this was sought at as giving at once the privacy and security which the Chris-

tians needed. As Christianity spread, it was not difficult, by payment or by favour—often, perhaps, through a secret sympathy—to obtain from the owners of the land which was thus excavated a prescriptive right to its use; and, as a matter of fact, the sanctity of the catacombs never seems to have been violated. [CATACOMBS.] Whatever other purposes they might serve, as meeting-places or refuges, this was, beyond question, their primary and most lasting use.

During persecution, especially in localities where there was not the facility for concealment presented by the catacombs, the Christians had, of course, to bury their dead as they could. When the conversion of Constantine restored free liberty of choice, the places which had been made sacred by the bodies of saints and martyrs were naturally sought after. The tomb became the nucleus of a basilica. The devout Christian wished to be helped by the presence and protection of the martyr (August. *de Civit. ger. pro Mort.* c. 1 and 7). The phrases *POSITUS AD SANCTOS, AD MARTYRES*, are found frequently on monumental inscriptions in Italy and Gaul (Le Blant, *Inscriptions Chrétiennes*, i. 83). Gradually, through the influence of this feeling, the old Roman practice of extramural interment fell into disuse. Burial within the basilica was reserved for persons of the highest rank. Constantine was the first to set the example, and was followed by Theodosius and Honorius (Chrysost. *Hom.* 26 in 2 *Cor.*). The distinction was eagerly sought after, and the desire to obtain it had to be placed under restrictions both by imperial laws, as by those of Valentinian and Gratian, and by the canons of councils (Cenc. Bracer, A.D. 563, c. 18). During the transition period many cities seem to have adhered to the old plan, and to have refused their sanction to any intramural interment (*ibid.*). Where that sanction was given, the precincts of the church, sometimes its atrium or courtyard, where it was constructed after the type of a basilica, became the favourite spot. In the 9th century Gregory of Tours supplies the first instance of a formal consecration of a churchyard for such a purpose (*De Glor. Confess.* c. 6). A special prohibition against the use of the baptistery for interments is found in Gaul about the same period (Cenc. Antissiod. c. 14).

FUNERAL RITES. The details of Christian burial present, as might be expected, points both of resemblance and contrast to heathen practices. Wherever the usage was the expression of natural reverence or love, there it was adopted. Where it was connected with any pagan superstition it was carefully avoided.

(1.) Starting from the moment of death, the first act of the by-standers, of the nearest of kin who might be present, was to close the eyes and mouth of the corpse (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 22). Among the Romans this had been followed by reopening the eyes when the body was placed upon the pyre (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xi. 37), probably as symbolizing the thought that though they had ceased to look upon the world which they were leaving, they were yet on the point of passing to another state of being where they would see and be seen again. Of this latter custom we have no trace in Christian history. Then followed the washing, the anointing, sometimes the embalming. In the society around

them this made it a work of even for vii. 22).

(2.) In generally an interval (birel) mo ix. 23; 2. This was with white climate, b. both Jew lead holy its inmate itself in ce and burial four days linen, som with ornam edilia or sa the chamba that friend last look (1 *Inst. in o* Vigils were and hymns East or the allowed.

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BURIAL OF THE DEAD

them this had been left to the *pollinutores*, who
 made it their business. With Christians it was
 a work of love, done for friends and kindred, or
 even for strangers and the poor (Euseb. *H. E.*
 vii. 22).

(2.) In Palestine and throughout the East
 generally interment followed upon death after
 an interval of a few hours, during which the
 hired mourners made their lamentations (Matt.
 ix. 23; *2 Cor.* xiii. 25; Jerem. xxii. 18).
 This was due in part, of course, to the rapidity
 with which decomposition sets in under such a
 climate, but still more to the feeling common to
 both Jew and heathen, that the presence of the
 dead body brought defilement to the house and
 its inmates. Here also Christian thought shewed
 itself in contrast, and the interval between death
 and burial was gradually prolonged to three or
 four days. The body was swathed in white
 linen, sometimes with the insignia of office, or
 with ornaments of gold and gems, placed in the
 coffin or sarcophagus, and laid out, sometimes in
 the chamber of death, sometimes in the church,
 that friends might come and weep and take their
 last look (Euseb. *Vit. Conat.* iv. 64, 67; Ambros.
Orat. in obit. Theodos.; August. *Conf.* ix. 12).
 Vigils were held over it, accompanied by prayers
 and hymns. Hired mourners, like those of the
 East or the *præfatos* of the Romans, were not
 allowed.

(1.) The feeling that a funeral was a thing of evil
 omen for the eye to fall on led the Romans to choose
 night as the time for interment.^a The Christian
 Church, on the contrary, as soon as it was able
 to develop itself freely, and was free from the
 risk of outrage, chose the day, and gave to the
 funeral procession somewhat of the character of
 a triumph. The coffin was borne on the shoulders
 of the nearest friends and kinsmen. Where, as
 in the case of Paula (Hieron. *Ep.* 27 *ad Eustoch.*),
 honour was to be shewn to some conspicuous
 benefactor of the Church, it was carried by the
 bishops and the clergy. The leading clergy of
 a diocese took their place as bearers at the funeral
 of a bishop, as, e. g., in that of St. Basil (Greg.
Naz. Orat. xx. p. 371). They and the others
 who took part in the ceremonial carried in their
 hands branches, not of the funeral cypress, as
 among Greeks and Romans, but of palm and olive,
 as those who celebrate a victory. Leaves of the
 cypress were and Ivy were placed in the coffin
 in token of the hope of immortality (Durand.
Rit. Div. off. vii. 35). Others, again, in like token
 of Christian joy, carried lighted lamps or torches
 (Chryso. *Hom. IV. in Hebr.*; Greg. Nyss. *Vit.*
Maria. ii. p. 201). The practice of crowning
 the head with a wreath of flowers was rejected,^b
 partly as tainted with idleness, partly as asso-
 ciated with riotous revels or shameless effeminacy
 (Clem. Alex. *1 aed.* ii. 8; Tertull. *de Cor. Milit.*
 c. 19), but flowers were scattered freely over the
 bier. Others, again, carried thuribles, and frag-
 rant clouds of incense rose as in a Roman

^a Julian, in his edict against the practice of funeral
 procession, occasioned by those which had been held at
 Antioch in honour of the martyr Bahyas, falls back
 upon the old superstition: "Qui enim dies est bene ali-
 quis a funere? Aut quomodo ad Deos est templa
 venturum."—*Cod. Theod.* ix. tit. 17, l. 5.

^b The denial of what had come to be a recognized
 mark of honour was turned in the earlier ages of the
 Church into a ground of attack. "Coronas etiam seputchris

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triumph (Baron. *Annal.* Act. 310, n. 10; Chryso-
 st. *Hom.* cxvi. l. 6). Nor did they march in silence,
 but chanted as they went hymns of hope and
 joy. "Right dear in the sight of the Lord is the
 death of His saints;" "Turn again unto thy
 rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded
 thee;" "The souls of the righteous are in the
 hand of God"—were among the favourite an-
 themns (Const. *Apost.* vi. 50; Chryso. *Hom.*
 30, *de Dorm.*). Bells were not tolled till the
 eighth or ninth century, nor can the practice of
 carrying the cross in the procession be traced
 beyond the sixth (Greg. Turon. *Vit. Patr.* c. 14).
 When they reached the grave, hymns and prayers
 were renewed, and were followed by an address
 from the bishop or priest.^c

(4.) Either in the church or at the grave it
 was customary, as early as the fourth century,
 to have a celebration of the eucharist in token
 of the communion that still existed between the
 living and the dead. (23 C. Carth. iii. c. 29).
 With this were united special prayers for the soul
 of the departed. The priest first, and afterwards
 the other friends, gave the corpse the last kiss of
 peace (Dionys. *Arcep. Hierarch. Eccles.* c. 7). For
 some centuries, in spite of repeated prohibitions by
 councils of the Church, the practice prevailed, in
 Western Africa, in Gaul, in the East, of placing
 the consecrated bread itself, steeped in the wine,
 within the lips of the dead (C. Carth. iii. c. 6;
 vi. c. 83; C. Antissiod. c. 12; C. Trullan. c. 133).
 Another practice, that of burying the Eucharistic
 bread with the dead, though not between the
 lips, had a higher sanction. St. Basil is reported,
 on one occasion, after consecration, to have divided
 the Eucharist into three parts, and to have re-
 served one to be buried with him (Amphilochius
 in *Spicileg.* vii. p. 81); and St. Benedict, in like
 manner, ordered it to be laid upon the breast of
 a young monk, as he was placed in the grave.
 (Greg. *Vitaley.* ii. 24; cf. Martene *de Ant.*
Eccles. Rit. i. 162, ed. 1.) The old Latin traces
 of the Agape and the Supper of the Lord left traces
 of itself here also, and the Eucharist was fol-
 lowed by a meal, ostensibly of brotherhood, or
 as an act of bounty to the poor, but often passing
 into riotous excess (August. *de Mor. Eccl.* c. 34).

When the body was lowered into the grave it
 was with the face turned upwards, and with the
 feet towards the east, in token of the sure and
 certain hope of the coming of the Sun of
 Righteousness and the resurrection of the dead
 (Chryso. *Hom.* cxvi. t. vi.). Other positions,
 such as sitting or standing, were exceptions to
 the general rule (Arringh. *Roma sub.* c. 16,
 p. 33). The insignia of office, if the deceased
 had held any such position—gold and silver
 ornaments, in the case of private persons—were
 often flung into the open grave, and the waste
 and ostentation to which this led had to be
 checked by an imperial edict (*Cod. Theodos.* xi.
 tit. 7, l. 14), which does not appear, however, to
 have been very rigidly enforced. The practice

^c *denegata* is the language of the heathen in the *Oecumenicus*
 of Minucius Felix; and the Christian in his reply ac-
 knowledges "nec mortuus coronatus" (c. xii. xxxviii).
 Flowers were however scattered over the grave (Præ-
 dent. *Cathermerinon.* x. 177).

^d The funeral orations of Eusebius at the death of Con-
 stantine, of Ambrose on that of Theodosius, are the most
 memorable instances; but we have also those of Gregory
 of Nazianzum on his father, brother, and sister.

retained in our English service, of a solemn prayer while the first handful of earth are thrown upon the coffin, is not traceable to any early period. In the Greek *Euchologion* the earth is cast in by the bishop or priest himself. When the grave was closed the service ended with the Lord's Prayer and Benediction.

There were, however, subsequent rites connected more or less normally with the burial. On the third day, on the ninth, and on the fortieth, the friends of the deceased met and joined in psalms or hymns and prayers (*Const. Apost.* viii. c. 42).

The feeling that death in the case of those who fell asleep in Christ was a cause not for lamentation but for thanksgiving, shewed itself lastly in the disuse of the mourning apparel which was common among the Romans, of the ashes and rent garments, which were signs of sorrow with the Jews. Instead of black clothes, men were to wear the dress which they wore at feasts. The common practice was denounced as foreign to the traditions and the principles of the Christian Church (Cyprian, *de Mortal.* p. 115; August. *Serm. 2, de Consol. Mort.*). Here, however, the natural feeling was too strong to be thrust out, and gradually the old signs of a sorrow, which could not but be felt, even though it were blended with hope, made their way into use again.

It was characteristic of the religious care with which the Church regarded every work connected with the burial of the dead, that even those whose tasks were of the lowest kind, the grave-diggers (*κατάρατα*, *fossarii*), the *sandaliarii*, and others, whose functions corresponded to those of the undertaker's men in our own time, were not merely a class doing their work as a trade, but were reckoned as servants of the Church, and as such took their place as the lowest order of the clergy.

The more developed and formal ritual of interment in the Eastern Church is given at some length by the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and contained, as its chief elements, the following:—(1) The body was brought to the bishop or priest by the next of kin, that he might offer thanksgiving as for one who had fought the good fight, and the relations sang triumphant and rejoicing hymns. (2) The deacons recited the chief Scriptural promises of the resurrection and of eternal life, and sang creeds and hymns of like tenor. (3) The catechumens were then dismissed, and the archdeacon spoke to the faithful who remained, of the bliss of the departed, and exhorted them to follow their example. (4) The priest then prayed that the deceased might find a resting-place with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the land where sorrow and sighing should flee away. (5) The bishop, followed by the kindred or friends, then gave the corpse the kiss of peace. (6) When this was over, the bishop poured oil upon the dead body, and it was then placed in the grave. The anointing of baptism was to prepare the athlete for his conflict; that of burial was a token that the conflict was over, and the combatant at rest: (*Eccles. Hierarch.* vii. p. 355.)

BURIAL OF THE LORD. Easter-Eve in the Armenian Calendar is called the *Burial of the Lord* (Neale, *Eastern Ch. Introd.* p. 798). [C.]

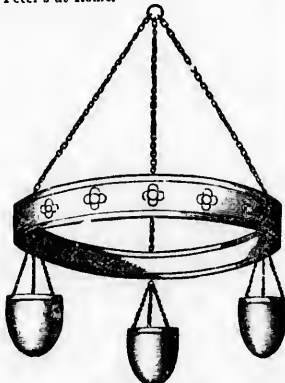
BUTTA, BUTTO or BUTRO. (Several hundred forms are given by Du Cange, s. v. *Butta*.) In some MSS. of the *Liber Pontificalis* we read that

Leo III. (795-816) caused to be made for the venerable monastery of St. Sabas, "butronem [al. buttonem] argenteum cum canistro suo pensantem libr. xii" Leo IV. (847-855) is also reported by the same authority to have placed in the church of St. Peter, "butronem ex argento purissima, qui pendet in presbyterio ante altare, pensantem libr. clix"; and another, also of pure silver, "cum gematis argenteis pendentibus in catenulis septem."

These buttones seem to have been suspended cups used for lamps. [Compare *CANISTRUM, GABATHA*.] The illustrations are from the *Hierolexicon*; the first represents a single suspended *butto*, from an ancient representation; the second, a corona with three hanging *buttones*, from an ancient painting once existing in St. Peter's at Rome.



Single Butto, as Lamp.



Buttones used as Lamps.

The form *butrista* is used, apparently in the same sense, by A'cain, *Poem.* 165. (Du Cange's *Glossary*; *Micro Hierolexicon*, s. v. *Butto*.)

Martene (*de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iii. 96) describes a *buta* as used for fetching and preserving the CHRISM, according to an ancient custom, in the church of St. Martin at Tours. [C.]

BYBLINUS, in Caesarea; commemorated Nov. 5 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [C.]

BYZACENUM CONCILIIUM. [BYZATIUM, COUNCIL OF.]

BYZATIUM, COUNCIL OF (BYZACENUM CONCILIIUM), provincial, at Byzantium in Africa (1) A.D. 397, to confirm the canons of the Council of Hippo of A.D. 393; its Synodical Letter is in the Acts of the Third Council of

Carthage of—(2) A.D. 430, stated on filling mind having the orthodox; vi.; Labbe, a deputation reply confir metropolitan African prin Council and Labbe, v. 38; Clementius, primate of t Gregory t harts the cor and adju dition were current v. 1612).—(3) metropolitan, a 1635, vi. 133

CABERST CONCILII.]

CABILLO 1088-89-SAÖ

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CAECILLI apostolis ordina (Mart. Rom. I

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BUTRO. (Several kinds of Cange, s. v. *Butta*.) In *Pontificalis* we read that



Single Butto, as Lamp.

altare, pensantem libr. of pure silver, "cum gemis in centulis septem." to have been suspended [Compare CANISTRUM, illustrations are from the *Hic* represents a single succentia: with three hanging but- taining once existing in



used as Lamp.

used, apparently in the *Poem* 165. (Du Cange's *Lexicon*, s. v. *Butta*.) *Occ. Rit.* iii. 96) describes holding and preserving the in an ancient custom, in the at Tours. [C.]

Caesarea; commemorated [C.]

COUNCIL OF (BYZANTIUM), at Byzantium in Africa affirm the canons of the A.D. 393: its Synodical of the Third Council of

Carthage of the same year, 397 (Mansi, *lit.* 875).—(2) A.D. 507, a numerous Council, which insisted on filling up vacant bishoprics, King Thrasimund having forbidden this in order to extinguish the orthodox Church (Ferrand, *Diac.*, *V. Fulgentii*, vi.; *Labbe*, iv. 1378-1380).—(3) A.D. 541, sent a deputation to the emperor Justinian, who in reply confirms all the canonical privileges of the metropolitan of Carthage (Dacianus), and of the African primates (*Rescripts* of Justinian to the Council and to Dacianus, in Baron, *ad an.* 541; *Labbe*, v. 380).—(4) A.D. 602, in the cause of Crementius, or Clementius, or Clemencius, primate of the province, held at the instigation of Gregory the Great (*Epist.* xii. 32), who exhorts the provincial bishops to inquire into, and adjudge upon, certain accusations that were current against their metropolitan (*Labbe*, v. 1812).—(5) A.D. 646, under Stephen the metropolitan, against the Monothelites (*Labbe*, v. 1835, vi. 133). [A. W. H.]

C

CABERUSSA, COUNCIL OF. [AFRICAN COUNCILS.]

CABILLONENSE CONCILIIUM. [CATHACONSUR-SAÛNE.]

CAECILLIA, virgin-martyr at Rome, is commemorated Nov. 22 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Usuardi). [C.]

CAECILIANUS, martyr at Saragossa, commemorated April 16 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CAECILIUS, with others "qui Romae ab episcopis ordinati sunt," is commemorated May 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

CAESAR-AUGUSTANUM CONCILIIUM. [SARAGOSSA.]

CAESAREA, COUNCILS OF. (1) In Palestine, A.D. 196, according to Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. 87) on the Easter controversy that had arisen between Pope Victor and the churches of Asia Minor.—Narcissus of Jerusalem, Theophilus of Caesarea, Cassius of Tyre, and Clarus of Ptolemais being present, as we learn from Eusebius (v. 25). They beg, in what he has preserved of their letter, to be understood as keeping Easter on the same day as the Church of Alexandria. But, curiously enough, several versions of the acts of this Council have been discovered in the West, beginning with that ascribed to Bede (*Nicene's Patrol.* xc. 607; comp. Mansi i. 711-716) at much greater length: the only question is, are they in keeping with the above letter? (2) In Palestine (Mansi ii. 1122), summoned A.D. 331, to inquire into the truth of some charges brought against St. Athanasius by his enemies, but not held till 334, when he was further accused of having kept the Council appointed to try them, waiting thirty months. He seemed too well to what party the bishop of the diocese, and father of ecclesiastical history, belonged, to appear even then; and on his non-appearance, proceedings had to be adjourned to the Council of Tyre the year following.

(3) In Palestine, A.D. 357 or 358 apparently, under Acacius its Metropolitan, when St. Cyril

of Jerusalem was deposed (Soz. iv. 25). Sozomenes (ii. 40) adds that he appealed from its sentence to a higher tribunal, a course hitherto without precedent in canonical usage; and that his appeal was allowed by the emperor.

(4) In Pontus, or Neocaesarea, A.D. 358, according to Pagi (Mansi iii. 291), at which Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, was deposed; and Melatius, afterwards bishop of Antioch, set in his place.

(5) In Cappadocia, A.D. 370 or 371, when St. Basil was constituted bishop in the room of Eusebius, its former Metropolitan, whom he had been assisting some years, though he had been ordained deacon by St. Meletius. The *Libellus Synodiensis*, a work of the ninth century (Mansi i. 25, note) makes St. Basil anathematise Dianius, the predecessor of his own predecessor at this synod; but St. Basil himself (*Ep. li. al. lxxxvi.*) denies ever having done so. Further on in his epistles (xviii. al. cclix.) he seems to speak of another synod about to be held in his diocese, to settle the question of jurisdiction between him and the Metropolitan of Tyana, consequent on the division of Cappadocia by the civil power into two provinces. St. Basil stood upon his ancient rights: but eventually the matter was compromised, as we learn from his friend St. Gregory (*Orat.* xl. iii. § 59 al. xx.), by the erection of more sees in each, the carrying out of which, however beneficial to their country, proved so nearly fatal to their friendship. The date assigned to this Council by Mansi (iii. 453) is A.D. 372. [E. S. FF.]

CAESARIUS. (1) Bishop of Arles, commemorated Aug. 27 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Deacon and martyr, is commemorated Nov. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Usuardi).

(3) Martyr under Decius, is commemorated Nov. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CAINICHUS, abbat in Scotland, commemorated Oct. 11 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CAIUS. (1) Gains of Corinth is commemorated Oct. 4 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr at Bologna, Jan. 4 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Palatinus, martyr, March 4 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(4) Martyr at Apamea under Antoninus Verus, March 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

(5) Martyr at Millitana in Armenia, April 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

(6) Pope, martyr at Rome under Diocletian, April 22 (*Kal. Bücher.*, *Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Usuardi).

(7) Martyr at Nicomedia, Oct. 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

(8) Martyr at Messina, Nov. 20 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CALCHUTHENSE CONCILIIUM. [CALCHUTHIE.]

CALCULATORES, or according to Portz, CAUCULATORES, casters of horoscopes. This term does not appear to figure in church history till the time of Charlemagne. An ecclesiastical capitulary of 789, dated from Aix-la-Chapelle, referring to the precepts of the Pentateuch against witchcraft and sorcery, enacts that "there shall be no calculators, nor enchanters, nor storm-raisers (tempestarii), or *obdignatores* (?); and wherever they are, let them amend or be condemned"—the punishment being apparently

left to the discretion of the judge (c. 64). The term figures again, and in much the same company, in a similar enactment contained in certain "Capitula Excerpta" of the year 802, also dated from Aix-la-Chapelle (c. 40). [J. M. L.]

CALENDAR (*Kalendarien, Comptus, Distributio Officiorum per circuli totius anni, μηναιον χρονιακον, ημερολογιον, εφημερις*; later, *καλενταριον*). It does not belong to this article to treat of the calendar except in its ecclesiastical form as used for liturgical purposes during the first eight centuries of the Christian era. The early Christian communities continued to use the mode of reckoning and naming days and years which existed in the countries in which they had their origin. The distinctive church calendar exists for the purpose of denoting the days, either of a given year, or of any year, which are marked for religious celebration.

First among these liturgical requirements is the specification of the Lord's Day. This was facilitated by a contrivance borrowed from the heathen Roman calendar. [SUNDAY LETTER.]

But together with the week of seven days, of which the first day or Sunday was assigned to the celebration of the Lord's Resurrection, there existed from the earliest times a yearly commemoration which, eventually, by general consent of the churches, at first divided on this point (EASTER), was assigned to the Sunday next after the day on which, according to certain calculations, the Jews were, or should have been, celebrating their Passover, that is, the day of the full moon nearest to the vernal equinox. Hence the year of the Christian calendar is partly solar of the Julian form, partly lunar. All the Sundays which are related to Easter, i.e. all from our Septuagesima Sunday to the last Sunday after Trinity, change their places year by year; the rest, i.e. from 1 Advent to the Sunday before Septuagesima shifting only to a place one day later; in leap-years, two. About the middle of the 4th century, the Nativity of Christ, until then commemorated, if at all, on the 6th January, was fixed to the 25th December [CHRISTMAS]. And as other days, commemorative of bishops, martyrs, and apostles came to be celebrated, these also were noted in the fixed calendar.

The calendar existed in two forms: one, in which all the days of the year were noted, with specification of months and weeks; the other, a list of the holy days, with or without specification of the month date. Of the full calendar, what seems to be the earliest extant specimen is furnished by a fragment of a Gothic calendar, composed, probably, in Thrace in the 4th century, edited by Müll, *Script. vet. nova collectio*, v. i. 69-68. Comp. de Gabelentz, *Urkunden*, ii. 1, p. xvii. Kraft, *Kirch. Gesch. der germanischen Völker*, i. 1, 371, 385-387. This fragment gives only the thirty-eight days from 23 October to 30 November. It assigns the festivals of seven saints, two of the New Testament, three of the Universal Church, two local, namely Gothic. Not less ancient, perhaps, is a Roman calendar, of the time of Constantine II., forming part of a collection of chronographical pieces written by the calligrapher, Furius Dionysius Filocalus, in the year 354; edited, after others, by Kollar, *Analekt. Vinobona*, i. 191, sqq. This, while retaining the astronomical and astrological notes

of the old Roman calendars, with some of the heathen festivals, is so far Christian that, side by side with the old nundinal letters A—H, it gives also the dominical letters A—G, of the ecclesiastical year; but it does not specify any of the Christian holy days. (Comp. Ideler, *Handb.*, 2, 140.) Next in point of antiquity is the calendar composed by Ptolemy Silvius, in the year 448, edited by the Hollandists, *Acta Sincletorum* Januar. vii. 176 ff. This is a full Roman calendar adapted to Christian use, not only as that of A. D. 354, just noticed, by specification of the Lord's Days, but with some few holy days added, namely, four in connexion with Christ, and six for commemoration of martyrs.

Of the short calendar, the most ancient specimen is that which was first edited by Bucherius, *de Doctrina Temporum*, c. xv. 206 sqq (Antwerp, 1634)—a work of Roman origin dating from about the middle of the 4th century, as appears from the contents, as also from the fact that it is included in the collection of Filocalus, thence edited by Kollar, *o. s.*; also with a learned commentary by Lambecius, *Catal. Codd. MSS. in Biblioth. Casar.* Vinobon. iv. 277 ff, and by Graevius *Theas.* viii. It consists of two portions, of which the first is a list of twelve popes from Lucius to Julius (predecessor of Liberius), A. D. 253-352; not complete, however, for Sixtus (Xystus) has his place among the martyrs, and Marcellus is omitted. The other part gives names and days of twenty-two martyrs, all Roman, including besides Xystus, those of earlier popes, Fabianus, Callistus, and Pontianus. Together with these, the Feast of the Nativity is noted on 25th December, and that of the *Cathedra Petri* assigned to 22nd February.

A similar list of Roman festivals with a lectionary (*Capitulare Evangeliorum totius anni*) was edited by Fronto (Paris, 1652, and in his *Epistolae et Dissert. ecclesiasticae*, p. 107-233, Veron. 1733), from a manuscript written in letters of gold, belonging to the convent of St. Geneviève at Paris. This seems to have been composed in the first half of the 8th century. Another, also Roman, edited by Martene, *Theas. Analekt.* v. 65, is perhaps of later date.

A calendar of the church of Carthage, of the like form, discovered by Mabillon, by Ruinart appended to his *Acta Martyrum*, is by them assigned to the 5th century. It contains only festivals of bishops and martyrs, mostly local. It opens with the title, "Hic continentur dies natalium martyrum depositiones episcoporum que ecclesie Carthaginis anniversaria celebrant."

As each church had its own bishops and martyrs, each needed in this regard (i.e. for the days marked for the *Depositiones Episcoporum* and *Natalitia Martyrum*) its separate calendar. It belonged to the bishop to see that these lists were properly drawn up for the use of the church. And to this effect we find St. Cyprian in his 36th epistle exhorting his clergy to make known to him the days on which the confessors suffered. "Dies eorum, quibus excedunt, nunciate ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus. Quoniam Tertullus . . . scripsit et scribit et dignificet mihi dies, quibus in carcere beati fratris nostri ad immortalitatem gloriose mortis citus transeunt, et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum." Out

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CALIST. ANT.

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the most ancient specimen, edited by Bucherus, v. 260 sqq (Antwerp, a origin dating from the century, as appears from the fact that it is of Filocalus, thence with a learned commentary. *Codd. MSS.* in v. 277 ff., and by consists of two parts: is a list of twelve (predecessor of not complete, how- has his place among thus is omitted. The ad days of twenty-two including Nicetas, Athanasius, Callistus, and in these, the Feast of 6th December, and that goes to 22nd February, man festivals with a *sanctorum totius anni* 1652, and in his *lesiastice*, p. 167-233, manuscript written in to the convent of St. is seems to have been of the 8th century, ited by Martene, *Thes.* of later date.

of Carthage, of the like on, by Ruinart appended s by them assigned to contains only festivals of uly local. It opens with ur dies natalium nec episecorum quos iversaria celebrant."

its own bishops and this regard (i.e. for the *depositiones Episcoporum*) is separate calendar. to see that these lists ap- lect we find St. Cyprian- ing his clergy to make on which the confessors quibus excedunt, nunc- scorum inter memorias possimus. Quoniam ipserit et scribit et sig- in carcere beati fratris in gloriosis nobis exitu r licet in nobis oblacione morationes eorum." Out

of these calendar notices grew the MARTYROLOGIES which, however, they greatly surpass in authority and importance. For the calendar, being essential as a liturgical directory, was therefore composed only by the bishop or by some high officer of the church appointed by him. Nothing could be added to, or altered in, the calendar but by his authority. It was accordingly prefixed or appended to the Sacramentaries and other liturgical books. As an example of an early form of this liturgical *Resp. no. i. de an I. Antiphona* ascribed to St. Gregory the Great (ed. Thomasinus):—

Specimen distributionis officiorum per circulum anni.

- Januaria I. Aiventus Do-
- minii.
- Januaria II. ante Nativ.
- Domini.
- Natale Sanctae Virginis.
- Dom. III. ante Nativ. Do-
- mini.
- Dom. proxima ante Nat.
- Dom.
- Vigilia Nat. Dom.
- Nativitas Domini.
- Natale S. Stephan.
- S. Januarii.
- S. Innocentium.
- Dom. I. post Nat. Dom.
- Vanilla Octavae Nat. Dom.
- Epiphania (sec. III o-
- phanis).
- Epiphanias Epiphaniae.
- Januaria I. post Theo-
- phanias.
- Dom. II.
- Dom. III.
- Dom. IV.
- Parasceve.
- Sabbatum sanctum.
- Vigilia S. Paschae.
- Januaria S. Paschae.
- Dom. octava Paschae (sec.
- post abbas nocturnas).
- Dom. I. post Pascha.
- Dom. II.
- Dom. III.
- Dom. IV.
- Quarta major.
- Vigilia Apostoli. Philipp et
- Jacobi.
- Dom. III. et IV. in Pascha
- R. II. de Ascensionis.
- Dom. V. et VI. in Pascha
- R. II. de paschis.
- In Natalibus Ss. infra
- Pascha.
- In Natalibus unius Mar-
- tyrisive Confessoris.
- In S. Crucis Inventione.
- In Natalibus S. Crucis.
- Ascensio Iovanni.
- Dom. V.
- Responsoria de Paschis.
- Dicibus Dominicis Anti-
- phonico.
- Vigilia S. Sebastiani.
- Natale S. Agnetis.
- Purificatio S. Mariae.
- Vigilia et Natale S. Agnae.
- Adunatio S. Mariae.
- Penultima in LXIXma.
- Dom. in LXIXma.
- Dom. in LXIXma. (sec. Carus-
- provi et excaualorum).
- Dom. I. in LXIXma.
- Dom. II.
- Dom. III.
- Dom. in medio XLIXmae (sec.
- de Jerusalem).
- Lactare (v. I. de Ros).
- Dom. de Paschae Domini
- (sec. Medicorum).
- Dom. in Palatis (sec. In-
- dolgentium).
- Vigilia Coenae Domini.
- Domestica post Ascensionem
- Domini (sec. Item de
- Rosa).
- Pentecoste.
- Octava Pentecostes.
- Vigilia Nativitatis S.
- Josanne Baptistae.
- (sic sequuntur officia pro-
- pria de Sanctis usque ad
- Adventum).
- Communio O. I. de.
- Responsoria de libro Ra-
- gum, Sup. utiae, Job,
- Tubla, Iudith, Esther, de
- Historia Machabaeorum
- de Prophetis.
- Antiphonas ad hymnum
- trium puerorum.
- De Curio Zachariae. S.
- Mariae.
- Antiphona domesticae. Of-
- ficia post Pentecosten a
- I. usque ad XLIV.

A knowledge of the calendar, being indispens- able for the due performance of the liturgy, was one of the essential qualifications for the priestly office. It is a frequent injunction in the *capitula* of bishops, "presbyteri computum discant." A canon of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 789, c. 70, and the *Capitula Interregationis*, A.D. 811, of Charlemagne, l. 68, enjoin (with n-ew to the supply of qualified persons) "ut scholae legentium puerorum fiant, psalmus, notae, cantum, computum, grammaticam discant." For instruction in this department of civil education and ecclesiastical learning, An elaborate work of this kind is the *de Computo* of Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mayence (A.D. 847), edited by Baluzius, *Miscellan.* t. i. p. 1. Early, on the feast of Epiphany, the

bishop announced the date of Easter for that year, as enjoined *et. c.* by the 4th Council of Orleans, A.D. 511, can. 1 (Brius, ii. 201); and from him the clergy, together with this announcement, received notice of any new festival appointed, in order that the same might be entered in their calendar, and made known to the people.

It results, partly from these subsequent additions made to the original texts of the calendars, which cannot always be discriminated in the ink, and other palaeographical criteria, that it is not always easy to say to what age, or to what province of the Church, a given calendar belongs. It is doubtful whether any of them contains the genuine materials of such lists existing in times earlier than the beginning of the 4th century. For of these lists, scarcely any can be supposed to have escaped, in the Diocletian persecution, from the rigorous search then decreed for the general destruction not only of the copies of the Scriptures, but of all liturgical and ecclesiastical documents, among which the calendars, lists of bishops and martyrs, and acts of martyrs, held an important place (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 2; Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, iv. 36). Some rules, how- ever, which may help to determine the relative antiquity of extant calendars, may be thus sum- marized, chiefly from Binterim, *Denkwürdig-* *keiten*, v. i. 20, sqq. :—

1. Brevity and simplicity in the statement concerning the holy-day are characteristic of the earlier times. Only the name of the martyr was given, without title or eulogy; even the prefix S. or B. (*sanctus, beatus*) is sparingly used. Sometimes the martyrs of a whole province are included under a single entry. Thus the Calendar of Carthage, in which eighty-one days are marked, has, at 2 Kal. Jan. *sanctorum Fundanionum*; 15 Kal. Aug. *SS. Nictimorum*. In several other calendars, one name is given, with the addition, *et sociorum (or comitantum), ejus*.

2. To one day only one celebration is assigned in the oldest calendars. "Commemorations" were unknown or very rare in the earlier times. These seem to have come into use in the 9th century, by reason of the increasing number of saints' days.

3. The relative antiquity of a calendar is especially indicated by the paucity, or entire absence, of days assigned to the B. Virgin Mary. Writers of the Church of Rome satisfy themselves in respect of this fact with the explanation, that the days assigned to the Lord include the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mother. Thus, for example, Morcelli (*Afr. Christiana*, cited by Binterim, *u. s.* p. 14) ac- counts for the entire silence of the *Calendar* of Carthage concerning the days of the V. Mary; and the like explanation is given of the fact that of St. Augustine we have no sermon preached for a festival of the Virgin.

4. Another note of antiquity is the absence of all saints' days and other celebrations from the period during which Lent falls. Thus March and April in the Carthaginian Calendar exhibit no such days; and the like blank appears in the calendars of Bucherus and Fronto. For the 51st canon of the Council of Laodicea (cir. A.D. 352) enjoins: *ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοντῇ μαρτύρων γενέσθαι ἑπιπέσειν ἄλλα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνηταὶν κωνὴν ἐν ταῖς σαββάτοις τοῖ*

κατακτάς: "a martyr's day must not be kept during the quadragesima, but must (at that time) be reserved for sabbaths and Lord's-days" (Bruns, i. 78). And with this agreed the rule of the Latin Church, as expressed in the 1st canon of the 10th Council of Toledo, A.D. 656 (Bruns, i. 298), where, with especial reference to the falling of Lady-day (F. of Annunciation, 25 Mar.) in Lent, or on Easter-day itself, it is said: "eodem festivitas non potest celebrari condigne, cum intermedium quadragesime dies vel paschale festum videtur incumbere, in quibus nihil de sanctorum solemnitatibus, sicut ex antiquitate regulari cautum est, convenit celebrari."

5. Before the 5th century, no day of canonised bishop or other saint is marked to be kept as festival, unless he was also a martyr. The occurrence of any such day is a sure indication that the calendar is of later date than A.D. 400; or, that the entry is of later insertion. To the bishops is assigned the term *Depositio*; to the martyrs, *Natidis* or *Natalitium*.

6. Vigils are of rare occurrence in the oldest calendars. Not one vigil is noted in the *Kal. Bucerianum* and *Kal. Carthaginense*. The *Kal. Frontonianum* (*supra*) has four. A Gallican Calendar of A.D. 826, edited by d'Achery (*Spirit. x. 130*), has five; and another, by Martene, for which he claims an earlier date (*Thes. Anecd. v. 65*), has nine.

For the determination of the Province or Church to which a Calendar belongs, the only criterion to be relied on is the preponderance in it of names of martyrs and saints known to be of that diocese or province. Naturally, each Church would honour most its own confessors and champions of the faith. Especially does this rule hold in respect of the bishops, whose names, unless they were also martyrs or otherwise men of highest note in the Church, would not be likely to obtain a place in the calendars of other than their own Churches.

The Greek Church had its calendars, under the title *ἡμερησίαι* (ἑορταστικῆ), *μηναίων* (ἑορτ.); later, *καλεσάριον*, which, as containing the offices for each celebration, grew into enormous dimensions. One such, with the designation, *Μηνολόγιον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἑορταστικῶν* sive *Kalendarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitane*, edited from a manuscript in the Albani Library by Morelli, fills two quarto volumes, Rome, 1788. But the title *μηνολόγιον* corresponds not with the Latin *Kalendarium*, but with the Martyrologium. Cave, in a dissertation appended to his *Historia Literaria*, part ii. (*de Libris et officis ecclesiasticis Graecorum*, p. 43) describes the *καλεσάριον* or *Ephemeris ecclesiastica* in *usum totius anni*, as a digest of all church festivals and fasts for the twelve months, day by day, beginning with September. "That calendars of this kind were composed for the use of the churches is plain from Biblioth. Vindobon. *C.d. Hist. Eccl. xvii. l. xiii.*, which gives a letter written by the head of some monastery in reply to questions concerning monastic observances of holidays; to which is appended a complete Church Calendar." [H. B.]

CALEPODIUS, aged presbyter, martyr at Rome under the emperor Alexander Severus, commemorated May 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedne, Usuardi). [C.]

CALL TO THE MINISTRY

CALL. Irrespectively of its meaning as symbol of an EVANGELIST, the image of the calf or ox is held by Aringhi (lib. vi. ch. xxxii. vol. ii. p. 320) to represent the Christian soul, standing to Christ in the same relation as the sheep to the shepherd. He also takes the calf or ox to represent Apostles labouring in their ministry, quoting various Fathers, and finally St. Chrysostom's idea, that the oxen and fatlings spoken of as killed for the Master's feast are meant to represent prophets and martyrs. The calf or ox, as a sacrificial victim, has been taken to represent the Lord's sacrifice; for which Aringhi quotes a comment on Num. xvii. These similitudes seem fanciful, and pictorial or other representations hardly exist to bear them out. A calf is represented near the Good Shepherd in Buonarrotti (*Vetri*, tav. v. fig. 2); and Martigny refers to Allegranza (*Mon. antichi de Milano*, p. 125) for an initial letter at Milan, where the animal is represented playing on a lyre: typifying, he thinks, the subjugation of the human nature to the life of faith. He also refers to St. Clemeat of Alexandria (*Paedog.* lib. i. c. 5) for a comparison of young Christians to sucking calves (*μασχάρια γαλαθηνά*), connected perhaps in the Father's mind in the same way as in his own; though, as Bishop Potter remarks in his note (*ad loc.*), no such comparison exists in Scripture. The plate in Allegranza is of considerable interest, being from a "marmo" belonging to the ancient pulpit of S. Ambrogio. The calf is lying down, and turning up its forehead to the lyre, or "antica cetra." It is engraved in the loop of an initial D. The preceding "marmo" is a representation of an Agnus, from the posterior parapet of the pulpit; and Allegranza considers the calf to be a symbol connected with the Agnus. See above, Clem. Alex. *Paedog.* i. 5. See also a v. LYRE, that instrument being held typical of the human body in its right state of harmony with, and subjection to, the divinely-guided soul. For oxen with Dolia see Bottari, iii. 155, 184.

[R. St. J. T.]

CALIGAE. These were stockings, made of various material, serving for a defence against cold, and as such worn at times by soldiers (Casaubon on Suetonius); by monks, if infirm or exposed to cold (Cassianus, lib. i. c. 10; S. Benedictus, *Regula*, c. 62; Gregor. Magnus, *Dial.* cc. 2, 4); and by bishops in out-door dress (Gregor. Taron. *Hist. Franc.* lib. vi. c. 31). The *Lude* of St. Ferreolus (quoted by DuCange, s. v.), c. 32, has an amusing passage forbidding the elaborate cross-gartering of these *caligae*, out of mere economy. The earliest writer who mentions the caligae as among the "sacred vestments" to be worn by bishops and cardinals is Ivo Carnotensis (†1115). "Antequam induantur sandaliis vestiuntur caligis byssinis vel lineis, usque ad genua protensis et ibi bene constructis" (*Sermo de significatibus instrumentorum sacerdotalium*, apud Hittorpium de *Dic. Off.*). [W. B. M.]

CALIXTUS [CALLISTUS].

CALL TO THE MINISTRY is more a matter of Christian ethics than of Church canons; and in that point of view it became mixed up, in the Church of the 4th century and onwards, with the parallel error of the adoption of the monastic or the celibate life. The temper that ought to

animate them to be, on the one hand, to serve God, and on the other, also, to be obedient to the call of the duties which humility, to more it felt the true non-ness, measure, pare Rom. x. view of the law, but it the common ful electors (or the bishop) brate, up the higher or enacted that degree could would apply into the mini supplementec necessity of that the call authority. *Con. Can. Afr.* canque clerici ecclesiarum i rolatibus ec- eclesia prom- spe, unde re- of the episcop- On the other of necessity to open, and it v derote their c- pelling, but e- to derote the (*Serm.* 2), an- former speak- of monks, bo- *Conc. Tolet.* 11 of those, "qu- factae annis Pope Siricius that (A.D. 385-4 years during- assively in e- Emerit. A.D. 6 presbyteri" ch- "de ecclesiae- Nor was this their parents' occupations, &- ction for holy- older men also- nistry; but to- ensure purity- permits the "et laico ad- "et laico ad- he is only to- copate "access- plebis rocarit- later, Gregory- probation in a- line Council of- prohibited only- worldly occupa- from ambitio-

became the common designation of all. (Suicer. *Thesaur.* s. v., cf. Pallad. *Hist. Lus.* ciii. κελος, where Innocentius is called δ κελος γερων). These Eastern monks have preserved from the first, with characteristic tenacity, the Rule of St. Basil. Thus their fastings are more frequent and more rigorous than those in Western Christendom. Their offices too are more lengthy; but partly from this very circumstance, and partly from the office-books being very costly, some are not infrequently omitted (Helyot. *Hist. des Ordres Relig.* I. xix. 6). They are divided, like their Western brethren, into three kinds, *Cenobitae*, dwelling together under one roof; *Anachoretae*, scattered round the several monasteries and resorting thither for solemn services on festivals, &c.; and *Eremitae*, or solitary recluses. The *Cenobitae*, or monks proper, are again subdivided into *Archarii*, novices; *Microschemi*; and *Megaloschemi*, the highest grade (Helyot. I. xix.).

The "Hours" observed by the Caloyers are much the same as those in the West, being, in fact, derived from a common source. After a prolonged service at midnight they sleep from 2 a.m. to 5 a.m. Then a service corresponding to matins, lauds, and prime, the last portion of which is simultaneous with sunrise. After an interval spent in their cells, they meet again at 9 a.m. for tierce, sext, and mass. At mid-day dinner, with the usual lectures, in the refectory. At 4 p.m. vespers; at 6 p.m. supper, followed by the *ἀπιδειπνον*, a sort of complique; at 8 p.m. to bed (Helyot. I. xix.).

They have four especial seasons of fasting in the year, and their abstinence, as has been said already, is more severe than in Western climes. Besides Lent, as in the West, there are the "Fast of the Apostles," commencing on the 8th day after Whitsunday, and lasting about 3 weeks; the "Fast of the Assumption," lasting 14 days; and "A Ivnt" (Helyot. I. xix.).

Their robes, more flowing and voluminous than those of Western Orders, are marked on the cape with the Cross, and with the letters IC. XC. NC. (Jesus Christus Vincit). The tonsure extends all over the head; but they wear beards (cf. Mab. *Ann.* I. xv. 32). (Helyot. I. xix.). Numerous lay brothers are attached to each monastery, for the field work; and considerable taxes are collected from each by the "exarchs" or visitors, for the Patriarch (Helyot. I. xix.).

The greatest of the Asiatic monasteries is on Mt. Simi, founded, it is said, by Justinian, and renowned as the residence of St. Athanasius of Mt. Simi, and of St. John Climacus, whose name figures in Western Hagiologies also. Here, as at Mt. Casino, the abbat exercises a large ecclesiastical jurisdiction: he is archbishop *ex officio*. As a precaution against Arabs there are no doors, and the only gateway is blocked up. Provisions and pilgrims, &c., are all drawn up in a basket to the window. In Europe there are several monasteries; among which that of St. Sahas, in the wilderness near Bethlehem, and those on the isles in the Levant are famous. But the greatest are those on Mt. Athos, where the peninsula is entirely and exclusively occupied by the "Caloyers" (Helyot. I.). [I. G. S.]

CALUMNIES AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS. It was hardly possible that a new

society like the Christian Church should escape misrepresentations. It had enemies on all sides. It offended men by presenting a higher standard of purity than their own, and they revenged themselves by imputing to it their own impurity. The secrecy that attended some portions of its life or worship gave rise to suspicions. Other societies, heretical or fantastic, which were popularly identified with it, brought upon it the discredit to which their defects made them liable. Popular credulity was ready to accept any sensational tale of horror which malice or ignorance might suggest. The result was that the popular feeling of dislike took definite shape, and that the persecutions of the Christians in the first three centuries were stimulated by the general belief that they were guilty of crimes which made them enemies of the human race. But over and above these influences, there was also, if we may trust the statements of many early Christian writers, a system of calumny, organised and deliberate, of which the Jews were the chief propagators. Envoys (*ἀπόστολοι*) were sent from Jerusalem with circular letters to the synagogues throughout the empire, and these became centres from which the false reports were disseminated among the heathen (Just. M. *Dial.* c. *Tryph.* c. 17, p. 234; Euseb. in *Essaim*, xxiii. l. p. 424). They spread the charge of Atheism, which was so large an element in the accusations to which Christians were exposed, and were active, as in the case of Polycarp, in stirring up the multitude (*Epist. Smyrn.* 9; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 1). The calumnies in question are, of course, the chief subject-matter of the Apologetic treatises of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Of these, the treatise of Tertullian, *ad Nationes*, as being addressed, not, like his *Apologetics*, to emperors and proconsuls, but to the Gentiles at large, is perhaps, the most exhaustive. It will be convenient to deal with the chief charges singly.

(1) The Agape and the more sacred Supper which was at first connected with them, furnished material for some of the more horrible charges. "Thyestelian banquets and Oedipodean incest" became bye-words of reproach (Athenaz. *Apol.* c. 4) side by side with that of Atheism. When they met, it was said, an infant was brought in, covered with flour, and then stabbed to death by a new convert, who was thus initiated in the mysteries. The others then ate the flesh and licked up the blood. This was the sacrifice by which they were bound together (Tertull. *ad Nat.* i. 15; *Apol.* c. 8; Mianz. Felix, *Octav.* c. 9). Two sources of this monstrous statement may be assigned with some probability. (a) To drink of human blood had actually been made, as in the conspiracy of Catiline, a bond of union in a common crime (Sallust, *Catil.* c. 22), and the blood, it was said, was that of a slaughtered child (Dio. Cass. xxxvii. 30). It had entered into the popular imagination as one of the horrors of a secret conspiracy. Christians were regarded as members of a secret society, conspiring together for the downfall of the religion and polity of the empire. It was natural to think that they had like rites of initiation. (b) The language of devout Christians as to the Supper of which they partook would tend to confirm, even if it did not originate, the belief. It was not common bread or common wine which they ate and drank but Flesh and Blood. By

participation came membership; that with this (l. c.) to dw charges, on port them. mysteria c the heathen cause of this

(2) Next purity. W Church met A lamp gave a dog was and were h to the dog lamp-stand i that the darl and unbridled were set at Nat. c. 16; cels. vi. 27;

(a) In the E teries, revel time startled

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puted as such to strengthen no other notice it may be th peace," which the Eucharist and that the by which Chr associated with which was ass in its nature

probable that did actually c They became c The language (2 Pet. ii. 13, had occurred e porname 2 How tr Causant of a ani faubins c gully in their case, which v Christians at la

(3) The cha against those not altars, an weapon in the hardly be class less can we gro tion that they malefactor's de time of the Apo tique of reprob N. Dial. c. Trp It was not str use which the made of the sig notice that the We may wonder speaks of the ac

Church should escape enemies on all sides, a higher standard and they revenged at their own impurity. Some portions of its suspicions. Other, which were popular upon it the distaste made them liable. To accept any sense or ignorance was that the popular shape, and that Christians in the first place by the general list of crimes which a human race. But, there was also, of many early of calumny, organised Jews were the chief (ταλοῖ) were sent from the synagogues these became centres were disseminated. *M. Dial. c. Tryph. iiii. 1, p. 424.* Atheism, which was accusations to which and were active, as in stirring up the multi- Alex. *Stron. vii.* estion are, of course, of the Apologetic treatises. Of these, *ad Nationes*, as *βελτιολογίας*, to emperors Gentiles at large, is. It will be charges singly. e more sacred Supper eted with them, fur- of the more horrible quets and Oedipolean of reproach (ἀναθέ- with that of Atheism. said, an infant was our, and then stabbed , who was thus initi- others than ate the blood. This was the were bound together ; *Apol. c. 8*; Minuc. sources of this mon- assigned with some pro- man blood had actually spiracy of Catilina, a crime (Sallust, *Catil.* was said, was that of a. xxxvii. 30). Its original imagination as one conspiracy. Christians of a secret society, the downfall of the empire. It was natural like rites of initiation. at Christians as to the took would tend to con- rinate, the belief. It common wine which Flesh and Blood. By

participation in that flesh and blood they became members of one body. It is singular, however, that the Apologists do not meet the charge with this explanation, but confine themselves (l. c.) to dwelling on the incredibility of such charges, on the absence of any evidence to support them. Their unwillingness to expose the mysteries of their faith to the scorn of the heathen was, it can hardly be questioned, the cause of this reticence.

(2.) Next in order came the charge of impurity. When the members of a Christian Church met, men and women, it was at night. A lamp gave light to the room, and to its stand a dog was fastened. After they had supped and were hot with wine, meat was thrown to the dog so as to make him overthrow the lamp-stand in his struggles to get at it, and then the darkness witnessed a scene of shameless and unbridled lust, in which all laws of nature were set at naught (Tertull. *Apol. c. 8*; *ad Nat. c. 16*; Euseb. *H. E. iv. 7-15*; Origen, *c. Cel. vi. 27*; Minuc. Felix, *l. c.* 9). Here, too, we may trace the calumny to two main sources. (a) In the Bacchanalia and other secret mysteries, revelations of which had from time to time startled the Roman world (comp. Livy, *xxix. 13* for those of B.C. 185), turpitude of this kind had been but too common. Men of purit imaginations imputed it even where the lives of the accused were in flagrant contradiction to it. (b) The name of the Agapae, interpreted as such men would interpret it, was sure to strengthen the suspicion. They could form no other notion of a "love-feast" held at night. It may be that the "holy kiss," the "kiss of peace," which entered into the early ritual of the Eucharist, was distorted in the same way; and that the names of "brother" and "sister" by which Christians spoke of each other were associated with the thought that the intercourse which was assumed to take place was incestuous in its nature (Minuc. Felix, *l. c.*). (c) It seems probable that in some cases abuses of this kind actually exist in the Agapae. [AGAPAE.] They became conspicuous for licence and revelry. The language of the later Apostolical Epistles (2 Pet. ii. 13, Jude v. 12) shows that excesses had occurred even then. The followers of Carpocrates followed in the same line, and are said by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom. iii. 2-4, p. 185*), and Eusebius (*H. E. iv. 7, § 5*) to have been guilty in their Agapae of practices identical with those, which were popularly imputed to the Christians at large.

(3.) The charge of Atheism was natural enough as against those who held aloof from all temples and altars, and, though it was a formidable weapon in the hands of their persecutors, can hardly be classed as a distinct calumny. Still less can we group under that head the accusation that they worshipped one who had died a malefactor's death, though this too from the time of the Apostles downward was a frequent topic of reproach (Tacit. *Annal. xv. 63*; Justin *M. Dial. c. Tryph. c. 91*; Minuc. Fel., p. 86). It was not strange either that the reverential use which the Christians of the 2nd century made of the sign of the cross should lead to the notion that they worshipped the cross itself. We may wonder rather that the Apologist who speaks of the accusation should be content almost

to admit the fact without any explanation, and to retort with the argument that the framework scaffolding of most of the idols before which the Gentiles bowed down exhibited the same form (Tertull. *Apol. c. 16*). We enter upon the region of distinct slander, however, when we come across statements of another kind, as to the objects of Christian adoration. Of these the most astounding is that they worshipped their God under the mysterious form of a man with an ass's head. It seems strange that such a charge should have been thought even to need denial, and yet it is clear that it was at one time widely received. Tertullian (*Apol. c. 16 ad Nat. c. 11*) speaks of a caricature exhibiting such a form, with the inscription "THE GOD OF THE CHRISTIANS"—ONOKOITES.* And a picture answering to this description has actually been found on a wall of the palace of the Caesars on the Palatine Hill. A man is represented as offering homage to a figure with an ass's head, and underneath is the inscription ΑΛΕΧΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΤΕ (for ΣΕΒΕΤΑΙ) ΘΕΟΝ. The fragment is now in the Kircher Museum, and exhibits the lowest style of art, such as might be found in a boy-artisan bent on holding up some fellow-workman to ridicule.^b It has to be noted that this was but the transfer to the Christians of an old charge against the Jews, and that there it was connected with the tradition that it was through the wild asses of the desert that the Jews had been led to find water at the time of the Exodus (Tacit. *Hist. v. 3*).

(4.) The belief that Christians were worshippers of the sun obtained even a wider currency, and had more plausibility (Tertull. *Apol. c. 16*, Just. *M. Apol. i. 68*). They met together on the day which was more and more generally known as the *Dies Solis*. They began at an early period to manifest a symbolic reverence for the East; and these acts, together with the language in which they spoke of Christ as the true light, and of themselves as "children of light," would naturally be interpreted as acts of adoration to the luminary itself. With this we may perhaps connect the singular statement ascribed to Hadrian that they were also worshippers of Serapis (Vopiscus, *Hist. Aug. p. 719*). This, however, never rose to the rank of a popular calumny, and seems to have had its beginning and end in the fantastic eclecticism of that emperor, who identified Serapis with the sun, and so reproduced the current belief under this form.

(5.) It was also reported that the members of the new sect worshipped their priests with an adoration which had in it something of a palling character ("Alii eos ferunt ipsius anstittis ac sacerdotis colere genitalia," Minuc. Felix, *Octav. c. 9*). In this case, as in the charge of immoral excesses, we have probably the interpretation given by impure minds to acts in themselves blameless. Penitents came to the presbytery of the church to confess their sins, and kneel before them as they sat, and this attitude may have suggested the revolting calumny to those who could see in it nothing but an act of adoration.

(6.) Over and above all specific charges there

* The word was probably meant to signify "Ass-boro." Another reading is ΟΝΟΚΟΥΡΤΕΣ, as if parodying Ἀνακουρτής, and conveying the notion of Ass-horned.

^b See the woodcut under CINCERIX.

was the dislike which men felt to a society so utterly unlike their own. These men who lived apart from the world were a *hucitaya natio*. They were *inftructuosi in negotiis*. They were guilty of treason because they would not offer sacrifice for the emperors, and looked for the advent of another kingdom. They were ignorant, rude, uncultivated, and yet they set themselves up above the wisest sages. They led men to a dark fatalism by ascribing to God all their power to act (Tertull. *Apol.* 35-42). They showed a defiant obstinacy in their resistance, even to death, to the commands of civil magistrates (Marc. Aurel. xi. 3). [E. H. P.]

CALUMNY. [DETRACTION; SLANDER.]

CAMBRICUS CONCILIUM, A.D. 465, is a fiction, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, &c. [A. W. H.]

CAMELAUCIUM. A covering for the head, in use chiefly in the East, of very unsettled orthography. We find *camelaucium*, *camelaucus*, *caltauucium*, and in Greek *καμηλαύκιον* and *κιμελαύκιον*. It appears to have been a round cap with ear-flaps of fur, originally camel's hair if the ordinary etymology is to be accepted, or wool, and sometimes adorned with gems. The form and name being preserved, it sometimes became a helmet and was worn in battle. We find it adopted both by royal personages and by



Camelaucium.

ecclesiastics. The head-covering taken from Totila when killed, A.D. 552, and presented to Justinian, is called by Theophanes (*Chron.* p. 193) *καμηλαύκιον διάλαθον*. Constantine the Great appears on his triumphal arch at Rome similarly attired. [See CROWN.] Ferrario (*Costumi, Europa* (Rs) vol. iii. part i. pl. 30), and Constantine Porphyg. (*de Adm. Imp.* c. 13) describe by the same name the sacred caps, preserved at the high-altar of St. Sophia's, traditionally believed to have been sent by an angel's hands to Constantine the Great, and used in the coronation of the emperors of the East.

Its ecclesiastical use in the East seems to have been chiefly confined to the monastic orders. Goar (*Euchology*, p. 156) tells us that the mitre of the metropolitan of Constantinople had this name only when he was taken from the monastic ranks. It is defined by Allatius (*de utriusque Eccl. Consens.* lib. iii. c. viii. no. 12, apud Ducange), as a round woollen cap worn by monks. It was worn by Armenian bishops when officiating at the altar (*ib.*, Isaac *Invectio secundus in Armen.* p. 414). [MITRE.]

Fuller particulars and authorities may be found in the Greek and Latin *Glossary* of Ducange. For its form, Ferrario *u. s.*, Goar, *Euchology*, p. 156, and the plates prefixed to Ducange's *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græc.* may be consulted. [E. V.]

CAMERA PAMENTI. [SACRISTY.]

CAMISIA. (Hence the *Ital.* 'Camicia' a shirt, and 'Camice' an alb; *Sp.* 'Camisa'; and the *Fr.* 'Chemise,' in Languedoc 'Camise.') St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Fabiolam*), in describing the vestments of the Jewish priesthood ("Volo pro-

legentis facilitate abuti sermone vulgato. Solent militantes habere lineas quæ camisias vocant sic aptas membris et astrictas corporibus ut expedit sint vel ad cursum vel ad prælium," &c.), and a scholiast on Lucan (sunarum est genus vestimenti quod vulgo camisia dicitur, id est interlata) speak of this word as belonging to the *linpna vulgaria*. St. Jerome's description shews it to have been a shirt fitted to the body so as to admit of active exertion of the limbs, which was not the case with the flowing garments worn by the more wealthy in ordinary life. St. Isidore (*Orig.* xix. 22, 29) derives the word "a *camis*" ("quod in his dormimus in camis, id est in stratis nostris"). With him it is a night-shirt or bed-gown. The word 'camna' still retains the meaning of a 'bed' in the Spanish language, to which St. Isidore, himself a Spaniard, seems to refer. The Arabic 'kamis' is no doubt connected with the Spanish 'camisia.' See further references in Ménage, *Dict. Etym.* 'Chemise,' and in Ducange, *Glossarium*, 'camisia.' [W. B. M.]

CAMPAGAE. (Other forms of the same word are *Campacus*, *Gambacus*, *Campobus*.) A kind of ornamented shoe worn by emperors and kings (Trebellius, in *Gallieno*; Capitolinus, in *Maximin. Jun.*, and by various officers of state ("pretoribus Palatinis et quibusvis aliis;" cf. Ducange, in *loc.*). At a later period they were worn by the higher ecclesiastics at Rome, and by others elsewhere, but in disregard of the special privileges claimed in regard of these by Roman authorities. Gregor. Magnus, *Ep. vii. indict. i. ep. 28.* "Pervenit ad nos," &c. [W. B. M.]

CAMPANA. [BELL.]

CAMPANARIUS. The special office of *Campanarius*, or bell-ringer, in a church is perhaps not mentioned in the literature of the first eight centuries. See, however, the so-called *Excerpta Eberti*, c. 2, and the *Leges Presbyt. Northunbr.* c. 36.

In more ancient times the duty of ringing the bells at the proper seasons seems to have been laid upon the priests themselves (*Capitulari Episcop.* c. 8; *Capit. Caroli Magni*, lib. vi. c. 168). To the same effect Amalarius (*de Dir. Off.* iii. 1) says, speaking of the ringing of bells, "ne despiciat presbyter hoc opus agere." (Ducange s. vv. *Campanum*, *Campanarius*.) In later times the Ostiarius was the bell-ringer (Martene *de Rit. Eccl.* ii. 18, ed. 1783). [C.]

CAMPANILE. [BELFRY; TOWER.]

CAMPIO, "champion"; one whose profession it was to fight for another in cases where single combat was permitted by law to decide the right "in campo duellum exercens." People were allowed their advocate in court, and their champion in the field. But the latter was a mediæval institution, and therefore beyond our limits. He was a superior personage to the gladiator of old Rome, so far in that he fought, not for a mere display of brute force, but for the triumph of justice. See Du Cange, Hoffmann, Spelman, and Blount, s. v. [B. S.]

CANA, MIRACLE OF. Representations of this miracle frequently present themselves in Christian art. It was early supposed to be typical of the Eucharist; indeed, Theophilus of Antioch, so far back as the 2d century, looks on the change of the water as figurative of the

grace comm. *Evang.* lib. xlix. 11) says wine into the and this idea sequence to transubstanti on an ivory, Gori, which i the covering of Ravenna, a Banlini (*In 7 Florentine*, 17 present written in 1871. See



In Bottari, tr wearing the or touches or por two vessels with given, as also I. The vessels or h rally humble for remarks that th pered by know been large, conta on Bandini's iv pheme. Here t staff, and motio brigetrum, or a to the master of and extending hi The first-quoted of Bottari's are Vatican, and of of view. The in from the ceme catabom, or fro in preparing foun at Sta. Maria Ma

CANCELLI *Κυλλοί*, *Δρόμοι* *Κήρυκται*. The thior formed of

grace communicated in baptism (*Comment. in Evang.* lib. iv.). Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* xxii. 11) says it represents the change of the wine into the blood of the Lord in the eucharist; and this idea has been applied with eager inconsequence to the support of the full dogma of transubstantiation. The miracle is represented on an ivory, published by Mamachi, Bottari, and Gori, which is supposed to have formed part of the covering of a throne belonging to the exarchs of Ravenna, and is referred to the 7th century. Bandini (*In Tyndam eburnea Observations*, 4to. Florentiae, 1746) gives a plate of it: and the present writer saw it in the Duomo of Ravenna in 1871. See woodcut.



In Bottari, tav. xix. and xxxii., our Saviour, wearing the ordinary tunic, and *tyga* over it, touches or points respectively to three and two vessels with a rod. In tav. li. five jars are given, as also in lxxxviii.; four in tav. lxxxix. The vessels or hydriæ are of different, and generally humble forms, on these sarcophagi. Bottari remarks that the sculptors may have been hampered by knowing the water-vessels to have been large, containing a "metretræ." But those on Bandini's ivory are gracefully-shaped ampheæ. Here the Lord bears a Greek cross on a staff, and motions with the other hand to the bridegroom, or a servant, who is carrying a cup to the master of the feast, gazing steadily at it, and extending his left hand towards the Saviour. The first-quoted of these plates (xix. and xxxii.) of Bottari's are from sarcophagi found in the Vatican, and of high merit in an artistic point of view. The later ones, not much inferior, are from the cemetery of Lucina, in the Callixtine catacomb, or from a sarcophagus dug up in 1807, in preparing foundations for the Cupella Borghese at Sta. Maria Maggiorè. [E. St. J. T.]

CANCELLI (*Podium, Pectoralia, Mensana*; *Κάγκελλοι, Δριφρακτα, Κάγγελοι, Κάγκελλοι, Κάγκελλα*). These words are applied to a partition formed of open work in wood or iron, or

even of stone (Papias, in Duongue, s. v. *Cancellis*), especially to the open-work screen or grating which separates the choir from the nave of a church, or the sanctuary from the choir. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* x. 4, s. 44), after describing the thrones of the *πρόεδροι* in the upper part of the great church at Tyre, the benches (seemingly) for the rest of the clerks, and the altar or sanctuary, says, "These again, that they might be inaccessible to the laity, he enclosed with wooden gratings, wrought with so delicate an art as to be a wonder to behold." These *cancelli* seem to have enclosed the whole of the space occupied by the clergy. Compare CHURCH.

St. Ambrose is said (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 25, 317) to have excluded the emperors from the sanctuary, and to have assigned them a place just outside the rails which enclosed it (*πρὸ τῶν δριφρακτῶν τοῦ ἱερατείου*). Here the *ἱερατείου* seems to correspond with what we call the chancel, including the whole of the space assigned to the clergy, and not merely the sanctuary; for the emperor's position is said to indicate his precedence among the people, and his inferiority to the clergy. The rails seems to have been, in short, a chancel-screen rather than an altar-rail.

Cyriac, in the *Life of Caesarius of Arles* (*Acta SS. Bened. sæc. i. App.*) says that the saint did not hesitate to give for the redemption of captives things belonging to the administration of the sacrament, as chalices and censers, and even took down the silver ornaments from the *cancelli*. In this case, the context suggests that the *cancelli* were near the altar. Paul Warnefrid (*De Episcop. Metens. in Pertz, Monum. German. ii. 266*) says that Chrodegang caused to be made a church in honour of St. Stephen, and his altar, and *cancelli*, and a presbytery, where again the rail or grating seems to have been the enclosure of the altar.

Athanasius (*Epistola ad Orthodoxos*, Opp. i. 646) speaks of the *κάγκελοι* of a church as among the things destroyed by Arian fury.

Ciril of Scythopolis, in the *Life of Euthymius* († 673; in *Acta SS. Jun. ii. 302 ff.*), tells how a Saracene, leaning on the screen of the sanctuary (*τῷ καγγέλω τοῦ ἱερατείου*) while the offering was being made, saw fire descend from heaven and spread itself over the altar. Here the screen clearly enclosed the bema, or sanctuary, and admitted of the altar being seen from without. And again, in the *Life of St. Sabas* (in Cotelerius, *Monum. Eccl. Græcæ*, tom. iii.), he speaks of the rails of the sanctuary (*κ. τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*).

Some have thought that the *RUGÆ* frequently mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* among the presents of various popes to Roman churches were cancellated doors. But see the article.

Germanus of Constantinople* (*Hist. Eccl.* p. 148, ed. Paris, 1560) says that the rails (*κάγκελλα*) mark out the space to the outside of which the people may approach, while inside is the Holy of Holies, accessible only to the priests. Here we must conclude, either that the phrase *τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων* includes choir as well as sanctuary, which is highly improbable, or that the people entered the choir at any rate for the purpose of communicating. Compare CHURCH.

* It is doubtful whether this work is to be attributed to the Germanus of the 8th century, or to his namesake of the 12th.

vulvato. Solent amissilas vocant corporibus ut d. prœlia." &c.), in est genus ves. id est interluta) g to the lupina shows it to e body so ac to limbs, which was arments worn by life. St. Isidore vord "a canis" , id est in stratis ght-shirt or bed- till retains the aish language, to paniard, seems to us no doubt con- sa.' See further on. 'Chemise,' and ia.' [W. B. M.]

of the same word (obus.) A kind of pors and kings olinus, in *Mazi-* es of state ("præ iis." cf. Duongue, ey were worn by ne, and by others e special privi- by Roman autho- i. indict. l. ep. 28. [W. B. M.]

special office of a church is per- ture of the first er, the so-called e *Leges Presbyt.*

uty of ringing the ems to have been selves (*Copularæ Magni*, lib. vi. c. malaribus (*de Dir.* e ringing of bells, pus agere." (Du- caribus.) In later ell-ringer (Martene [C.]

: TOWER.]

one whose profes- in cases where by law to decide exorcens." People in court, and their the latter was a therefore beyond our personage to the in that he fought, rute force, but for e Du Cange, Hoff. v. [B. S.]

Representations present themselves rly supposed to be ded, Theophilus of 2d century, looks as figurative of the

Durandus (*Rationale*, l. 3, 35) observes that in ancient times the enclosure of the choir was not so high as to prevent the people from seeing the clerks; but that in his own time a curtain or partition was generally interposed between the clerks and the people, so that they could not see each other.

Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. *Canellus*; Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. vv. *βράκτων*, *κίρκλις*, *κίγγελα*; Mabillon, *Comment. Praev.* in *Ordinem Rom.* c. 20, p. cxxxvii. [C.]

(2) In addition to the use of this word for the lattice-work protecting the altar of a church and the raised area on which it stood, *Canellus* was also employed to designate a railing round a tomb. We find it used in this sense by Augustine (e.g. *Serm. de Divers.* xxxi, de *Civ. Dei* xlii. 7, &c.; Gregory of Tours, de *Mirac.* l. 69; ii. 20, 46, 47; id. *Hist.* vi. 10, where thieves are described as breaking into St. Martin's Church at Tours by raising against the window of the apse "cancellum qui super tumulum cujusdam defuncti erat").

Another word used in the same sense from the similarity of its form was *Cataracta*, *καταβάκτης*, "a portcullis." The letters of the legates to Pope Hormisdas relative to the request of Justinian for some relics of the apostles speaks of the "secunda cataracta." Labbé *Conc.* iv. 1513; and the "cyclo of Vigilius, *Ep.* xv. mentions the "cataracta Beati Petri," i. e. the iron railing surrounding his "confessio" (ib. v. 330). [E. V.]

CANDELABRUM. [*ΚΑΝΔΕΛΑΒΡΟΝ* Lucis.]

CANDIDA. (1) Wife of Artemius, martyr at Rome, is commemorated June 6 (*Mart. Rom.* Vat., Usuardi).

(2) Virgin, of Rome, is commemorated Aug. 29 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CANDIDUS. (1) Martyr at Rome, is commemorated Feb. 2 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Sebaste in Armenia, March 9 (*Mart. Bedae*); March 11 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr, one of the Theban Legion, commemorated Sept. 22 (*Mart. Bedae, Usuardi*).

(4) Martyr at Rome, Oct. 3 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

CANDLE. [LIGHTS; TAPER.] [C.]

CANDLEMAS. [MARY, FESTIVALS OF.]

CANISTER, or CANISTRUM. (1) A basket used for holding consecrated bread, or perhaps EULOGIAE. Compare ARCA. St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Rustic.* c. 20), speaking of the practice among Christians in his day of carrying home the consecrated elements both of bread and wine, uses the expression, "Qui corpus Domini in canistro vimineo et sanguinem portat in vitro;" from which it appears that a wicker basket was used for holding the consecrated bread.

This passage is remarkably illustrated by a fresco discovered in the crypt of St. Cornelius by Cavalieri de' Rossi. This represents a fish swimming in the water, bearing on its back a basket having on the top several small leaves, and inside a red object, clearly visible through the wicker-work, which seems to be a small glass flask of wine. This is marked in the engraving by a somewhat darker tint. We have thus the FISHER, the well-known symbol of the Redeemer, combined with the representation of the sacred bread and wine.

In another painting of the same cemetery is represented a tripod table, on which are laid three loaves and a fish, and round which are placed seven baskets full of loaves. Here, also, it cannot be doubted that the loaves are eucharistic, either as being the loaves actually consecrated, or those blessed for distribution (EULOGIAE) (*Martigny, Dict. des Ant. Chrét.* p. 246).



Epiphanius the Presbyter (in *Indiculis Hermisidum*, quoted by Ducange, s. v. *Canistrum*) says that certain persons proved themselves to be heretics by the very fact that on the approach of what they called persecution, i. e. the predominance of the orthodox Church, they consecrated great quantities of sacramental bread, and distributed full baskets (*canistra plena*) to all, that they might not be deprived of communion. Ducange refers this to the eulogiae; but the eulogiae would scarcely have been regarded as a substitute for communion, and the passage may probably be referred, like that of St. Jerome, to the distribution of bread actually consecrated.

(2) The disk or tazza placed under a lamp. This sense is frequent in the *Liber Pontificalis*. For instance, Pope Adrian (772-795) is said to have given to a church twelve silver *canistri*, weighing thirty-six pounds. Leo III., his successor, gave a silver *canister* with its chains, weighing fifteen pounds. Gregory IV. gave two *canistra* of nine lights (*canistra enaufodia = ενναφώδρια*). In the latter case, the lights were probably distributed round the circumference of the tazza. (Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v.) [C.]

CANON. *Κανών*, a rule; applied ecclesiastically to many very diverse things, but with the one notion of fixity or regularity underlying all of them: as—

1. The Holy Scriptures, as, i. themselves a rule; ii. in respect to the rule by which to determine what is Holy Scripture, the latter being the sense in which the word was first applied to them. [CANONICAL BOOKS.]

2. The Creed. [CREED.]

3. The roll of the clergy in a particular church (*ὁ ἐν τῷ κανόνι = clergyman*), from a time prior to the Nicene Council (can. 16, 17, 19), - *ὁ ἅγιος κανὼν* (*Conc. Antioch.* a. d. 341, can. 1), *Κατάλογος ἱερατικῶς* (*Can. Apost.* 14, 50), *Albus* (*Sidon. Apollina.* lib. vi. ep. 8), *Matricula* (*Conc. Agath.* a. d. 506, can. 2), *Tabula Clericorum* (*St. Aug. Hom.* 50 de *Div.*). Hence Canonici, and Canonice; and later still, *Canonici* Secular and *Canonici Regulari*. [CANONICAL.]

4. The rules, either invented or improved by Eusebius after the *Monasticon* of Ammonius, for ascertaining the parallel passages of the four Gospels.

5. *Canon Paschalis* = the rule for finding Easter. [EASTER.]

6. The fixed portion of the Eucharistic service. [CANON OF THE LITURGY.]

7. The hymns or songs of services. *ὁ Μῦθος Κανὼν*, *νεκροῦσμιος*, *Καν.* Cange, Meursius ODES.]

8. A Lecture. Bingham XII. v.

9. A synodical assembly.

10. A monastic rule. *Κανὼν* (Cave, used by the Pseudo-Dionysius).

11. A PENITENTIAL CANON "came to Cange).

12. The epithet of a saint.

I. The *Canon* of the faithful who [EPISTOLAE.]

II. The *Canon* of the Holy Scriptures.

III. A *Canon* of the bishop out of the [BISHOP; PENSIOS.]

The word is used by St. Athanasius speaking of a *κανὼν* in [Opp. I. 178], which was also of a penitential [Suicer].

CANON LAW

commonly used to understand to relate ecclesiastical jurisprudence to the Church of Rome. Of this system, however, its limits to speak which is the first Canonica, was not a century, and even before, which form the basis of the canon law of some time after therefore, to confirm collections of church law.

"It is not to be introduced to that the communion subsist after the de some other laws and peace and concord a contained in holy and passions of men, of their own particular worship, and the canon law. The earliest apparatus and beyond that consisted partly of letters reply to questions topics (a kind of partly of traditions. Bausen calls them vol. ii. 421), or were accepted, with or without

* It is sometimes also called constitutions passed by the synod. It is to these that the canon law belongs, and do not therefore

7. The hymns which formed invariable portions of services in the Greek office books, e.g. ἡ Μίγας Κανὼν, Κανὼν ὁ τῆς Ἱψώσεως, Κανὼν ἠκρότατος, Κανὼν Ἀναστροφῆς, &c. &c. (Du Cange, Meursius, Suicer, Cave.) [CANON OF ODES.]

8. A Lectionary, according to Gothofred (see Bingham XIII. v. 6) but this seems doubtful.

9. A synodical decree. [CANON-LAW.]

10. A monastic rule, — κανὼν τῆς μοναχικῆς κοινότητος (Cave, Diss. in fin. Hist. Litt.). So also used by the Pseudo-Egbert.

11. A PENITENTIAL (Cave, ib.). "Incidere in canones" came to mean "to incur penance" (Du Cange).

12. The epithet *canonica* was also applied to—

i. The *Canonical Letters* given by bishops to the faithful who travelled to another diocese. [EPISTOLÆ.]

ii. The *Canonical Hours* of prayer. [HOURS.]

iii. *Canonical Pensions*, granted to a retired bishop out of the revenues of his former see. [BISHOP; PENSION.]

The word is also used, politically, of an ordinary as opposed to an extraordinary tax; whence St. Athanasius speaks of himself as accused of getting a *kanōn* imposed upon Egypt (*Apol.* ii. c. 178), which Sozomen (vi. 21) calls *phōros*; and also of a pension or fixed payment (Du Cange, Suicer). [A. W. H.]

CANON LAW. The term Canon Law, as commonly used at the present day, is generally understood to relate to that complex system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence which grew up in the Church of Rome during the Middle Ages.* Of this system, however, it hardly falls within our limits to speak. The Decretum of Gratian, which is the first part of the Corpus Juris Canonici, was not drawn up until the 12th century, and even the Decretals of the Pseudo-Isidore, which form so large an extent the basis of the canon law of Rome, did not appear till some time after the year 800. We have, therefore, to confine ourselves to the earlier collections of church law

"It is not to be supposed (says Ayliffe, in his Introduction to his *Parergon Juris Canonici*) that the communion of the Church could long subsist after the death of the Apostles, without some other laws and obligations, holding men to peace and concord among themselves, than those contained in holy writ; considering the pride and passions of men, and an overweening conceit of their own particular ways in point of Divine worship, and the ceremonies of it."

The earliest approach to a *lex scripta* other than and beyond the Scriptures, probably consisted partly of letters of eminent bishops in reply to questions put to them on disputed topics (a kind of "responsa prudentum")—partly of traditional maxims, "coutumes," as Bunsen calls them (*Christianity and Mankind*, vol. ii. 421), reduced to writing, and generally accepted, with or without synodical sanction—

* It is sometimes also applied to the provincial canons and constitutions passed by domestic synods in this country. It is to these that the act 26 Hen. 8. c. 19, relates. But these also belong to a time subsequent to the year 800, and do not therefore fall to be noticed here.

partly of decisions of local councils, in which certain neighbouring dioceses met together and agreed upon rules for their observance in common.

The so-called apostolical canons, and apostolical constitutions [see APOST. CANONS and APOST. CONSTITUTIONS] probably contain fragments derived from this early period. The ancient pieces edited in Lagarde's *Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici Antiquissimæ*, and in Bickell's *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, and in Bickell's to some extent the state of things at a later stage, with more or less of subsequent addition and interpolation.

Eusebius mentions synods or meetings of the orthodox on the subject of the Easter controversy as early as the close of the 2nd century (*H. E.* v. 23; see Bickell, i. 38). In the 3rd century like assemblies were held on the question of baptism by heretics, and on the condition of the *bapti*. Of letters of bishops received as having weight in ecclesiastical questions, few or none remain of a very early date. The epistle of Clement of Rome, and the epistles of Ignatius, hardly fulfil this character, and the pretended letters of early popes in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals are forgeries. But in the 3rd century we have a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria, and one of Gregory Thaumaturgus, which were written in reply to questions put to them, and which find a place in the *Codex Canonum* of the Greek Church. It is therefore possible that similar epistles of other bishops may have exercised more or less influence in regulating the affairs of infant churches during the previous period.

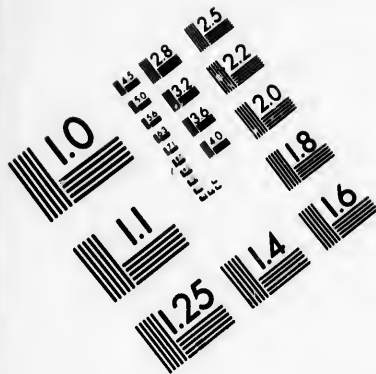
At the beginning of the 4th century, provincial councils became numerous. Before the year 325 we have, for instance, councils at Elvira, Arles, Ancyra, and Neocesarea. Then begins the series of general councils, that of Nice being the first, followed, in 381, by the first Council of Constantinople, minor councils having been held in the interim. [COUNCIL.] It is not surprising, therefore, that some effort was now made to collect the laws of the Church. We begin with the Eastern Church.

The first collection of which we hear has not come down to us in its original form. It appears to have contained at first only the canons of Nice, and those of the provincial councils of Ancyra, Neocesarea, and Gangra. As the three last mentioned councils were connected with the diocese of Pontus, it has been conjectured, from the prominence given to them, that the collection originated there.

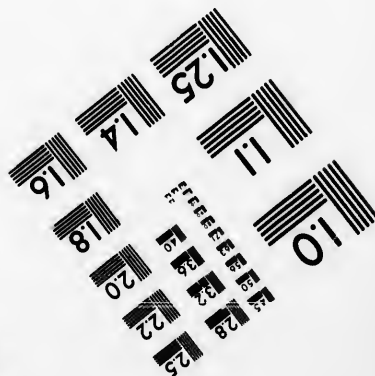
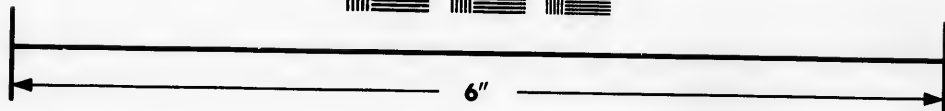
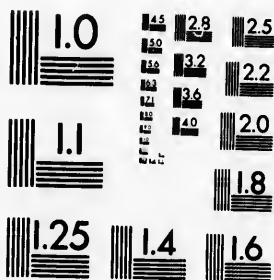
By degrees other councils were added, and this *Codex Ecclesie Orientalis*, thus enlarged, became a work of recognized authority, and was quoted at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. Justellus edited in 1519 a *Codex Canonum Ecclesie Universalis*, which he professed to be the collection quoted at Chalcedon, and to have been the work of Stephen, bishop of Ephesus, at the end of the 4th century. In point of fact, however, the work published by Justellus contains much additional matter, and cannot be considered as an exact representation of the early form of the collections in question.^b Subsequently to

^b "Notus est error Justelli, qui codicem eunum canonum ecclesie universalis pro tribu composuit et pro collectione a concilio Chalcedonensi confirmata, nunc





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the Council of Chalcedon, divers collections appear to have been made, varying from one another more or less in the order and character of their contents. Meanwhile, another element had been added to church law by the decrees of the Christian emperors, collected in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian (Biener, p. 14).

In the middle of the 6th century, John, surnamed Scholasticus, a priest of Antioch, and subsequently Patriarch of Constantinople, made a more systematic and complete collection, introducing into it sixty-eight passages from the works of Basil, which the Oriental Church receives as authoritative. At the same time he also extracted and put together, from the legislation of Justinian, a number of laws bearing on ecclesiastical matters. These two collections, when afterwards combined (probably by another hand), obtained the name of *Nomocanon*.

We now come to the council in Trullo, held A.D. 692, the decree of which furnishes a list of what was then received. The council acknowledges 85 apostolic canons, and those of Nice, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Sardica, and Carthage,⁴ also of the Synod of Constantinople under Nectarius.⁵ It further recognizes the so-called canons taken from the works of Dionysius and Peter, archbishops of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Theologus, Amphilochius, Timotheus, Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria, and Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople. Lastly, it confirms the Canon of Cyprian as to the baptism of heretics, which it states to have been recognized by the usage of the Church.

Not quite two centuries later appeared the great *Nomocanon* of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople. This comprehended a digest of the canons according to their subject matter, and of the laws of Justinian on the same subjects. A close connexion was thereby practically established between the decrees of councils and those of emperors (Biener, p. 22). It seems to be the aim of this work to embrace the same canons in the main as were recognized by the Trullan Council, and to add them to the Trullan decrees, and those of the following councils:—

The so-called 7th Council, or 2nd Nicene; the so-called *Primo secunda*, held A.D. 861; that of St. Sophia, called by the Greeks the 8th Council, A.D. 879.⁶

The council styled by the Latins the 8th, viz., that held against Photius A.D. 869, not being acknowledged by the Greeks, did not appear in this collection.

In the 11th century the work of Psellus, in

denum restituta, venditavit." Biener, p. 10; comp. Phillips, p. 15.

² It contained the Apostolic Canons, and those of Nice, Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Sardica, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and the so-called Canons of Basil.

⁴ I. e. probably the same *excerpta* from the Council, A.D. 419, which Dionysius Exiguus received into his collection.

⁵ I. e. that held in 394 in relation to Agapetus and Gennadius.

⁶ For an account, however, of certain varieties and omissions, not easily to be accounted for, and possibly due in part to subsequent copyists and editors, see Biener, § 4.

the 12th, the commentaries of Zonaras and Balsamon, and of Aristenus, and later still, the labours of Blastares, would require special mention, as forming marked eras in the growth of canon law in the East, as distinguished from the mere collection and publication of existing canons.

But we have already passed our chronological limit, and we therefore turn to the churches of the West.

The canons of Nice appear to have been speedily translated into Latin, and to have been circulated in the West, together with those of Sardica. Soon after the Council of Chalcedon, a further collection called the "Prisca translatio" appeared, which began with the Council of Ancyra, and comprehended those of Chalcedon and Constantinople. We hear also of a Gallic collection. The African church, too, as it had numerous councils, appears to have collected their decrees [see *COD. CANONUM Ecclesie Africanae*]. In or about A.D. 547 Ferrandus, a deacon of Carthage, published his *Brevitio Canonum*, which was not merely a compilation, but a systematic digest, and comprehended also the Greek Councils to which, he appears to have had access through a Spanish version.

Spain, indeed, had at an early period a collection of her own. The fact that a Spanish bishop presided at the Council of Nice would ensure a prompt entrance into that country for the Nicene decrees. The canons of other councils followed, some of which were held in Spain itself. An old Codex Canonum appears to have existed, though not now extant in its original form. It is said to have been cited at the Council of Braga, A.D. 591.

Martin, archbishop of Braga, also compiled extracts from Greek councils, which became a valuable contribution to the canon law of the Spanish church. In the seventh century we come to the collection which goes by the name of Isidore of Seville, and which seems to be of his date, though perhaps not his work. This was edited at Madrid in 1808 and 1821 from a Spanish MS. This collection is a very full one, and at once attained to a high position. It contains not only canons of councils but decretals of popes. In its composition use was no doubt made of the Roman work of Dionysius of which we are about to speak.

We must now go back a few years in order to trace the state of things at Rome. The decrees of Nice and Sardica were speedily accepted and acted upon by the popes, but the history of any regular collection of canons is obscure until the end of the 5th century, when the Syrian monk Dionysius Exiguus settled at Rome, and not long afterwards undertook to edit a systematic compilation. That his work is not entirely new is clear, because he states that one of its objects was to give a new and better translation of the Greek canons. This seems to refer to the defective nature of the "Prisca translatio" above mentioned. The labours of Dionysius resulted in a collection both more accurate and more complete than any previously existing at Rome. It comprised 50 of the apostolic canons, 27 canons of Chalcedon, 21 of Sardica, and 138 of various African councils. The work gave so much satisfaction that its author proceeded to make a second and further one, into which the

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former was interwoven. He now collected and edited the decretal letters of the popes down to Anastasius II. As the first systematic editor of decretals, Dionysius gave a new prominence to that branch of Canon Law (assimilating it to the Rescripts of the Emperors), and thus contributed much to strengthen the Papal pretensions.^k That in a work which no doubt was much valued and widely circulated, the epistles of popes should be placed on a level with the canons of councils, was no light matter. Accordingly the Spanish collection of Isidore, of which we have just spoken, borrowed and republished these decretals from the work of Dionysius, thus giving them standard authority in the code of the church of Spain. The way was thus prepared for the systematic interpolation of the Isidorean collection with a host of forged decretals purporting to be the genuine letters of early popes, but being in reality fictitious documents framed to advance the extravagant papal pretensions then rising into notice. This, indeed, did not take place until the ninth century, and the Pseudo-Isidorian work must not be confounded with the earlier collection of Isidore.^l

The work of Dionysius became extensively known as the standard repertory of canon law. Cresconius appears to have reproduced its contents for the use of the church of Africa; Chilperic in Gaul is said to have been acquainted with it; and in England, Theodore is believed to have quoted from it at the Synod of Hertford in 673. It is thought to have made its way even into the East. Its most important recognition, however, was that which was accorded to it by Pope Adrian I. when he transmitted a copy (augmented by certain additions) to Charlemagne; and by Charlemagne himself when he caused the work to be solemnly received by the synod held at Aix-la-Chapelle. From this period it is frequently spoken of by the title of *Code de Hadriano*, sometimes also by the name of *Code de Canonum*.

At this point we pause.^k The next century, saw the Pseudo-Isidorian collection foisted upon the church.

A new era then commenced; the era of extravagant papal claims, and of canonical sub-

^k Last of all he published a revised and corrected edition, which however has perished.

^l In connection with the word "decretal," the following explanation of terms, as used in the later canon law, may not be out of place:—"A canon is said to be that law which is made and ordained in a general council or provincial synod of the Church. A decree is an ordinance which is enacted by the pope himself, by and with the advice of his cardinals assembled, without being consulted by any one thereon. A decretal epistle is that which the pope decrees either by himself or else by the advice of his cardinals. And this must be on his being consulted by some particular person or persons thereon. A dogma is that determination which consists in and has a relation to some essential point of doctrine, or some doctrinal part of the Christian faith." Ayliffe, xxxvii.

^m The letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, a.d. 385, seems the first authentic Papal decretal.

ⁿ It may be well to add a word as to Pseudo-decretals. These were designed to regulate the penances to be canonically inflicted on penitents. They do not appear to have had general sanction, but were locally adopted owing to the position and influence of their authors. Thus we have the Pseudo-decretals of Gregory the Great, of Theodore, of Bede, and others. See Ayliffe, xv.

ties engendered by ecclesiastics, whose professional labours and commentaries developed the law of the church into a system more artificial and intricate than that of the state. But these things lie beyond our present province, and it is only necessary to draw attention to the new phase which from this period the whole subject of canon law assumes.

From this time forward, the student has to do not merely with a collection of statutes but with a fabric of jurisprudence—not merely with a Codex Canonum, but with a Corpus Juris.

Authorities:—*Parergon Juris Canonici*, by Ayliffe. London, 1726. Biener, *De Collectionibus Canonum Ecclesie Græcæ*. Berlin, 1827. Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*. Giessen, 1845. Beveridge, *Pandectæ Canonica Sancto-um Apostolorum et Conciliorum ab ecclesia Græcâ receptorum*. Oxon. 1672. Phillips, *Du Droit Ecclésiastique dans ses Sources*, traduit par Crouzet. Paris, 1852.—[A useful book but ultramontane in tone.] In these works, particularly in the first and last, references will be found to the older authors for the benefit of such students as desire to investigate the subject more fully. [B. S.]

CANON OF THE LITURGY. That portion of the Liturgy which contains the form of consecration, and which in the Roman and most other rites is fixed and invariable, is called the Canon.

I. *Designations.* The word *κανὼν* designates either the standard by which anything is tried, or that which is tried by such standard (see Westcott on the *Canon of the N. T.*, App. A). It is used in the first sense by Clement of Rome (1 Cor. 41), where he desires the brethren not to transgress the set rule of their service (*τὸν ἀρισμὲνον τῆς λειτουργίας κανὼνα*); in the second, when it is applied by liturgical writers to the fixed series of Psalms or Troparia for a particular day. It is in the second sense that the word *canon* is applied to the fixed portion of the Liturgy. As the names of certain saints were recited in this canon, the word *κανὼν* came to designate the act of entering a name in a liturgical list or *DIPTYCH*, and saints whose names were so entered were said to be *canoni*-ed.

It is also called *Actio* (see the article), and the title *Infra Acti-nem* (*infra* being used for *infra*), is not uncommonly placed over the prayer *Communicantes* in ancient MSS. See Le Brun, *L'exposition de la Messe*, tom. i, pt. iv, art. 4.

Pope Vigilius (*Epist. ad Iroputarum*) and Gregory the Great (*Epist.* vii. 64) call the canon *Preceem*, *Preceem Canoniam*, as being the prayer by pre-eminence.

It is also called *Secreta* and *Secretum Missæ*, from being said in a low voice. [SECRETUM.]

Tertullian appears to use the word *Benedictio* (= *εὐλογία*) to designate that portion of the Eucharistic service, or *Actio*, which included consecration. See *De Pudic.* c. 14; *Ad Uxorem*, ii. c. 6.

II. *Early notices of this portion of the Liturgy.* On the scriptural notices it is not necessary here to dwell.

In Justin Martyr's account of the celebration of the Eucharist for the newly-baptized (*Apol.* i. c. 65), this portion of the service is described as follows. "Then is presented (*προσφέρεται*) to

the brother who presides, bread, and a cup of water and mixed wine (*κράματος*), and he, receiving them, sends up praise and glory to the Father of All, through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and offers a thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστιαν*) at some length for that He has vouchsafed to us these blessings. And when he has finished the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present respond by saying *Amen* . . . And after the president has given thanks and the people responded, those who are called among us deacons give to each of those who are present to partake of the bread and wine and water over which thanks have been given, and carry them to those not present. And this meal is called with us eucharistia, of which none is permitted to partake, except one who believes that the things taught by us are true, and who has passed through the washing for remission of sins and new birth, and so lives as Christ commanded. For we receive these not as common bread or common drink, but as Jesus Christ our Saviour being incarnate by the Word of God possessed both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we were taught that the food over which thanksgiving has been made by the utterance in prayer of the word derived from Him (*τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν*) is the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus. For the Apostles, in the memoirs which they wrote which are called Gospels, transmitted to us that Jesus Christ thus charged them; that after taking bread and giving thanks, He said, 'Do this in remembrance of me; this is my Body;' and that, in like manner, after taking the cup and giving thanks, He said, 'This is my Blood;' and that He gave to partake to them alone."

The same ceremony is more briefly described in the following chapter, in the account of the ordinary Sunday services, with the addition that the president sends up prayers and thanksgiving, "*ὡς θύναμ αὐτῶν*" according to his ability; for, as F. Xavier Schmid observes (*Liturghik*, i. 44), "even the prayers of the sacrifice of the mass depended for their contents and length on the pleasure of the several presidents, though they might often be moulded on a type given by some apostle or apostolic man."

Justin connects the notion of sacrifice with the Eucharist. In the *Didache* (c. 117, p. 386) he speaks of the acceptableness of the sacrifices (*θυσίας*) which Christ ordained, "that is, over the Eucharist or thanksgiving (*ἐπι τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ*) of the bread and the cup;" and he regards the offering of fine flour (*Lev. xiv. 10*) as a type of the Eucharist.

In Irenaeus, with many passages interesting in a dogmatic point of view (with which at present we are not concerned) are several which contain liturgical indications. He dwells (*Haer. iv. 18, § 4, p. 251*) on the difficulty which they, who do not believe Christ to be the very Word of God through Whom all things were made, must experience in receiving the truth that the bread over (or, by occasion of) which thanks have been given ("panem in quo gratiae actae sint") is the Lord's Body. And again he says (*Haer. v. 22, § 3, p. 294*) that natural bread receives over it the word of God, and the thank-offering becomes the Body of Christ (*ὁ γενοὺς ἄρτος ἐκδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ γίνε-*

ται ἡ εὐχαριστία σώμα Χριστοῦ). [EUCCHARIST.] Speaking of the heretic Marcus (*Haer. i. 13, § 2*), he says, that he pretended to perform a eucharistic service, and that by uttering a long form of invocation (*ἐπὶ πλείον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπιλήθεως*) he caused the liquid in the cups to appear red and purple. This was no doubt in imitation of the EUCCLYSIS of the orthodox. In *Fragment 38*, we read: "The offering (*προσφορά*) of the Eucharist is not fleshly, but spiritual, and therein pure. For we offer (*προσφέρομεν*) unto God the bread and the cup of blessing, giving thanks (*εὐχαριστοῦντες*) unto Him, for that He bade the earth bring forth these fruits for our sustenance; and at that point, after completing our offering, we call forth (*ἐκκαλοῦμεν*) the Holy Spirit, to declare (*ὡς αὐτοφῶν*) this sacrifice and the bread the Body of Christ and the cup the Blood of Christ, that they who partake of these figures (*ἀντιτύπων*) may obtain remission of their sins and everlasting life." And again (*Haer. iv. 18, s. 5, p. 251*) we read, that bread produced from earth, receiving over and above its proper nature the invocation or calling-forth of God (*προσλαβέντος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*) is no longer common bread, but Eucharistia.

It is supposed by some that Clement of Alexandria describes the great eucharistic thanksgiving of his time, when he says that Christians, thank God for the blessings of creation and for the gifts of nature (*Colortio ad Gentes*, pp. 7 and 92, ed. Potter); for His mercy in redeeming us by His Word from the misery of the Fall; for Christ's life and works (*ib. pp. 6 and 8; compare p. 87*). This is not quite evident; nor is it clear that the allusions to the Cherubic hymn of Isaiah (*Strom. v. 6, p. 112, p. 880*) relate to the use of that name in the liturgy. But Clement is clearly right in the Eucharist, when he insists, against the Marcionites, on the use of wine (ELEMENTS), and says (*Pedag. ii. 2, p. 186*) that the Lord "blessed (*εὐλόγησεν*) the wine, saying, 'Take, drink; this is My blood,' the blood of the vine; under the figure of the holy stream of gladness He describes the Word shed forth for many for the remission of sins (*τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχέμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν εὐφροσύνης ἄγων ἀλληγορικῶς*)." He gives no details of the form of consecration.

Tertullian's works contain many eucharistic allusions. The intercessions which, according to his testimony, Christians made on behalf of emperors and the peace of the empire (*Apol. c. 30, 39*), on behalf of enemies (*Apol. c. 31*), and for fruitful seasons (*ad Scapulam*, c. 4); and the commemoration of and intercession for the dead (*De Echar. Cast. c. 11; De Monogami. c. 10*) probably all took place in connexion with the sacrifice of the Eucharist (*ad Scapulam*, c. 2). According to the Marcionite theory, he says (*adv. Marcion. i. 23*), the eucharistic giving of thanks is performed over alien bread to another than the true God ("super alienum panem alii Deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur"), implying that a giving of thanks to the true God over the eucharistic bread, took place in the service of the Church. He describes (*De Anima*, c. 17) the blessing of the Cup in the Last Supper as "consecration;" and the consecration of the bread to be a representation ("figura") of the Lord's

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Body he held to have been accomplished by the words, "Hoc est corpus meum" (*uda. Marcion. iv. 40*; cf. *de Orat. c. 6*). Prayers which are called "orationes sacrificiorum" followed communion (*de Orat. c. 14*).

St. Cyprian says (*Epist. 63, c. 17*), that in the eucharistic action, "because we make mention of His Passion in all our sacrifices (for the Passion of the Lord is the sacrifice which we offer) we ought to do no other thing than He did; for scripture says that so often as we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and His Passion, we should do that which it is evident that the Lord did." He is arguing here especially for the mixed chalice (ΕΛΕΜΕΝΤΑ), but his words clearly have an application to the eucharistic office in general. We find also from Cyprian that in the eucharistic action ("in sacrificiis nostris"), as well as in prayers ("orationibus") intercession was made for brethren suffering affliction (*Epist. 61, c. 4*), whose names were recited (*Epist. 62, c. 5*), as were also the names of those who made offerings (*Epist. 16, c. 2*) and of the dead who had departed unscathed in communion with the Church (*Epist. 1, c. 2*). The liturgical office of a priest seems to be summed up (*Epist. 65, c. 4*) in sacrificing the oblation, in prayers and supplications ("orationes et preces"); and the brethren are admonished, that when they come together to celebrate the divine sacrifices with the priest of God, they should not indulge in noisy and unseemly prayers (*De Orat. Dom. c. 4*); a passage which seems to imply that the congregation took a prominent part in the eucharistic service.

Origen has more than one passage bearing upon the hallowing of the elements in the Eucharist. We read (*contra Celsum, lib. 8, p. 399, ed. Spencer, 1658*), "Let Celsus, as one who knows not God, pay his thank-offerings (χαριστήρια) to demons; but we, doing that which is well-pleasing to the Maker (Θεμιουργῶ) of the universe, eat the loaves offered with thanksgiving and prayer over the gifts (τοῖς μετ' εὐχαριστίας κ. εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένουσιν ἄρτοι), loaves which are made, in consequence of the prayer, a certain body, holy and hallowing those who use it with sound purpose." Again, in the Comment on St. Matthew (c. 14), Origen speaks of the bread being hallowed by the word of God and prayer. It is worthy of notice, that in the Alexandrian Liturgy, the priest in administering the bread says, σῶμα ἅγιον, not σῶμα Χριστοῦ (*Daniel, Codex Lit. iv. 168*).

Firmilian (†269), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (*Cyprian Epist. 75, c. 10, p. 818, Hartel*) describes an ecstatic woman who performed a mock eucharistic act and sanctified the bread with an invocation of considerable power ("invocacione non contemptibili"), and offered the sacrifice to the Lord without the mystic words of the accustomed form ("sine sacramenta solite praedicationis"). In this passage invocatio probably corresponds to ἐπίκλησις, and praedictio to κήρυγμα, a word used by St. Basil (*Epist. 141*) for a liturgical form. It seems to be here implied that the form of the epiclesis used by the ecclesiastical was her own effusion; while the usual "praedicationes" of the sacred act were

* The "non" which is here inserted in some texts is a conjecture not supported by any MS.

"mysterics," and either unknown to her, or rejected as not satisfying her aspirations.

In the liturgical directions of the second book of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (c. 57, §§ 13, 14) no explicit account is given of the central portion of the service. After describing the bidding-prayer, or PROPHONEMAS of the deacon, and the prayer, with benediction, of the priest, the writer proceeds: "And after this let the sacrifice be made (ἱερῆσθω ἡ θυσία), all the people standing and praying in a low voice; and when the offering has been made (ἕταν ἀνευχθῆ), let each order partake severally of the Lord's Body and the precious Blood." No details are given of the sacrifice or anaphora, perhaps in consequence of the silence imposed in that respect by the "Disciplina Arcaica." The eighth book contains what is commonly called the Clementine Liturgy, which is considered elsewhere.

Cyril of Jerusalem gives us a description (*Catech. Mystag. V.*) of the liturgy as it was actually celebrated at Jerusalem in the early part of the 4th century. After describing the *Sursum Corda*, Preface, and *Sanctus*, he proceeds (§ 7): "Then, after hallowing ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we beseech the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the elements displayed on the table (τὰ προκειμενα), to make the bread the Body of Christ and the wine the Blood of Christ. For most certainly, whatsoever the Holy Spirit may have touched, that is hallowed and transformed (ἡγιασται καὶ μεταβιβληται). Then, after that the spiritual sacrifice, the unbloody service (λατρεία) is completed, over that sacrifice of propitiation we beseech God for the common peace of the churches, for the welfare of the world, for kings, for soldiers and allies, for those in infirmity, for those in special trouble, and, generally, we all pray for all who need help; and this sacrifice we offer. Then we make mention also of those who have gone to rest before us, first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; that God at their prayers and intercessions would receive our supplication (ἵπως ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ προσβόλαις προσδέξηται τὸν ἡμῶν δέσπον); then also on behalf of the holy fathers and bishops who have gone to rest before us, and generally all of our body who have gone to rest before us; believing that the greatest benefit will accrue to their souls for whom the supplication is offered (ἢ δέσπας ἀναφύερα) while the holy and most awful sacrifice is displayed (προκειμένης)." Then follows the Lord's Prayer, the τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, and communion.

St. Basil, in a remarkable passage (*De Spiritu Sancto, c. 27* [al. 66], p. 34) speaks of some of the ceremonies of the Eucharist as having been derived from unwritten tradition. "The words of the Invocation [ΕΠΙΚΛΗΣΙΣ] at the displaying or dedicating (ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει) of the bread of thanksgiving and the cup of blessing, which of the saints left behind for us in writing? For, you know, we are not content with the things which the Apostle or the Gospel relate, but we prefix and suffix other expressions (προσέλογον καὶ ἐπιλόγομεν ἕτερα) which we regard as highly important for the mystery, having them handed down to us from unwritten tradition (ἐκ τῆς ἄγραφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες)." This clearly indicates that the general form of consecration in the time of St. Basil corresponded

to that in the existing Greek Liturgies, in that the portion actually taken from Scripture was preceded and succeeded by forms not scriptural, reputed to be taken from apostolic tradition, and that an Epiclesis was an essential part of the form.

St. Chrysostom informs us (on 2 Cor. *Hom.* 18) that after the Kiss of Peace there followed the blessing of the priest, to which the people responded, "And with thy spirit;" then, it is implied, came the "Lift up your hearts," &c., with the response "It is meet and right" and the cherubic hymn. As to the petitions of the great thanksgiving, he tells us (on St. Matt. *Hom.* 25 [al. 26]) that the priest bids us make the eucharistic offering (*εὐχαριστήν*) on behalf of the world, of those who have gone before and those who are to follow after us; and again (on 2 Cor. *Hom.* 2) for bishops, for presbyters, for kings and rulers, for land and sea, for wholesome air, for all the world. It appears also that founders of churches, and the village for which a church was founded, were specially named in the sacred service (*In Acta, Hom.* 18, c. 5). It also appears that the *Agnus Dei* was repeated in connexion with the eucharistic intercession: (*ὁ κτῆρ αὐτῶν πρόειπε, δέξμενοι τοῦ ἀγνοῦ τοῦ κεμένου τοῦ λαβόντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κοσμοῦ*); on 1 Cor. *Hom.* 4; compare on St. John, *Hom.* 24, and on Acts, *Hom.* 21), and that the Lord's Prayer formed part of the canonical prayers (*In Gen. s. Hom.* 27). The *τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων* [SANCTA SACRATA] formed the transition to COMMUNION (Pseudo-Chrys. on Hebr. *Hom.* 17).

St. Augustine, at the end of the 4th century, testifies to the general order of the canon in his time in the North-African churches, which probably differed little in this respect from the Italian. Thus we find (*ad Infant. de Sacramentis*, p. 227) that the *Sursum Corda* formed the introduction to the more solemn part of the service, which is called "sanctificatio sacrificii Dei," and that this was followed by the Lord's Prayer. Again, that the intercessions at the altar included prayer for unbelievers, that God would convert them to the faith; for catechumens, that He would inspire them with a longing for regeneration; for the faithful, that they may persevere in that which they have begun (*Epist.* 217, *Ad Vital.*; *De Bono Persere ant.* c. 7); and for the dead (*De Cura pro Mortuis*, cc. 1 and 4). That the North-African Church exercised special care in regard to the prayers to be used at the altar, even while strict uniformity was not insisted upon, is indicated by the provision (III. *Conc. Carth.* c. 23, circ. A.D. 397) that the altar-prayers should always be addressed to the Father ("cum altari assistitur semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio"), and that the celebrant is not to adopt prayers from extraneous authorities, "nisi prius eum instructioribus fratribus contulerit." A nearer approach to uniformity is indicated by the decree of a somewhat later council (Rheinwald's *Archäol.* p. 355), "ut preces quae probatae fuerint in concilio, sive praefationes sive commendationes seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur."

The pseudo-Ambrosius *de Sacramentis*, writing probably in the 4th century, discusses (iv. c. 4) the question of consecration in the Eucharist. "By what words," he says, "and whose expressions (sermonibus) is consecration effected? By

those of the Lord Jesus. For in the rest of the service praise is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, for the rest. When the point of completing the venerable sacrament is reached, the priest no longer uses his own expressions, but the expressions of Christ."

Summary.—We find, then, that from the middle of the 2nd century, the presentation of the elements was regarded as a thank-offering or sacrifice [EUCARIST], especially for the fruits of the earth; that thanks were given to God over the bread and mixed wine, with prayer, which probably included the Lord's Prayer; that this was done in especial commemoration of the Lord's death, though it is not absolutely certain that the words of Institution were in all cases recited over the elements; and that there was in many churches an Invocation of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, it is clear that from the time of Tertullian at least intercession was made in the eucharistic service for the dead as well as the living. In the 2nd century, the details of the prayers and thanksgivings seem to have depended upon the president of the assembly, though a general type was probably in all cases followed; in the 4th century, the canon of the liturgy was evidently fixed, both in East and West, in forms not materially differing from those found in extant liturgies. From this point we proceed to consider these latter. For the discussion of their respective dates and mutual connexion, see LITURGY.

III. *The Canon in existing Liturgies.* In the extant Liturgies we find the Canon (which corresponds nearly to the *ΑΝΑΠΟΙΟΝ* of the Eastern ritual) consisting in all cases of nearly the same elements, variously arranged. We have in nearly all canons, after the *Sanctus*, commemoration of the Lord's Life and of the Institution, Oblation, prayer for living and dead, leading on to the Lord's Prayer, with Embolismus. In the Eastern Liturgies always, sometimes in the Gallican and Mozarabic masses, but not in the Roman or Ambrosian, we have an EPICLESIS, or prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit on the elements. The annexed analytical table shows the principal differences of arrangement. The *Canon* is generally understood to exclude the *Sanctus*, while the *Anaphora* includes both the *Sursum Corda* and the *Sanctus*.

[See Table opposite.]

The portion between the *Sursum Corda* and the *Sanctus* will be described under PREFACE. In the Alexandrian (St. Mark's) Liturgy alone, the prayers for the living and the dead, and for acceptance of the sacrifice, are inserted in the midst of it. The arrangement of St. James's liturgy is typical of that usual in the orthodox Eastern Church, from which the Nestorian arrangement differs mainly in having the intercession for living and dead before the Epiclesis. The Gregorian (which is nearly identical with the modern Roman) and the Gallican (the arrangement of which is nearly the same as that of the Mozarabic) represent the principal Western types.

The canon of the Roman or Gregorian liturgy is divided into ten portions, which are usually known by their first words. These are as follows: 1. *Te igitur*, for acceptance of the sacrifice to be offered. 2. *Memento*, commemorating the living. 3. *Communicantes*, commemorating

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ST. JAMES (Greek).	ST. MARK.	NESTORIUS.	AMBROSIAN AND GREGORIAN.	GALLICAN.
<i>Sursum Corda.</i>	<i>Sursum Corda.</i>	<i>Sursum Corda</i> (peculiar form).	<i>Sursum Corda.</i>	Oblation of Elements. Prayer for Living and Dead. Collectio post Nomina. Kiss of Peace. Oratio ad Pacem. <i>Sursum Corda.</i>
Preface.	Preface. Prayer for Living and Dead; and for any plane of the Sacrifices. Preface restored.	Preface.	Preface.	Preface.
Sanctus. Commemoration of the Lord's life.	Sanctus. Commemoration of the Lord's life.	Sanctus. Commemoration of the Lord's life.	Sanctus. Prayer for the Living; and for acceptance of the Sacrifice.	Sanctus. Collectio post Sanctus (short).
Commemoration of Institution. Oblation.	Commemoration of Institution. Oblation.	Commemoration of Institution. (Oblation) Prayer for Living and Dead.	Commemoration of Institution. Oblation. Prayer for the Dead.	Commemoration of Institution.
Prayer for Descent of Holy Spirit.	Prayer for Descent of Holy Spirit.	Prayer for Descent of Holy Spirit.		"Post Secreta" (sometimes containing invocation of Holy Spirit). Frac-tion. Frac-tion and con-mixtion. (Antiphon.)
Prayer for Living and Dead. Preface to Lord's Prayer. Lord's Prayer. Embolismus.	Preface to Lord's Prayer. Lord's Prayer. Embolismus.	Prayer for Peace. Frac-tion.	Preface to Lord's Prayer. Lord's Prayer. Embolismus.	Preface to Lord's Prayer. Lord's Prayer. Embolismus.

us. For in the rest of the to God, prayer is made for s, for the rest. When the the venerable sacrament is no longer uses his own ex-pressions of Christ." and, then, that from the century, the presentation of varied as a thank-offering of especially for the fruit- chunks were given to God mixed wine, with prayer. uted the Lord's Prayer: special commemoration of ough it is not absolutely is of Institution were in all elements; and that there as an invocation of the Holy is clear that from the time st intercession was made in ce for the dead as well as 2d century, the details of unknings seem to have president of the assembly, e was probably in all cases century, the canon of the ly fixed, both in East and materially differing from ant liturgies. From this consider these latter. For ir respective dates and m-ITURGY.

isting Liturgies. In the find the Canon (which cor- ANAPHORA of the Eastern all cases of nearly the same rang-ment. We have in nearly Sanctus, commemoration of of the Institution, Oblation, and dead, leading on to the Embolismus. In the Eastern times in the Gallican and but not in the Roman or an EPICLESIS, or prayer for Holy Spirit on the elements. al table shows the principal ngement. The Canon is d to include the Sanctus, includes both the *Sursum Corda*.

able opposite.] een the *Sursum Corda* and described under PREFACE. In . Mark's) Liturgy alone, the ing and the dead, and for sacrifice, are inserted in the arrangement of St. James's that usual in the orthodox from which the Nestorian mainly in having the inter- dead before the Epiclesis. ch) is nearly identical with) and the Gallican (the ar- is nearly the same as that of present the principal Western

Roman or Gregorian liturgy portions, which are usually ed words. These are as fol- for acceptance of the scri- 2. *Memento*, commemorating m-unicantes, commemorating

the Virgin Mary and other saints. 4. *Hanc igitur*, for peace and salvation. 5. *Quam oblationem*, that the oblation may become to the worshippers the Body and Blood of the Lord. 6. *Qui Prædic*, commemorating the Institution. 7. *Unde et memores*, the Oblation. 8. *Supra quas propitius*, for a blessing on reception. 9. *Memento etiam*, commemorating the dead. 10. *Nobis quæ peccatoribus*, for the priest and people present. The most remarkable peculiarity of the Roman rite is, that the commemoration of the living is separated from that of the dead, and precedes consecration, while in the Eastern liturgies the intercessions for living and dead form one prayer, and follow the recitation of the words of Institution. It seems probable that originally the *Memento etiam* followed the *Memento* immediately, just as in Greek liturgies the *μνησθητι* is followed by *μνησθητι* καὶ; and in fact in Gerbert's text of the Gelasian Sacramentary a *Memento etiam*, in a form differing considerably from the Gregorian, does follow immediately upon the *Memento*, so that both precede the *Communicantes*; while a *Memento etiam* in the Gregorian form follows the *supra quas propitio* (Daniel's *Codex Lit.* i. 15, 19; Gerbert, *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*, i. 365). This arrangement may perhaps represent the state of transition from one form to the other, the earlier *Memento etiam* having been struck out when another nearly identical was introduced in another place.

The Gallican canon has peculiarities which show that it belongs to a wholly different family from the Roman. The prayers for living and dead, with the kiss of peace, precede the *sursum corda* and *sanctus*; the *sanctus* is immediately

followed by what is called the "collectio post *sanctus*" (sometimes called the *canon*), which is again immediately followed by the recitation of the words of Institution. While the Roman canon is invariably the Gallican, which is very short, changes with every mass. To give one by way of example, the *canon* for the eve of the Nativity in the Gallo-Gothic missal (Daniel, *Cod. Lit.* i. 83) is "Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus Noster Jesus Christus Filius tuus manens in coelis manifestatus in terris. Ipse enim pridie quam patretur, etc."

The same form, *Vere sanctus, etc.*, follows the *sanctus* also in the Mozarabic liturgy. This is not, however, immediately followed by the words of Institution, but by a prayer commencing "Adesto, adesto Jesu bone pontifex," containing a petition for the sanctification of the oblation, which is followed by "Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem, etc.," reciting the Institution.

In Mabillon's *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* the Roman canon is given with the first mass, and perhaps served, as Mabillon remarks (p. 453, Migne) for all; he supposes, however, that at an earlier period the Gallican had its own canon, and that the introduction of the Roman canon was the beginning of the supersession of the Gallican rite by the Roman, which was afterwards completely established (*Prefat.* § iv.).

The *Commemoration of the Lord's Life* begins in most cases, with taking up the ascription of holiness to the Almighty already set forth in the *sanctus*. For instance, in the Greek St. James, the *ἄγιος* of the preceding hymn is repeated in "Ἄγιος εἶ, βασιλεὺ τῶν αἰώνων . . . ἄγιος καὶ δ' μονογενὴς σου τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἄγιος δὲ καὶ το

Ἐπιπέδ σου τὸ Ἅγιον (Daniel, *Cod. Lit.* iv. 109) which commences the commemoration; and the variable *Ipsi Suetus* of the Gallican and Mozarabic liturgies begins very commonly with the words "Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus Noster Jesus Christus." The "commemorations" in St. James and St. Basil (Daniel iv. 427) recite with great dignity and beauty the creation of man, his state in Paradise, his fall, and redemption by God's mercy; so leading on to the commemoration of the Lord's death and the Institution of the supper. That of St. Chrysostom is much shorter. St. Mark (Daniel iv. 158) has in this place a mere allusion to the manifestation of the Lord, and a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit to bless the sacrifice. The *Pot Suetus* of the Gallican and Mozarabic canon contains, at least on the Lord's festivals, a commemoration of some portion of His Life; a feature entirely absent from the Roman. Some liturgies contain in this portion allusions to peculiar opinions with regard to the person of Christ; the Armenian, for instance, after reciting (*Liturgy of the Armenian Church*, tr. by Rev. S. C. Malan, p. 39) God's mercy in the prophets and the law, speaks of the Son as having taken a body "by union without confusion from the Mother of God and Holy Virgin Mary."

The Ethiopic liturgy agrees with the Coptic St. Basil and St. Gregory (Renaudot, *Lit. Orient.* i. 13, 29, 516) in breaking this portion of the office with responds. That of St. Gregory, for example, thrice inserts the "Kyrie Eleison."

The transition from the preceding prayer or ascription to the *Commemoration of Institution* is generally made in the Eastern liturgies by the words "ὅς τῆ ψυκῆς ἢ παρείδωτο," or some equivalent formula; those of St. James and St. Chrysostom add "μάλλος δὲ ἐαυτὸν παρείδου;" but this addition is not found in the Syriac St. James. The Coptic St. Basil (Renaudot, *Lit. Orient.* i. 14) has a wholly different form: "He instituted this great mystery of piety and worship, when He had determined to deliver Himself to death for the life of the world." The usual Western form is "Qui pridie quam pateretur;" but the Mozarabic has here "Dominus Noster Jesus Christus in qua nocte tradebatur," approaching in this, as in other respects, more nearly to the Eastern type. It has indeed been contended that this form is a comparatively recent interpolation, inasmuch as the prayer which follows is called the "Post Pridie" as if the usual formula had preceded (Krazer, *De Liturgiis*, 515; Neale, *Eastern Church*, Int. 472). But in fact the title "Post Pridie" is probably not so ancient as Isidore's time, who calls the prayer which follows consecration the "Confirmatio Sacramenti"; and it is surely very much more probable that the heading "Post Pridie" should have been inserted by some revisor familiar with Roman liturgical diction, than that the form "Qui pridie," common to the whole of Western Christendom, should have been displaced by one entirely unheard of, and that in the most solemn part of the Liturgy.

In no liturgy, in the narrative of institution, is any one Gospel followed, and the form adopted is such as to suggest rather an independent tradition than an artificial arrangement from the Gospels. Many of the forms add epithets expressive of veneration for the Person of the Lord.

Very many liturgies contain a reference to the Lord's raising his eyes to Heaven before breaking the bread. This is the case in those of St. James and St. Mark, but not in that of St. Chrysostom or in the kindred Nestorian forms; it is the case in all the Western forms, except the Mozarabic. St. Mark and St. James insert the raising of the eyes to Heaven before the blessing of the cup also. St. James and St. Basil mention the displaying or dedicating (*ἀναβιβάζει*) of the bread to God the Father.

The mingling of the wine with water is a well-known and almost universal custom; but in none of the Western liturgies is any mention of it made in the canon, while in the East it constantly appears. The Basilian has simply "mingling" (*κεράσαι*) (Daniel, iv. 429); St. James the fuller form, "mingling of wine and water." So also Coptic St. Gregory (Renaudot i. 30); and many of the Syro-Jacobite liturgies, as for instance that of St. John (*ib.* ii. 164). St. Chrysostom has no reference to the mixing; but it is nevertheless found in the liturgy of Nestorius, which is in a great measure derived from that of Constantinople.

It is an ancient belief that the Lord Himself partook of the bread and the cup in the Last Supper. This, however, appears but rarely in the Liturgies. The Coptic forms of St. Basil and St. Gregory refer to the Lord's tasting the Cup (Renaudot, i. 15, 31); and some of the Syro-Jacobite liturgies refer to His partaking of the Bread; for instance, St. James of Edessa (*ib.* ii. 373). That of Nestorius (*ib.* ii. 629) makes the Lord partake both of the bread and the wine.

Some of the Syro-Jacobite liturgies, drawn up at a time when the controversy was rife as to the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist, [ELEMENTS] introduce into the canon such expressions as "common" or "leavened" bread. For instance, those of James Baradai and Matthew the Pastor (Renaudot, ii. 335, 348); and some, as that of Dioscorus (*ib.* 495) speak of His accomplishing the Mosaic Passover; as does also Nestorius (*ib.* ii. 629).

With regard to the actual words said over the bread, the usual Latin form is simply, "Hoc est Corpus Meum." The Ambrosian, in one text adds "quod pro multis confringetur;" in Pamelius's text, "quod pro vobis confringetur" (Daniel's, *Collex* i. 86); the Mozarabic, "quod pro vobis tradetur."

In the Greek, St. James has, "This is my Body, which is broken and given for you for the remission of sins," and with this the principal liturgies agree, except that few give both the words "broken" and "given." The words found in St. Luke and St. Paul, τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν διδόμενον, or κλάμενον, appear indeed in all Eastern liturgies with the exception of that of the Syriac Eustathius (Ren. ii. 236). Many of the Syro-Jacobite liturgies amplify the solemn words of the Lord by the insertion of peculiar expressions.

Of the words said over the wine, the Clementine Liturgy (*Const. Apost.* viii. 12, § 16) has the simplest, as probably the most ancient form—"This is My Blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." St. Chrysostom has a form identical with that in the English Prayer-Book; St. James and St. Mark have "shed and distributed" instead of the simple

CANON OF THE LITURGY

"shed." Bread has Wine has My Blood, the mystery you and for where the faith" are Mozarabic Testament you and for In the in on earth, th always four detail, and local peculi James (i.e. cession on be places visit drian) has the Nile; so l. 17); and 109). Both cessions for "those in be λω(αι), an and bitter s phrases whi tion. In th intercession usual in th are for the and the bis for all fat aids, after (Daniel. i. a special int the offerings s; thi prayer for τῶν λαοῦ κρι(στος) tions the pri people; St. only those w thy, but th them (Ἐπερ (Dan. iv. 15 consecration, thank-offerin offer, as He rix of Abrah aims of Corv widow; the l tion for all C form, "omni files cognita hoc sacrificiu pro redempti salutis et inco form, which word "devoti zimus vel . . . Gregory's own A more pa portions of th rcha, Lord's Ceremonies tr. I. We may Chrysostom as CHRIST. AN

to be of so much importance that St. Boniface (about 750) consulted Pope Zacharias on the subject, who in answer sent him a copy of the canon with the crosses inserted in the proper places. This copy has unfortunately perished. Innocent the Third (*De Myst. Missae*, v. c. 11) states the correct number of crosses in the canon as twenty-five, the number still used in the Roman rite.

The prayer *Hanc igitur* has long been recited by the priest with hands extended over the Host and Chalice, in imitation of the gesture of a sacrificing priest under the Mosaic Law (Lev. iv. 4, &c.). But the more ancient practice was for him to recite this prayer profoundly inclined to the altar, as is clear from the testimony of Amalarius (*Ecl. v. c. 30*, p. 1331 A, Migne); and this practice continued as late as the end of the 13th century (Durandus, *Rationale*, iv. c. 39).

In the prayer *Quam oblativem*, at the words *beneficium, uno vitam, ratam, ratam bibem, acceptabilem*, occurs the second group of crosses of the *Ordo Rom. II.*, which however defines nothing as to the number of crosses, or the manner of signing the oblation. The *Ordo* published by Hittorp at this point directs the priest to stand upright, blessing (i. e. signing with the cross) the bread only; then, at the words, *Ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat*, to bless both the Host and the Chalice. The present custom, according to which the priest at the words *Benedictam, &c.* makes three crosses over the Host and Chalice together, is at least as old as the 11th century (Mierol. *De Ecl. Ob. serv. c. 14*).

At the words *Qui Prælie, &c.* the priest takes the Bread into his hands. In this prayer is introduced the third group of crosses of the *Ordo R. II.*, at the words *accipiens panem . . . benedixit, et item gratias agns benedixit*.

Amalarius (*Ecl. 31*, p. 1331) expressly states that in his time the whole of the Canon was said *secretè* (see further under *SECRETA*). Of the ELEVATION of the Bread and Wine immediately after Consecration no mention is found in the old Sacramentaries, in the most ancient of the Roman *Ordines*, or in the early commentators on the rite, Amalarius, Walafrid Strabo, Florus, Remigius of Auxerre, Pseudo-Alenin, and the Micrologus. The only indication of elevation in those of the *Ordines Romani* which are older than the 12th century, is that at the words *Per quem hæc omnia*, noticed later.

At the words *Hostiam puram*, says the *Ordo Rom. II* (c. 10), is introduced the fourth group of crosses. Amalarius (*Ecl. v. c. 30*, p. 1331) says, "Here the priest makes the sign of the Cross four times over the Host, and a fifth over the Chalice only;" a practice somewhat different from that of modern times.

After the prayer *Supra quæ propitia*, the priest inclines himself with bowed head before the altar, and recites the *Supplicite Te rogamus*, in which he inserts a private prayer (Amalarius, *u. s.*, c. 31); a direction for which is also found in some ancient MSS. of Sacramentaries. No crosses are noted by the *Ordo Rom. II.* at the words *Sacrosanctum Fi. u. Tui &c.*, whence we may conclude that the crosses now used there are of later introduction than the 9th century. That they were introduced into the Roman rite not later than the 12th century is clear from the

testimony of Innocent III. (*De Myst. Missae*, v. c. 11).

The beginning of the prayer *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* was anciently said with the voice somewhat raised, that the congregation might be able to join in it (*Ordo Rom. II.*, c. 10). The priest beats his breast, as bewailing his sinfulness.

At the words *sanctificans, vivificans, benedicens, &c.* comes the fifth group of crosses, according to *Ordo Rom. II.* The *Ordo Rom. II.* (p. 61) is more explicit, desiring the priest to sign Host and Chalice three several times, making three several crosses. Compare Amalarius, *Ecl.*, p. 1332. It is thought by some (as Bona, *De Reb. Lit.*, ii. 14, n. 5) that at the words of this prayer which refer to God's creating and vivifying power, an offering of the fruits of the earth, if any were to be blessed, was placed on the altar by the attendant deacon. There is no doubt that a benediction of fruits of the earth is in some few ancient Sacramentaries prescribed in this place; but it is hard to say whether this is a relic of what was once an universal custom, or a peculiar observance of a few churches.

At the words, *Per quem hæc omnia, &c.*, the archdeacon rose, the other deacons still standing with bowed heads, drew near to the altar, removed the fult of the corporal which covered the chalice, wrappd the oleritorium or veil round the handles, and at the words *Per ipsum, &c.* raised the chalice by the handles. The celebrant touched the chalice, still held by the archdeacon, with the consecrated wafers, making two crosses, and saying, *Per ipsum et cum ipso . . . per omnia sæcula sæculorum*. He then restored the wafers to their place on the altar, and the archdeacon placed the chalice by them (*Ordines Rom.* i. c. 16; ii. c. 10; iii. c. 15; compare Amalarius, *Ecl.*, p. 1332). These directions respecting the crosses were changed in later times.

For the manner of saying the *Pater Noster*, see *LORD'S PRAYER*. Here it may suffice to say that, while in the Eastern, Gallican, and Spanish Churches this prayer was said by the whole people, in the Roman, from the time of Gregory the Great at least (see *Epist.* vii. 64) it was said by the priest alone, yet in an audible voice, so that the people (or the choir) might "acclaim" at the last petition. The *Amen* is not commonly found in ancient Sacramentaries; nor does it seem in place here, as the Lord's Prayer is prolonged in the *Libera nos* [EMULSUS] which follows.

When the celebrant (in a papal mass) reached the words *Ab omni perturbatione securi*, the archdeacon (*Ordo Rom. I.*, c. 18) took the paten^d from the regionary sub-deacon, who was standing behind him, kissed it, and passed it to the second deacon. So *Ordo Rom. II.*, 11, and *III.* 16. The fifth *Ordo Rom.*, probably of considerably later date, desires the deacon to present the patens to the celebrating bishop to kiss.

For the remaining portion of the liturgy, see *KISS, FRACTION, COMMUNION*. [C.]

CANON (IN MUSIC). 1. The peculiar form of musical composition called by this name was

^b It must be borne in mind that the Host was not consecrated on the paten, but was, at the date of *Ordo Rom. I.* broken upon it; a custom subsequently changed.

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G. Li
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prayer *Nobis quopus* y said with the voice the congregation might *Rom. 11. c. 10*). The bewailing his sinfu-

cas, vivificas, benedictis, of crosses, according to *do Rom. IV. (p. 61)* is the priest to sign Host al times, making three are Amalarius, *Ecl. p. some (as Bona, De Reb. the words of this prayer* erating and vivifying e fruits of the earth, if was placed on the altar on. There is no doubt ruita of the earth is in mentaries prescribed in d to say whether this is a universal custom, or a few churches.

tem bonæ omnia, &c., the ner deacons still standing w near to the altar, re- corporal which covered the offertorium or veil at the words *Per ipsum,* the handles. The cele- adice, still held by the nsecrated wafers, making *Per ipsum et cum ipso a sacrorum.* He then their place on the altar, aced the chalice by them; *il. c. 10; iii. c. 15; Cel. p. 1332*). These dis- creases were changed in

saying the *Pater Noster*, Here it may suffice to e Eastern, Gallican, and a prayer was said by the Roman, from the time or least (see *Epist. vii. 64*) it at alone, yet in an audible ople (or the choir) might at petition. The *Amen* is an ancient Sacramentaries; place here, as the Lord's the *Liberæ nos* [EMBOLIS-

(in a papal mass) reached *turbatione secvæ*, the arch- *I. c. 18*) took the paten^b sub-deacon, who was stand- ad it, and passed it to the *Ordo Rom. 77. 11, and III Rom.*, probably of consider- es the deacon to present- brating bishop to kiss. *portion of the liturgy, see MUNTION. [C.]*

ic). 1. The peculiar form on called by this name was

nted that the Host was not com- was, at the date of *Ordo Rom. I.* a subsequently chang-

unknown to the ancients, the earliest example atant being of the 13th century, we believe.

2. The accepted values of the several notes constituting the musical scale expressed philosophically. The reader is referred to Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* [MUSICA] for a general description of the sounds assumed by the Greeks, and the systems in which they were arranged. The assumptions of the Greek writers were of course adopted by the Latins, and appeared throughout the whole of the early and middle ages as the basis on which all their music rested. Considerable uncertainty is caused in this subject by the fact that there were two somewhat conflicting schools, the Aristoxeneans and the Pythagoreans. Pythagoreans having discovered the simple ratios of $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{2}{3}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{4}{5}$, for the Octave, the Fifth, the Fourth, and the Tone (major), which last is the difference between the Fourth and Fifth, his disciples maintained that all sounds should be defined by determinate ratios, while Aristoxenus discarded this idea altogether, and maintained that the Tetrachord or Fourth should be divided into intervals, the values of which were to be determined by the ear only. This is probably the germ of the dispute which has lasted to the present day respecting the temperment of instruments with fixed tones: and as the true measure of an interval is a logarithm, it was of course impossible to reconcile at all completely these two opinions. Ptolemy examined the matter and established the truth of the Pythagorean views; Euclid seems to have endeavoured to combine them, that is, if the two treatises attributed to him, the *Introductio Harmonicæ* and the *Sectio Canonis*, are both genuine. The latter of these is usually considered genuine, and it is purely Pythagorean and rigidly exact; while the former, which is certainly Aristoxenean, and perhaps written *ad populum*, is considered more doubtful.



ARCHYTAS'S CANONS.

Diatonic:	1,	$\frac{27}{8}$,	$\frac{27}{4}$,	$\frac{3}{2}$;	B, C, D, E.*
Chromatic:	1,	$\frac{27}{8}$,	$\frac{8}{9}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, C, C \sharp , E.
Enharmonic:	1,	$\frac{27}{8}$,	$\frac{15}{8}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, C, C, E.

ERATOSTHENES'S CANONS.

Diatonic:	1,	$\frac{243}{8}$,	$\frac{27}{4}$,	$\frac{3}{2}$;	B, C, D, E.
Chromatic:	1,	$\frac{1}{2}$,	$\frac{9}{10}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, C, C \sharp , E.
Enharmonic:	1,	$\frac{39}{40}$,	$\frac{19}{20}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, B, C, E.

DIDYMUS'S CANONS.

Diatonic:	1,	$\frac{15}{8}$,	$\frac{27}{8}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, C, D, E.
Chromatic:	1,	$\frac{15}{8}$,	$\frac{9}{10}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, C, C \sharp , E.
Enharmonic:	1,	$\frac{31}{32}$,	$\frac{15}{16}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, B, C, E.

PROLEMY'S OWN CANONS.

Diatonic intense:	1,	$\frac{15}{8}$,	$\frac{5}{8}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, C, D, E.
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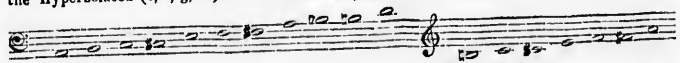
Diatonic syntonus:	Ratios	1,	$\frac{243}{512}$,	$\frac{27}{32}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	B, C, D, E.		
Diatonic soft:	Logarithms 0,		.02199,	.06247,	.12494.			
	Ratios	1,	$\frac{243}{320}$,	$\frac{9}{7}$	or $\frac{13}{8}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;		
Chromatic tonal:	Logarithms 0,		.02199,	.04938,	.12494.			
	Ratios	1,	$\frac{16}{17}$	or $\frac{17}{18}$	or $\frac{243}{512}$,	$\frac{8}{9}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;	
Chromatic sesquialter:	Logarithms 0,		.01874,	.03758,	.12494.			
	Ratios	1,	$\frac{23}{23}$	or $\frac{23}{24}$,	$\frac{11}{12}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;		
Chromatic soft:	Logarithms 0,		.01666,	.03332,	.12494.			
	Ratios	1,	$\frac{25}{26}$	or $\frac{26}{27}$,	$\frac{12}{13}$	or $\frac{13}{14}$	or $\frac{23}{24}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;
Enharmonic:	Logarithms 0,		.01249,	.02499,	.12494.			
	Ratios	1,	$\frac{37}{38}$	or $\frac{38}{39}$,	$\frac{19}{19}$	or $\frac{17}{18}$	or $\frac{243}{512}$,	$\frac{3}{4}$;

The values of the Meson tetrachord (E, F, G, a) will be obtained in any one of these systems by multiplying the corresponding ratios by $\frac{3}{4}$; those of the Synemmenon tetrachord (a, b \flat , c, d) by multiplying them by $\frac{9}{10}$; those of the Diezeugmenon tetrachord (b, c, d, e) are half those of the Hypaton tetrachord; and those of the Hyperbolaeon (e, f, g, an) are half those of

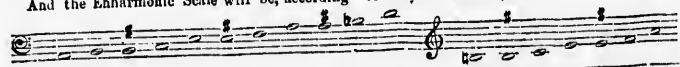
The canons according to Euclid or Aristoxenus can be reproduced with pretty considerable accuracy by means of logarithms and converging fractions: there will of course be a little discrepancy according as the 30th part of a Fourth or the 12th part of a Tone is taken for the element, these not being exactly equal: the former seems preferable; and it gives for the logarithm of the element .004165; and the following results in the cases not as yet determined:—

the Meson, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of those of the Hypaton. All these will be expressed in terms of the Proslambanomenos (A) by multiplying each of them by $\frac{8}{9}$.

The Greek Chromatic Scale then will be expressed in modern musical notation as nearly as possible; the following; Didymus's canon being taken for the sake of simplicity of notation:



And the Enharmonic Scale will be, according to Didymus's canon, this:



* The notation C is adopted to mean a C slightly flattened, C somewhat flatter still, and so for C: the actual amount of flattening or sharpening is determined by the

ratio given. At present we have no notation to express these things; in the 16th century the symbol x was used to indicate the enharmonic diesis, but as it is now used for a double sharp, it has been thought prudent to avoid employing it here.

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the fixed rhythmical system on which they are constructed; while mystical reasons for their name have been assigned by some writers.

The word *canon* is applied in the Armenian rite to a section of the psalter, which in that rite is divided into eight sections called *canons*.

[H. J. II.]

CANONICAL BOOKS (*Libri Canonici*, *Εκκλησιαστικὰ*; *Βιβλία Κανονίζιμενα*, *ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα*). The question of the determination of the *CANON*, both of the Old and the New Testament, has been already fully treated in the *DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE* (pp. 250 ff.). The present article relates mainly to the authoritative promulgation of lists or catalogues of books to be read, under the name of Scripture, in the services of the Church. The canon of books to be publicly read is not wholly identical with the canon of books from which the faith is to be established (see Westcott, *u. s.*).

1. Athanasius (*Ep. Festal*, tom. 1. pt. ii. p. 962, ed. Ben.) divided all the books which claimed the title of Holy Scripture into three classes. (1.) *Βιβλία κανονίζιμενα*, books which belonged in the fullest sense to the canon, and were the standard of the faith. (2.) *ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα*, books which, though not belonging in the strictest sense to the canon, might be read in time of divine service, and recommended to catechumens, "for example of life and instruction of manners." (3.) *ἄσκηρα*, spurious books claiming authority under venerable names. This distinction between the books truly canonical and the books proper to be read has been perpetuated in the Greek Church to this day; and it is the present rule of the English Church, which, in the sixth Article, after enumerating the books of the Hebrew canon, proceeds to say that "the other books (as Hierom saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine."

2. In the Latin Church also at the same period a distinction was drawn by some between the books of the Hebrew canon and the later additions. Rufinus (*Erpos. in Symb.* cc. 37, 38) divides the books into three classes: "*Canonici . . . quos patres intra canonem concluderant, ex quibus fidei nostrae assertiones constare voluerunt; . . . ecclesiastici . . . quos legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandum; . . . ceteros vero scripturas apocryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi voluerunt.*" Here, the *ecclesiastici* are exactly equivalent to the *ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα* of Athanasius. Jerome, in the *Prologus Galeatus*, enumerates the twenty-two books of the Hebrew canon, and adds, "quidquid extra hoc est inter apocrypha ponendum," giving the word *apocrypha* a wider meaning than that adopted by Rufinus, so as to include all books claiming to be Scripture not found in the Hebrew canon. This use of the word *Apocrypha*, which seems in ancient times to have been peculiar to Jerome, was adopted by the English and other Reformers in the sixteenth century, and so has become familiar to us. It is not, however, used in the sixth Article, where, as we have seen, the books read by the Church but not reputed strictly canonical are called simply "the other books."

3. The *Apostolic Constitutions* were probably

intended to give an appearance of apostolic authority to actually existing practices, and the substance of the first six books may be as old as the 3rd century. In the fifty-seventh chapter of the second book (p. 67, ed. Ulltzen), we have an approach to a catalogue of the books to be read as Scripture in public worship. The passage is as follows: "Let the reader, standing in the midst on a raised space, read the Books of Moses, and of Joshua the son of Nun, those of Judges and of Kingdoms (*Βασιλειῶν*), those of Chronicles and the Return from Captivity [Ezra and Nehemiah]; in addition to these those of Job and of Solomon and of the sixteen Prophets . . . After this let our Acts [Acts of Apostles] be read and the Epistles of Paul our fellow-worker, which he enjoined on the church according to the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and after these let a deacon or presbyter read the Gospels which we, Matthew and John, delivered to you, and those which Luke and Mark, Paul's fellow-workers, received and left to you."

In this catalogue (unless Esther be omitted) the canon of the Old Testament is exactly that of the Jews. The Catholic Epistles are possibly included under *Acts*; for in a Syrian version, which places the Catholic Epistles immediately after the Acts, at the close of the Epistles follows the colophon, "The end of the Acts," (Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, p. 217, quoted by Westcott, *Bible in Church*, p. 176) as if the term *Acts* included the Epistles. It is not easy to see on what ground A. Ritschl (*Alt-kathol. Kirche*, p. 329, note 1) affirms the sentence relating to St. Paul's Epistles to be "plainly interpolated." It does not appear that there is any variation of MSS. in this place.

The list contained in the eighty-fifth of the *Apostolic Canons*, of the books to be held in veneration by all clergy and laity, is no doubt of much later date; but as it is in itself remarkable, and had a powerful influence on some of the Eastern Churches, it is given in the parallel arrangement opposite.

After the foundation of Constantinople (about A.D. 332), Constantine desired Eusebius to provide fifty splendid copies of the Scriptures for the churches of his new city. How he fulfilled his charge we cannot exactly affirm, as he gives no catalogue of the books he included in the collection, and not one of his copies is known to exist; probably the canon of these books differed little, if at all, from that of Cyril and Laodicea.

A catalogue of the books of Scripture, the authority of which is strictly ecclesiastical and not imperial, is found in the works of Athanasius. That great prelate joined to his "Festal Letter" * of the year 365 a list of the books which were canonized and traditional and confidently believed to be divine (*τὰ κανονίζιμενα καὶ παραδεδεγμένα πιστευθέντα τε θεῶν εἶναι βιβλία*). In the New Testament, this list gives exactly the books which we receive in the order in which they stand in the oldest Greek MSS. In the Old Testament, Baruch and the Letter are added to Jeremiah; Esther is placed among the Apocrypha; and the books of Maccabees are omitted altogether.

* The circulars in which the bishop of Alexandria annually announced to the different churches of his province the date of Easter were called "Paschal" or "Festal" letters.

Canonica
(Ulltzen
Apoc)

Genesis
Exodus
Leviticus
Numbers
Deuteronomy
Joshua
Judges
Kings, four
Chronicles, two
Ezra, two
Esther
Maccabees, two
Job
The Psalter
Solomon's Pro-
verbs
Song of Songs
Book of the
Prophets, one
Isaiah
Jeremiah
Ezekiel
Daniel
Festal
Instruction
Wisdom of
Solvomon
Gospels, four
Matthew
Mark
Luke
John
Epistles of Paul
Peter, two
John, three
James, one
Jude, one
Clement, two
Apostolical
(Apostolica)
Acts of the A-

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books.^b The ecclesiastical canon of the Latin Church has in fact from the date of the first Latin translation included what we call the Apocryphal Books, though we not infrequently meet with expressions which show that the Latin Fathers were conscious that the books of their canon were in fact of very different degrees of authority. Gregory the Great, for instance, speaks of the books of Maccabees as not belonging, in the proper sense, to the canon.

At the third Council of Carthage, at which St. Augustine was present, and at which his influence no doubt predominated, a decree was made which determined the list of canonical Scriptures. The forty-seventh canon (Brun's *Canones* l. 133) begins thus: "It is also agreed, that besides Canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church as Holy Scripture (sub nomine Divinarum Scripturarum)," and a list of canonical writings follows, in which the Apocryphal books are mingled with those of the Hebrew canon, without distinction. Some of the MSS. however omit the two books of Maccabees. The canon ends with saying, in one text, "Let it be made known to our brother and fellow-bishop Boniface [of Rome], or other bishops of those parts, for confirming that canon, that we have received from our fathers these books to be read in churches;" in another text, "The books then amount to twenty-seven; let the churches across the sea [i. e. Italian] be consulted about that canon." In both texts, permission is given to read the Passions of Martyrs on their anniversaries.

The confirmation of Rome was probably obtained, and this canon of Carthage, though of course only binding in its proper force on the churches of a particular province, became the general ecclesiastical rule of the West. "Usage received all the books of the enlarged canon more and more generally as equal in all respects; learned tradition kept alive the distinction between the Hebrew canon and the Apocrypha which had been drawn by Jerome" (Westcott, *Bible in Church*, p. 190).

The Apostolical, Laodicæan, and Carthaginian canons were all confirmed by the second canon of the Quinisextine Council, A. D. 692 (Brun's *Canones* l. 36), no regard being had to their variations. The 68th canon made provision for the reverent treatment of copies of the sacred books.

In these lists, the first and second books of Kings are of course those which we call the first and second books of Samuel, and the third and fourth books of Kings those which we call the first and second books of Kings. It is not always easy to say with certainty what is intended by the first and second books of Esdras. In the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS. of the LXX., "I. Esdras" is the apocryphal book which we call the first book of Esdras, while "II. Esdras" is composed of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Westcott, *Bible in Church*, pp. 303 ff.). In the Vulgate, "I. Esdras" is the canonical book of Ezra, and "II. Esdras" the canonical book Nehemiah. Jerome in the *Prologus Galeatus* mentions only one Esdras, which (he says) the Greeks and Latins divided into two books; these two books were, as appears from the *Praef. in Esdras* and the *Ep. ad Paulinum*

^b Canon Westcott has however pointed out [art. CANON, p. 256] that his language is inconsistent on this point.

(c. 16) the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah. A letter of Pope Innocent I. to Exsuperius, bishop of Toulouse (A. D. 405) contains a list (given by Kircher, *Quellensammlung*, p. 504) identical in contents with that of the Council of Carthage, but differing in the arrangement of the books. There is also a papal list attributed to Gelasius (Pope A. D. 492-496) and another to Hormisdas (514-523). But none of these lists are free from suspicion. They were unknown in the middle of the 6th century to Cassiodorus, who collected the lists of canonical books current in his time, and still later to Isidore of Seville; and different copies of the Gelasian list vary in such a way as to suggest that they were not all derived from the same original. The letter of Innocent is found in the collection of Decretals attributed to Dionysius Exiguus, but that collection, as is well known, contains matter of a much later date than that of its supposed compilation (about 500). It is not, in fact, until the 8th century that we have distinct evidence of its existence, when it formed part of the Code sent to Charlemagne in the year 774 by Pope Hadrian I. The list of canonical books in the decree of Gelasius does not distinctly appear till about the 10th century. Both lists simply repeat the Canon of Carthage (Westcott, *Bible in Church*, 194 ff.). It is a remarkable instance of the rapid victory of usage over scholarship, that in the Codex Amiatinus (written about 541) of Jerome's Vulgate, the books of the Apocrypha are mixed with those of the Hebrew canon, against the express judgment of Jerome himself. But indications are not wanting, that the question of the value and authority of certain works was regarded in the Latin Church as distinct from that of ecclesiastical use.

The determination of the canon in Spain was a matter of unusual importance. The Priscillianists during the 5th century introduced a multitude of apocryphal writings, which it was one of the chief cares of the orthodox bishops to destroy. The Arian Goths probably rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, as well as the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. On their conversion, they bound themselves to accept the Roman canon, as well as other decrees of the see of Rome. Isidore of Seville (456) follows Augustine expressly in dealing with the Old Testament Apocrypha, and reckons among "Canonical Scriptures" books which the Hebrews do not receive (see *Origines*, vi. 2). In the list which he gives (Kircher's *Quellensammlung*, p. 505), the books of the Old Testament are enumerated exactly as in the English canon, except that Job and Esther are placed after Solomon's Song. After Malachi, he adds, without any mark of distinction, "Judith et Tobias et Machabeorum Libri quibus auctoribus scripti sunt minime constat." Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, and the apocryphal books of Esdras, do not seem to be mentioned at all. In the New Testament, after the Gospels and Acts, he proceeds, "Pauli Epistolæ xiv, novem ecclesiasticæ, reliquæ discipulis scriptæ." Ad Hebraeos a plerisque Latinis ejus esse dubitatur, propter dissonantiam sermonis; eandem autem Barnabæ, alii Clementi adscribunt. Jacobi, Petri II, Cath. Judæ et Johannis. Johannis Apocalypsis. Cætera Apocrypha." He seems therefore to have acknowledged only one epistle of St. John.

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CANON PRAYER.]

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books of Ezra and Nehemiah (A. D. 405) contains a list of the arrangement of the papal list attributed to (90) and another to Honorius of these lists are any were unknown in the library to Cassiodorus, who mentioned books current in the Gelasian list vary in that they were not all original. The letter of collection of Decretals of Exiguus, but that column, contains matter of a nature of its supposed character is not, in fact, until have distinct evidence formed part of the Code of the year 774 by Pope canonical books in the not distinctly appear till

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The code which Charlemagne gave at Aix for the government of the Church was founded upon that which he received from Pope Hadrian as mentioned above. In this it was enjoined that "the Canonical Books only be read in the Church;" but it does not appear that any definite list was given, though in the printed editions the list of *Laodicea* was appended. Aleuin, the well-known English scholar (†804), Charlemagne's chief literary adviser, was commissioned towards the close of his life to undertake a revision of the Latin Bible for public use. He restored in a great measure Jerome's text in those books which Jerome had translated, but did not separate the Apocrypha. Several MSS. remain which claim to be derived from Aleuin's revision. One of the finest of these, known as "Charlemagne's Bible," is in the British Museum. A peculiarity of this copy is, that it contains the apocryphal Letter to the Laodiceans as a fifteenth Epistle of St. Paul. [C.]

CANONICAL HOURS. [HOURS OF PRAYER.]

CANONICI. The canonical clergy have occupied an intermediate position between the monks and the secular clergy. As living together under a rule of their own they were often regarded popularly as a species of monks; while, inasmuch as their rule was less strict, and their seclusion from the world less complete, they were sometimes, from a monastic point of view, classed even with the laity, as distinguished from those who were "religious." Thus the colleges of the "canonici" were sometimes called "monasteria" (*Hospin. De Monach.* iii. vi. p. 72 b.); while Dudo (*De Act. Normān.* iii. v.) broadly dividing Christians into "regular" or "contemplative," and "secular" or "practical" places "canonici" among the "secular" (*Du Cange, Gloss. Latinit.* s. voce). The canonici did not fully assume this quasi-monastic character till the 8th century. The theory which would trace them back as a monastic order to St. Augustine, and which ascribes to him the Augustinian Rule scarcely needs refutation (*Hospin. De Monach.* iii. vi. p. 71 b.; *Bingh. Origin. Eccles.* vii. ii. § 9).

The "canonici" were at first the clergy and other officials attached to the church, and were called either as bound by canons (v. *Du Cange*, s. v.), or more probably as enrolled on the list of ecclesiastical officers, *kanonoi*, *matricula*, *albus*, *tabula* (*Socr. H. E.* i. 17; *Theod. Lect. H. E.* i. p. 553; *Conc. Chalced.* 451 A. D. c. 2; *Vales. ad Socr. H. E.* v. 19; *Bingh.* i. v. § 10). *Du Cange* explains the word by the "canon" *στροφάλις*; a certain proportion (one-fourth) of the sines of the faithful set apart for the maintenance of the clergy and other officers of the church (*Conc. Agath.* 506 A. D. c. 36; *Aurel.* iii. 538 A. D. c. 11; *Narbon.* 589 A. D. cc. 10, 12). Another, but most improbable derivation is from *kanonikoi* (*Du Cange*, s. v.). A passage is cited by *Du Cange* from the life of Antony attributed to Augustine—*ἐρίμα τὸν κανόνα*—to show that the word was equivalent to "clerus." But "canonici" was at first a more comprehensive word than "clerus," embracing all who held ecclesiastical offices, as readers, singers, porters, &c. (*Thomass. Vet. et Nov. Discipl.* i. ii. 34; *Bingh.* i. v. § 10).

Some bishops even before the 5th century, for instance Eusebius of Vercelle, Ambrose of Milan, the great Augustine, and Martin of Tours, set an example of monastic austerity to the clergy domiciled with them, which became widely popular (*Conc. Tolet.* ii. A. D. 531, c. 1; *Turon.* ii. A. D. 567, c. 12). Gelasius I. at the close of the 5th century founded an establishment of "canonici regulares" at Rome in the Lateran (*Hospin.* iii. vi. p. 72 b.; *Bingh.* vii. ii. § 9). In 531 A. D. the 2nd Council of Toledo speaks of schools conducted by the "canonici" wherein the scholars lived "in domo ecclesie sub Episcopi presentia" (cc. 1, 2); and, before the end of the same century, the 3rd Council of Toledo orders the Scriptures to be read aloud in the refectory of the priests, "sacerdotali convivio" (c. 7). A similar phrase, "mensa canonica," is quoted by *Du Cange* from Gregory of Tours (*Hist. x. ad fin.*) in reference to the "canonici" established by Baudinus, archbishop of Tours, in the 6th century, and from a charter granted by Chilperic in 580 A. D. (*Miraei Diptom. Belg.* ii. 1310, ap. *Du Cange*, s. v.). In the 3rd Council of Orleans, A. D. 538, the "canonici" are forbidden secular business (*Conc. Aurel.* iii. c. 11). The college in which the canons resided, or rather the church to which the college was attached, is styled "canonica" in a charter 724 A. D. (*Chart. Langob.* Brunett. p. 470, ap. *Du Cange*, s. v.).

Bishops, especially for missions, were frequently chosen out of the monasteries; and these naturally surrounded themselves with monks. In the words of Montalembert many a bishopric was "cradled" in a monastery. Thus in Armenia "the principal communities formed by the monastic missionaries (from Britain in the 5th century) were soon transformed into bishoprics." (*Monks of the West*, II. 273.) In countries which owed their Christianity to monks, the monastery and the cathedral rose side by side, or under one roof. But cathedral-monasteries are, strictly speaking, almost peculiar to England (*Stubbs, Introd. to Epp. Cantuar.* xxi.); for, while elsewhere, for the most part, either the cathedral or the monastery ousted the other, in England many of the cathedrals retained their monastic, more exactly their quasi-monastic character till the Reformation. Usually it was the mother-church, as Canterbury or Lindisfarne, which thus adhered to its original institution, while the new cathedrals for the sub-divided diocese passed into the hands of the non-monastic clergy (*Stubbs*, v. *sup.* xxi.). In either case, as at Worcester, the cathedral clergy were the parochial clergy of the city (*Stubbs, The Cathedr. of Worcester in the 8th Century*, Communic. to the Historic. Sect. of the Instit. July, 1862). The result of this combination on the clergy generally, and on the monks, was twofold. On the one hand the clergy became, in the first instance, more monastic; on the other, a somewhat more secular tone was given for a time to the monasteries. But, as these cathedral-monasteries came to lose their missionary character, other monasteries arose, by a reaction of sentiment, of a less secular and of a more ascetic kind; e. g. in England, Crowland, and Evesham, in contrast to Peterborough and Worcester (*Stubbs*, v. *sup.*). By the Council of Clovesho, A. D. 747, all monasteries proper in England were placed under the Benedictine rule;

and thus the severance was defined of the chapters and the monasteries. (*Conc. Cloesh.* c. 24; cf. *Rep. S. Bened.* c. 58; cf. Mabill. *AA. O. S. B.* I. Praef. lvi.)

But Chrodegang, or Chrodegang, cousin of Pepin and archbishop of Metz, in the latter part of the 8th century, was virtually the founder of "canonici" as a semi-monastic order. By enforcing strict obedience to the Rule and the Superior he tightened the authority of the bishop over the clergy of his cathedral (*Reg. Chrodeg.* ap. Labb. *Conc.* vii. 1445). But, while retaining the monastic obligations of "obedience" and of "elastity," he relaxed that of poverty. His "canonici" were, like monks, to have a common dormitory and a common refectory (*Reg. Chrod.* c. 3; *Conc. Mogunt.* 813 A. D. c. 9). Like monks they were to reside within the cloister; and egress, except by the porter's gateway, was strictly forbidden (*Conc. Aquisgr.* 816 A. D. cc. 117, 144). But they were allowed a life interest in private property; "though after death it was to revert to the church to which they belonged; and, which is especially curious, they were not to forfeit their property, even for crimes and misdemeanours entailing otherwise severe penance. (*Reg. Chrod.* cc. 31, 32; cf. Stubbs, *Lipp. Cantuar.* Introd. xxiv.) Thus the discipline of the cloister was rendered more palatable to the clergy; while a broad line of demarcation was drawn between them and monks (*Conc. Mogunt.* cc. 9, 10; *Conc. Turon.* III. c. 25). They were not to wear the monk's cowl (*Reg. Chrod.* c. 53, interpolated from *Conc. Aquisgr.* c. 125). The essential difference between a cathedral with its "canonici" and an abbey-church with its monks, has been well expressed thus: the "canonici" existed for the services of the cathedral, but the abbey-church for the spiritual wants of the recluses happening to settle there (Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 443).

Chrodegang's institution was eagerly adopted by the far-seeing Karl, in his reformation of ecclesiastical abuses; indeed he wished to force it on the clergy generally (Robertson's *Ch. Hist.* II. 200). He ordered the "canonici" to live "canonice," and to obey their bishop as abbat; a similar enactment was made at the Councils of Aachen, 788 A. D. and of Mentz, 813 A. D. (*Conc. Aquisgr.* cc. 27, 29; *Conc. Mogunt.* c. 9; cf. Du Cange, s. v.; Hospin. xxii. 154; Robertson's *Ch. Hist.* II. 198). It was evidently the great legislator's intention to make these colleges of canons instrumental for education (*Conc. Cabill.* 813 A. D. c. 3; Alt-eer. *Ascticon.* II. 1). Thus one of the principal canons was the "Scholasticus" (schoolmaster, or more properly, chancellor, Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, II. 443), and the buildings were arranged mainly to be used as schools (Hospin. p. 153-6).

The rule of Chrodegang in its integrity was short-lived. By the middle of the 9th century it was in force in most cathedrals of France, Germany, Italy, and, more partially, in England (Robertson's *Ch. Hist.* II. 200). But, though milder even than that mildest of monastic rules—the Benedictine—it was too severe to be generally accepted by the clergy, especially in England. In the 9th century (Robertson, II. 209), or, rather, by the end of the 8th (Stubbs, *Et. p.*

* Also, the diet was more generous. (*Reg. Chrod.* c. 32; *Conc. Aquisgr.* 816 A. D. c. 122.)

Cantuar. Intr. xvii.), bodies of secular clerks, with the character if not the name of "canonici," had supplanted monks in many parts of England; but they soon lost the ground which they had gained. Partly, perhaps, from the popularity of monks with the laity in England, as the harbinger of Christianity, and as intimately connected with the history of the nation, partly from the repugnance of the clergy to asceticism, the "Iotharingiana" rule never took root here (Freeman, v. sup., II. 85). According to William of Malmesbury (Stubbs, *De Innoct. Cruz.* Intr. ix.), it never was accepted here. "An attempt was made to introduce it in the Legatine Council of 786, which probably went no farther in effect than to change the name of secular clerks into canons, and to turn secular abbots into deans" (Stubbs, v. sup. x.; *Conc. C. l. yth.* c. 4.) By 1050 A. D. it was nearly obsolete in England (Stubbs, v. sup. ix.). Celibacy seems to have formed no integral part of the plan in the foundation of Waltham. (Freeman, v. sup. II. 443; Stubbs, *De Ino. Cruz.* xii.)

Even where it had been at first in vogue the Rule of Chrodegang was soon relaxed; nor were the efforts of Adalbero, Willigis, and others, effectual to restore it (Robertson's *Ch. Hist.* II. 477). The "canonici" became, first, a community dwelling together under the headship of the bishop, but not of necessity under the same roof with him; next, an "acephalous" community,—a laxity which had been specially condemned by the Council of Aachen, already mentioned (c. 101)—and, gradually, instead of representing the clergy of the diocese they developed into a distinct, and, sometimes, antagonistic body (Robertson, II. 476). As their wealth and influence increased they claimed a share in the government of the diocese (Robertson, II. 401). Trithemius speaks of the "Canonici Trevirenses" in the close of the 10th century, as both "in name and in reality "seculares non regulares"; and Hospinian protests against the very expression "canonici seculares,"^c as a contradiction in terms, like "regulares irregulares." (Hospinian, v. sup. p. 73.)

The "Canons Regular of St. Augustine," founded by Ives of Chartres and others, in the 11th century, may be regarded as resulting from the failure of the attempts to force the canonical rule on the clergy of the cathedral and collegiate churches (Robertson's *Ch. Hist.* II. 708). These "canonici" differed but slightly from the monks; and, unlike the "canonici" of older date, resembled the monks in the renunciation of private property. This order was introduced into England very early in the 12th century by Adelwald, confessor of Henry I, but some assign an earlier date. At the Reformation there were, according to Hospinian (p. 73), more than 8000 "coenobia canonicorum" in Europe; the number declined greatly afterwards. The various mediaeval subdivisions of "canonici," enumerated by Du Cange (s. v.) do not fall within our present scope. (See also Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Disciplina*, I. lii.)

^b Till the 14th century these semi-regular, semi-secular foundations seem to have been ungenial to the English. Harold, the founder of Waltham, is an exception. (Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* II. 445.)

^c The expression "secular canon" sometimes occurs prematurely (e.g. in Freeman's *Norman Conquest*) where "secular clerks" would be more exact.

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CANONISTAE

cc. 7-12; III. ii. c. 27; *Bibliothèque Secrète*, par Richard et Girardin, s. v. Par. 1822; Murtigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes*, Par. 1895).

Canonice in the primitive church were devout women, taking charge of funerals and other works of charity (*Socr. II. E. l. 17; Soz. II. E. viii. 23*, cf. Justin. *Novell.* cc. 43, 59, ap. Menardi *Comm. in S. Bened. Anim. Conc. Reg.* c. 68). They not originally bound by a vow, nor compelled to live in a community (Bingh. *Orig. Ecl. VII. iv. § 1*; but cf. Pelliccia *Ecl. Christ. Polit.* l. iii. 3, § 1), they lived apart from men, and had a special part of the church reserved for them in the public services (Du Cange, s. v.). In the 8th century the "canonice," "canonissae," or "canonichissae," lived together after the example of the "canonici," being like them attached to particular churches (Pellie. l. iii. 4, § 1). They are distinguished from nuns (*Conc. Francof.* 794 A.D. cc. 46, 47); but, like nuns were strictly debarred from the society of men (*Conc. Aquigr.* 816 A.D. c. 20; cf. *C. n. Cabill.* 813 A.D. c. 53). They were to occupy themselves specially, like the "canonici" in education (*Conc. Francof.* c. 40; *C. n. Aquigr.* c. 22). See further *Martyrb. Centur.* viii. 6. The "do- micline" or secular canonses are of later date (Du Cange, s. v.). (See also Thomass. *Vet. et Nov. Discipl.* l. iii. cc. 43, 51, 63; Altescras *Aetion.* III. 3.) [I. G. S.]

CANONISTAE. [CANON LAW.]

CANONIZATION is defined by Ferraris (sub voc. *Venerabilis Sanctorum*) to be a "public judgment and express definition of the Apostolic See respecting the sanctity and glory of one, who is thereupon solemnly added to the roll of the saints, and set forth for the public veneration of the whole Church militant, and the honours due to saints decreed to him." And it is distinguished by him from *beatification*, which means, according to the same authority, a like "lawful grant by the pope to a particular kingdom, province, religious body, or place, to venerate and invoke, in the mass and by exposition of relics," &c., some particular person, deceased. Both, in this sense, date subsequently to the period of which the present work treats, the first formal canonization by a pope being said to be either that of St. Sulpert by Pope Leo III. A.D. 804, at the request of Charlemagne (Ferraris, as above), or (which however depends on a letter said to be a forgery) that of Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, by diploma of Pope John XV. A.D. 993 (Mabill. *Act. SS. Ben. Saec. V. Pref.* § 101; Gibbings, *Traject.* on the *Diptychs*, p. 33, *Dubl.* 1864). But canonization in some sense (= inserting in the Canon of the Mass) is the outgrowth of a practice of very early date (being alluded to by Tertullian, *De Cor. iii.*, and, earlier still, in the *Martyr. Polycarp.* xviii., ap. Euseb. *II. E. iv. 15*), viz. that of reciting at a certain part of the Eucharistic service the names (among others) of deceased saints and martyrs [DIPTYCHS]; not for invocation ("non invocatur," St. Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 10), but "in memory of those who have finished their course, and for the exercising and preparation of those who have yet to walk in their steps" (*Mart. S. Polyc.*). The authority by which a name was inserted in this list—the saint being then said to be "vindictatus" (*Optat. De Schism.*

CANOPY

Donat. l. 16)—was, until at least the 10th century, that of the bishop, with (no doubt) the consent of his clergy and people, and, as time went on, of the synod and metropolitan, and according to Mabillon (*Pref. in Act. SS. Bened.* p. 412), of the emperor or king. But the consent of the last named could only have been asked or given in cases of political importance, real or supposed. The last use of canonization by a metropolitan is said to have been that of St. Gaultier, or Gaucher, abbat of Pontoise, by the Archbishop of Liouen, A.D. 1153 (Gibbings, as above). And a decree of Pope Alexander III. A.D. 1170, gave the prerogative to the pope thenceforth, so far as the Western Church was concerned [CALENDAR; MARTYROLOGY; MENOLOGY]; who proceeded (acc. to Ferraris) in two ways, either by formally sanctioning local or other saints, who had long before been canonized in effect by common consent, or by initiating the process himself in new cases. "Canonizare" is also used to signify simply to "approve," or to "appoint to a canonry," or to enrol in the "canon" of the clergy, or to make a canon in a Council. (Salig. *De Diptychis*; Du Cange; Suicer; Ferraris, *Prompta Biblioth.*) [A. W. H.]

CANOPY. The fixed solid canopy, or *corporium*, over the altar, has already been described under ALTAR, p. 65. It has been supposed, however, that the altar was sometimes anciently covered with a canopy of a lighter kind, as of silk. In the will of Abbot Aredius (in the *Works* of Gregory of Tours, p. 1313, ed. Ruinart), who died A.D. 591, we find, among other things declared necessary for a church, "cooperarius holosericos tres; calices argenteos quatuor . . . item cooperarium lineum . . ." These silken coverings Binterim (*Deutschl.* vii. 3, 353) believes to be not altar-cloths, but canopies, while the "cooperarius lineus" is an altar-cloth, distinct from the corporal. Gregory of Tours also, a contemporary of Aredius, describing a dream or vision, says, "cum jam altarium cum oblationibus pallio serico cooperatum esset," Gauthmann entered (*Hist. Franc.* vii. 22, p. 347, ed. Ruinart). Here again Binterim (u. s.) supposes that a canopy is intended, insisting on the words of Optatus (*De Schism. Donat.* vi. 1, p. 92), that it was a matter of notoriety that the boards of the altar were covered with linen. The words of Optatus, however, written of the African church in the 4th century, have but little application to Gallican customs at the end of the 6th, nor are they in fact contradictory to the words of Gregory; for the altar may have been first covered with linen, and the oblations upon it afterwards covered with a silken veil. This was probably the case; for a word derived from "cooperire" would naturally refer to covering up closely, rather than to shading as a canopy does. Compare ALTAR-CLOTHS, p. 69. There can be little doubt that Mabillon and Ruinart are right in explaining the word *cooperarius* of an altar-covering or VEIL. The "cooperarius Sarmaticus," which Gregory rejects (*De Vitis Patrum*, p. 8, 1195), seems to have been intended for a similar use.

The custom of carrying a canopy over the pope in certain processions does not seem to be mentioned earlier than the 12th century (see *Ordo Romanus XI.* 17 126; 40, 136); and the

use of a canopy to overshadow the Eucharist in *Corpus Christi* processions is later still.

For the canopy surmounting the seat of a Bishop, see TIMONÉ. [C.]

CANTABRARI. Literally, bearers of the *cantabrum*, or cruciform standard of the later Roman emperors, in military or religious processions. The word occurs in the *Cod. Theod.* xiv. 7, 2, as applied to a guild of such persons, and has no direct connexion with ecclesiastical antiquity. Bingham, however (xvi. 5, 6), cites the passage in its bearing upon the mention of centurions by the C. in Trullo (c. 61) as connected with divination; and hence it appears in the index to his work as the name of "a sort of conjurers." The *cantabrum* itself is mentioned by Minucius Felix (*Octav.* c. 27) and Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 16) as an instance of the unconscious honour paid by the heathens to the figure of the cross. [E. H. P.]

CANTATORIUM. [ANTIPHONARIUM.]

CANTERBURY, COUNCIL OF, two in Labb. &c.:—(1) A.D. 605, fictitious, resting on a forged charter of Ethelbert to St. Augustine's monastery at Canterbury (see Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* iii. 56, 57). (2) A.D. 685, founded on a mere mistake. [A. W. H.]

CANTHARUS (or -UM), also PHARO-CANTHARUS, also CANTHARUS CEROSTATUS or CEROSTRATUS, i. a chandelier for ecclesiastical use, described by Ducange, s. v. as "a disc of metal, furnished with candles fixed upon it." The word is of very frequent occurrence in Anastasius and other early authorities: e.g. *S. Sile.* xxxiv. § 34, "canthara cerostrata xii aerea;" *ib.* § 36, "pharancia cantharum argenteum cum delphinis cxx, ubi oleum ardet ardinum pisticum . . . canthara cerostrata in gremio basilicene quinquaginta." *S. Symmach.* liii. § 80, "ad beatum Petrum xx canthara argentea fecit." Among the articles of church property confiscated by Pope Sergius I. A.D. 687, to raise the doatative demanded by the exarch of Ravenna, as the price of his support, we read of "catharus et coronas quae ante sacrum altare et confessionem beati Petri Apostoli ex antiquo pendebant" (Anast. *S. Sergius* lxxxvi. § 159). 2. a vessel for water [PHIALA.] [E. V.]

CANTIANILLA, with CANTIANUS and CANTUS, martyrs at Aquileia, commemorated May 31 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CANTIANUM CONCILIIUM. [KENT.]

CANTICLE (*Canticum*). A species of sacred song. St. Paul (Eph. v. 19) mentions "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs," *ᾠδοὺς ἐν τοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς* ("cantics spiritualibus," Vulg.). He also couples the three terms in Col. iii. 16. Some of the psalms are called in the LXX. and Vulg.: *ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς* (Psalms Cantic), e.g. LXVII, XCI. (LXVIII, XCII), or *ᾠδὴν ᾠδῆς* (Lauds Cantic); e.g. XCI. (XCIII). On the distinction between a *psalm* and a *canticle*, Augustine remarks (on Ps. LXVII.) that some before his time had made this distinction between a canticle and a psalm, that since a canticle is sung with the voice alone, but a psalm with the accompaniment of an instrument; so by a canticle, the intelligence of the mind is signified, by

a psalm the operation of the body. He goes on to give as a reason why the book of *Psalms* is so called rather than the book of *Canticles*, that a canticle may be without a psalm, but not a psalm without a canticle. Jerome distinguishes to the effect that psalms properly belong to the region of ethics, so that we know through the bodily organs what to do or avoid—while canticles deal with higher matters, the harmony of the universe, and the order and concord of creation. Hymns are distinguished from both, as being directly occupied with the praises of God. Others distinguish differently, while Chrysostom and Basil define to much the same effect. So also Thomasius. Bona distinguishes between four sorts of sacred song: (1) Canticle (Canticum) which is sung by the voice alone; (2) Psalm (Psalms), which is sung by the voice, accompanied by a musical instrument; (3) Canticle of a psalm (Canticum Psalmi), when there is an instrumental prelude to the voice; (4) Psalm of a canticle (Psalms Cantic), when the voice begins and the organ or other instrumental accompaniment follows. But this seems to be over refining, and hence some have considered the three words [Psalm, Canticle, Hymn] as virtually synonyms, on the ground that it is easy to show that sacred songs were called by these three names, but not so easy to show that these names represent different kinds of song, since they are used promiscuously in the titles of the psalms. Hence it has been thought: by some that St. Paul in the passages referred to is simply recommending the use of the psalter. On the whole we may be satisfied with St. Augustine's conclusion, who after discussing the point at some length, says he will leave the question to those who are able, and have the leisure to make the distinction, and to define it accurately. The broad distinction, to which the derivation of the Greek words would lead, seems to be that a psalm was sung to instrumental accompaniment, a canticle with the voice alone; while a hymn is a direct praise of, or thanksgiving to God.

In ecclesiastical use the word *canticle* is applied to those poetical extracts from Holy Scripture, which are incorporated among the psalms in the divine office. For the most part they are said at Lauds. In the Gregorian and its derived rites, a canticle is said every day among the psalms at Lauds, immediately before the three final psalms; and St. Benedict in his rule directs that on each day at Lauds a canticle from the Prophets shall be sung, "sicut psalmi Ecclesie Romanae." These canticles, still retained in the Roman and cognate breviaries, are: seven from the Old Testament, said in the following order—

At Lauds:—

- On Sundays and Festivals, "Benedicite."
- On Mondays, The Song of Isalah (Is. xii).
- On Tuesday, The Song of Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii. 16-20)
- On Wednesday, The Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1-10)
- On Thursday, The Song of Moses (Ex. xv. 1-19)
- On Friday, The Song of Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 2-19)
- On Saturday, The Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1-43)

And also three from the New Testament:—

- Benedictus*, said daily at Lauds.
- Magnificat* " " " Vespers.
- Nunc dimittis* " " " Completions.

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 Song of Moses (Ex. xv. 1-19).
 of Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 2-19).
 Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 1-43).

n the New Testament—
 said daily at Lauds.
 " " " Vesper.
 " " " Compilo.

CANTICUM EVANGELICUM

These canticles are said with an antiphon, in the same manner as the psalms.
 Other Western breviaries use a greater variety of canticles: thus the Benedictine and other monastic breviaries of the same type, have these canticles instead of psalms, in the third nocturn on Sundays and festivals.
 In the Office of the Greek Church, the following nine canticles, called *odes* (ὕδα), are appointed at Lauds:—

- (1) The Song of Moses in Exodus (Ex. xv. 1-19).
- (2) The Song of Moses in Deut. (Deut. xxxii. 1-43).
- (3) The Prayer of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1-10).
- (4) The Prayer of Habakkuk (Hab. iii. 2-19).
- (5) The Prayer of Isaiah (Is. xvi. 9-20).
- (6) The Prayer of Jonah (Jon. ii. 2-9).
- (7) The Prayer of the Three Holy Children (Dan. iii. 3-34). [Jo Apocry.]
- (8) The Song of the Three Holy Children. [BANK-PIETRE.]
- (9) Magnificat and Benedictus.

These are assigned:—(1) to Sunday and Monday; (2) to Tuesday; (3) to Wednesday; (4) to Thursday; (5) to Friday; (6) and (7) to Saturday; (8) and (9) are said at a different time.
Benedictus and *Benedicite* were in early times sung in some masses: the former before the prophecy in some early Gallican masses; the latter is prescribed in the 4th Council of Toledo to be sung before the epistle on Sundays and festivals of martyrs.

"Te Deum" is the only composition not taken from Holy Scripture, which is usually considered a canticle. Some ritualists, however, think it should be reckoned among hymns.

For a fuller collection of canticles see the Mozarabic breviary, and Thomasius, vol. ii.

[H. J. H.]

CANTICUM EVANGELICUM. "Benedictus" was sometimes so called, probably to distinguish it from the other canticle said at Lauds, which is taken from the Old Testament. The expression occurs in a MS. Pontifical of the Church of Poitiers of about 800 A.D., and elsewhere.

[H. J. H.]

CANTICUM GRADUUM. The Gradual Psalms were sometimes so-called. They were recited in the following order: the first five with *Requiem aeternam*, &c., and followed by a few verses, were said "pro defunctis." The next ten each with "Gloria;" five "pro congregatione," and five "pro familiaribus;" each group being followed by a few verses and a collect.

[H. J. H.]

CANTOR. (*Psalmista, ψάλτης, ψαλτηρὸς, ὕδης*)

Among the clerical of the ancient Church are to be reckoned, as a distinct order, the Cantores or Psalmistae, whose institution dates, it would seem, from the 4th century. They are mentioned in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, so called (ii. 25, § 12; iii. 11; viii. 10, § 2, etc.) and in the *Apostolical Canons* (c. 26, 43, 69). In the fifteenth canon of the council of Laodicea, A.D. 365, they are called *κωνοικὸν ψάλται*, i.e. singers enrolled in the canon or catalogue of clergy, to whom the office of singing in the church was then restricted. The reason of their appointment seems to have been to regulate and encourage the ancient psalmody of the Church. There can be no question

† So distinguished in the titles.

CAPITULARY

but that from the apostolical age, singing formed a part of the public worship, the whole congregation joining, as in the prayers; but when it was found by experience that the negligence and unskillfulness of the general body of the people rendered them unfit to perform this service without instruction and guidance, it was resolved to set apart a peculiar order of men for the singers' office, not with a view to abolish the ancient psalmody, but to retrieve and improve it. That the restriction imposed by the council of Laodicea must be regarded as a temporary provision, designed only to revive and develop the ancient psalmody, then falling into decay, appears from the facts collected by St. Augustine, Chrysostom, Basil, and others, that in their own age the custom of congregational singing was again generally observed in the churches.

As to the form of ordination by which the cantores were set apart for their office, this was done, as in the case of the other inferior orders, without imposition of hands; but in one thing it differed from the others, that whereas the latter were usually conferred by the bishop or a chorepiscopus, this order might be conferred by a presbyter, using the form of words following, as given in the 4th council of Carthage, c. 10: "See that thou believe in thy heart what thou singest with thy mouth, and approve in thy works what thou believest in thy heart." [Compare CONFESSOR, § 4.] Bingham, iii. 7; Martene de Ant. Eccl. Ritibus l. c. viii. art. 8, § 4. [D. B.]

CANTUARIENSE CONCILIIUM [CANTUARIUM.]

CAPA or CAPP. [COPE.]

CAPITOLINI. A name of reproach applied by the Novatians to the Catholics, because the latter charitably resolved, in their synods, to receive into communion again, upon their sincere repentance, such as had offered sacrifice in the Capitol (Bingham, b. i. c. 3). [D. B.]

CAPITULA. The name of a prayer in the Mozarabic breviary immediately preceding the Lord's Prayer, which in this rite occurs near the end of the office. It changes with the day and office, and also varies much in length, but has no special characteristics to distinguish it from other Mozarabic prayers. The corresponding prayer in the Mass, not however called by this name, is directed to be said "ad orationem dominicam." Baronius, referring to an epistle of Pope Viglius, observes that formerly the word *Capitulum* was used of "preces quedam prolixiores in honorem Sanctorum vel Solemnitatum." [H. J. H.]

CAPITULARIUM. [ANTIPHONARIUM, p. 100.]

CAPITULARY. The term "Capitulary," means a set or collection of capitula or little chapters. It is applied to the laws and ordinances of the early Frankish sovereigns, because the laws enacted at one time and place were usually collected and published in a continuous series. The collective series was called a "Capitulary;" the several laws which were the members of the series were called "Capitula." The term has not in itself any ecclesiastical meaning, being also applicable to temporal laws. But, as a fact, the majority (though by no means the whole) of the Frankish Capitula were of an ecclesiastical character.

The edition of Baluze^a begins with Childeric's Constitution for the Abolition of Idolatry, 554 A.D. This is followed by various other capitula of the first race of kings, viz. of Lothaire I. and II., Dagobert, and Sigebert. Crime, slavery, marriage, contracts, pledges, judicial and ecclesiastical regulations, all find place among these laws, which furnish some interesting evidence of the religious, political, and social condition of France. They show strong traces of clerical influence, in the care which they take of ecclesiastical interests. The Merovingian princes were rude and unlearned, and were glad to make use of the abilities and learning of the priesthood; they were also dissolute, and perhaps glad to compound for their excesses by gratifying the priesthood; and both these causes conspired to throw wealth and power into episcopal hands. Nor was this state of things wholly without its advantages. The influence of the clergy mitigated the ferocity of the nobles, and it has been suggested that the humane tone of portions of the Merovingian laws is probably due to the part which they took in the formation of them.

It may be briefly mentioned that the following subjects appear repeatedly and with prominence:

The right of sanctuary in churches. The crime of doing violence to churches or monastic houses. The crime of violence to the persons or property of the clergy or monks.^b The right freely conferred on all men, without restraint, of making gifts of land or other property to the Church. The duty of a strict observance of the Lord's day.^c

It is impossible, however, here to discuss these laws in detail. Indeed, in the judgment of Guizot, they hardly deserve it. Civilisation during the Merovingian dynasty persistently declined, and in the Church the bishops came by degrees to constitute an irresponsible and ill-organized aristocracy,—the power of the Metropolitan and of the State having gradually declined.

We come next to a few Capitularies in the nominal reign of Childeric III., but in reality the work of Charlemagne and Pepin, and then to the Capitularies of Pepin le Bref as sovereign of the Franks in the year 752.

Of these latter Baluze gives five or six, but Hallam notices that only one is expressly said to be made "in generali populi conventu." The

^a Guizot speaks of this as, when he wrote, the best edition, but still only to be regarded as the materials for a really correct and satisfactory edition of the Capitularies. Since that time the voluminous and elaborate work of Periz has appeared, in which the Capitularies have been re-edited from MS. authority, and several unpublished by Baluze added to the number. This is therefore probably now the standard edition; but the references in this article have been kept to the work of Baluze, because it is more portable, and probably more accessible, and because Guizot's references are always made to it.

^b "In all temporal affairs the Theodosian Code was the universal law of the clergy. But the barbaric jurisprudence had liberally provided for their personal safety: a subdeacon was equivalent to two Franks; the arstunition and priest were held in similar estimation; and the life of a bishop was appraised far above the common standard, at the price of 500 pieces of gold" (Gibbon, vol. vi. chap. xxxviii.).

^c This subject recurs continually in the Capitularies.

rest appear to be due to synods; but it would, perhaps, be rash to conclude positively that they may not, in some cases, have had some kind of subsequent assent from the lay Counts.^d

It is, perhaps, hardly quite correct to say that the Capitularies of Pepin "relate without exception to ecclesiastical affairs" (Hallam, *Med. Ages*, vol. i. chap. ii. part 2). Not only are they concerned with questions of marriage and kindred matters, which perhaps are quasi-ecclesiastical, but one or two deal with tolls, with the regulation of money, with parricide, and with the administration of justice as well as secular as spiritual. The general complexion, however, is ecclesiastical. Amongst other things, two synods are to be held annually, and detailed regulations are made as to the rights of bishops, abbots, monks, and clergy.

The continuance in the laws of Pepin, and, as we shall see, in those of Charlemagne, of the same strong ecclesiastical type which is found in those of the Merovingians, is perhaps due, amongst other causes, to the desire to attract the Church to the side of the new dynasty. "In order to encounter and subvert the reverence which was still yielded to a merely titular monarch, the supposed descendant of the gods, it was necessary to enlist on their own side religious feelings of a far deeper nature, and of a much more solemn significance." (Sir J. Stephen, *Lect. on Hist. of France*, vol. i. p. 81.)

From the time of Pepin, however, the Sovereign Power set itself not only to advance the interests of the Church, but to correct its disorders. The strengthening of the Metropolitan authority and that of the Crown were among the means used for reorganizing the system.

We turn next to the important and copious legislation of Charlemagne.

The public Capitularies of Charlemagne are reckoned by Guizot at sixty in number. Five other documents of a more private character may also claim, in the opinion of that writer, a right to the name.^e Nearly all these Capitularies contain a large number of Capitula, or distinct articles in each of them. These amount in all to 1150, and are upon very various subjects, even when included in the same Capitulary. Guizot classifies—

80	under Moral Legislation,
273	" Political "
130	" Penal "
110	" Civil "
85	" Religious "
309	" Canonical "
73	" Domestic "
12	" Occasional "

Under the first head he places such articles as: "Turpe lucrum exereant qui per varias cir-

^d Comp. the 2nd Capit. of Charlemagne, A.D. 743, which begins—"Modo autem in hoc synodali conventu, qui congregatus est ad Kaleadas Martias in loco qui dicitur Liptenas, omnes venerabiles sacerdotes Dei et comites et praefecti prioris synodi decreta consentienter firmaverunt, seque ea implere velle et observare promiserunt" (Baluze, i. 149).

^e Baluze's collection contains many errors, but this is due to the loose use of the word "capitulary." Periz of course gives more still; and some of these last might probably be fairly considered as of a public character, and subject to the computation of Guizot.

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conventiones lucranda causa inhonesta res quaslibet congregare decertant" (Baluze i. 454). This is the 16th capitulum of a Capitulary made A.D. 806. It is rather a maxim of ethics than an edict or law.

Religious legislation in the above classification is such as relates not to ecclesiastics alone, but to all the faithful. In some points this resembles the moral in its tone. Thus we find: "Ut nullus credat quod non in tribus linguis (probably Latin, Greek, and German) Deus orandus sit: quia in omni lingua Deus adoratur, et homo exauditur, si iuste petierit" (Baluze i. 270). This is No. 50 of a set put forth A.D. 794.

Canonical legislation is the term for what concerns the relations of the clergy among themselves. The tendency of this class of Capitula is to uphold the power of the bishops. Even the monastic bodies are to be in subordination to them. In fact, Charlemagne appears to have considered that by reducing all the clergy under the episcopate, and then exercising a personal influence over the bishops himself, he was providing the best remedy for the condition of the Church, which was one of much disorganisation. He aimed at a stronger and more pervading discipline, not by reducing the episcopal powers, but by taking care that their vast powers were well exercised.

With the other heads of the classification we have not here to do, except in so far as under the title of "Political Legislation" some regulations are found as to the relation of the secular and ecclesiastical powers. These tend to show that Charlemagne, while giving great power to the bishops, consulting with them on church matters, and using their learning and intelligence for the general purposes of his government, was careful not to become their tool, nor to subject his own authority to theirs. "The laws which fix the obligations, the revenues, and the duties of the clergy, are issued in the name of the emperor; they are monarchical and imperial, not papal or synodical canons" (Millman, *Lat. Christ.* book v. chap. 1). In return for his having confirmed the system of tithes by a law of the empire, Charlemagne "assumed the power of legislating for the clergy with as full despotism as for the laity," though "in both cases there was the constitutional control of the concurrence of the nobles and of the higher ecclesiastics, strong against a feeble monarch, feeble against a sovereign of Charlemagne's over-riding character. His institutes are in the language of command to both branches of that great ecclesiastical militia, which he treated as his vassals, the secular and the monastic clergy." —*Ibid.*

In any inquiry, however, on the subject of Capitularies, it is necessary to bear in mind the extremely loose use of the word which prevails in Baluze and other editors. Guizot has pointed out that they apply this title equally to no less than twelve distinct kinds of documents. "We find in their collections of so-called Capitularies" —he says—

- "1. Ancient laws revised. (*Bal.* i. 281.)

¹ See 4th Capitulare, A.D. 806, cap. ii. (*Bal.* i. 450), and 1st Capitulare, A.D. 802, cap. xv (*Ibid.* i. 366). Pepin had laid down the same principle (*Bal.* i. 169).

"2. Extracts from ancient laws put together for some special purpose. (*Ibid.* i. 395.)

"3. Additions to ancient laws (amounting probably to new laws. (*Ibid.* i. 387.)

"4. Extracts from previous Canons. (*Ibid.* i. 209.)

"5. New laws properly so called.

"6. Instructions given by Charlemagne to his Missi, to guide them in their duties. (*Ibid.* i. 243.)

"7. Answers given by Charlemagne to questions from counts, bishops, &c., as to practical difficulties in their administration. (*Ibid.* i. 401.)

"8. Questions drawn up in order to be proposed for discussion to the bishops or counts at the next assembly, *e. g.*, 'To ascertain on what occasions and in what places the ecclesiastics and the lay seek, in the manner stated, to impede each other in the exercise of their respective functions. To inquire and discuss up to what point a bishop or an abbot is justified in interfering in secular affairs, and a count or other layman with ecclesiastical affairs. To interrogate them closely on the meaning of those words of the Apostle: "No man that warreth for the law entangleth himself with the affairs of this life." Inquire to whom these words apply.' (*Ibid.* i. 477.)

"9. Sometimes the so-called Capitula seem to be little more than memoranda. (*Ibid.* i. 395.) (Perhaps, however, this class is identical in reality with Class 6.)

"10. Judicial decrees. (*Ibid.* i. 398.)

"11. Regulations for the management of the royal lands and possessions. (*Ibid.* i. 331.)

"12. Matters of an executive and administrative rather than legislative nature. (*Ibid.* i. 26, in Art. 1, 6, 7, 8, 53, 54.")

It is obvious that a very different kind of sanction might be required for some of them from that which would be needed for others. No general rule can therefore be laid down applicable to all. Nor even in respect to those which are in the strictest sense legislative is it easy to discern an uniform constitutional procedure.

As regards ecclesiastical matters, it may probably be considered that the prelates were always consulted, though in most cases the initiative, and in all cases the final, authorization came from the Sovereign. Thus a Capitulary A.D. 813 of Canonical Rules is entitled—

"Capitula de confirmatione constitutionum quas episcopi in synodis auctoritate regia nuper habitis constituerunt."

If it could be safely assumed that all legislative Capitularia, on whatever subject, had the collective assent of one of the General Assemblies held in every year, it would follow that ecclesiastical laws had the assent of the laity. For

* See Baluze, Preface, §§ 7-9. He suggests that some of the apparent exceptions consist of capitula which are mere extracts from the *Church Councils*, and which therefore the royal authority may have been deemed competent to promulgate. In some other instances, he thinks

in these assemblies, counts and great men, as well as prelates, were present. Hincmar, in an important document at the close of the ninth century (Guzot, *Lois*, 20), gives some account of these assemblies, and says that it was in the option of the lay and ecclesiastical lords to sit together or separately, according to the affairs of which they had to treat—ecclesiastical, secular, or both. From this it might at first appear that canonical matters were considered by the clergy alone, but perhaps this may be rather understood of the previous discussion and preparation of the law. If so, it is consistent with its being finally submitted for the consent and approbation of the whole assembly.

The further question, as to which much controversy has taken place, whether the lesser freeholders had a share in legislation, and if so, whether their voice was given in the assembly, or when the Capitularies passed by the assembly were subsequently proclaimed locally in the different districts, is a matter rather of political inquiry, and hardly belongs to the subject of the present work. It is discussed by Hallam (*Middle Ages*, chap. ii, part II.), where references will be found to other authorities.

Upon the whole, it must always be borne in mind that in that early state of society—a state in which the master-mind of Charlemagne was reducing to something like order very chaotic elements—we must not expect to find any peculiar exactness of constitutional law. The will of the Sovereign was the motive power of the whole system, but before exercising it he availed himself of the advice of the counsellors who were most likely to be of service: no far all is clear. The extent to which he submitted every legislative regulation to the whole body of the assembly, held, with certain modifications, twice in the year, is a matter on which it is more difficult to speak positively. Perhaps the practice even as to legislative regulations was not uniform, while certainly the boundary between legislative and executive regulations was very ill-defined.

On the reception accorded to the Capitularies by the Church, and the quasi-canonical authority at-

tributed to them, much information will be found in the Preface of Baluze, § 18 et seq. See also the letter of Leo IV. in Gratian, *Dist.* 10, c. 9.

Capitularies subsequent to the reign of Charlemagne do not fall within our limits. The latest are those of Carloman in 882, after which there is a long blank in French legislation.

It does not seem that a formal collection of the Capitularies was made till they were edited in four books by Augustus, Abbot of Fouteuilla, who died in 833. These four books contain the laws of Charlemagne, and a portion of those of Louis le Débonnaire. Charles the Bald cites this work as a code of authority. Subsequently Benedict, a deacon of Mayence, about the year 842, added three more books. These, however, contain fragments of Roman and canon law, besides the Capitularies of the Carolingian kings. Four supplements again have been added by anonymous compilers.

Authorities.—*Capitularia Regum Francorum. Additæ sunt Marculfi monachi et aliorum formularæ veteres et notæ doctissimorum virorum. Stephanus Babuzius Tulemsis in unum collectæ, ad vetustissimos codices manuscriptorum mendacitatem, magnam partem nunc primum editæ, notis illustravit.* Parisiis, 1677 (2 vols.). Guizot's *Lectures on the History of Civilization in France*, translated by Hazlitt. Bogue, 1846. Hallam's *Middle Ages*. Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, Art. "Capitularien." Periz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, tom. i. Legum. Hanover, 1835. [B. S.]

capitularies may in the first instance have been put forth by the sole authority of the sovereign, but subsequently submitted to the general assemblies for their recognition and consent, where such a step seemed to be expedient.

Butler says, "They (the Capitularies) were generally promulgated in public assemblies composed of the sovereign and the chief men of the nation, as well ecclesiastics as secular" (*Home Juridicæ*, p. 129, edit. 1807).

In one case, in the reign of Childéric III., in a capitulary due to Pepin, we read that synods are to be held annually, "ut hæcæis amplius in populo non resurgat, sicut invenimus in Adalberto hæresim, quem publiciter nisi voce condemnaverant xxiii. episcopi et alii multi sacerdotum cum consensu Principis et populi," &c. (Bibl. i. 157). Here the laity seem to have had a consentient voice even in so purely spiritual a matter as heresy.

Hallam notices the more frequent mention of "general consent" in the capitularies of Charlemagne, as compared with those of his predecessors (*Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 215, 216, ed. 1855). On the other hand, the author of the article "Capitularies" in Herzog thinks that Hincmar's words point to a separation made by Charlemagne between the clergy and laity, so that the former obtained a right to make "leges ecclesiasticæ," as distinguished from capitularies (for which latter general assent was still needful); but subject to a veto on the part of the sovereign.

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CAPITULUM, CAPITULARE, = Κεφάλαιον.—(1) Properly, a summary or heading, under which many particulars are arranged; "brevis multorum complexio" (*Papian* ap. *Dr Cange*). Hence (2), in the plural, codes of law, ecclesiastical or civil, digested under chapters or capitula (so used in *Cod. Theodos.*). And inasmuch as these mostly applied to special emergent cases not adequately met by existing general laws, *Capitula* came to mean *Addimenta et Appendices legum*. So the *Capitula* or *Capitularia* of Charlemagne and his successors, mostly passed in mixed assemblies of clergy and laity. (3) The word came also to mean the (usually short) "chapter" itself, of which it was properly the heading. As, e.g. the *capitula* or short lessons (e.g. from the Psalms) for particular days, mentioned in the Council of Agda, A.D. 506, can. 21, and by Pope Vigilius, A.D. 538 × 555, *Epist.* 2; and by Pope Vigilius in the same Council of Agde, can. 30. And *Capitularia Evar. et aliorum in circulo Anni* was a list of the beginnings and endings of the Gospels for the Church year. So also, again (besides our modern use of the word "chapter"), the *Capitula* of a Monastic Rule. (4) And from this last-mentioned usage, coupled with the practice of reading a *capitulum* or chapter of the Rule, or (as was St. Augustine's practice) of the Scriptures, to the assembled canons or monks, the assembled canons or monks themselves came to be called, in a body, the *capitulum* or chapter [CHAPTER], and their meeting-place the chapter-house. And in process of time the term in this sense became limited to the cathedral chapter: "*Capitulum* dicitur respectu ecclesie cathedralis; concensus respectu ecclesie regularis; collegium respectu ecclesie inferioris ubi est collectio viventium in communi" (Lyndwood's *Congregatio* was the earlier term. [A. W. H.]

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Chrodegang, bishop of Metz († 766), in his *Rule* (c. 18) desires the canons of his order to assemble after prime, to hear a reading of a martyrology or some similar work; on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and on saints' days, treatises or homilies of an edifying kind were to precede this reading; on other days, the *Rule* itself, or a portion of it. Similar directions are frequent in later statutes. This assembly was called *capitulum*. (Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. iv. c. vii. § 4.) See also the *Life* of Benedict of Aniane by Ardo, c. 52 (in *Acta SS. Bened.* ssec. iv. pt. 1). In the *Life* of Germar, abbot of Flavivacum († 658?), the *third* hour is mentioned as the time for holding *capitulum* (c. 15, in *Acta SS. Hen. ssec. II.*); so in *Adrevaldus, De Mirac. S. Bened.* (c. 28, *ib.*). Dunstan (*Concordia*, cc. 1 and 5) desires *capitulum* to be held after prime in summer, after terce in winter. This seems to be in accordance with the intentions of St. Benedict: for one object of the *capitulum* was the distribution of the day's labour among the brethren; and according to his *Rule*, c. 48, labour was to begin after prime in summer, after terce in winter.

The place of holding the *capitulum* seems anciently (according to the *Ordo Conversal. Monast.* c. 3) to have been the cloister; but see CHAPPER-NOISE.

(5) The "little Chapter," said at all the canonical hours excepting Matins, after the psalms. It consists of one or two verses of Scripture, usually taken from the Epistles, whence the corresponding passage in the Ambrosian breviary is called *Epistolella*. It is often taken from the Prophets, and occasionally from other parts of Scripture. It is recited by the officiating priest, standing, and is not preceded by a *Benediction*. At the end "Deo Gratias" is said. See (3) above.

(6) An anthem in the Ambrosian rite said at Lauds after the psalms and before the antiphon, and varying with the day. That for ordinary Sundays is "Cantato Doroño canticum novum: laudatio ejus in ecclesia sanctorum." It is also said at the lesser hours, and at Compline following the *Responsio brevis*, after the *Epistolella*. [H. J. H.]

[Du Cange, Mayer, *Diss. in his Theas. Nov. Stat. Eccl. Bætes. Cathedr. et Colleg. in Germaniâ*; Walcott, *Sacred Archaeology*.]

CAPRASIUS, martyr at Agen, is commemorated Oct. 20 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CAPSA, also **CAPSULA**, **CAPSELLA**. A box or case. The name is applied to several kinds of caskets for ecclesiastical use.

1. The casket used to contain the unconsecrated elements. According to the direction of the *Ordo Romanus I.* c. 8, two acolytes bear in the procession before the pope, when about to celebrate, "capsas cum sanctis aptetas." On this passage Binterim (*Denkwürdigkeiten*, vii. 1, 363) observes that by 'sancta' in the neuter plural we are to understand, not the consecrated Body of the Lord, but the yet unconsecrated Elements, which the acolytes bore before the mass, just as after it they carried off the remains of the oblations in 'sacculi.' This procession corresponds, in fact, to the 'Greater Entrance' of the Greeks, in which the elements are borne in a solemn procession from the altar to the Holy Table.

solemn procession from the altar to the Holy Table.

2. *Capsa* sometimes designates the vessel in which the reserved Eucharist was borne from one place to another. The seventeenth canon of the council of Orange enjoins, "cum capsâ et calice offerentibus est, et admittens Eucharistie consecrandis" [CONSECRATION]. The meaning of this, Mabillon (*Comm. Prier. in Ort. Rom.* p. cxxxix) considers to be that, together with the 'capsa' containing the sacred vessels and perhaps the Eucharist, the chalice was also to be brought to the altar. The word *TURRIS* is used in a similar sense. Compare TABERNACLE.

3. A repository or SHRINE (Fr. *châsse*) for preserving the relics of saint. The legate of the Apostolic See in their letter to Horminadas (in *Horminadas Epistole*, p. 475, Migue) says that they suggested the making of shrines (*capsellas*) for the relics of each of the apostles severally in the church of the Apostles at Constantinople. In the description of the altar built by St. Benedict at Aniane, we read that an opening was made in the back of it for inserting the 'capsas' which contained relics of saints (*Acta SS. Feb. II.* 614). Compare ALTAR, p. 84.

4. A casket to contain the book of the Gospels. Ado of Vienne speaks (*Chronicon*, A.D. 519) of twenty 'capsas evangeliorum' of gold, richly jewelled [LITURGICAL BOOKS]. [C.]

CAPSARIUM. The room in which the *capsas* containing relics were placed. Perpetuus of Tours (circa A.D. 490), in his will (D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, v. 105) distinguishes a reliquary which he left to a friend from another gilded 'theca' which was in his *capsarium*, and which he left to the church (DuCange's *Glossary*, s. v.). [C.]

CAPSUM. The nave of a church. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* li. 14) describes a certain church as having thirty-two windows in the sanctuary, twenty in the nave (in capsu). (DuCange's *Glossary*, s. v.) [C.]

CAPTATORES. The leaving by testament the institution of an heir to the secret will of another was by the Roman law termed a *captatoria institutio*, and forbidden (see Dig. bk. xviii. t. v. ll. 70, 71, 81; Code, bk. vii. t. xxii. l. 11). In a less technical sense, however, the *captator* answered substantially to our legacy-hunter, and the scandal is one which seems to have been rife in the early church—as indeed the satirists shew it to have been in the heathen world of the day. Perhaps we may see a germ of it in what St. Paul says (ii. Tim. iii. 1, 2) of the "covetous" who shall be "in the last days," adding, "for of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women" (v. 6), though his description applies mainly to dishonest and selfish teachers. By the end of the 4th century, at any rate, Christian emperors had to legislate against it. A law of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian (A.D. 370) in the Theodosian Code, enacted that clerics or professors of continence were not to frequent the houses of widows and female wards, but should be banished by public judgment, if the relatives of such females should deem fit to prosecute them; nor should any such persons receive aid from the woman with whom they might become connected

under pretext of religion, by any kind of liberality, or by her last will; but any bequest to them from such females should be void, nor could they have and enjoy any trust either by donation or testament. Should anything be so given or bequest to them after the date of the law, the public exchequer was to receive it. Another law in the same Code (l. 27), of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius (A.D. 390), contains special provisions as to liberality by deaconesses, who amongst other things were forbidden to nominate as their heirs any church, cleric, or poor man; this however was partly revoked a few months later (l. 28 *ib.*) by the same emperors, so far as allowing the enjoyment of certain articles of personal use by clerics or servants, under the name of a church (Bingham does not seem quite to have understood the bearing of this last enactment). These laws, although as will be seen, they did not hold their ground in the state, are remarkable from the reference to them in one of Jerome's best known letters (*Ep.* 2, ad Nepotianum): "Shameful to say, the priests of idols, actors, charioteers, harlots receive inheritances; only to clerics and monks is this forbidden by law, and forbidden, not by persecutors but by the princes. Nor do I complain of this law, but lament that we should have deserved it." And he proceeds to draw one of his scathing sketches of those who devote a shameful service to old men and childless old women, besieging their bedsides, performing for them the most menial and repulsive offices, in dread at the doctor's entrance, asking with trembling lips if the patient be better, in peril if he become a little stronger, feigning joy whilst their minds are tortured by their avarice, sweating for an empty inheritance.

There is a striking analogy between Jerome's picture and one traced in one of the novels of Leo and Majorian, annexed to the Theodosian Code (bk. viii. N. vi. § 11; A.D. 458). It pretenses to restrain the avidity of these *captatores*, who by attendance by the bedside of persons they scarcely know, corrupt by simulated affection minds wearied with bodily illness and having no longer any clear judgment, so that forgetting the ties of blood and affinity, they may name strangers their heirs. Medical men are suborned to persuade their patient to wrong, and neglecting the care of healing become ministers to the covetousness of others. And it proceeds to enact that persons who could not claim in case of intestacy in any degree from a testator, if they should receive anything by way of bequest or trust, should give one-third to the treasury, until by fear of this the injustice of testators and dishonesty of captators should come to an end. It must be observed that this law, instead of being confined to clerics and monks like the previous ones, is of a general character. Perhaps, though it had not held its place, it has not been without influence on the differential duties imposed by most modern states on legacies and successions, which are generally highest as against strangers to the family of the testator or predecessor.

As respects the clergy, indeed, we find by a law almost contemporary with the last, inserted in Justinian's code, that of Valentinian and Marcian, A.D. 455 (bk. l. t. ii. l. 13), that widows, deaconesses, virgins dedicated to God, nuns, and women bearing any other name of religious

honour or dignity, received full liberty to leave by will or otherwise all or any part of their fortune. In short, the strongest laws against clerical captation which Jerome applauded seem to have been tacitly abrogated, utterly inconsistent as they were with the growth of Romish or Oriental priestcraft.

The term *hæresopitæ* seems only to differ from that of *captatores*, so far as it implies only the captation of inheritances, not of gifts from the living. [J. M. L.]

CAPTIVES, REDEMPTION OF. The disasters which fell upon the Roman empire in the 4th and 5th centuries gave a special prominence to this as one of the forms of Christian love, and it connects itself accordingly with some of the noblest acts and words of the teachers of the Church. Ambrose was charged by his Arian opponents with sacrilege for having melted down the eucharistic vessels of the church at Milan for this purpose, and defends himself against this charge on the grounds that this was the highest and best use to which he could have applied them (*De Offic.* ii. 28). Augustine did the same at Hippo (Possidius, *Vita*, c. 24). Acaclus, Bishop of Amulius, ransomed as many as 7000, who had been taken prisoners by the Persians (*Socr. H. E.* vii. 21); Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage, the Roman soldiers who had been carried off by Genseric after the capture of Rome (Victor *Utic. de persecut. Vandal.* l. *Beñ. Patr.* vii. p. 691). It is worth noting that this was not only admired in individual actions, but that the truth that mercy is above sacrifice was formally embodied in ecclesiastical legislation. The Code of Justinian (l. tit. 2, de *Sacros. Eccles.* 21), while forbidding the alienation of church vessels or vestments for any other purpose, distinctly permits them to be pledged or even sold for this or other like works of mercy or necessity. [E. H. P.]

CAPUA, COUNCIL OF, A.D. 389, provincial, respecting the schism at Antioch between Flavianus and Evagrius; also respecting the denial by Bonosus of the perpetual virginity of the B. V. Mary; passed also a canon against rebaptizing, re-ordination, and translation of bishops, embodied in the African code (*S. Ambros. Epist.* 78, 79; *Cod. Can. Afric.* 48; Labb. ii. 1039, 1072). [A. W. H.]

CAPUT JEJUNII. [Lent.]

CAPUTIUM, a covering for the head, worn by monks, sometimes sewn on to the tunic, as a hood (*Reg. Comm. S. Bened.* c. 55). [I. G. S.]

CAR, CART, CHARIOT, &c. Herzog (*Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche*, 8vo. Götta, 1861, s. v. "Sinbilder,") mentions a sculpture in St. Callixtus, which contains a chariot without driver, with pole turned backwards, and whips left resting on it. This, as he says, appears evidently intended as a symbol of the accomplished course of a life. In Bottari, tav. clx., two quadrigæ are represented at the base of an arch (covered with paintings of ancient date) in the second cubiculum of the catacomb of St. Priscilla on the Salarian Way. The charioteers carry palms and crowns in their hands, and the horses are decorated with palm-branches, or perhaps plumes; which connects the image of the chariot with St. Paul's imagination of the

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Christian race (1 Cor. ix. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 7). (See Martigny, s. v. "Cheval," and article HONOR in this book.)

Guenebault refers to a sculpture from an ancient Gothic or Frank tomb at Langres (*Univ. Pittoresque* (France), pl. xlv.), and to a cart or waggon on one of the capitals in the crypts in St. Denis (pl. iv. vol. ii. in A. Hugo, *France Pittoresque et Monumentale*). In Strutt (*View of the Inhabitants of England*, Lond. 1774, 4to. vol. i. p. 5, fig. 6) there is a chariot of the 9th century, so presumed. See also D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. cxiv. No. 14, and pl. cxvii. In the catacomb of St. Praetextatus (see Perret, *Catacombes*, vol. i. pl. lxxii.) there is a somewhat powerful and striking representation of the Chariot of Death, which is taking a departed woman into his car. [R. St. J. T.]

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rinth, is commemorated April 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CARITAS. [CHARITAS.]

CARPAPHORUS. (1) One of the COCONATI QUATUOR, commemorated Nov. 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

(2) Presbyter, martyr at Spoleto, commemorated Dec. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CARPUS. (1) Bishop, martyr at Pergamus, commemorated April 13 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

(2) The disciple of Paul, martyr at Tross, commemorated Oct. 13 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi); as "Apostle" and one of the Seventy, May 27 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) Bishop of Thyatira, martyr, Oct. 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CARDINAL. As the Benedictine Editors of St. Gregory the Great (*Ad Ep.* l. 15) truly remark: "Nomen vetus, nova æt dignitas, purpuræ rectoris." Our chronological limits extend at most to the early dawn of the dignity, which is a long way out of sight of the purple. Cardinal winds, cardinal numbers, cardinal virtues, the cardinal altar, and car-nal mass, are expressions all illustrative of the gradual adaptation of the term to that which was *chief* in the hierarchy. As the name of "pope," or "papa," was originally common to all bishops, so the chief presbyters and deacons of any church to which a cure of souls was attached were apt to have the term "cardinal" applied to them by way of distinction long before it was applied to the presbyters and deacons of the Church of Rome in particular. Parish churches had come to be called "titles," as conferring a title upon those who served them; and a title, from the notion of fixity that was implied in it, "cardo," the *hinge* on which, when fixed to a door, the door turns. Then, as there were chapels and oratories that were not parish churches—in other words gave no distinctive title—so there were priests and deacons attached to parish churches temporarily, that were not fixtures; or who went by their titles, yet were not therefore called cardinals. In the writings of St. Gregory the Great this distinction comes out strongly, being applied by him even to bishops, as is shown by Thomassin (*De Ren.* ii. part. ii. 115). Thus, on one occasion, he bids the Bishop of Grosseto visit the church of Porto Barate, then vacant, and ordain "one cardinal presbyter and two deacons there" (*Ep.* i. 15). On another occasion we find him naming Martin, a Corsican bishop, whose see had been destroyed, "cardinal priest," or "pontiff," of another church in the island that had long been deprived of its bishop (l. 79). Elsewhere, he forbids Januarius, archbishop of Cagliari, making Liberatus "a cardinal-deacon," unless furnished with letters dimissory from his own diocesan (i. 83). "Cardinales violentè in parochiis ordinatos forensibus in pristinum cardinem revocant Gregorius," as is said of him by his own biographer, John the Deacon (iii. 11), a writer of the 9th century; instances of which abound in his epistles: "cardinare" and "incardinare" are words used by him in describing this process. The bishop, priest, or deacon, made "cardinal" of a church in this sense, was attached to it permanently, in contradistinction to bishop; administering the

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affairs of a diocese during a vacancy, and priests or deacons holding subordinate or temporary posts in a parish church. Of titles, or parish churches in Rome, the number seems to have varied in different ages. According to Anastasius, or whoever wrote the lives of these popes (on which see Cave, s. v.), St. Eusebius, A.D. 100-9, divided the city amongst his presbyters, and appointed seven deacons. St. Fabian, A.D. 234-50, divided its "regions" amongst these deacons. Cornelius, the next pope, tells us himself of as many as 44 presbyters there then, while the number of deacons remained the same (Euseb. vi. 43). From St. Dionysius, A.D. 259-69, being also credited by his biographer with having divided the churches in Rome amongst his presbyters, and instituted cemeteries and parishes or dioceses, we must infer that the old arrangements had been thrown into confusion, and the number of churches diminished considerably, by the persecutions under Decius and Valerian. And this would explain what we are told once more by Anastasius, that St. Marcellus, A.D. 308-10, appointed 25 titles, as parishes (*quasi dioceses*) in the city, for administering baptism and penance to the multitudes converted from paganism, and for burial of the martyrs. Long after this, the number of titles in the city stood at 28. Accordingly, when we read of a presbyter or deacon of the Roman church without any further distinction, a member of the Roman clergy is meant who was attached to some chapel or oratory within the city. When we read of a presbyter or deacon of some particular title there, a member of the Roman clergy is meant, who was either temporarily or permanently attached to one of the 25 or 28 parish churches, or seven regions of the city; and to those permanently attached to either the name of "cardinal" was given, after it had got into use elsewhere. Anastasius himself, or a namesake and contemporary of his, had it applied to him (Cave, s. v.). The fact that the popes in those days were elected, like most other bishops, by the clergy and people of their diocese, is amply sufficient to account for the prodigious importance that attached gradually to the cardinal presbyters and deacons of the Church of Rome, throwing those of all other churches into the shade. Cardinal bishops were not known there for some time afterwards, as Thomassin shews (*ib.* c. 116). On the contrary, the rule laid down under anathema by the synod under Stephen IV. A.D. 769, was, in the words of Anastasius, that "nobody, whether a layman, or of any other rank soever, should be capable of being advanced to the pontifical dignity, who had not risen regularly step by step, and been made cardinal presbyter or deacon." But when Anastasius, a little further on, speaks of the same pope appointing the seven bishops, whom he calls "hebdomadal cardinals," to functionate at the altar of St. Peter in turn, he is probably not using the phrase in the exact sense which it has since borne: as in the Council of Constantinople that restored Photius, A.D. 879, and was contemporary with Anastasius, Paul, bishop of Ancona, and Eugenius, bishop of Ostia, were present as legates of John VIII., and were styled and subscribed as such; while Peter, the third legate, subscribed as "presbyter and cardinal," and was so styled throughout (Bever. *Synod.* ii. 299). Similarly, in the list of sub-

scriptions to the Roman synod that precede it, all the bishops write themselves bishops only, while the presbyters and deacons are written "cardinals" in addition. The seven bishops of Ostia, Porto, St. Rufina, Albano, Sabina, Tusculum, and Praeneste, began, in point of fact, to be called "cardinals" in the 11th century, or the age of St. Peter Damian, himself one of them, when formed into a college with the cardinal presbyters and deacons by the decree of Nicholas II. A.D. 1059, for electing all future popes. And it was a much later development by which bishops of distant sees came to be made cardinal deacons or presbyters of some church in Rome as well. For a description of the Roman church in the 11th century, by which time the seven cardinal bishops had been appointed to officiate there in turn for the pope: and the 28 cardinal presbyters distributed between the four churches of St. Mary Major, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Laurence, seven at each, see the old ritual in Barua, A.D. 1057, n. 19; Comp. the *Liber Diuini Pontif. Rom.* iii. 11, in Migne's *Patrol.* v. p. 77; and more in Du Cange, Hoffman, Moreri, Morone, s. v.; and Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* v. 155-8. [E. S. F.]

CARENA (= *Quadragesima*). A forty-days' fast, imposed by a bishop upon clergy or laity, or by an abbot upon monks [PENTENCE]. A MS. Penitential, quoted by DuCange (s. v.), speaks of fasting on bread and water, "quod in communi sermone *carina* vocatur." [C.]

CARNIPRIVIUM, or **CARNISPRIVIUM**. This name is said by Macer (*Hieroglyphicon*, s. v.) to be applied to Quinquagesima Sunday, as being the last day on which it was permitted to eat flesh, the Lent fast anciently commencing on the following day, as, he says, is still customary with the Orientals and with some religious orders in Europe. In the calendar of the Greek Church, however, the *Κυριακή Ἀποκριῶν* [ΑΠΟΚΡΙΟΙΣ] is *Scagesima* Sunday. Beeth says (*Rationale*, c. 65), "Secunda Dominica Septuagesimae dicitur vulgo *carnis-privium*," where by the "second Sunday of Septuagesima" we must no doubt understand Quinquagesima; and this Sunday is called in the Mozarabic Missal *Dominica ante carnis tollendas* (DuCange's *Glossary*, s. v.) [C.]

CARNIVAL. This word, variously derived from "curo vale," or "ubi caro valet," is applied, in the narrowest sense, to the three days preceding Ash-Wednesday; in a wider sense to the whole period from St. Blaise's Day (Feb. 3) to Ash-Wednesday. The period immediately preceding Lent has long been a season devoted to somewhat more than usual gaiety, in anticipation of the austerities of Lent. (Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*.) [C.]

CARPENTORACENSE CONCILIIUM [CARPENTRAS.]

CARPENTRAS, COUNCIL OF [near Narbonne, CARPENTORACENSE], A.D. 527, Nov. 6, respecting the fair distribution of revenue between the bishop and the parish-priest [*Lab. Conc.* iv. 1663]. [A. W. H.]

CARTHAGE, COUNCILS OF. [AFRICAN COUNCILS.]

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syuod that precede it. themselves bishops only, and deacons are written. The seven bishops of Albano, Sabina, Tuscan, in point of fact, to in the 11th century, or an, himself one of them, with the cardinal preside decree of Nicholas II. future popes. And it ment by which bishops e made cardinal deacons urch in Rome as well. Roman church in the time the seven cardinal te to the church of nte there in turn for rdinal presbyters distr- churches of St. Mary ul, and St. Laurence, old ritual in Baroa. *de Liber Diu nus Pontif. Patrol.* v. p. 77; and an, Moreri, Morone, s. v.; l. v. 155-8. [E. S. F.]

ragena). A forty-days' p upon clergy or laity, onks [PENTECOSTE]. A d by Duengue (s. v.), and water, "quod in vocatur." [C.]

OF CARNISPRIVIVM. This (*Hiero'caricon*, s. v.) gesima Sunday, as being it was permitted to eat ently commencing on the s, is still customary with some religious orders in ar of the Greek Church, *Αρόρεως* [ΑΡΟΡΕΩΣ] is eleth says (*Rationie*, e. a Septuagesimae dicitur here by the "second a" we must no doubt ma; and this Sunday is ic Missal *Dominica ante e's Glossary*, s. v.) [C.]

word, variously derived abi caro valet," is applied, to the three days pre- in a wider sense to Blaise's Day (Feb. 3) to period immediately preben a season devoted to and gaily, in anticipation at. (Wetzer and Welte's [C.]

TENSE CONCILIVM

COUNCIL OF [FRANCIFENSE]. A.D. 527, Nor. distribution of revenue d the parish-priest [Abb. [A. W. H.]

COUNCILS OF. [AFRICAN

[DOLIVM.]

CASSIANUS

CASSIANUS. (1) Martyr at Saragossa, 18 commemorated April 16 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Bishop and confessor of Autun, is commemorated Aug. 5 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr at Rome (Bede), or at Imola (*Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi, is commemorated Aug. 13 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Usuardi).

(4) Martyr at Tangiers, is commemorated Dec. 3 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(5) Of Rome, A.D. 431, is commemorated Feb. 29 (*Cal. Byzant.*). Perhaps identical with (3). [C.]

CASSIUS. (1) Martyr at Damascus, is commemorated July 20 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr, is commemorated Oct. 10 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CASSOCK. (*Ital.* Casacha, Casachina; *Fr.* Casaque; *Flem.* Casacke.) It is not easy to determine with what older words, or with what older garment, the present 'cassock,' as a garment and as a word, is to be identified. Some have thought that the Italian 'casacha' and the French 'casaque' are to be traced to 'caracalla' (see the article above), 'casacha' representing an older 'caracha.' Others trace the word through *κασῶς* or *κασῶς* (Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 3, 6-8; Jul. Pollux, vii. 68, describing it as *ἰσχυρὸς χιτῶν*) to *κάς*, skin or hide. In connection with this it may be noticed that Agatharctides (a Greek grammarian, at Alexandria, of the 2nd century B.C.), quoted by Lepsius (*Ep. ad Belgas*, 44), states that the Egyptians had certain garments made of felt which they called *κάραι*. "Apud Aegyptios *στολὰς τινὰς πηλῆρας*, verba sunt Agatharctidae, *προσαγορεύουσι κάραις* . . . Acue in ultima habes '*casack*,' difficulti alias originations." See this and other references in Ménage, *Dict. Etym.* under 'Casaque.' [W. B. M.]

CASTOLUS, or CASTULUS, martyr at Rome, is commemorated March 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CASTOR, martyr at Tarsus, is commemorated April 27 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi); also March 28 (*ib.*). [C.]

CASTORIUS. (1) Martyr at Rome, is commemorated July 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi). (2) Martyr at Rome under Diocletian, Nov. 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Usuardi). [C.]

CASTIS. (1) Martyr in Africa in the 3rd century, is commemorated May 22 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr, Sept. 4 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi). (3) Martyr at Capua, Oct. 6 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CASULA. (See also AMPHIBALUM, PLANETA, BIVLA, PAENULA.)

§ 1. *The word and its derivation.*—The word *Casula* (whence *Fr.* and *Eng.* *Chasuble*), a diminutive originally of *casa*, "a cottage," comes before us in patristic literature in two senses. It is used, first, in its literal meaning of a cottage or hut; as by St. Gregory of Tours (*De Mirac. S. Juliani*, cap. xlv.), and by St. Isidore of Seville (*De Off. Eccl.* lib. II. 'de mon'chis'). It is used also, and far more commonly, as a designation for an outer garment; the word having been in all

CASULA

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probability a provincial term, of popular use, for the garment which in the older Latin was known as a *paenula*. St. Isidore of Seville, circ. 600 A.D., is the first writer who gives any formal derivation of the word, or anything approaching to a description of the garment itself. "The casula," he says (*De Origin.* xix. cap. 21), "is a garment furnished with a hood (*vestis cucullata*); and is a diminutive of 'casa,' a cottage, seeing that, like a small cottage or hut, it covers the entire person." Philo Judaeus, some 600 years earlier, had used a similar comparison, when, describing a garment made of goat-skins (no doubt a rough *paenula*) commonly worn in his time, he says that it formed a "portable house" (*φορητὴ οἰκία*) for travellers, soldiers, and others, who were obliged to be much in the open air. (*De Victimis*, Philonis Opp. Fol. Paris, 1640, p. 836, A.)

§ 2. *Form and material of the Casula.*—As a description of the form or appearance of the casula, which will add anything to that of St. Isidore already quoted, the earliest notice we have is in a MS. of uncertain date (probably 9th century, or thereabout), containing fragmentary notices of the old Gallican liturgy (Martone, *Theaurus Anecdot.* tom. v. col. 99): "Casula, quam amphibalum vocant quo sacerdos induitur, tota unita . . . Ideo sine manicis, quia sacerdos potius benedicit quam ministrat. Ideo unita extrinsecus, non scissis, non aperta, quia multae sunt Scripturae sacrae secreta mysteria, quae quasi sub sigillo sacerdos doctus debet abscondere," etc. This "vestment," for Church use, for such it here is (see below, § 5), is here described as "made in one piece throughout," as "without sleeves," and "without slit or opening in front." This description is exactly what might be expected on the supposition that the casula was virtually a *paenula* under another name. And it exactly corresponds with the earliest representations of the chasuble preserved in ecclesiastical art. (See PLANETA.)

The materials of the casula varied according to the purposes to which it was designed to serve. In the earlier periods of its history, when it was regarded as a garb of very humble pretensions, it was made of wool (St. Augustine, *De Civit.*, quoted below, § 9), and probably also, like the *paenula*, often of skins, dressed with the wool or fur upon them. But, from the sixth century downwards, we hear of chasubles of brilliant colour (*superbis coloris*), and of costly materials, such as silk. Boniface III. (A.D. 806) sent a chasuble, formed partly of silk and partly of fine goats'-hair, as a present to king Pepin. (Bonifacii, P. P. III. *Epist.* III. apud Oct. Ferrarium, *De Re Vest.* p. 685.)

§ 3. *Various uses of the Casula.*—The earliest notices of the casula shew that, like the *paenula*, it was originally a garment of very humble character, such as would be worn by peasants and artisans as their ordinary out-door dress, for protection against cold and wet. Being furnished with a hood, it was both hat and cloak in one. St. Augustine, writing about the close of the 4th century, but speaking of a story dating from before his own time, tells a tale of one Florentius, a working tailor at Hippo, who lost his casula, and had no money to buy a new one (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. xxii. cap. 8, § 9). Fifty "folles," as we learn from the course of the story, would have been thought about a reasonable sum for him to pay. But he himself for greater economy meant

to buy some wool, which his wife might make up for him as best she could. In another passage (*Sermon* evil. cap. v. opp. tom. v. p. 530) St. Augustine speaks of the casula as a garment which any one of his congregation might be expected to possess, and one which every one would take care to have good of its kind. A notice of the casula, preserved to us in Procopius (*De Bello Vandalico*, lib. ii. cap. 26), shews that even to his time (circa 530) the tradition had survived of the very humble character attaching to this dress. He has occasion to speak of the abject submission by which Areobindus, when defeated by Gotharis, sought to disarm the anger of the victor. And he speaks of him as putting upon him an outer garment insulted for a general, or for any warlike usage, but befitting a slave or a man of humble station; this being, he adds, what the Romans, in the speech of Latium, call *casobla*.

§ 4. *Worn by Monks, and, as an out-door dress, by the Clergy.*—The same reasons which made the casula a suitable dress for peasants, recommended it also as a habit for monks. Ferrandus, first the deacon and afterwards the biographer of Facondus, bishop of Ruspæ, in Africa, tells us that the bishop retained his monastic dress and ascetic habits after being advanced to episcopal dignity (circa 507 A.D.). He continued to wear a monk's leathern girdle (*pelliceam cingulum*); and neither used himself, nor permitted his monks to use, a casula of costly quality or of brilliant colour ("Casulam pretiosam vel superbi coloris nec ipse habuit, nec suos monachos habere permisit"). At a period a little after this St. Caesarius, archbishop of Arles in Gaul († 540), is described as wearing a casula in his ordinary walks about the streets (*S. Caesarii Vita, apud Acta Sanctorum, Augusti d. xvii. tom. vi.*). And he had also one special casula, of finer material doubtless, and either white or of some rich colour, for processional use. ("Casulam, qua in processionibus utebatur, et albam paschalem, profert, latque egeno, jubetque ut vendat uni ex clero.") The same bishop, in his will, when disposing of his wardrobe, distinguishes between the *indumenta paschalia*, or vestments for church use on Sundays and high festivals, which had been presented to him, and his *casula villosa*, or long-napped clonk, which would be suitable for out-door wear only:—"Sancto et domino meo archiepiscopo, qui mihi indigno digne successerit . . . indumenta paschalia, quæ mihi data sunt, omnia illi serviant, simul cum casula villosa et tunica vel galnape quod melius dimisero. Reliquæ vero vestimenta mea, excepto birro amiculari, mei tam clericis quam laici . . . dividant."

At or just after the close of the sixth century a further notice of the casula, preserved to us by John the Deacon (*Vita Gregorii Vita*, lib. iv. cap. 63), serves to indicate that the casula, worn at Rome as an out-door habit by ecclesiastics, must have differed in some respects from the customary dress then worn in the East by persons of the same class. One abbot John, a Persian, came to Rome in St. Gregory's days, "ad adorandum loculos sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli." "One day," so he himself tells the story, "I was standing in the middle of the city, when who should come across towards me but Papa Gregorius. Just as I was thinking of making my obeisance to him ("miltere me ante eum"), the pope came close up, and seeing my intention,

sicut coram Deo dico, fratres, he bowed himself to the ground before me, and would not rise till I had done so first. Then embracing me with much humility, he slipped three pieces of money into my hand, and desired that a casula should be given me, and everything else that I required."

This use of the casula as the characteristic out-door garb of the clergy, and in many places also of monks, was maintained in the West from the 5th to the 8th century. In the Council of Ratisbon, held in April, A.D. 742, under the presidency of St. Boniface, one of the canons determined on was directed against those of the clergy who (in out-door life, as we may infer) adopted the dress of laymen, the *surpula*, or short open clonk then commonly worn. "We have decreed that presbyters and deacons shall wear, not 'surpula, but 'casulae, as becometh servants of God." ("Decevinus quoque ut presbyteri vel diaconi non singis laicorum more, sed casulis utantur, cum servorum Dei.")

§ 5. *Use of the Casula as a Vestment of Holy Ministry.*—From the 5th to the 8th century the term PLANETA (q. v.) appears to have been the term ordinarily employed in Italy and Spain, if not elsewhere, for the supervestment worn in offices of holy ministry. The earliest un doubted evidence of the word casula being used in this precise meaning dates from the 9th century, or possibly the 8th, if the Sacramentary of St. Gregory belongs in its present form to that time. But the usages of words in formal documents such as this last, confirmed as this is by the nearly contemporary writings (circa 820) of Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius, and Walafrid Strabo, indicate, generally, a considerably earlier popular usage. However this may be, we know that from the date of these last writers to the present time, the word casula has been used as the exact equivalent of planeta by western ritualists, and has in general usage quite superseded all other terms, such as *amphibalium*, *infula*, *planetæ*, by which at various times it has been designated.

It does not fall within the compass of this work to trace the various modifications of the 'chasuble,' in respect of form, material, and ornament, from the 9th century downwards, or to treat of the various symbolical meanings attributed to it. Full information, however, upon these points will be found in the following treatises. Boek, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. 8vo., Bonn, 1866; Pugin, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*, fol., London, 1846; Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, London, 1849; and in the *Vestiarius Christianum* (London, 1808) of the writer of this article. [W. B. M.]

CATABASIA (*Καταβασία*). An anthem or short hymn in the Greek offices, so called because the two sides of the choir come down (*καταβαίνουσα*) into the body of the church and unite in singing it. It often occurs between the "odes" of a "cannon;" and its construction is that of any other "troparion." Sometimes two "catabasies" occur together between each ode, as on the Sunday after Christmas-day, where each pair consists of the first troparion of the corresponding odes of the two canons for Christmas-day, mentioned in a preceding article. [H. J. H.]

CATACOMBS. Few words are more familiar, or more universally intelligible than "Catacombs,"

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... he bowed himself and would not rise till men embracing me with three pieces of money and that *casula* should be else that I required." as the characteristic outward in many places also in the West from the ... In the Council of A.D. 742, under the pre- of the canons deter- minant those of the clergy in Italy and Spain, if not vestment worn in offices earliest undoubted evi- being used in this precise 8th century, or possibly of St. Gregory he to that time. But the documents such as this by the nearly contem- of Rabanus Maurus. St. Abbo, indicate, gener- or popular usage. How- that from the date of present time, the word the exact equivalent of lists, and has in general all other terms, such as *castra*, by which at various ted.

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Barla). An anthem or offices, so called because come down (*karabala*) the church and unite in between the "odes" construction is that of Sometimes two "cata- between each ode, as of -mas-day, where each -trouper of the corre- canons for Christ- -ing article. [H. J. H.]

... words are more familiar, ible than "Catacomb,"

as signifying a subterranean excavation con- structed for the internment of the dead. Yet in its original meaning the word had no connection whatsoever with sepulture, or even with exen- tious, but was simply used as the name of a particular district in the vicinity of Rome.*

The word *Catacumbæ*, the earliest form in which we meet with it, is unquestionably de- rived from the Greek *κατὰ* and *κῦμα*, "a hol- low," and so "a cup," "a boat," &c., a widely spread root which we trace in the Greek *κῦμα*, *βαθος*, the Latin *Cymba*, the Celtic *Cym*, the A.-S. *Cūmbe*, and the Piedmontese *Comba*, "a valley," or "hollow." It is allied to the Sans- krit *kaumbha*, "a pit." In DuCange (*Gloss. Med. & Inf. Græcitas*) we find "Κῦμα, Cymba— κλαία περιφερὴ Ῥωμαίων, Ἰνδίας." "κῦματιον, εἶδος ποταμοῦ παραλίθιον τῷ σχήματι κλοῖον ἢ καλεῖται κῦματιον." *Auctor. Etymol.* The district near the tomb of Cecilia Metella and the Circus of Itonulus on the Appian Way appears, probably from its natural configuration, to have borne this designation. In the *Imperii Cæsariani*, a document of the 7th century, printed by Eckard in his *Corpus Hist. Med. Aet.* vol. i. p. 31, the erection of the Circus of Maxentius, or Romulus, A. D. 311, in that locality is spoken of in these words, "Maxentius Terminus in Palatio fecit et Circum in *Catecumbis*." The site of the adjacent Basilica of St. Sebastian is indicated by the same name in a letter of Gregory the Great to Con- stantia (the daughter of the Emperor Tiberius Constantinus, married by him to his successor Maurice) towards the end of the 6th century, ex- ceusing himself for not sending her the head of the Apostle Paul, which she had requested as a gift to the Church she had erected in his honour (*Greg. Mag. Epist.* iv. Ind. xii. Ep. 30). Speak- ing of the bodies of the Apostles Peter and Paul he writes "quæ ducta usque ad secundum urbis miliarium in loco qui dicitur [ad] *cat-cumbas* collocata sunt." A various reading, *catocumbas*, found in some MSS., and adopted by Baronius, *Hystorol.* ad xiii. Kal. Feb. has led some writers to adopt a different etymology, *ad* (*κατὰ*) *tum- bus*, and to consider the word an early synonym for "coemeterium." But the best MSS. read *cumbas* not *tumbas*, and there is no ground for believing that Christian burial places generally were known by any such name till a considerably later period. The view of Padre Marchi (*Monum. Primæ*, p. 209), that the word *cat-cumbæ* is a mongrel, half Greek and half Latin, and that the second element is to be found in the verb *cumbo*, is based on false philological principles, and may safely be rejected. The distance of the Basilica of St. Sebastian from the Tiber is a sufficient reason for discrediting the etymology of the anony- mous author of the *History of the Translation of St. Sebastian*, c. vi. "Milliaris tertio ab Urbe, loco qui ob stationem navium *Catacumbas* dicitur."

All through the middle ages the phrase "ad catacumbas" was used to distinguish the sub- terranean cemetery (*cat-cumb*) in the modern sense) adjacent to the Basilica of St. Sebastian ("in loco qui appellatur *C. Catecumbas* ubi corpus beati Sebastiani martyris cum aliis quiescit.")

* For other examples of a local name becoming generic cf. "Capitol," "Palace," "Academy," "Newgate," "Bollan," &c.

Anast. Hadrian. l. § 343; "coemeterio Sancti Christi martyris Sebastiani in *cat-cumba*." *Id.* Nicolaus l. § 601) while the term itself in its re- stricted sense designated a subterranean chapel communicating with that Basilica in which, according to tradition, the bodies of the two great Apostles had been deposited after the in- effectual attempt of the Greeks, referred to by S. Gregory u. s. to steal them away (*Hosio, Rom. Soteran.* cap. xiii.). In documents from the 6th to the 13th century we continually meet with the expressions "festum ad catacumbas," "locus qui dicitur in catacumbas," and the like. The earliest authority is a list of the Roman ceme- teries of the 6th century, where we find "*cime- terium catecumbas ad St. Sebastianum Via Appia*." In the *De Mirabilibus Rebus* of the 13th century we read "*Coemeterio Calisti juxta Catacumbas*." The first recorded use of the word in its modern sense out of Rome is at Naples in the 9th century (*De Rossi, R. S. l. 87.*)

Here, at the beginning of the 8th century, writes, *de Sæ actibus sancti* ad ann. 4327. "Damasus, Romæ episcopus fecit basilicam juxta theatrum S. Laurentio et aliam in *cat-cumbis* ubi jace- runt corpora sancta Apostolorum Petri et Pauli." The celebrity acquired by this cemetery as the temporary resting-place of the chief of the Apostles led to a general familiarity with its name, and a gradual identification of the term "*cat-cumbæ*" with the cemetery itself. When in process of time the other underground places of internment of the Christians fell into neglect and oblivion, and the very entrances to them were concealed, and their existence almost for- gotten, this one beneath the Church of St. Sebastian remained always open as the object of pilgrimage, and by degrees transferred its name to all similar subterranean cemeteries. "A visit to the cemeteries became synonymous with a visit *ad cat-cumbas*, and the term *cat-cumb* gradually came to be regarded as the specific name for all subterranean excavations for purposes of burial, not only in the neighbourhood of Rome, but also in Naples, Malta, Paris, Sicily, and wherever else similar excavations have been discovered" (*Northeote, R. S. 109*).

Origin.—Until a comparatively recent period a very erroneous opinion as to the origin of the subterranean cemeteries of Rome was univer- sally entertained. No one thought of calling in question the assertion that they were ex- hausted sandpits, and had been originally exca- vated for the purpose of obtaining the volcanic stratum known as *arena* by the ancients, and as *porzolana* by the moderns, so extensively used by them in the composition of their mortar; and that the Christians, finding in the laby- rinthine recesses of these deserted *arenarie* suit- able places for the concealment of the bodies of their martyred brethren, had taken possession of them and employed them as cemeteries. There was great plausibility about this view. It seemed to derive support from the 'Martyro- logies' and other ancient documents in which the expressions in *arenario*, or *juxta arenarum*, or in *cryptis arenariis* are of not unfrequent

* In the same way as this cemetery of St. Sebastian was known by the designation "ad catacumbas," others were specified as "ad Nymphas," "ad Ursinum pileatum," "inter duas lauros," "ad Sextum Philippi," and the like.

occurrences. It also removed the seeming difficulty, which a fuller understanding of the laws regulating sepulture among the Romans has dissipated, as to the possibility of a small and persecuted body excavating galleries of such enormous extent, and disposing of the material extracted from them without attracting the notice and provoking the interference of the supporters of the dominant religion. Once started and given to the world under the authority of the names of men of acknowledged learning it found general acceptance, and became an historical tradition indolently accepted by one generation of investigators after another. Bosio, the pioneer of all subsequent examinations of the catacombs, maintained a discreet silence upon the origin of the subterranean cemeteries; but their Pagan origin is accepted by Baronius, Severano, Bottari, Boldetti, and other writers on the subject. Marchi, with a touch of quiet sarcasm, affirms that it causes him no surprise that this hypothesis should have been maintained by Bottari, who, it is abundantly evident, "studied the subterranean Rome quite at his ease not under but above ground." (Marchi, *u. s.* p. 15.) But he confesses to astonishment that "the excellent Boldetti," with all the opportunities afforded by personal examination for perceiving the wide difference between the *arenariæ* and the cemeteries which lie below them, should have never seen the untenableness of the traditional view. In more modern times the same origin of the catacombs was asserted by D'Agincourt, Raoul-Rochette, and indeed by every one who wrote on the subject. Padre Marchi has the merit of being the first to promulgate the true doctrine that the catacombs were the work of Christians alone, and from the first designed for places of sepulture. The Padre ingeniously informs us (p. 7) that he commenced his investigations with the most unquestioning faith in the universally received theory, and that it was only by degrees that his studies and experience, not among books and papers, but in quarries, cemeteries, and sand-pits, led him to an opposite conclusion, and put him in a position to declare to the world as an unquestionable fact, that in the Christian cemeteries no Pagan ever gave a single blow with pickaxe or chisel. The brothers De Rossi, the pupils of Padre Marchi in the work of investigation, have continued his labours in the same path of patient examination of facts, and that with such success that it may now be regarded as established beyond controversy that the origin of the catacombs was Christian and not Pagan, and that they were constructed expressly for the purpose of interment, and had no connection with the *arenariæ* beyond that of juxtaposition. In certain cases, as at St. Callistus and St. Agnes, the catacombs lie at the side of or beneath those excavations, so that they are entered from them, the *arenariæ* effectually masking the doors of access to the Christian galleries, while they afforded them an easy mode of removing the excavated earth.

Padre Marchi's confidence in the old theory of the Pagan origin of the catacombs was first disturbed by a careful examination of the geological characteristics of the strata in which they were, as a rule, excavated. The surface of the Campagna surrounding Rome, especially on the left

bank of the Tiber, where the catacombs are chiefly situated, is almost entirely formed of materials of volcanic origin. These igneous strata are of different composition and antiquity. We will only specify the three with which we are concerned, viz., the so-called *tufa litoidè*, *tufa granolare*, and *pozzolana pura*. The *pozzolana pura* is a friable sand rock, entirely destitute of any cementing substance to bind the molecules together and give them the nature of stone. The *tufa granolare* is in appearance almost the same rock as the *pozzolana pura*. The distinguishing mark is the presence of a slight cement, which gives the mass some degree of solidity, and unites the sandy particles into a stone which is cut with the greatest ease. The third stratum, the *tufa litoidè*, is a red conglomerate cemented into a substance of sufficient hardness to form an exceedingly useful building stone. Of these three strata, it was the first and the last alone which were worked by the ancient Romans for architectural purposes, while it is exclusively in the second, the *tufa granolare*, that the catacombs were excavated. The *tufa litoidè* was employed from the earliest ages, as it still is, in the buildings of Rome. The interior of the *Clœca Maxima*, the *Tabularium* of the Capitol, and others of the most ancient architectural works, attest its durability, as well as the early date of its use, and it is still extensively quarried as building stone at the foot of Monte Verde, outside the Porta Portese (Murray's *Hand-book for Rome*, p. 324). While this formation furnished the stone for building, the third named—the *pozzolana pura*, found in insulated deposits, rarely of any considerable extent—supplied the sand required for the composition of the mortar, and as such is commended by Vitruvius (*Arch.* iii. 7) as preferable to every other kind. The vicinity of Rome, and indeed some parts of the city itself, abounded in *pozzolana* pits, or *arenariæ*, forming an intricate network of excavations, not running in straight lines, as the galleries of the catacombs do almost universally, but pursuing tortuous paths, following the direction of the sinuous veins of the earth the builders were in search of. References to these sand-pits, whose dark recesses afforded secure concealment as well to the perpetrators of deeds of blood as to their intended victims, appear in some of the chief classical writers. Cicero mentions that the young patrician Asiaticus had been inveigled into the gardens of the Esquiline, where he was murdered and precipitated into one of the sand-quarries: "Asinius autem . . . quasi in hortulos iret, in arenarias quasdam extra Portam Esquilinam deductus occiditur" (*Orat. pro Cluentio*, c. 13). Suetonius also relates that when the trembling Nero, fearing instant assassination, took refuge in the villa of his freedman Pharon, between the Nomentan and Salaria roads, he was advised to conceal himself in a adjacent sand-pit, "in specum *egestas arenæ*," but he vowed that he would not go underground alive. "negavit se vivum sub terram Iturum" (Sueton. in *Neron.* 48).

Exhausted sand-pits of this kind also afforded burial places for the lowest dregs of the populace, for slaves, and others who on ceremonial grounds were denied the honour of the funeral pile. The best known are those left by the sand-diggers on the Esquiline, which, we learn

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CATACOMBS

from Horace, were used as common receptacles for the vilest corpses, and defiled the air with their pestilential exhalations, until Maecenas rescued the district from its degradation and converted it into a garden (*Horat. Serr.* i. 8, 7-16).

"Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis,
Conversus vili portanda locabat in arca.
Huc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulchrum."

(Cf. the commentary of Acron the Scholiast on the passage: "Huc aliquando cadavera portabantur plebeiorum sive servorum: nam sepulchra publica erant antea.") These loathsome burial pits were known by the names of *puteoli* or *puteolae*; a diminutive of *puteus*, "a well," according to the etymology given by Festus. They were also designated *culinae*, from their shape. (*Faciolat. sub. voc. culina*; Padre Lupi, *Dissertationi*, I. § cxxxix. p. 63).

We need not pause to refute the monstrous theory so carelessly propounded by Basnage, Burnet, Mison, &c., which identified the first beginnings of the Christian catacombs with these horrible charnel-houses, which were the opprobrium of Paganism, and asserted, in Burnet's words, that "those burying-places that are graced with the pompous title of catacombs are no other than the *puteoli* mentioned by Festus Pompeius, where the meanest sort of the Roman slaves were laid, and so without any further care about them were left to rot." The most superficial acquaintance with the catacombs will convince us of the absurdity of such an hypothesis, and prove the correctness of the assertion that "the *puteoli* into which the carrion of the Roman slaves might be flung had not the slightest analogy with the decorous, careful, and expensive provisions made by the early Christians for the conservation of their dead" (*Edin. Rev.* No. 221, Jan. 1859).

But, if otherwise probable, this presumed connection between the *arenariae* and the cemeteries of the Christians would be at once disproved by the remarkable fact first noticed by P. Marchi, and confirmed by the investigations of the brothers De Rossi, to which we have alluded above, that the strata which furnished *pozzolana pura* were carefully avoided by the excavators of the catacombs, who ran their vast system of galleries almost exclusively in the *tufa granularis*. While, on the one hand, they avoided the solid strata of the *tufa litoides*, which could not be quarried without at least threefold the time and labour required in the granular tufa, and the excavated material from which could not be disposed of without great inconvenience, with equal care these subterranean engineers avoided the layers of friable *pozzolana* which would have rendered their work insecure, and in which no permanent gallery or rock tomb could have been constructed, and selected that stratum of medium hardness which was best adapted for their peculiar purpose. The suitability of the *tufa granularis* for the object in view cannot be better stated than in the words of Dr. Northcote: "It is easily worked, of sufficient consistency to admit of being hollowed out into galleries and chambers without at once falling in, and its porous nature causes the water quickly to drain off from it, thus leaving the galleries dry and wholesome, an important consideration when we

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think of the vast number of dead bodies which once lined the walls of the subterranean cemeteries" (*Roma Sotterr.* p. 321). To these advantages may be added the facility with which the rock was triturated so as to be carried out of the excavations in the form of earth instead of heavy blocks of stone, as would have been the case in the quarries of compact tufa.



Plan of Arenaria

The exclusively Christian origin of the catacombs, and their destination from the first for purposes of interment is also evident, from the contrast furnished by their plan, form, and mode of construction, to the *arenariae*, or sand-pits, and *lapidinae*, or stone quarries, of ancient times. This contrast is made evident to the eye by Padre Marchi, from whom the annexed woodcuts are borrowed (*Tuo* i. iii. ix.-xii.), and by



Plan of St. Agnes.

Dr. Northcote and Mr. Brownlow in the plan and atlas appended to their *Roma Sotterranea*. The ground plans given by Marchi lay before us in successive plates the ichnography of the stone quarry which lies above the catacomb of St. Pontianus, and of the *arenaria* which lies above that of St. Agnes, and the portions of the cemetery immediately beneath them. Nothing could more forcibly show the difference between the vast cavernous chambers of the quarry,

where this object was to remove as much of the stone as was consistent with safety, and the long narrow galleries of the catacomb in which the object was to displace as little of the stratum as would be consistent with the excavator's purpose. The plates also enable us to contrast the tortuous passages of the *arenariae*, running usually in curved lines, with a careful avoidance of sharp angles, and wide enough to admit a horse and cart for the removal of the material, and the straight lines, right angles, and restricted dimensions of the *ambulacra* of the catacombs. Another marked difference between the *arenariae* and the subterranean cemeteries of the Christians is, that the walls of the latter always rise vertically from the floor of the gallery, while, on account of the frailness of the material in which they were excavated, the walls of the sand quarries are set at a re-entering angle, giving the gallery almost the form of a tunnel. This mode of construction renders it impossible to form sepulchral recesses with exactly closed apertures, as we find them in all the galleries of the catacombs. The friability of the material also forbids the adaptation of a plate or marble or tiles to the aperture of the recess, which was essential to confine the noxious effluvia of the decaying corpses.

The wide distinction between the mode of construction adopted in the quarries and that rendered necessary by the requirements of the cemeteries, and the practical difficulties which stood in the way of transforming one into the other are rendered more evident by the few instances in which this transformation has been actually effected. The examples we would bring in proof of our statement are those given by Mich. Stef. De Rossi from the cemeteries of St. Hermes and St. Priscilla (*Anat. Geol. ed. Arch. vol. i. pp. 31, 32, sq.; Northcote, R. S. pp. 323, 329*). In the first piano of the catacomb of St. Hermes we have a specimen of a sepulchral gallery with three rows of lateral *loculi*, constructed in brick and masonry, within an ancient *arenaria*. At first sight the difference between the form and proportions of the galleries and *loculi*, and those of the usual type, is scarcely noticeable. Closer inspection, however, shows that the side walls are built up from the ground, in advance of the tufa walls of the gallery, which is two or three times the ordinary width, leaving space enough for the depth of the *loculi*. These are closed in the ordinary manner, with the exception of those of the uppermost tier, where the closing slabs are laid at an angle, sloping up to the barrel vault of the gallery, and forming a triangular instead of a rectangular recess. When the galleries cross one another the space becomes wider and the walls more curved, and the vault is sustained in the centre by a thick wall containing tombs, which divides the *ambulacrum* into two parallel galleries. This example indicates the nature of the alterations required to convert an *arenaria* into a cemetery. These as a rule were so costly and laborious that the Christians preferred to undertake an entirely fresh excavation.

The second example is that from the cemetery of St. Priscilla, on the Via Salaria Nova. The annexed plan given from De Rossi enables us, by a variation in the shading, to distinguish between the original excavation and the form

into which it was subsequently converted when it became a Christian burial-place, and helps us to appreciate the immense labour that was expended in the erection of "numerous pillars of various sizes, long walls of solid masonry, sometimes straight, sometimes broken into angles, partly concealing and partly sustaining the tufa and the sepulchres of the galleries, frequent niches of various size often interrupted by pillars built up within them," and the other modifications necessary to convert the original excavation into its present form. We may mention a third example of the same kind; the *arenaria* adjacent to St. Saturninus, on the same road. A portion of this cemetery has been excavated in good *pozzolana* earth, and has the characteristics of a true *arenaria*. The galleries are wide, and are curved in plan. The walls and vault are arched, and it has not been thought



Plan of part of the Catacomb of St. Priscilla from the West showing the adaptation of an *Arenaria* to a Christian cemetery. The dark shading represents the tufa rock; the lighter the added masonry.

consistent with security to construct more than two ranges of *loculi* near the pavement, and even these occur at wider intervals than is usual where the rock is harder. In all respects the contrast this division of the cemetery presents to the ordinary type is most marked. "Here we have another instance of the Christians having made the attempt to utilise the *arenaria*, but it appears that they found it more convenient to abandon the attempt, and to construct entirely new galleries, even at the cost of descending to a greater depth into the bowels of the earth" (Northcote, *R. S.* p. 330).

These examples when candidly examined lead to a conclusion directly opposite to that affirmed so confidently by Raoul-Rochette and others. So far from its being the case that the Christians commenced their subterranean cemeteries by adopting exhausted *arenariae*, which they ex-

tended require ordinary such in marked catcombs confirm teries of from the ment a investg dition of and is to grounds

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quently converted when burial-place, and helps immense labour this erection of "numerous long walls of solid masonry, sometimes broken and partly sustained by pillars of the galleries, is size often interrupted in them," and the other to convert the original form. We may mean of the same kind: the Saturninus, on the same cemetery has been excavated, and has the character. The galleries are a plan. The walls and it has not been thought



1. Plan of the passage from De Rossi, showing a Christian cemetery. The dark lines represent the original masonry; the lighter the added masonry.

to construct more than the pavement, and even intervals than is usual where all respects the contrast cemetery presents to the market. "Here we have Christians having made a *arenaria*, but it appears convenient to abandon construct entirely new galleries descending to a greater depth of the earth" (Northcote,

carefully examined lead opposite to that affirmed by the Rochette and others. In the case that the Christians subterranean cemeteries by *arenarias*, which they ex-

tended and enlarged to suit their increasing requirements, so that "an *arenaria* was the ordinary matrix of a catacomb," the rarity of such instances that can be adduced, and the marked contrast between the *arenaria* and the *catocomb* both in plan and mode of construction, confirm our assertion that the subterranean cemeteries of the Christians had a distinct origin, and were intended for places of interment alone, and that what, previous to recent investigations, was regarded as the normal condition of things, was really extremely exceptional, and is to be explained in each case on exceptional grounds.

The traditional hypothesis to which we have referred, by which the conclusions of all investigators before the memorable epoch of Padre Marchi were fettered, had its foundation in certain passages in ancient documents of very questionable value, which describe the burial-places of certain martyrs and others as being in *arenaria*, *juxta arenarium*, *ad arenas*, or in *arenis arenariis*. These passages are almost exclusively derived from the documents known as "Acta Martyrum," which, from the extent to which their text has been tampered with at different dates, are generally almost worthless as historical authorities. None of those in question are contained in Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum Siveva*, and they are probably of little real weight. And further, even if the statements contained in them deserved to be received with more confidence De Rossi has very acutely demonstrated that they cannot fairly be considered to prove the fact for which they are adduced. They show little more than that the terms *arenarium*, &c., were used more loosely at the time these "Acts" were compiled than strict accuracy warranted, and were applied to the whole "hypogaeum" of which the sand-pit at most only formed part. According to Mich. Stef. De Rossi (*Analisi Geol. ed. Arch. vol. i. pp. 13-34*), if we confine ourselves to a range of five or six miles out of Rome, there are no more than nine passages of these "Acts" in which martyrs are recorded to have been interred in *arenario* or in *cryptis arenariis*; while of this limited number of authorities, four refer to cemeteries in which an *arenaria* is actually found more or less closely connected with the cemetery, and in which therefore the fact may be at once acknowledged to be in agreement with the record, without in the least impugning our conclusion as to the generally distinct nature of the two.

It deserves notice also, as showing the worthlessness of these records as statements of fact, that two of the passages which speak of interments in *cryptis arenariis*, that of SS. Nereus and Alexander in the cemetery of Domitilla, and that of S. Laurentius in that of Cyriaca, refer to localities where *potestana* is not to be found, but where the stratum in which the cemetery is constructed is that known as *capellaccio*, which is quite worthless for building purposes. No *arenarium*, or *crypta arenaria*, properly so called, could have existed there.

With regard to the passage which refers to the place of sepulture of SS. Marcus and Marcellinus. Padre Marchi justly observes that it is not said that these martyrs were buried in *cryptis arenarum*, but "in loco qui dicitur *ad arenas*," and therefore merely in the neighbour-

hood of the pits from which the walls of the city were built.

But although the exclusively Christian origin of the catacombs has to be distinctly asserted, and the idea that they had their origin in sand quarries, already existing in the first ages of the Church, must be met with a decided contradiction, we must be careful not to press the distinction so far as to deny the connection which really exists, in very many instances, between the cemetery and an *arenaria*. We must also allow that there are examples in which *loculi* for Christian interment have been found in the walls of the tortuous roads of a sand quarry. Mr. J. H. Parker, who by his accurate investigations is conferring on the architecture and topography of Rome the same benefits he has bestowed on the architecture of his native country and of France, has discovered *loculi* in the sides of a sand-pit road, near the church of S. Crisano alla Caffarella. This road evidently communicated with the cemetery of Prætextatus, to which the main entrance was from the church, originally an ancient tomb. A modern brick wall, built across the road, prevents any further examination of the locality. Such communications between the cemeteries and the adjacent *arenarias* were frequently opened in the days of persecution, when, as Tertullian informs us, the Christians were "daily besieged, and betrayed, and congregations in their very assemblies and congregations; their enemies having informed themselves as to the days and places of their meetings" (*Tert. Apol. vii. ; ad Nat. l. 7.*), and when, therefore, it became necessary as far as possible to conceal the entrances to their burial places from the public gaze. In those times of trial the original entrances to the catacombs were blocked up, the staircases destroyed, and new and difficult ways of access opened through the recesses of a deserted sand-pit. These afforded the Christians the means of ingress and egress without attracting public notice, and by means of them they had facilities for escape, even when they had been tracked to the catacomb itself. The catacomb of S. Callistus affords examples of these connections with *arenaria*. (Cf. the plans given by De Rossi, Northcote, and Marchi.)

History.—The practice of interring the entire corpse unconsumed by fire in a subterranean excavation has been so completely identified with the introduction of the Christian religion into Rome that we are in danger of losing sight of the fact that this mode of burial did not in any great contrast between the sepulture after cremation in the urns of *columbaria*, or the indiscriminate flinging of the dead into the luthsome *puticoli*, and the reverent and orderly interment of the bodies of the departed in the cells of a catacomb, the Christians, in adopting this mode, were only reverting to what one of the early apologists terms "the older and better custom of inhumation" (*Minuc. Fel. Octav. c. 34*). It is well known that the custom of burying the dead was the original custom both with the Greeks and Romans, and was only superseded by burning in later times, chiefly on sanitary grounds. The Etruscan tombs are familiar examples belonging to a very early period. In Rome, cremation did not become general till the later days

of the republic. The authority of Cicero is definite on this point. He states that Marcius was buried, and that the Gens Cornelia adopted cremation for their dead in living memory, Sulla being the first member of that Gens whose body was burnt (*Cic. de Leg. ii. 22*). Under the Empire cremation became the almost universal custom, though not so as absolutely to exclude the other, which gradually regained its lost hold on the public mind, and was re-established by the fourth century. Macrobius asserts positively that the custom of burning the dead had entirely ceased in his day. "Urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro saeculo nullus" (Macrobius *Saturn. ii. lib. vii. c. 7*). Of the practice of inhumation of the unburied body we have not unfrequent examples in Rome itself. The tomb of the Scipios, on the Appian Way (now within the Aurelian walls), is a familiar instance. The correspondence between the arrangements of this tomb and those of the earlier Christian catacombs, e.g. that of Domitilla, is very marked. In both we have passages excavated in the tufa, giving access to sepulchral chambers arranged in stories, burial places cut in the native rock and covered with a slab of stone; sarcophagi standing in recesses, partially hollowed out to receive them. Visconti was of opinion that this tomb was a used-out stone quarry. In this he is followed by Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catac.* p. 23. It is favoured by the irregularity of the plan. Another like example is the tomb of the Nasos, on the Flaminian Way, described by Martell, in which Raoul-Rochette has traced a marked resemblance to the plan and general disposition to the catacomb of St. Hermes, which, as we have seen already, presents many marked variations from the ordinary plan of the Christian catacombs. Other examples are given by De Rossi, *R. S. I. 88*, who remarks that this mode of interment was much more general in Rome and its vicinity than is usually credited. He quotes from Fabretti, *Inscr. Dom.* p. 55, a description of a tomb found by him at the fourth mile on the Flaminian Way. "Necium cremationis instituta in topho indigena excavatum sepulchrum . . . quædam in nostris Christianorum coemeteriis visuntur," and mentions a numerous series of cells of a similar character cut in the living rock examined by him in different localities in the vicinity of the city.

But although Pagan subterranean burial places possess a family likeness to the cemeteries of the Christians, they are unmistakably distinguished from them by certain unerring marks. They are of much more contracted dimensions, being intended for the members and dependants of a single family, instead of being open to the community of the faithful generally. As being destined to be the abodes of the dead only, their entrances were firmly closed, while the burial niches were frequently left open; while on the other hand, in the Christian cemeteries, constantly visited for the purposes of devotion and for the memorial of the departed, the *loculi* were hermetically sealed, to prevent the escape of noxious gases, while the entrance stood always open, and the faithful could approach each separate grave with their prayers and their offerings. These distinctions are broadly maintained as a rule. As regards dimensions, however, there are exceptions even

way. We meet with some isolated Christian burial chambers designed to receive the individuals of a single family; and on the other hand, some heathen tombs exceed the usual limits of a single chamber. De Rossi mentions the existence of many *hypogæa*, opening from the tombs and columbaria on the Appian and Latin Ways, which contain a few small *cubicula* and three or four very short *ambulæ*. Such *hypogæa* were assigned by Marchi, without sufficient evidence, to the adherents of idolatrous Oriental sects (De Rossi, *R. S. I.* pp. 88-92).

But it is not in these heathen examples that we are to find the germ of the Christian catacombs. We are to look for them in the burial places of another people, with whom the Christians of Rome were from the first closely connected, and indeed in the popular mind identified—the Jews. The first converts to the faith in Rome were Jews; and, as Deau Milman has remarked (*Lat. Christianity*, i. 31), no Church seems to have clung more obstinately to Judaizing tenets and Jewish customs than the Roman. In their manner of sepulture, therefore, we should anticipate that the Roman Christians would follow the customs of the land which was the cradle of their religion, and to which so many of them traced their parentage—customs which were faithfully adhered to in the land of their dispersion. They had an additional reason for regarding this mode of interment with affectionate reverence, as we have seen, hallowed to them by the example of their crucified Master, and in Him associated with the hopes of the resurrection. The practice of burial in sepulchres hewn out of the living rock was always familiar to the Jews, and was adopted by them in every part of the world wherever they made settlements and the nature of the soil permitted it. The existence of Jewish catacombs in Rome, of a date anterior to Christianity, is no matter of conjecture. One was discovered by Bosio at the opening of the 17th century, and described by him (*R. S. c. xxii. p. 141 seq.*), bearing unmistakable evidence of a very early date. This cemetery, placed by him on Monte Verde, outside the Porta Portese, has escaped all subsequent researches (Marchi, p. 21 seq.). From the meanness of its construction, the absence of any adornment in painting, stucco, or marble, and the smallness and paucity of its *cubicula* (only two were found), it was evidently a burial place of the poorer classes. There was an utter absence of all Christian symbols. Almost every *loculus* bore—either painted in red or scratched on the mortar—the seven-branched candlestick. On one inscription was read the word ΚΥΝΑΡΙΩΝ , συναγωγή .

Another Jewish catacomb is still accessible on the Via Appia, opposite the Basilica of St. Sebastian. According to Mr. Parker (who has included photographs of this catacomb in his invaluable series, Nos. 1160, 1161), part of it is of the time of Augustus, part as late as Constantine. It contains two *cubicula*, with large *arcosolia*, ornamented with arabesque paintings of flowers and birds, devoid of distinctive symbols. Some of the *loculi* present their ends instead of their sides to the galleries—an arrangement very rarely found in Christian cemeteries. The inscriptions are mostly in Greek characters, though the language of some is Latin. Some bear Hebrew words. Nearly all have the candlestick. In

1866 another catacomb, the Vigna

The hieroglyphs of large an have been existing in as illustrious founded as the capital excavation Nor was I should have should have ritics. No even a him dead there Christian s it to rend The ordin dead afford no less th enactment, have been in the operatio not violat ture of the tians were wishes in t was there n are in the ntios. They which had which the molested. C to observe, v within the v the Christian will show th of them are scribed by M within a rro Aurelian wall mile from the been found; Alexander; w are again met the towns an Rome itself" Stef. de Rossi, Legal enact convenience hation of the C operated to f regard to th were to serve-gathering of essential that the soil was d flooded by the to the infiltrat not observed, the corpses h rapidly, and galleries them with mud and find, therefore trices, as a r heads, and res higher grounds where the geol

1866 another extremely poverty-stricken Jewish catacomb, dug in a clay soil, was excavated in the Vigna Cimarra, on the Appian Way.

The idea so long and so widely prevalent, that works of such immense extent, demanding so large an amount of severe manual labour, could have been executed in secret, and in defiance of existing laws, is justly designated by Mommsen as ridiculous, and reflecting a discredit, as unfounded as it is unjust, on the imperial police of the capital. It is simply impossible that such excavations should have escaped official notice. Nor was there any reason why the Christians should have desired that their burial places should have been concealed from the state authorities. No evidence can be alleged which affords even a hint that in the first two centuries at least there was any official interference with Christian sepulture, or any difficulties attending it to render secrecy or concealment desirable. The ordinary laws relating to the burial of the dead afforded their protection to the Christians no less than to their fellow citizens. A special enactment, of which we find no trace, would have been needed, to exempt the Christians from the operation of these laws. So long as they did not violate any of the laws by which the sepulture of the dead was regulated the Roman Christians were left free to follow their taste and wishes in this matter. Nor, as we have seen, was there anything altogether strange or repulsive in the mode of burial adopted by the Christians. They were but following an old fashion which had not entirely died out in Rome, and which the Jews were suffered to follow unmolested. One law they were absolutely bound to observe, viz., that which prohibited internment within the walls of the city. And a survey of the Christian cemeteries in the vicinity of Rome will show that this was strictly obeyed. All of them are contained in the zone at once prescribed by law and dictated by convenience, within a radius of about 2½ miles from the Aurelian walls. "Between the third and fifth mile from the walls no Christian sepulchre has been found; at the sixth, only one, that of St. Alexander; while beyond the seventh mile tombs are again met with, but these belong rather to the towns and villages of the Campagna than to Rome itself" (Northcote, *R. S.* p. 344; Mich. Stef. de Rossi, *Anal. Geol. ed Arch.* i. 45).

Legal enactments and considerations of practical convenience having roughly determined the situation of the Christian cemeteries, a further cause operated to fix their precise locality. Having regard to the double purpose these excavations were to serve—the sepulture of the dead, and the gathering of the living for devotion—it was essential that a position should be chosen where the soil was dry, and which was not liable to be flooded by the neighbouring streams, nor subject to the infiltration of water. If these rules were not observed, not only would the putrefaction of the corpses have taken place with dangerous rapidity, and the air become poisoned, but the galleries themselves would have been choked with mud and been rendered inaccessible. We find, therefore, that the planners of the cemeteries, as a rule, avoided the valleys and low lands, and restricted their operations to the higher grounds surrounding the city, particularly where the geological conditions of the soil pro-

vided them strata of the *tufa granulata*, in which they by preference worked, and where springs of water were absent. As an example of the disastrous consequences of not attending to these precautions we may name the cemetery of Castulus, on the Via Labicana, re-discovered by De Rossi in 1864 (*Bullettino de Arch. Crist.*, Fev. 1865). From its low position, the galleries are filled with clay and water, which have reduced them to ruin and rendered the cemetery quite inaccessible.

As a rule, each catacomb occupies a separate rising ground of the Campagna, and one divided from any other by intervening valleys. The general humidity of these low grounds, and the streams which flow along them, effectually prohibit the construction of galleries of communication between the various cemeteries. The idea broached by Raoul-Rochette, and contended for by Marchi, that a subterranean communication at a low level exists between the whole of the Christian cemeteries of Rome, as well as with the chief churches within the city, is, in Mommsen's words, "a mere fable"—in fact, a complete impossibility. Such galleries of connection, if formed, would have been constantly inundated, if they had not at once become mere conduits of running water.

Each of the larger cemeteries, then, may be regarded as an insulated group, embracing several smaller cemeteries, corresponding to the original funeral *arvae* assigned to the internment of the early Christians, but never crossing the intermediate depressions or ravines, and seldom, if ever, having any communication with each other (M. Stef. de Rossi, *R. S. Anal. Geol. ed Arch.* i. 41, seq.).

The notions which have been entertained as to the horizontal extent of the catacombs are very greatly exaggerated. It has been even gravely asserted that they reach as far as Tivoli in one direction and Ostia in the other. It is probably quite impossible to form a correct estimate of the area actually occupied by them, from our ignorance of their real extent. Not a few which were known to the older investigators cannot now be discovered, and it can hardly be questioned that others exist which have never been entered since the period when they were finally given over to neglect and decay. M. Stef. de Rossi, in his valuable *Analisi Geologica ed Architettonica*, so often referred to, p. 60, declares his belief that nearly the whole of the available space within the above-named cemetery zone, where the soil was suitable for the purpose, was occupied by burial vaults. But he discreetly abstains from any attempt to define either their superficial area or their linear extension. The calculations that have been hazarded by Marchi and others are founded on too vague data to be very trustworthy. Marchi calculated that the united length of the galleries of the catacombs would amount to 800 or 900 miles, and the number of graves to between six and seven millions. The estimate quoted by Martigny (*Diction. des Ant. Chré.* p. 128) does not go beyond 587 miles. That given by Northcote (*R. S.* p. 26) is more modest still,—“on the whole there are certainly not less than 350 miles of them.” But all such estimates are at present simply conjectural.

The beginnings of these vast cemeteries were

small and comparatively insignificant. There is little question that almost without exception they had their origin in sepulchral areas of limited extent, the property of private families or individuals, devoted by them to this sacred purpose. The investigations of De Rossi, an explorer as sagacious as he is conscientious, have satisfactorily proved that the immense cemetery of Callistus, with its innumerable *cubiculi* and stories of intricate ramifications, originally consisted of several small and independent burial grounds, executed with great regularity within carefully prescribed limits. The manner in which a subterranean cemetery was constructed was as follows. First of all a plot of ground suitable for the purpose was obtained by gift or by purchase, extending so many feet, *in fronte*, in length, along the high road, so many, *in agro*, in depth, at right angles to the road. That which used to be known as the cemetery of Lucina, the most ancient part of the cemetery of Callistus, measured 100 Roman feet in length by 180 feet in depth. A second area of the same cemetery including the Papal crypt and that of St. Caecilia measured 250 along the road, and reached back 100 feet *in agro*. Such a plot was secured by its Christian proprietor as a burial-place with the usual legal formalities. The fact of the individual being a Christian threw no impediment in the way of the purchase, or of the construction of the cemetery. All were in this respect equally under the protection of the laws. The first step in the construction of the cemetery was the excavation of a passage all the way round the area, communicating with the surface by one or more staircases at the corners. *Loculi* were cut in the walls of these galleries to receive the dead. When the original galleries were fully occupied, cross galleries were run on the same level, gradually forming a network of passages, all filled with tombs. If a family vault was required, or a martyr or other Christian of distinction had to be interred, a small rectangular chamber, *cuta ulian*, was excavated, communicating with the gallery. In the earlier part of the cemetery of Callistus a considerable number of these small burial chambers are found, succeeding one another as we proceed along the *ambulacrum* with as much regularity as bedrooms opening out of a passage in a modern house. When the galleries in the original *plano* had reached their furthest extension consistent with stability, the excavators commenced a new system of galleries at a lower level, reached by a new staircase. These were carried out on the same principle as those in the story above, and were used for sepulture as long as they afforded space for graves. When more room was wanted the *fossorae* formed a third story of galleries, which was succeeded by a fourth, and even by a fifth. Instances indeed are met with, as in some parts of the cemetery of Callistus, where, including what may be called a *mezzanine* story, the number of *piani* reaches seven. Sometimes, however, according to Cav. Mich. S. de Rossi (*Analisi. Geol. ed. Architet. del Conterno di Callisto*, vol. ii. p. 30), the upper *piani* are of later date than the lower, experience having given the excavators greater confidence in the security of the strata, and the complete cessation of persecution removing the temporary necessity for concealment. Some of these later galleries are not more than from three to four

inches below the surface. The extreme narrowness of the galleries is one of the most marked characteristics of the Christian catacombs. The object of the excavators being to economize space and make the most of a limited area, the gallery was not formed of a greater width than would be sufficient for the purpose of affording two *loculi* of sepulchral recesses, with room enough between for the passage, usually, of a single person. The narrowest galleries, which are by no means rare, are from 2 ft. to 2½ ft. wide. The normal width is from 2½ ft. to 3 ft. A few are 3½ ft. wide. A still smaller number, and those usually very short, are from 4 ft. to 5 ft. in width. These rules, says M. S. de Rossi, are unalterable, whatever be the *piano*, or the quality of the rock. The only variation is that where the rock is more friable the galleries are less numerous, and more of the intervening stratum is left untouched; while they become more numerous and intricate the greater the solidity of the formation. The ceiling is usually that, sometimes slightly arched. The height of the galleries depends on the nature of the soil in which they are dug. The earliest were originally the least elevated; the *fossorae* being apprehensive of making them too high for security. As they gained confidence in the strength of the rock, space required for more graves was obtained by lowering the floor of the galleries, so that not unfrequently the most ancient are now the most lofty. Sometimes the construction of galleries at a lower level was stopped by the cessation of the *strata of tufa granularis*; and at others, as in the Vatican cemetery, by the occurrence of springs, which threatened the inundation of the galleries and the destruction of the graves. When further progress downwards was prevented, another funeral area was opened by the side of the original one, and the same process was repeated. It often happened that in the course of time independent cemeteries which had been formed in adjacent plots of ground were combined together, so as to form one large necropolis. Examples of this are found in almost all the great cemeteries of Rome, and the combination of names which has thus arisen has given rise to no little confusion. Portions of what has since become one cemetery bear different appellations in the ancient documents, and it is not easy to unravel the tangled skein: e. g. the cemetery "ad Ursium pilanum" on the "Via Portuensis" bears the titles of St. Pontianus, SS. Abdon and Sennen, and St. Pignemus. That on the "Via Appia," usually known as the cemetery of St. Praxetextus, is also called after St. Urbanus, SS. Tiburtinus and Valerianus, St. Balbina and St. Marcus.

Tradition and documentary evidence have assigned several of the Roman catacombs to the first age of the Church's history. For some, an apostolical origin is claimed. It may be difficult to prove beyond question that any of the existing catacombs belong to the age of St. Peter and St. Paul, but the matter has been very carefully and dispassionately examined by De Rossi, *R. S.* i. p. 184 seq., and the evidence he collects from the existing remains in support of the traditional view is of a nature to convince us that some of them were constructed at least in a very early period. This evidence is presented by

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The extreme narrowness of the most marked Christian catacombs. The purpose being to economize space in a limited area, the width of a greater width than the purpose of affording recesses, with room for a passage, usually, of a narrowest galleries, which are from 2 ft. to 2½ ft. in width is from 2½ ft. to 3 ft. wide. A still smaller width is very short, are from 1 ft. to 1½ ft. in length. These rules, says Maffei, are not inalterable, but they are generally the rule. The width of the galleries is more or less numerous, and the stratum is set unevenly more numerous and the solidity of the formation usually that, sometimes the height of the galleries of the soil in which they were originally the least being apprehensive of a fall for security. As they are the strength of the rock, a grave was obtained by the galleries, so that not at ancient are now the galleries the construction of level was stopped by the *tufa gneiss*: and at a cemetery, by the ceiling threatened the tunnels and the destruction of further progress downward another funeral area was the original one, and was repeated. It often happened time independent cemeteries formed in adjacent plots of together, so as to form Examples of this are the great cemeteries of Rome, of names which has thus no little confusion. Perhaps become one cemetery bear in the ancient documents, unravel the tangled skein: Ursum pileatum" on the titles of St. Pontianus, and St. Pignemus, "pia," usually known as the extatus, is also called after Ursus and Valerianus, St. is. Documentary evidence have the Roman catacombs to the history. For some, so claimed. It may be difficult ion that any of the existing the age of St. Peter and matter has been very carefully examined by De seq., and the evidence being existing remains in support of s of a nature to convince us here constructed at least in a this evidence is presented by

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paintings in a pure classical style, with a very rare admixture of distinctly Christian symbols; decorations in fine stucco, displaying a chaste architectural spirit; crypts of considerable size, not hewn out of the living *tufa*, but carefully, and even elegantly, built with pilasters and cornices of brick and terra-cotta; wide corridors with painted walls, and recesses for sarcophagi, instead of the narrow *ambulatoria* with their walls thickly pierced with shelf-like funeral recesses; whole families of inscriptions to persons bearing classical names, and without any distinctively Christian expressions; and lastly, though rarely, consular dates of the second, and one or more even of the first century. The catacombs that present these distinctive marks of very early date are those of Priscilla on the Via Salaria Nova, that of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina, of Prætextatus on the Via Appia, and a portion of that of St. Agnes, identified with the cemetery of Ostrianus or Fons Petri. The evidence of early date furnished by inscriptions is but scanty. It must, however, be borne in mind that only a very small proportion have the date of the year, as given by the consuls, upon them. The chief object was to fix the anniversary of the death, and for this the day of the month was sufficient. The most ancient dated Christian inscription is of the third year of Vespasian, A.D. 72, but its original locality is unknown (Northcote, *R. S.* p. 65). Röstel (*Roms Beschreibung*, i. 371) quotes from Boldetti, p. 83, one of the consulate of Anelius and Virius Gallus, A.D. 98, from the catacomb of Hippolytus; but it begins with the letters D.M., and contains no distinctly Christian expressions. One of the consulate of Sura and Seneccio, A.D. 107, and another of that of Piso and Bolaus, A.D. 110, were seen by Boldetti in the catacomb beneath the basilica of St. Paul (Boldetti, pp. 78, 79). The same explorer found here also an inscription, which the name of Gallianus fixes either to A.D. 127 or A.D. 150. The beginning of the third century finds the Christians of Rome in possession of a cemetery common to them as a body, and doubtless secured to them by legal tenure, and under the protection of the authorities of the city. We learn this instructive fact from the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus (ix. 11), where we read that Pope Zephyrinus "set Callistus over the cemetery," *κατεργασεν ἐν τῷ κομητήριον*. As we have seen reason to believe that at this period several Christian cemeteries were already in existence, there must have been something distinctive about this one to induce the bishop of Rome to intrust its care to one of his chief clergy, who in a few years succeeded him in his Episcopate. We can have little hesitation in accepting De Rossi's conclusion (for the grounds of which the reader must be referred to his great work *Roma Sotterranea*, or to Dr. Northcote's excellent abridgement of it under the same title) that this was the cemetery which we read in Anastasius, § 17, Callistus "made on the Appian Way, where the bodies of many priests and martyrs repose, and which is called even to the present day *coemeterium Callisti*." In a crypt of this cemetery Callistus himself was buried, in violation of the rule which had prevailed almost without exception up to that period, that the bishops of Rome should be laid where St. Peter was

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believed to repose, in the crypt of the Vatican. Of the fifteen bishops who are reported to have preceded Zephyrinus, all but Clements, who is recorded to have been buried in Greece, and Alexander, whose sepulchre was made near the scene of his martyrdom, on the *Via Nomentana*, according to the oldest and most trustworthily recensions of the *Liber Pontificalis*, were supposed to sleep in the Vatican cemetery. Of the eighteen who intervened between him and Sylvester, no fewer than thirteen repose in the cemetery of Callistus. Slabs bearing the names of Anteros, A.D. 236, Fabianus, A.D. 251, (the first bishop of whose martyrdom there is no question), Luceus, A.D. 253, and Eutychianus, A.D. 275, in Greek characters, the official language of the Church, with the words *Episcopus*, and, in the case of Fabianus, *martyr*, added, have been discovered by Cav. de Rossi in this crypt. An adjoining vault has revealed the epitaph of Eusebius, A.D. 311, set up by Damasus, and engraved by his artist Furius Dionysius Philocalus, whose name it bears. In another crypt in the same cemetery De Rossi's labours have been rewarded by the fragments of an epitaph which is reasonably identified with that of Cornelius, A.D. 252, whose portrait, together with that of his contemporary and correspondent Cyprian, is painted on its wall. Callistus himself does not lie in the catacomb that bears his name. He met his end by being hurled from a window into a well in the Trastevere, and his corpse was hastily removed to the nearest cemetery, that of Calepodius, on the Via Aurelia. It cannot be reasonably questioned that a cemetery which was the recognised burial-place of the bishops of the city had a public, official character distinct from the private cemeteries with which the walls of Rome were surrounded. To the period of peaceful occupation and undisturbed use of the cemeteries by the Christian population of Rome succeeded that of persecution. We cannot place this earlier than the middle of the third century. There might be occasional outbreaks of popular violence directed against the Christians, and isolated acts of cruelty and severity towards the professors of an unpopular religion. We know from the famous correspondence between Pliny and Marcus Aurelius, that even under the merciful survey of so wise and benevolent a ruler, the position of a Christian was far from one of security. Of this we have a proof, if it be really authentic, in the touching record of a martyrdom within the precincts of the catacombs, given by the celebrated epitaph of Alexander from the cemetery of Callistus (Bosio lib. iii. c. 23, p. 216). "Alexander mortuus non est sed vivit super astra et corpus in hoc tumulo quiescit. Vitam explevit cum Antonino Imp. qui ubi multum beneficii anteverire previderet pro gratia odium reddidit. Genua enim flectens vero Deo sacrificaturus ad supplicia ducitur. O tempora infusta quibus Inter sacra et veta ne in cavernis quidem salvari possumus. Quid miserius vita, sed quid miserius in morte cum ab amicis et parentibus sepeliri nequeant. Tandem in caelo coruscant. Parum vixit qui vixit iv. x. Ten." Another of almost equal interest, from the same cemetery, is also found in Bosio, p. 217, referring to a martyrdom in the days of Hadrian. "Tempore Adriani Imperatoris Marius ado-

lesceas Dux militum qui satis vixit dum vitam pro christo consumsit. In pace tandem quiescit. Beneemeritis cum lacrimis et metu posuerunt."

There was no general persecution of the Christians in Rome from the reign of Nero, A.D. 65, to that of Decius, A.D. 249-251. "During that period," writes Denn Milman (*History of Christianity*, bk. iv. c. ii. p. 323, note 2), "the Christians were in general as free and secure as the other inhabitants of Rome. Their assemblies were no more disturbed than the synagogues of the Jews, or the rites of other foreign religions. From this first terrible but brief onslaught under Decius, to the general and more merciless persecution under Diocletian and Galerius, A.D. 303, there is no trustworthy record of any Roman persecution." These epochs of persecution left their marks on the construction of the catacombs. The martyrdom of Xystus II. in the cemetery of Prætextatus, A.D. 257 ("Xystum in cimiterio animalversum acinis . . . et cum eo diaconos quatuor," Cyprian, *Ep.* 80), and the walling up alive of a considerable number of the faithful, men, women, and children, near the tombs of the martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria, in a catacomb on the Via Salaria, recorded by St. Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Martyr.* i. c. 28; and other traditions of the same period, even though we are compelled to hesitate as to some of them, testify to the danger that attended the meetings of the faithful in the cemeteries, and the necessity which had arisen for secrecy and concealment if they would preserve the inviolability of their graves, and continue their visits undisturbed. To these fierce times of trial we may safely assign the alterations which we find made in the entrances of and staircases leading down to the catacombs, and the construction of concealed ways of ingress and egress through the *arenaria* which lay adjacent to them. We may instance the blocking up and partial destruction of two chief staircases in the cemetery of Callistus, and the formation of secret passages into the *arenaria*. One of these is approached by a staircase that stops suddenly short some distance from the floor of the gallery, and was thus rendered utterly useless to any who could not command a ladder, or some other means of connecting the lowest step with the *arenaria* (Northcote, *R. S.* pp. 331, 347; De Rossi, *R. S.* ii. 47-49). It happens not unfrequently that galleries are found completely filled up with earth from the floor to the vault. It has been considered by many that this was the work of the Christians themselves, with the view of preserving their sepulchres inviolate by rendering the galleries inaccessible to friend or foe. This view, first propounded by Buonarroti, (*Osserv.* p. xii, is strongly maintained by De Rossi, *R. S.* ii. 52-58, who assigns this earthing-up of the tombs to the persecution of Diocletian, A.D. 302. But the opinion maintained by other equally competent authorities is more probable, that this proceeding was simply dictated by convenience, as a means for disposing more easily of the earth excavated from newly-formed galleries. It must always have been a tedious and laborious operation to convey the freshly-dug earth from the catacomb to the surface, through the long tortuous passages, and by the air-tunnels. The galleries already piled with tombs, and therefore useless for future

interments, offered a ready reception for the material, and in these it was deposited. This is the view of Marchi, p. 94, and Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catac.* p. 35, and even of Holdetti, pp. 697; although the last-named author is unable altogether to reject Buonarroti's idea that the galleries were thus filled up to save the hallowed remains they contained from the sacrilegious hands of the heathen.

The middle of the fourth century, which saw the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman states, was the commencement of a new era in the history of the catacombs. Subterranean interment gradually fell into disuse, and had almost entirely ceased by the close of that century. The undeniable evidence of the inscriptions with consular dates as given by De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* i. p. 117, &c., shows that between A.D. 318 and A.D. 360 two out of three burials took place in the subterranean portions of the cemeteries. Between A.D. 364 and A.D. 369 the proportions are nearly equal, and a new era in the history of the cemeteries began—the era of religious interest. The zeal displayed by Pope Damasus A.D. 366-384 in repairing and decorating the catacombs; erecting new staircases for the convenience of pilgrims, searching for the places of the martyrs' interment, and adorning them with exquisitely engraved epitaphs in large faultless characters, the work of an artist named Furius Dionysius Philocalus, caused a short sudden outburst of desire to be buried near the hallowed remains, resulting in wholesale destruction of many hundreds of early paintings with which the walls of the *cubicula* and *arcosolia* were covered. But the flame soon died out. Between A.D. 373 and A.D. 400 the subterranean interments were only one in three, and after A.D. 410, the final year of the taking of Rome by Alaric, scarcely a single certain example is found. But although the fashion of interment came to an end, the reputed sanctity of those whose remains were enshrined in them caused them to be the object of wide-spread interest. Pilgrims flocked to visit the places hallowed by the memories of so many confessors and martyrs, for whose guidance catalogues of the chief cemeteries and of the saints buried in them were from time to time drawn up, which have proved of considerable service in their identification. Even hermits came from a distance and fixed their cells in their immediate neighbourhood.

It appears evident from Jerome's well-known description of his visits to the catacombs when a schoolboy, circa A.D. 354, Hieron. in *Epist.* c. xi, that even in the latter half of the fourth century interment was rare in them. He speaks of visiting "the tombs of the apostles and martyrs," and describes the walls of the crypts "lined with the bodies of the dead;" but his language is that of one describing a cemetery long since disused, not one in daily activity. So also, *Præf. ad Lib.* ii. in *Galat.*, "Ubi alibi tanto studio et frequentia ad martyrum sepulchra curritur?" The words of the poet Prudentius, written about the same time, describing the tomb of Hippolytus, lend to the same conclusion. His lengthened and minutely detailed description does not contain a word that indicates that the cemetery which contained this sacred shrine was used for actual interment.

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Amidst all the levitation committed by the
barbarian conquerors both in the first and second
sack of Rome, A.D. 410, 457, we have no record
of damage inflicted on the cemeteries. It may
be simply luck of evidence. We cannot deem it
likely that any feeling of reverence would have
led the Goths to refrain from the rich plunder
the plenty of devotees had stored up in the burial
rags. Prudentius informs us that the *aedificia*
which enshrined the relics of St. Hippolytus was
bright with solid silver, and other catacombs were
certainly as sumptuously decorated. But whether
the catacombs were devastated by Alaric's hordes
or no, it is certain that after A.D. 410 "the use
of the subterranean cemeteries as places of
burial was never resumed, and that inscriptions
and notices that seem to refer to them will be
found or closer examination to relate to basilicas
and cemeteries above ground. The *fessores'* occu-
pation was gone, and after A.D. 426 their name
ceases to be mentioned. The liturgical books of
the fifth century refer constantly, in the prayers
for the dead and the benediction of graves, to
burials in and around the basilicas, never to the
subterranean cemeteries." (Northcote *R. S.* p.
104). But though disused as places of sepulture
the catacombs continued to be visited by pilgrims,
and were regarded with special devotion by the
popes, who from time to time repaired and beau-
tified them (*e. g.* Symmachus, A.D. 498-514;
Anast. § 81). The fatal zeal displayed by suc-
cessive pontiffs in the restoration and decoration of
these consecrated shrines is the cause of much per-
plexity to the investigator who desires to dis-
cover their original form and arrangements.
Nothing but long experience and an intimate ac-
quaintance with the character of the construction
and ornamentation of different periods can enable
us to distinguish with any accuracy between
the genuine structure of the catacombs and the
paintings with which they were originally
adorned, and the work of later times. Many of
the conclusions drawn by Roman Catholic writers
from the paintings and ritual arrangements of
the catacombs as we now find them, and the
evidence supposed to be furnished by them as to
the primitive character of their dogmas and tra-
ditions, prove little worth when a more search-
ing investigation shows their comparatively
recent date. An analogous exaggeration has
widely prevailed with regard to the custom of
resorting to these gloomy vaults as places of
concealment in times of persecution. We cannot
fairly doubt that they occasionally served as
places of refuge, though it is not always easy
to determine whether the language used refers to
the subterranean part of the cemetery, or to the
cellae, the basilicas, and other buildings which
had gradually risen in the *area* that lay above
them; but that which was at most exceptional
has been spoken of almost as if it were the rule.

We have direct evidence that the ravages of the
Goths under Vitiges, when they sacked Rome, A.D.
537, extended to the catacombs, "Ecclesie et cor-
porum sanctorum martyrum exterminatae sunt a
Gothis" (Anast. § 99). On their retirement the
have they had committed was repaired by Pope
Vigilius, who replaced the broken and mutilated
epitaphs of Pope Damasus by copies, not always
very correct. These good deeds stand recorded in
an inscription of this pope now in the Gallery of
the Vatican:—

CHRIST. ANT.

"Dum peritura Getae possident castra sub urbem
Moverunt non tunc tanta nefanda pueri,
Totaque sacrilego vertentur corde sequitra
Martyribus quondam rite sacrata pia.
Affixi monente des Damasus abbi Papa probatus
Sed prius titulus contracto marmore sanctus
Nec tamen his laerum posse latere fuit.
Diruta Vigilius nam posthabe Papa geminece
Hostibus expulsa cum novavit opus."

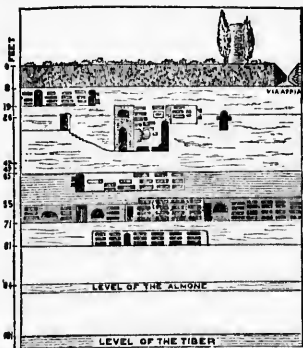
The reverence for the catacombs was now
gradually dying out. One pope after another
attempted to revive it by their decrees, but
without any permanent effect. John III., circa
A.D. 598, restored the cemeteries of the holy
martyrs, "and ordered that oblations" (the
Eucharistic elements), "cunctis, and lights" (ob-
lations, *anipullae* (Lat. lect. "annule"), vel "in-
mimaria"), should be supplied from the Lateran
every Sunday" (Anast. § 110). It is also re-
corded in commendation of Sergius I., A.D. 687-
701, that when he was a presbyter it was his
wont to "celebrate mass diligently through the
different cemeteries" (Anast. § 158). In the
next century, circa 735, Gregory III., a zealous
builder and repairer of churches, arranged a
body of priests to celebrate mass, and provided
that lights and oblations should be furnished from
the palace for all the cemeteries round Rome
(Anast. § 204). In neither of these cases, how-
ever, can we affirm that the reference is chiefly
to *underground* cemeteries or catacombs.

We have now reached the period of the reli-
gious spoliation of the catacombs, from which
they have suffered more irreparably than from
any violence offered by sacrilegious hands.
The injuries commenced by the Goths had been
repeated by the Lombards under Astolphus,
A.D. 756. But these invaders did little more
than complete the devastation which was being
already caused by the carelessness of those
by whom these cemeteries should have been
religiously tended. The slothfulness and neglect
manifested towards these hallowed places are
feelingly deplored by Paul I. in a Constitution
dated June 2, A.D. 761. Not only were sheep
and oxen allowed to have access to them, but
folks had been set up in them and they had
been defiled with all manner of corruption.
The holy father therefore resolved to trans-
late the bodies of the saints and enshrine
them in a church he had built on the site of his
paternal mansion (Anast. § 259, 260). Paul's
immediate successors reversed his policy, and
used all their endeavours to restore the lost
glories of the catacombs. But it was too late,
the spirit of the age had changed. As the only
means of securing the sacred relics from desec-
ration, Paschal, A.D. 817-827, was forced to
follow the example set by Paul, July 20, A.D.
817. He translated to the church of St. Prax-
e, as recorded in an inscription still to be
read there, no less than 2300 bodies. The work
was continued by succeeding popes, and many
transferred at this period from the catacombs to
the Pantheon. The sacred treasures which had
given the catacombs their value in the eyes of
the devout having been removed, all interest in
them ceased. Henceforward all inducement to
visit them was lost, and with some insignificant
exceptions the catacombs lapsed into complete

oblivion, in which they remained wrapped for more than six centuries. It was not till May 31, 1578, that their fortuitous discovery revealed to the astonished inhabitants of Rome the hidden treasures that lay beneath their feet, and awoke an interest which, though sometimes flagging and not always intelligently exercised, has never since expired, and which the combined genius, learning, and industry of Marchi, and his pupils, the brothers De Rossi, together with the remarkable discoveries which have rewarded their researches, and the skill with which they have known how to interpret and employ the results of their investigations, have of late raised to a pitch that has never before been equalled.

It is not within the scope of this article to record the names and trace the labours of the investigators who have employed themselves in this field of research. This will be found in the chronological sketch prefixed to Raoul-Rochette's excellent and unprejudiced little work, "*Tableaux des Catacombes de Rome*," Paris, 1853, as well as in the opening pages of the *Roma Sotterranea* of De Rossi, and the English abridgement by Dr. Northcote and the Rev. W. R. Brownlow, London, 1869.

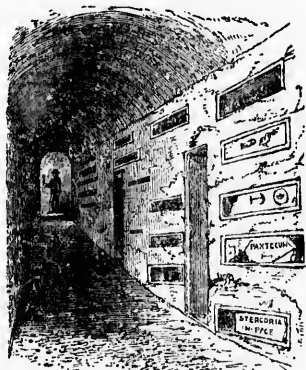
Description.—The catacombs of Rome, to which as the most interesting and most thoroughly investigated of the subterranean cemeteries our present remarks will be confined, consist of a vast labyrinth of narrow subterranean passages or galleries excavated in the strata of volcanic earth that underlie the city and its neighbourhood, for the purpose of the interment of the dead. These galleries are excavated at different levels, forming various stories or *piani*, one beneath the other, communicating by narrow flights of steep stairs cut in the native rock, as well as by shafts and wells sunk for the purpose of affording light and air. These stories of galleries lie one below the other sometimes to the number of five, or even, as in the cemetery of St. Callistus, of seven. The galleries as a rule preserve the level



Section of the Crypt of St. Lucius in the Catacomb of St. Callistus, from De Rossi.

of the *piano* to which they belong, so that it is very rare to meet with galleries, gradually descending by an inclined plane to a lower story. The only communication, as a rule, between the stories is by flights of steps. The lowest are usually

the latest; the additional labour of removing the earth from the greater depth not being undertaken until the want of burial space in the story above forced it upon its possessors. Instances occur where a stratum of considerable thickness having been left by the original constructors between two stories of *ambulacra*, an intermediate story (*a mezzanine* or *entresol*), has been excavated in later times. These corridors, or *ambulacra*, follow no definite system. They more usually than not run in straight lines, forming an intricate network continually crossing and recrossing one another at different angles, and as no law of parallelism is adopted in laying out the plan, it is not easy to reduce them to any system. These galleries are not merely passages of access to the cemetery, but themselves con-



Gallery with "Loculi," from Northcote's "Roma Sotterranea."

stitute the cemetery. They do not conduct to the places of interment, but the dead are interred in them. The walls are vertical, and (as represented in the annexed woodcut) are pierced on each side with long low horizontal recesses, commencing a few inches above the level of the floor, and rising tier above tier, like the berths in a ship's cabin, to the number of five, six, and sometimes even twelve ranges. They are divided from one another by an intervening shelf of tufa as thin as was compatible with security. The length of these niches is almost invariably in the direction of the gallery. This form was much easier to excavate, and enabled the corpse to be laid in its tomb with greater facility and reverence than when the recess entered deep into the rock, at right angles to the axis of the corridor. Examples of this latter form do exist in the Roman catacombs, but very rarely. Padre Marchi, *Monumenti delle Arti Christi. Prim.* pp. 110, 225, tav. xiv., xliii., xlv., gives a description and engravings of 20 specimens discovered by him in the cemetery of St. Cyriac (see ground plan). The same mode of construction appears in the heathen catacombs in Egypt, and those of the Saracens at Taormina, engraved by D'Agincourt, pl. ix. The name given in modern times to these sepulchral cavities is *loculus*. The original term, appearing thousands and thousands of times in the inscrip-

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al labour of removing the depth not being underburial space in the stony possessors. Instances of considerable thickness the original constructors *ambulacra*, an intermediate or *entresol*, has been. These corridors, or *loculi* system. They more a straight lines, forming continually crossing and at different angles, and is adopted in lying out to reduce them to any are not merely passages very, but themselves cou-

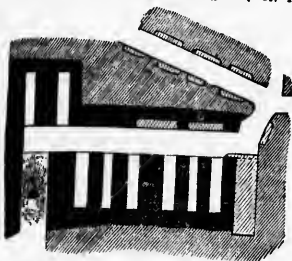


Norwicote's "Horns Sutteranea."

They do not conduct to, but the dead are interred are vertical, and (as red woodcut) are placed on horizontal recesses, some above the level of the floor, or, like the berths in a ship's of five, six, and sometimes they are divided from one shelf of turf as thin security. The length of invariably in the direction form was much easier to the corpse to be laid in its ability and reverence than red deep into the rock, of the corridor. Examples exist in the Roman cata- y. Padre Marchi, *Mou- t. Prim.* pp. 110, 225, tav. a description and engraving discovered by him in the ca (see ground plan). The tion appears in the heather ad those of the Saracens at D'Agincourt, pl. ix. The times to these sepulchral original term, appearing and of times in the inscrip-

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mons of the catacombs, was *locus*. The word *loculus*, properly signified a *hier* or a *coffin*, "cujus (Agapeti) corpus in *loculo plumbeo* translatum est (Constantinopoli) usque in basilicam B. Petri apostoli" (Anastas. lix. § 95; cf. *Ibid.*

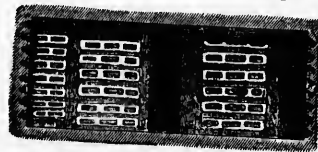


Loculi in the Catacomb of St. Cyriaca, from Marchi.

lxiii. 110), and is incorrectly applied to the grave. Its use in this sense was introduced by Lupi in the early part of the 18th century. He writes "*loculus* appello excavatum in coemeterii parietibus fenestram parvam ad unum alterumve cadaver excipientium" (Lupi, *Dissert. ad Sev. Martyr. Epitaph.* 1734, p. 2, note 3). Each recess usually contained a single body. But instances are by no means rare where by increasing its depth it was made capable of receiving two, three, or four corpses. Such recesses were designated *bisomi*, *trisomi*, *quadrisomi*, etc., according to the number of bodies for which they were destined. Examples of the use of all these terms appear in the epitaphs. *Bisomi*: from that of St. Callistus, "Donata se viv. emit sibi et Maxentiae locum *bisomum*." (Boldetti, p. 286.) "Sergius et Junius Fossores B. N. M. in pace *bisom*." (Boldetti, p. 65.) "Octavie coivgi neofite *bisomv. maritus fecit*" (Bosio, p. 507). *Trisomi*: "Seberus, Leontinus Victorinus. *Trisomu*" (Bosio, p. 216.) "Se biba (viva) emet Domniga locum a Successum *trisomu* ubi positi," (lb.). *Quadrisomi*: "Consulatu Nicomai ubi positi," (lb.). *Quadrisomi*: "Consulatu Nicomai ubi positi," (lb.). *Quadrisomi*: "Consulatu Nicomai ubi positi," (lb.). The *loculi* were in later times purchased of the sextons, *fossores*, and as some of the inscriptions already given show, not infrequently in a person's lifetime. Another example is the following ungrammatical epitaph || et Gaudiose compares || se vivi comparaverunt || ab Anastasio et Antiocho FS. (fossoribus)." An inscription from the Museum of the Capitol given by Burgon, *Letters from Rome*, p. 181, no. 25, acquaints us with the price paid, 1500 folles (the folles is said at that time to have been equivalent to an *obolus*), and that the bargain was struck in the presence of Severus and Laurence his brother sexton. "Emit locum ab Arisemilium visomum || hoc est et presidium || datum Fossor Philalatro yd est Fol. N. S. Praesentia Severi Foss. et Laurent." Sometimes *loculi* were excavated by the heirs of the fossor with whom the bargain was made, "fossoris descenditibus" (De Rossi, *R. S. i.* 215). The *loculi* are found of all sizes, from those suitable for an infant of a few days old which occur by thousands to those adapted to the body of a

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full grown man." In the more ancient galleries apertures of various dimensions occur confusedly, having been formed as occasion required. The early *loculi* are also of much larger dimensions than was needful for the reception of the body, and neither in the form of the niches themselves nor in their arrangement does the idea of economy of space shew itself. But experience taught the excavators how to make the most of the space at command, and Marchi, pp. 112, 113, tav. xv., produces an example from the cemetery of St. Cyriaca, where the *loculi* are arranged in groups according to their dimensions, every square inch of rock being utilised as far as was consistent with stability. In some cases the back wall of the *loculus* instead of being parallel to the lines of the opening is set at an angle, forming a trapezoidal recess in which bodies of different stature might lie side by side (see annexed ground plan and section) (Marchi, tav., xv. xviii.). In later times space was also economised by making the recess wide at the head and narrow at the feet. Examples are not wanting of graves being dug like those of our own day in the floor of the corridors. Marchi gives instances from the catacombs of Calepodius and Callistus, tav. xi. xvi. etc. But they are very unfrequent. The *loculi*, after the introduction of the body were closed with great care, either with slabs of marble (*tabulae*) or with large tiles,



Plan of above loculi (*bisomi*) from the Catacomb of St. Cyriaca, from Marchi.

usually three, very exactly cemented together, and luted round with lime to prevent the escape of the gases of the putrefying bodies. The tiles closing the early *loculi* in the cemetery of Domitilla are of vast size. (De Rossi, *Bullett. de Ant. Christ. Magg.*, 1865.) On the slabs of the earlier *loculi*, e.g. in the cemeteries of Prisella and Domitilla, the name is only painted in red and black pigment, not cut or scratched (Fabretti *Insc. Dom.* viii. p. 579; Aringhi, *R. S.* iv. 37, p. 126; Boldetti, lib. ii. c. 1). The striking fact that, in the words of Denn Milman (*Lat. Chr. i.* p. 27), "for a considerable part of the first three centuries the church of Rome was a Greek religious colony;" that its language, organisation, writers, scriptures, liturgy, were Greek, is evidenced by the inscriptions on these primitive burial places. They are almost exclusively in Greek. When engraved the letters are often coloured with vermilion. But an immense number of *loculi* are entirely destitute of any

Inscription (Bosio, lib. iii. c. 41; Boldetti, lib. ii. c. 1; Lupi, p. 38). On these slabs were engraved the funeral inscription or epitaph, often accompanied with some of the more usual Christian emblems, the dove, the anchor, or the monogram of Christ. The word *tabula* appears in some of the epitaphs, e. g., of a master to a pupil, "Posuit tabula magister discenti Pempino benemerenti" (Marchi, p. 119). "Bicentivis karo filio karissimo benemerenti posuit tabula qvi bixit annos iiii et dies xxii" (*Ib.* p. 120). Both from the catacomb of St. Cyriaca.

A small glass vessel containing indications of the presence of a red fluid, is often found embedded in the mortar at one extremity of the *loculus*. This was formerly considered to be a certain mark of a martyr's tomb, the "Congregation of Relics" having so decided (Apr. 10, 1868), the red sediment being supposed to be blood. But this opinion has long ceased to be entertained by the best and most unprejudiced Christian archaeologists who almost unanimously agree that the vessel contained Eucharistic wine, and was used at the funeral *agape*. [GLASS, CHRISTIAN.] Incised on the slab, or scratched on the mortar, the *palm branch* is one of the symbols that most constantly presents itself in connection with the *loculus*. This also has been authoritatively declared to be an indisputable evidence of a martyr's tomb, "palmam et vas sanguine tinctum pro signis certissimis martyrii haberi," (*Decree of the Cong. of Relics, u. s.*), and has been as completely set aside by later and less enthusiastic investigators. Not to dwell on the fact that the epitaphs found in connection with the palm branch, have as a rule, no reference to a martyr's death, this symbol is found on tombs prepared by individuals in their lifetime (e. g., "Leopardus se hiv. fecit" between two palm branches, Boldetti, p. 264), and decorates those of young children (*Ib.* p. 268); dignities that of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, who died in schism, (*Ib.* p. 262); and even appears on pagan tombstones (*Ib.* p. 281, sq.). Not a few of the marble slabs (*tabulae*), closing the *loculi*, prove on examination, like some of our mediæval sepulchral brasses, to have been used before, their back bearing a second inscription. These are known as *opisthographs*. They are usually heathen slabs, but not always. One described by Marchi, p. 53, bears on one side "Hilara in Pace," and on the other "Irene in Pace"—both Christian. Boldetti, lib. ii. c. 10, supplies a large number of examples of these twice used slabs. Mabillon (*Iter. Ital.* p. 136), writes of this custom, "Christiani mos erat ut a sepulchris gentiliū lapides reverenter in suos usus, et relicta ex ea parte quae interiora Christiani tumuli spectabat profana inscriptione aliam in exteriori apponerent ritu Christiano" (*Cf. Idem. Euseb. Roman.* p. 34; Marchi, pp. 53, 123).

Besides the *opisthographs* where a heathen slab has been applied to a Christian use no inconsiderable number of distinctly pagan epitaphs has been discovered, in which no such transformation has taken place. Boldetti, lib. ii. c. 9, gives no less than 57 heathen inscriptions without any Christian admixture from the various catacombs, and the list might be very largely increased. One such is mentioned by Mabillon in his *Iter. Italicum. Mus. It.* vol. i. p. 47, which though it was destitute of Christian tokens was sent to Tou-

lonse as the slab of a supposed martyr, Juli Euodia, when it was really that of Costa her mother, and was pagan. In Boldetti, p. 447, we have a curious heathen slab from St. Agnes, with the inscription "Dionise frater illius semper Rosse tatalna" and *xyi. bois* of gaming. De Rossi found pagan sarcophagi and pagan inscriptions in the catacomb of Callistus in excavations made under his own eye (*Rom. Sott.* ii. pp. 169, 281-290). It has been usually held that these were slabs which had been removed from the heathen tombs in the vicinity of the catacombs after the Christian religion had become dominant, and brought down to be re-engraved and fitted for their new purpose. "Primos Christianos Paganorum memorias titulosque sulfuratos esse et suis loculis coemeterialibus claudendis propriis nominibus insculptis et profanorum absconditis aut abrasis . . . ostendere possumus" (Fabretti *Ins. Ant.* p. 307). But another and widely different view has lately been propounded by Mr. Parker and others, that the rigid separation usually supposed to exist between Christians and heathen in the places of sepulture was not always maintained, and that when in the fourth century the burning of the dead ceased the catacombs became the common burial places of Rome for heathen and Christians alike. This is one of the many questions in connection with the catacombs in which fuller light may show that the traditional view requires some modification, but which must wait the result of further investigations for complete resolution. A class of mixed inscriptions remains to be noticed in which the heathen formula D. M., or even the full *Dis Manibus* appears in connection with Christian phraseology and Christian emblems. "Debita sacerdotis manibus officia" is quoted from Gruter by Fabretti *Ins. Rom.* 112 A., as a Christian inscription. From the same collection (Gruter, M. XL.) he also gives one in which occurs the line "Sanctique Manes nobis petentibus adsit," in connection with the clause "quiescit in pace," and the term "depositio." Other inscriptions from Fabretti's collection evidence the same lingering retention of heathen formula and phraseology in the expressions "Luchesis," "Taenariæ fauces," "fatis creptus iniquis," and the like. The strangely unchristian phrase "Tartara custodia" occurs in the epitaph of a presbyter (Fabr. p. 329, no. 484). "Domus aeterna" is by no means infrequent: e. g., "Florentina quae vivit annis xxvi Crescens fecit Venemerenti et sibi et suis domo aeterna in pace" (*Ib.* p. 114, no. 289). The untenable fallacy contended for by Boldetti, lib. ii. c. 11, Fabretti, and the earlier school of antiquaries, that the letters D. M. stood for *Deo Maximo* has been deservedly exploded. De Rossi allows that they can only stand for *Dis Manibus*, and we may safely regard the occurrence of these letters on Christian tombstones as an instructive example of the slowness with which an entire people changes its ancestral faith, and of the obstinacy with which certain usages are clung to long after their real force and meaning has passed away.

* On this subject and its kindred topics the dispassionate verdict of Dean Merivale may be read with advantage. "The first Christians at Rome did not separate themselves from the heathens, nor renounce their ordinary callings; they intermarried with unbelievers,

a supposed martyr, Juli really that of Casta bet in Boldetti, p. 447, we slab from St. Agnes, with the frater illis semper nati, boys of gaming. De sarcophagi and pagan inscriptions of Callistus in excavations (De Rossi, *R. S.* i. p. 103, usually held that these were removed from the heathen catacombs after the became dominant, and re-engraved and fitted for Primos Christianos Paganosque sulfuratos esse et blas claudendis propriis notorianum absconditis aut possimus" (Fabretti *Ins.* other and widely different propounded by Mr. Parker separation usually syn- Christians and heathen ure was not always main- in the fourth century the ased the catacombs became nes of Rome for heathen This is one of the may on with the catacombs in show that the traditional modification, but which of further investigations on. A class of mixed in which the be noticed in which the M., or even the full Dis connection with Christian istinian emblems. "Debita a" is quoted from Gruter om. 112 A., as a Christian e same collection (Gruter, ne in which occurs the hae obis petentibus adsint," in clause "quievit in pace." setio." Other inscriptions ection evidence the same heathen formula and phras- ions "Luchesis," "Taeoa- ceptus iniquis," and the like, ristian phrase "Tartarea the epistaph of a presbyter o. "Donus aeterna" is by e.g. "Florentia quae viuit fecit Venemerenti et sibi et in pace" (*ib.* p. 114, no e fallacy contended for by Fabretti, and the earlier s, that the letters D. M. no has been deservedly er- llovs that they can only s, and we may safely regard these letters on Christian ructive example of the an entire people changes and of the obstinacy with are elung to loog after meaning has passed away.

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Examples are not wanting where the work of excavation has not been completed, and the form of the *loculus* is still seen as it was sketched by the *fossore* on the wall of the ambulacrum.

The bodies of the faithful were not buried naked, but with the same feeling of reverence that pervaded the whole rite, were, like that of their master, wrapt in linen cloths "as the manner of the Jews is to bury." Sometimes the body was enveloped in a sheet; sometimes swathed in many lengths of bands, in the same fashion as Lazarus is represented in the early Christian pictures and bas reliefs. Bosio assures us that in his investigations he found instances of both modes. He mentions that, in excavating the foundations for St. Peter's, bodies were exhumed bound with linen bands, and that he himself had seen very many wrapt in linen sheets of exceeding fineness, which fell to dust at a touch (*Bosio, R. S.* cap. 19; Marchi, p. 19). The story of the double discovery of the body of St. Caecilia first by Pope Paschal, c. 820, and then by Cardinal Siontati, A.D. 1599, in the robes of golden tissue she had worn in life is familiar. (It may be read in Northcote, *R. S.* pp. 154-157.) That the bodies placed in the *loculi* were embalmed is probable from the known custom of the early Christians. Boldetti, *lib. i. c.* 59, affirms that on repeated occasions when he was present at the opening of a grave in the catacombs the assembled company were conscious of a spicy odour diffusing itself from the tomb. Of this custom Prudentius writes:

"Asperaque myrrha Sabao,
Corpus medicamentis servat."

(In *Exeg. Vez. Hymn* 10).

Another and ruder mode of averting the evils which might arise from the putrefaction of the bodies in galleries which were the frequent resort of the living was to bury the corpse in quick lime. Padre Marchi remarked frequent examples of this custom, especially in the cemetery of St. Agnes. The lime appeared to have been placed between two winding sheets, one coarser and the other finer, of the tissue of which it retained the impress (Marchi, p. 19).

Interment in the *loculus* though infinitely the most common, was not the only, and perhaps not the earliest mode adopted by the Christians. Cav. de Rossi has been led by his investigations to the conclusion that the earliest form of Christian burial was in sarcophagi placed in detached chambers, and that burial in the *loculus* was of later date. The truth may however be that the bodies of the wealthier were laid in *sarcophagi*, which must have always been costly, while the friends of the poorer contented themselves with a simple *loculus* in the wall. The Cemetery of St. Domitilla at Tor Marancia, which is considered by De Rossi to be the monument of a Christian family of distinction, and is shown by the classical character of its architecture and decoration to have belonged to the first age of the church, affords examples of interment in sarcophagi, as

nor even in their unions with one another did they neglect the ordinary forms of law. It would seem that they burnt their dead after the Roman fashion" (can this be shown to be true?), "gathered their ashes into the sepulchres of their patrons, and inscribed over them the customary dedication to the Divine Spirit."—*History of the Romans*, ch. liv.

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well as of the transition from the *sarcophagus* to the *loculus*, in some graves which "though really mere shelves in the wall are so disguised by stucco and painting on the outside as to present to passers by the complete outward appearance of a sarcophagus" (*De Rossi, R. S.* i. 187, 195, 267; Northcote, *R. S.* p. 72, 73). Another example is the so-called *Capella Graeca* of the catacomb of St. Priscilla. This crypt is of a very peculiar character, formed in the recesses of an ancient *arenaria*, not hollowed out of the tuft, but constructed of brick. The burial-places here are not *loculi*, but large arched recesses destined to contain sarcophagi of which in Bosio's time numerous fragments remained, and some still exist (*Bosio, R. S.* 513, 533; *De Rossi, R. S.* i. 188 sq.). The cemetery of Domitilla contains also numerous examples of sarcophagi of *terra cotta* buried in the floor of the *ambulatory*.

Another form of interment analogous to the sarcophagus was that in the *Table Tombs* or *Sepolcro a mensa*, an oblong chest either hollowed



Table Tomb.

out in the living rock, or built up of masonry slabs of stone or large tiles, and closed by a heavy slab of marble lying horizontally on the top, forming a table. The rock was excavated above the tomb, to form a rectangular recess. When the niche assumed a circular form, which is the more frequent though not the earlier shape, it is known by the name of *arcosolium* [ARCOSOLIUM.] Both



Arcosolium.

forms of tomb are met with in the galleries among the *loculi*, but their more usual position is in the sepulchral chambers, or *cubicula*, which opened out of the galleries. The *table tombs* sometimes stands in front of the wall, projecting from it, like the altar tombs of our own churches. Examples of this arrangement appear in the tombs of the presbyters Eusebius and Gregorius in the papal crypt in the cemetery of St. Callistus (*De Rossi*, vol. ii. p. 108, tav. I. A.). More frequently it is let into the wall, and stands in a recess, as we see in the tomb assigned by De Rossi to St. Zephyrinus, which formed the original altar in the same crypt (*ib.* pp. 20, 21, 51), and that of St. Cornelius in the same catacomb (*ib.* vol. i. p. 284, tab. v.). The arched form or *arcosolium* proper is not found in the more ancient cemeteries, or in the earliest constructed *cubicula*. This is an indication of date of great importance in determining the relative antiquity of the catacombs. De Rossi remarks (vol. ii. p. 245) that "the *arcosolium* is the dominant form in

every part of the second and third area of the cemetery of St. Callistus, and appears frequently in some of the crypts added to the original rectangular area to unite it to the second area, but is entirely wanting (with one exception which serves only to prove the rule) in all the *cubicula* of the primitive area, even in the most noble and illustrious of its sepulchres" (Cf. De Rossi, vol. i. pp. 284, 285; vol. ii. p. 21).

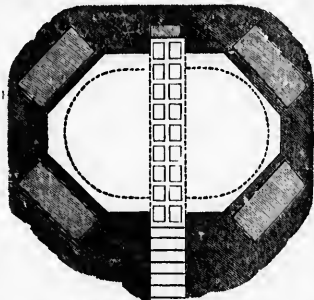
In addition to the ordinary places of interment in the *ambulacra*, the catacombs contain an immense number of sepulchral chambers or *cubicula*, each enshrining a larger or smaller number of dead, as well in *tomb-tombs* and *areosolia* as in *loculi* pierced in the walls. These were origi-



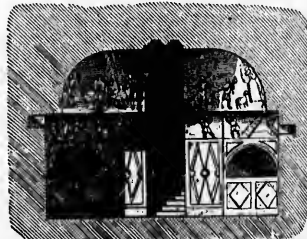
In the Catacomb of St. Agnes, with seats hewn out of the rock.

nally family burial places, excavated and embellished at the expense of the friends of the departed, and from the date of their first construction served for the celebration of the eucharistic feast and *agape*, on the occasion of the funeral, and its successive anniversaries. In times of persecution they may have supplied places of religious assembly where the faithful might gather in security for the celebration of the holy mysteries at the graves of the departed martyrs and others whose faith they might be soon called to follow and seal their testimony with their blood. The name *cubiculum* is of exclusively Christian use as applied to places of interment. We find it repeatedly used in that sense in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Anastasius. In the life of Sixtus III. A.D. 432-440, it is distinctly used for a family vault "Cujus" (Bussi) "corpus sepelivit ad Beatum Petrum apostolum in cubiculo parentum ejus" (Anast. xlv. § 63). Padre Marchi, p. 101, gives several inscriptions from the catacombs themselves, in which the term occurs in this reference: e.g. CVBICVLVM DOMITIANI; CVBICVLVS FAL. GAUDENTI ARGENTARI, from the catacomb of St. Callistus. An inscription of the year 336 given by De Rossi, No. 45, indicates the family vault of Aurelia Martina CVBICVLVM AURELIAE MARINAE. "These inscriptions indicate," writes Marchi, p. 101, "that in the fourth century the persons named caused that their own *cubicula* should be excavated at their own expense. Each *cubiculum* was of sufficient dimensions to serve for several generations of their respective families. If it proved insufficient *loculi* were added at a greater or less distance from the *cubiculum*." Sometimes

we find the arch of an *areosolium* of the first century cut through and used as a door or entrance to a second *cubiculum* excavated in its rear, the original sarcophagus being removed and carried to the back of the chapel that other bodies might be placed near it (*Bulletin. di Arch. Christ.* 1867). The number of these sepulchral chambers is almost beyond computation. Marchi reckons more than sixty in the eighth part of the catacomb of St. Agnes. In that of St. Callistus they amount to some hundreds. They are equally frequent in the other cemeteries. Their form is very varied. In the catacomb of St. Callistus, with very few exceptions, they are rectangular, and that appears to have been the earlier shape. But the plates of Marchi, Boldetti, &c., afford examples of many other forms, triangular, pentagonal, hexagonal, octagonal, circular, and semi-circular. Among the examples given by Boldetti, pp. 14, 15, and Marchi, tav. xxiii., of which we give a plan and section, one



Plan of Cubiculum from Catacomb of St. Callistus.



Section of Cubiculum from Catacomb of St. Callistus.

from the cemetery of Callistus is circular, with a domed vault, and is surrounded by six arched niches. Another from that of St. Helena on the Via Labicana is square, with an insulated tomb in the centre, the roof being supported by four columns standing quite free of the walls, cut out of the native tufa. The roof is sometimes a barrel vault, sometimes a coved ceiling, nearly flat; in one instance, it expands into a lofty dome, lighted by a *luminare* (Bosio, p. 489, Marchi, tav. xxxi.). Both the roof, the vaults, and the recesses of the *areosolia* are generally coated with stucco, and richly decorated with religious paintings. In the later restorations the walls are often veneered

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Catacomb of St. Callistus



Catacomb of St. Callistus

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489, Marchi, tav. xxii.)
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coated with stucco, and
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with plates of costly marble [PLATONIA]. In a
very large number of examples the Good Shepherd
occupies the centre of the ceiling, the surrounding
lunettes containing Adam and Eve after the Fall,
the history of Jonah, the Sacrifice of Abraham,
Moses striking the Rock, the Three Children in
the Furnace, the Visit of the wise men to Christ,
the Raising of Lazarus, the Healing of the
Blind man, the Paralytic carrying his Bed, the
Miracle of the Loaves, and other scenes from the
limited cycle of Scriptural subjects to which early
Christian art confined itself, treated with a
wearisome uniformity; embellished with palm
branches, vines laden with grapes, the dove, the
peacock, and other familiar Christian symbols.
The walls of the chamber were also similarly
decorated [FRESCOS]. The vault is in some cases
supported by columns, either cut out of the tufo,
or formed of brick coated with stucco (Marchi,
tav. xix. xxii. xxx. xxxiii.). A very interesting
cubiculum from the Via Latina given by Marchi,
tav. xxii. p. 141, sq. from a plate of Bosio's, p.
303, has a domical vault and pillars covered with
stucco, ornamented with vine branches and *omoni*
in relief. The character of the decoration
claims for this a very early date. It is doubtful
whether any other of the kind has been dis-
covered in the catacombs. Light and air were
not unfrequently admitted by means of a shaft
communicating with the surface of the ground,
called *luminare*. A chamber so lighted was
known as a *cubiculum clarum* (Cf. Anastas. Bibl.
tit. *Marcellina*, "Sepelivit (corpore) . . . in coe-
meterio Priscillae in *cubiculo claro*"). For ex-
amples see Marchi, tav. viii. xxix. xxvii. xlviii.
Jerome's well known description of the catacombs
in *Ezechiel*, c. xl. contains an allusion to these
luminaria. His words are "raro desuper lumen
admissum horrorem temperat . . . ut non tam
festestram quam foramen demissi lumen putes."
And again, *praefat. in Daniel*, "Cum et quasi
per cryptam antubulans rrum desuper lumen
aspicrem." Prudentius also in his *Periste-
phanda*, xi.-v. 161-8 uses similar language:—

"Occurrit crenis immissa foraminis tectis
Quae faciunt clarum antra super radio.

Attenet excelsi subter cava viscera montis,
Cretas torbrato fornice lux penetat,
Sic datur absentis per subterranea solis
Cenere fulgore in lumenibuscque frui."

The Acts of SS. Marcellinus and Peter record
that the martyr Candida was put to death by
hurling her down an airshaft, and overwhelming
her with stones, "per *luminare* cryptae iactantes
lapidibus obruerunt," ap. Holland, ii. Jun. n. 10.
From an epitaph given by Marchi, p. 165, the
luminaria appear to have been divided into
"larger" and "smaller," "maiora," "minora."
It is as follows: "cum paravi Saturninus n]Susto
(Sisto) locum visumum auri solid]os duo in lu-
minare majore. Que postea est ibi que fuit cum
marito an xl." Marchi gives an interesting ex-
ample of a *luminare majus* serving for two *cubi-
cula* from the cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and
Peter (pl. xxix. pp. 165 sq.). A cylindrical shaft
immediately above the *ambacrum* expands into
a cone as it descends, so as to supply light and
air to chambers on opposite sides of the passage.
Painted on the wall of the shaft is a dove with
an olive branch. In the cemetery of Callistus
the same *luminare* sometimes serves for three

chambers (Northcote, *R. S. p.* 128). Examples
of the smaller *luminaria* from the cemetery of
St. Helena may be found in Marchi, tav. vi. vii.
viii. If the strata through which the shaft was
driven were not sufficiently solid to stand with-
out support, it was lined with a wall, carried up
a little distance above the level of the ground,
to avoid accidents. Many of the existing *lumi-
naria* belong to the Damascine period, having been
opened to admit light and air to the tombs of
the more renewed martyrs when they became
the object of pious visits. We may instance that
of the crypt of St. Cecilia. If, as was most
usual, there was no *luminare*, the chambers were
illuminated by lamps, sometimes suspended by
chains from the vault, sometimes standing in
niches, or on small brackets of tile or marble
often placed at the angle of a *loculus*. Bottari,
vol. i. p. 17, asserts that when the catacombs
were first opened some of these lamps were
found still in their place, and we are informed by
Marchi, p. 136, that the upper part of the
niches, and the walls or ceilings above the lamps
still retained the blackness caused by the smoke.

These *cubacula* were very frequently double,
one on either side of the gallery, and, as we have
just noticed, in some instances a *luminare* was
sunk in the centre so as to give light to both
(Boldetti, p. 16, b.). An inscription of the highest
interest given by De Rossi, vol. i. p. 208, de-
scribes a double cubiculum of this kind con-
structed by the permission of Pope Marcellinus,
A. D. 296-308, by the Deacon Severus for himself
and his family, "Cubiculum duplex cum arcosoliis
et luminare n] jussu P. P. sui Marcellini Diacon-
iste n] Severus fecit mansionem in pace quietam
n] sibi suis que." De Rossi describes a *luminare* of
very large size and unusual character in the
cemetery of St. Balbina discovered by him. It
is nearly hexagonal, and opens on the subterranean
excavations with no less than eight rays of
light illuminating as many distinct chambers and
galleries (*R. S. i.* 265).

Each side of the cubiculum usually contains a
table tomb or an *arcosolium*. That facing the en-
trance, behind which the rock is often excavated
so as to form an apse, was the chief tomb of the
chamber, and very frequently contained the re-
mains of a martyr, and according to primitive
usage, based on *Lev. vi.* 9-11, furnished an altar
for the celebration of the Eucharist. The altar
was sometimes detached from the wall. But
this was not a primitive arrangement. In the
papal crypt in the cemetery of Callistus we have
traces of two altars. The original altar remains
hewn out in the rock, the front of brickwork,
and the stone slab covering it forming the holy
table. In front of this, a raised marble step
or *podium*, with four shallow holes or sockets
is an evidence of a second later altar standing
on four pillars. We have noticed above an
example of an insulated altar from the cemetery
of St. Helena. As more space was required for
the interment of the bodies of members of the
same family the walls above and around the
original tombs were pierced with loculi, some-
times amounting to nearly a hundred. The
desire of reposing in the same locality with
the blessed dead, and in close proximity to a
saint or martyr, which was awakened at so early
a period and exercised so much power (cf. August.
de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda; retract. lib. v.

c. 64. Maximus Taurinensis. *Hom.* lxxxi Ambros. *ad pop. de SS. Gervas. et Protais.* Paulinus Nol. *in Panegy. Celsi* led to the excavation of loculi in the walls behind the earlier tombs, with complete disregard of the paintings decorating them, which were thus mutilated or destroyed. A very badly spelt and ungrammatical inscription given by Marchi, p. 102, from Boldetti, who copied it from the cemetery of St. Cyriaca, tells us of two ladies Valeria and Sabina, who in their lifetime had purchased from *fassores* named Apro and Viator a double grave (bisomum) in the rear of that in which the bodies of recognised saints had been buried, "retro sanctos." It is as follows: IN CRYPTA NOVA RETRO SANCTUS EMERITUM (-RUM?) SE VIVAS BALER | RA ET SABINA MERUM LOCUM | BISONI AN APHONIE ET A | BIATORIE. The inscription set up by Damasus in the cemetery of Callistus in honour of the companions in martyrdom of Pope Xystus bears witness to his participation in this feeling, and his relinquishment of the fulfilment of his wishes lest he should disturb the ashes of the faithful.

"Hic lateor Damasus volui mea condere membra,
Sed cineres timui sanctos vexare paruum."

An inscription given by Gruter, *Insc. Antiq. Christ.* p. 1167, No. 4, testifies the same sentiment.

"Sanctorum exuvias penitus confine s'pulechrum,
Promeruit sacro digna Marina solo."

St. Ambrose also states that he had resigned the place beneath the altar in which he had intended his own body should lie, "dignum est enim ut ibi requiescat sacerdos ubi olerere consuevit" to the relics of the recently discovered martyrs Gervasius and Protais, and contrasts the position of Christ present on the altar with the saints beneath it, "ille super altari qui pro omnibus mortuus est, isti sub altari qui illius redempti sunt passione." (*Ambros. Ep.* xxii. 15.) See also Jerome, *adv. Vigilant.* p. 359. [ALTAR.] For examples of this ruthless destruction of earlier decorations (Cf. De Rossi, vol. ii, tav. 27, 28, 29; Northcote, *R. S.* Plate xvi.) When the *cubiculum* was absolutely too full to receive any more bodies *loculi* were dug in its vicinity, their connection with the family vault being indicated by an inscription to that effect, e.g. Marchi, p. 101, LOCA ADVERTIMENTES AD CUBICULUM GERMANIANI.

The altar was sometimes protected from any careless approach by lattice work of marble, *transenna*, the prototype of the *cancelli* of later Christian churches. Fragments of an enclosure of this kind were found by De Rossi in the papal crypt, and supply the authority for the restoration (*R. S.* vol. ii, pp. 20-27, tav. i. l. A.). Other examples are given by Boldetti from the cemeteries of Praetextatus and Helena, and Priscilla (pp. 34, 35, Marchi, p. 128). A very beautiful example of the *transenna* is seen in the cemetery church of St. Alexander, A.D. 498.

We know that it was the universal custom of the early church to celebrate the Eucharist at the time of a funeral, provided it took place in the morning (for authorities see Bingham bk. xxiii. ch. iii. § 12). By degrees a corrupt custom crept in, based on a superstitious view of the magical power of the consecrated elements, of administering the Holy Communion to the de-

parted (Bingham *Orig.* bk. xv. c. iv. § 20). The prohibition of this profane custom in the canons of some early councils (e.g. Auxerre, A.D. 578, can. 12; Carthage iii. A.D. 397, can. 6; Trullo, A.D. 691, can. 83) is evidence for its existence. The consecrated bread was laid as a charm on the breast of the corpse. The wine enclosed in small glass or earthenware bottles was placed in the grave, or imbedded in the mortar at the mouth of the loculus, and the red colour left by the exsiccated wine mistaken for blood in the early stages of catacomb investigation has created thousands of false martyrs. Another analogous custom was that of pouring libations of wine on the graves after the old heathen fashion, and supplying the dead with food for their last journey, *viaticum*. The 22nd canon of the Second Council of Tours A.D. 567 mentions those "qui in festivitate cathedre domini Petri Apostoli cibos mortuis offerunt." Paulinus of Nola *Poem.* xxvii. vv. 566-7 thus alludes to the libations—

"Simplicitas pietate cadit, male credula sanctos
Perfusus balante mero gaudere sepulchris."

Another purpose of the *cubicula* was for the celebration of the Funeral Feast on the anniversary of the day of death. This was a custom inherited from the heathen sepulchral rites, which too often degenerated into heathen license. St. Augustine deplors that "many drink most luxuriously over the dead, and when they make a feast for the departed, bury themselves over the buried, and place their gluttony and drunkenness to the score of religion" (*De Mor. Eccl. Cath.* c. xxiv.), and condemns those who "make themselves drunk in the memorials of the martyrs" (*Cont. Faust.* lib. xx. c. 21). (Cf. *Arceus. de Elia.* c. xvii.; *August. Confess.* vi. c. 2.) In primitive times it may be charitably believed that such abuses were the exceptions, and that the anniversary was observed in a seemly manner, and with a cheerfulness tempered by religion. (On this custom see Neander, *Ch. Hist.* i. 454, Clark's edition; Bingham, *Origines*, bk. xx. ch. viii. §§ 1-10; bk. xxiii. ch. iii.; §§ 3-17; Bosio, lib. iv. c. 34.) The pictures on the walls of the *cubicula* in some of the catacombs furnish representations of these funeral feasts, of which they were the scene. The most curious is from an *arcosolium* in the catacomb of SS. Marcellian and Peter (Bosio, p. 391). Three guests—a woman between two men—are seated at a crescent-shaped, or sigma table, at the two ends of which, in stately curule chairs, two matrons are seated. No dishes appear on the table; they are placed on a small three-legged stand in the centre, at which a lad is stationed preparing to execute the orders of the guests, which are written above their heads—"Irene da Calda," "Agape misce mi" (cf. *Juven. Sat.* v. 63; *Marcellian.* lib. i. Ep. 11; lib. viii., Ep. 63; lib. xiv., Ep. 95). Another painting from the same cemetery represents six persons, three of each sex, seated at an empty table. One is drinking from a *rythion*; another stretches out his hand to receive a cup from a person of whom no more than the arm is left (Bosio, p. 355).

The *cubicula* generally speaking are of small dimensions, and are incapable of containing more than a very limited number of worshippers. But there are also found halls and chambers of

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bk. xv. c. iv. § 20). The same custom in the canon (e.g. Auzerre, A.D. 518, A.D. 397, can. 6; Trullo, evidence for its existence, was laid as a charm on wine. The wine enclosed in rare bottles was placed in the mortar at the end and the red colour left by mistake for blood in the investigation has created myths. Another analogous rite being libations of wine on old heathen fashion, and with food for their last canon of the 22nd canon of the Synod of A.D. 567 mentions the *theodre domini Petri Apostolus*. Paulinus of Nola thus alludes to the liba-

tion, male credula sanctos
gaudere sepulchris."

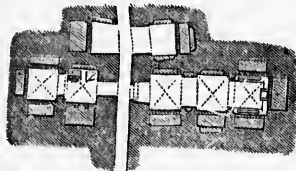
The *cubicula* was for the annual Feast on the anniversary. This was a custom heathen sepulchral rites, adapted into heathen license, as that "many drink most dead, and when they make dead, bury themselves over their gluttony and drunken religion" (*De Mor. Eccl.* condemns those who "make the memorials of the martyr. xx. c. 21). (Cf. *Ar. vi.* must. *Confess.* vi. c. 2.) It may be charitably believed the exceptions, and that observed in a seemly manner, less tempered by religion. Neander, *Ch. Hist.* i. 454, Ham, *Origines*, bk. xx. ch. xxiii. ch. iii.; §§ 3-17;

The pictures on the walls of the catacombs furnish these funeral feasts, of which the most curious is from the catacomb of St. Marcellinus (391). Three guests—a man—are seated at a crescent table, at the two ends of the chairs, two matrons appear on the table; they are three-legged stand in the station preparing to the guests, which are "Irene da Cadda," *cf. Juven. Sat.* v. 63; *Mar. lib. viii.*, Ep. 63; *lib. xiv.* dining from the same companions, three of each sex, able. One is drinking from a person of whom no more (Bosio, p. 355).

Generally speaking arts of small incapable of containing more than a number of worshippers. Round halls and chambers of

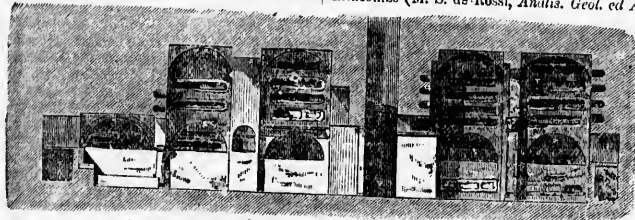
CATACOMBS

much larger proportions, which have been considered by the chief Roman Catholic authorities on the subject to have been constructed for the purpose of religious assemblies. These are distinguished by Padre Marchi, by an arbitrary nomenclature which has failed to find acceptance, into *crypte*, for the smaller, and *ecclesie*, for the larger excavations. Of the latter the most typical example is that discovered in the catacomb of St. Agnes in 1842, and described and figured by Marchi (pp. 182-184; Tav. xxxv.-xxxvii.) from whom we borrow the annexed plan and section. This comprises five quadrangular com-



Plan of supposed Church, from the Catacomb of St. Agnes, from Marchi.

partments, three on one side of the *ambulacrum* and two on the other, connected by a tolerably wide passage cutting the gallery at right angles. The two compartments to the right of the gallery are supposed to have been reserved for



Section of supposed Church, from the Catacomb of St. Agnes, from Marchi.

women, and two of the three to the left of the gallery for men. The third compartment, divided from the others by an arch supported on stuccoed columns, formed the chancel or sanctuary. In the centre of the end wall stands the *cathedra*, or bishop's seat, flanked on each side by a stone bench running along the side walls, which formed seats for the clergy. Hollowed out so as to furnish *loculi* for children, an *arcosolium* fills the space behind the episcopal chair, and occupies both sides of each of the compartment. The walls above the *arcosolia* are pierced with tiers of *loculi*. There is no trace of an altar. The *cathedra* entirely prevents the *arcosolium* fronting the entrance being so used. Marchi therefore concludes that the altar must have been portable. The whole is entirely destitute of painting, or decorations of any kind, beyond a rich marble paneling, a small portion of which remains. The result of the learned father's researches was to satisfy him that the two sexes reached the church by distinct staircases (p. 42) and by separate corridors, and that the church itself must have been constructed before the commencement of the third century;

CATACOMBS

but the whole rests on too conjectural a basis to be accepted as anything more than a possible hypothesis.

Some of the so-called *crypte* are destitute of *arcosolia*, or have the *arcosolia* placed at too great an elevation to serve as holy tables for the celebration of the sacred mysteries. These are assumed by Marchi to have been devoted to the instruction of *catechumens*. They usually consist of two chambers, one for each sex, and are provided with chairs for the (presumed) *catechists*, and benches cut in the tufa rock for the *catechumens* (cf. Marchi, pp. 130-133; tav. xvii.). But such an identification is exceedingly doubtful.

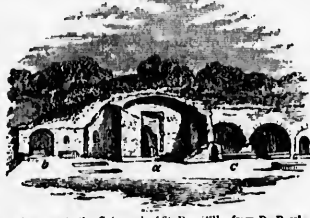
When the catacombs became places of refuge in times of persecution (as it is indisputable they did, though not to the extent popularly credited), it was essential that there should be the means of obtaining a supply of water without leaving the limits of the cemetery. This want was supplied by *wells* and *spring*s, whether dug for this purpose or not, many of which remain to the present time, still holding water. We may mention one in the *Arca prima* of the Catacomb of St. Callistus (F₁ in De Rossi's plan), which may still be used for its original purpose. The shaft of this well is furnished with foot holes, to enable a man to descend for the purpose of cleaning it out, as is the case, according to De Rossi, in all the ancient wells connected with the catacombs (M. S. de Rossi, *Analisi. Geol. ed Arch*

vol. ii. p. 97). Wells are also mentioned by Boldetti (p. 40) as existing in the cemeteries of Praetextatus and St. Helena, and natural springs in those of St. Pontianus, Ostrianus or Fons Petri and the Vatican.

In close connection with the wells of the catacombs stand the so-called *Baptisteries*. The most remarkable of these is that in the Catacomb of St. Pontianus, the purpose of which is put beyond doubt by its pictorial decoration (Aringhi, i. 381; Bottari, tav. xlv.; Boldetti, p. 40; Marchi, pp. 32, 220-224; tav. ii. xlii.). A descent of ten steps leads to a cistern filled by a natural stream flowing through a channel in the rock. The wall above the cistern retains a fresco of the Baptism of our Lord, and on that at the back of it is a magnificent jewelled cross, the stem immersed in the water, blossoming into flowers and leaves, and from its arms, which support lighted candles, the characters A. Ω. suspended by chains. Another of these so-called *baptisteries* is found in the lowest *piano* of galleries in the Catacomb of St. Agnes. It is a well-preserved chamber, with rude columns out in the tufa rock in the corners. A spring of water

runs through it. The paintings have entirely perished from damp.

In connection with some cemeteries we find provision for washing the corpse. This is seen in the very remarkable early Cemetery of Domitilla at Tor Marancia. The entrance is above ground on the side of a hill cut down for the purpose. On each side of the doorway is a vestibule, or covered *porticus*. To the left is a chamber where may be traced a well and cistern, with the place for the pulley of the bucket. This chamber was probably devoted to the customary washing of the dead body before interment. (See Bosio, *R. S.* cap. 17.) A similar chamber is found at the entrance of the Jewish Catacomb on the Via Appia. It has a mosaic pavement, and drains to carry the water away.



Entrance to the Catacombs of St. Domitilla, from De Rossi.

a) Entrance to the Catacombs. (b) Porter's lodge with a well and chamber for washing the bodies. (c) "school," or place of meeting.

Some of these wells probably had no other object than that of draining the catacombs. This was the case with that dug by Damasus in the Vatican Cemetery. The galleries of this catacomb being rendered unfit for the purpose of sepulture by the infiltration of water, Damasus cut away the rock till he found the spring, and diverted its waters to supply a baptistery. It is this spring which now supplies the fountain in front of the Pontifical Palace.

Damasus records his good work in the following inscription:—

"Cingebant latentes noctem teneoque meatu
Cori ora multorum cineres atque ossa trabant.
Non tulli hoc Damasus communi lege sepultos
Post equalem tristis iterum persolvere poemus.
Propterea aggressus magnum superare laborem
Ageris inmensi deus cili caluitus montis,
Intima offitice seruitus viscera terras,
Siccavit totum quod liquid mellefecerat humor,
Invenit fontem præbebat quæ dona salutis.
Hæc curavit Mercurius Levita fidelis."

The singular variety of objects discovered within the *loculi* of the catacombs is an evidence of the permanence of the old heathen idea, which regarded the life after death as a continuation of the present life with its occupations and amusements, as well as of the strength of the universal human instinct, which leads the bereaved to deposit in the grave of their loved ones the tools and ornaments and playthings which had lost their use by the death of their possessor. Boldetti, lib. ii. cc. 14, 15, furnishes us with very interesting details of the results of his investigations in this department, together with engraved representations of some of the more curious and typical objects discovered by him, some of which are still to be seen in the Christian Museum

of the Vatican. Among the objects extracted from children's graves are *jointed dolls* of ivory or bone, similar to those which we learn from Cancellieri de Seor, *Basil. Vatican.* tom. II. pp. 995-1000, were found in the bier of Maria, the daughter of Stilicho and wife of Honorius, belonging to the close of the 4th century—little earthenware *money-jars*,—*mosaics*, and a very great abundance of small bronze bells, such as we know to have been in use in classical times for the amusement of children, frequently met with in heathen tombs, and *mice* in niel or terra-cotta. Female tombs have furnished numerous examples of *toilet equipments* and *personal ornaments*; *mirrors*, *combs* in ivory or boxwood, *bad'ins*, *pins* of ivory or bone, *vinegrettes*, *toecovers*, *toothpicks*, and *earpicks*; *bracelets* and *armlets*, *carrings* and *necklaces*; *buckles* and *brooches*, *ribs* and *seals*; *studs* and *buttons*, *lullacs*, and other similar objects, setting before us vividly the Roman Christian ladies of the first ages. In not a few instances, according to the same authority (Boldetti, *Osserv.* p. 297), the *false hair* worn in life was buried with the corpse. Among other objects of interest discovered in the *loculi* we may mention *di'e*, *ivory knife-handles*, *withards*, a *lock* and *key*, one half of an *ivory egg* with portraits of a husband and wife and the Christian monogram engraved on the flat section; *tortoiseshell*, *weights of stone*, and small *glass fish* engraved with numbers, the purpose of which has not been determined.

The number of *lamps* discovered in and about the tombs is countless. The majority are of *terra-cotta*, but some have been found of bronze, and some even of silver and amber. One in this last material was found in the catacomb of St. Priscilla (Boldetti, *Osserv.* p. 298, tav. i. no. 7). By far the greater part of these lamps have only the monogram of Christ impressed on them. But there are a very large number which present other familiar symbols, such as the palm-branch, the dove, the fish, the ship, and A and Ω. The Good Shepherd is of frequent occurrence. The lamps found in the Jewish catacombs almost universally bear the seven-branched candlestick.

The so-called *instruments of torture* which the eager imagination of pious enthusiasts, resolved to convert every buried Christian into a martyr, has discovered enshrined in the *loculi*, or incised on their closing slabs, in the opinion of the best informed and most calm judging writers, are nothing more than implements of handicraft. One singular pronged weapon, specimens of which are preserved in the Vatican and the Collegio Romano, has been identified with a heathen sacrificial instrument, and its presence in a Christian catacomb has yet to be explained.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

The following catalogue of the ancient Christian cemeteries of Rome, the names of which stand recorded in ancient historical documents, arranged according to the chief lines of road leading from the city, is derived from De Rossi's great work. The first column gives the name of the road. The second that which De Rossi's investigations have led him to believe to have been the primitive names of the larger cemeteries in the first age of the Church. In the third column appear the designations by which they were known in the fourth century, after the

establishment of the peace of the Church. The fourth column gives the titles of certain lesser cemeteries or isolated tombs of martyrs, which are often confused with the larger cemeteries to

which they were adjacent, and with which they were sometimes locally connected. The later cemeteries formed, subsequent to the peace of the Church, occupy the last column.

Roads.	Greater Cemeteries.		Lesser Cemeteries, or Isolated Tombs of Martyrs.	Cemeteries constructed after the Peace of the Church.
	Primitive Names.	Names in the 4th Century. Time of Peace.		
Appia	1. Callixti	Lucinae Zephyrini Juliani Hippolyti	S. Xysti S. Caeclinae SS. Xysti et Cornelli S. Januarii SS. Urbani, Felicesimiliani, Agapiti, Januarii, Guirini SS. Tiburtii, Valeriani, et Maximi	27. Soteridiae
	2. Praetextati	S. Sebastiani S. Petronillae SS. Petronillae, Nereae, et Acutillae		38. Falbinae sive S. Marci 39. Damiani
	3. Ad Catacumbas			
Ardeatina	4. Domitillae			
	5. Basilide			
Ostiensis	6. Commodillae			
			28. Sepulcrum Pauli Apostoli in praedio Lucinae 29. Coemeterium Thimothei in horto Thronis 30. Ecclesia S. Thronae 31. Ecclesia S. Zecconi	
Portuensis	7. Pontiani ad Ursinum	SS. Abdoni et Seneonis S. Anastasii, pp. S. Innocentii, pp. S. Pancratii		40. Julii via Portuensis mill. III. S. Feliciae via Portuensis 41. S. Feliciae via Aureliae
Aurelia	8.			
	9. Lucinae	SS. Processi et Martiani S. Agathae ad Gloriarum		
	10. Calepodii	S. Callisti via Aureliae Julii via Aureliae		
Comella				
			32. Memoria Petri Apostoli et septuaginta episcoporum in Vaticano	
Flaminia	11.	S. Valentini		
Civus Cucumeris	12. Ad Septem Columnas	Ad caput S. Joannis S. Hermetis SS. Hermetis, Basiliae, Proti, et Hyacinthi S. Pamphili S. Felicitatis		
Salaria Vetus	13. Basiliae			
	14.			
Salaria Nova	15. Maximi			
			33. Ecclesia S. Hilarii in horto ejusdem 34. Crypta SS. Chrysostomi et Darinae 35. Coemeterium Novellae	
	16. Thrasone	S. Saturnini S. Alexandri		
	17. Jordanorum	SS. Alexandri, Vitalis et Marcellis et VII. Virginum S. Silvestri S. Marcelli		
	18. Priscillae	Coemeterium majus Ad Nymphas S. Petri Fontis S. Petri		
Montana	19. Octavianum vel Ostrianum			36. Coemeterium S. Agnetis in ejusdem agello 37. Coemeterium S. Nicomedis
Tiberina	20.	S. Hippolyti S. Laurentii S. Gorgonii		
Labicana	22. Ad Duas Lauros	SS. Petri et Marcellini S. Tiburtii S. Castini S. Gordiani SS. Gordiani et Epimachi SS. Simplicii et Servilliani, Quarti et Quinti, et Sophiae S. Tertulliani S. Eugeniae		42. In Comitatu sive SS. Quatuor Coronatorum
	23.			
Latina	24.			
	25.			
	26. Aproniani			

the objects extracted from the *jointed dolls* of ivory or bone we learn from Cancelli, tom. II. pp. 995-1000, of Maria, the daughter of Honorius, belonging to very little earthenware as we know to have been for the amusement of with in heathen tombs, -cotta. Female tombs examples of toilet equipments; mirrors, combs in pins of ivory or bone, *thipicks*, and *earpicks*; *wrings* and *necklaces*; *seats* and *seals*; and similar objects, setting man Christian ladies of few instances, according to *Osserv.* p. 297, he was buried with the objects of interest do not mention *diver*, *ivory lock* and *key*, one half of a husband and wife gran engraved on the *weights* of stone, and with numbers, the been determined.

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ROMAN CATACOMBS.

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CATACOMBS OF NAPLES, &c.

To the north of the city of Naples, four subterranean Christian cemeteries are known to exist, in a spur of Capodimonte, no great distance from one another. They have been distinguished by the names of *S. Vito*, *S. Severo*, *S. Marci della Santita*, and *S. Gennaro* (Januarius) *dei parvi*. There is also a fifth at some distance under the monastic Church of *S. Eufremo*. That of *S. Gennaro* is the only one now accessible. It has been fully described by Pelliccia (*de Christianis Eccles. Polit. Neapol. 1781, vol. iv. Dissert. V.*), and more recently in an elaborate treatise of great value, embracing the whole subject of interment in the catacombs, by *Chr. Fr. Bellermann, Hamburg, 1839*.

With many points of resemblance as regards the formation of the graves, and the actual mode of interment, the Neapolitan Catacombs differ very widely in their general structure from those of Rome. Instead of the low narrow galleries of the Roman Catacombs, we have at Naples wide lofty corridors, and extensive cavern-like halls, and subterranean churches. The chief cause of this diversity is the very different character of the material in which they are excavated. Instead of the friable *tufa granolare* of Rome, the stratum in which the Neapolitan catacombs lie is a hard building stone of great durability and strength, in which wide vaults might be constructed without any fear of instability. To quote the words of *Mabillon, Her. Italicum*, "altiores habent quam Romana Coemeteria fornices ob duritatem et firmitatem rupis secus quam Romae ubi arena seu topus tantum altitudinis non patitur." It is probable that these catacombs were originally stone quarries, and that the Christians availed themselves of excavations already existing for the interment of their dead. On this point *Marchi* speaks without the slightest hesitation (*Monum. Primitivæ, p. 13*).

The Catacomb of *St. Januarius* derives its name from having been selected as the resting-place of the body of that saint, whose death at *Puteoli* is placed A.D. 303, when transferred to Naples by *St. John*, who died A.D. 432.

Mabillon speaks of three stories: "triplez ordo criptarum alius supra illum." Two only are mentioned by *Pelliccia* and *Bellermann* as now accessible. The galleries which form the cemetery proper, are reached through a suite of wide and lofty halls, with vaulted ceilings cut out of the rock, and decorated with a succession of paintings of different dates, in some instances lying one over the other. The earliest frescoes are in a pure classical style, and evidently belong to the first century of the Christian era. There is nothing distinctly Christian about these. In many places these have been plastered over, and on the new surface portraits of bishops, and other religious paintings, in a far inferior style and of a much later date, have been executed. [Fresco.]

The interments are either in *loculi*, *arcosolia*, or *cubicula*. The *loculi* are cut without order or arrangement, the larger and smaller apertures bring all mixed together, with no attempt at economising space. The *arcosolia* have barrel vaults. Some of them are painted; one contains a fresco of the peacock, and on the wall

above portraits of a mother and daughter whose remains are interred below, with a rudely written inscription, "Vixit Rufina annos lv. et filia ejus . . . xxxvii." Another also presents the portraits of its occupants, all in prayer; a bearded father, *Michelinus*; a girl, *Illiaris* aged 14, and a child *Nonnosia* aged 2 years 10 months, with spotted frock, pearl head-dress and earrings, necklace, and buckle to belt. In a third is the bust of a young man in white tunic and red pallium, with the inscription "Hic requiescit Proculus." A fourth contains full-length figures of *St. Paul* and *St. Lawrence*. The *cubicula* average 7 palms broad, by 10 palms in height and depth. The roof is horizontal or slightly convex. Each contains from 3 to 8 *loculi*. The graves were hermetically sealed with slabs of marble. But all have been opened and ransacked. The interments in the lower *piano* occur in two long parallel galleries, one much wider than the other, communicating with one another by 14 transverse passages. In the upper story the graves are cut in the sides of three large, broad, low vaulted halls excavated out of the rock, and certainly with no original view of sepulture.

At the entrance of the lower *piano* we find a so-called *martyrs' church*, with a slightly vaulted roof. It was divided into a nave and sanctuary by two pillars, the bases of which remain, with *cancelli* between. In the sanctuary stands the altar, built of rough stone, and a rude bishop's seat in an apse behind it. On the South wall are the *arcosolia* of *John I. A.D. 432*, and *Paul A.D. 784*, who, according to *Joannes Diaconus*, desired to be buried near *St. Januarius*. In other rooms we find a well and a cistern, recesses for lamps, and the remnants of a Christian mosaic painting. In a niche in the upper *piano*, which was traditionally the place of the font, is the symbol

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Here, according to *Pelliccia, iv. 162*, a marble shell was discovered, since used as a holy water-basin in the church of *St. Gennaro*. The inscriptions in these catacombs go down to the 9th or 10th century.

Among other Christian catacombs known to exist in different parts of the shores of the Mediterranean, of which we are still in want of fuller and more scientific descriptions, we may particularize those of *Syracuse* known as "the grottos of *St. John*," and described by *D'Agincourt* as "of immense size," and believed by him to have passed from pagan to Christian use: the *Samcean* catacomb near *Taormina*, with *ambulacra* as much as 12 feet wide; the *loculi* at right angles to, not parallel with, the direction of the galleries; each, as in the Roman catacombs, hermetically sealed with a slab of stone: those of *Malta*, supposed by *Denon* (*Voyage in Sicile, Par. 1788*), to have served a double purpose, both for the burial of the dead, and as places of refuge for the living; and which, according to the same authority, "evidence a purpose, leisure, and resources far different from the Roman catacombs;" and those of *Egypt*. Of these last *D'Agincourt* gives the ground-plans of several of pagan origin. The most remarkable is one beyond the canal of *Canopus*, in the quarter called by *Strabo, xvii. p. 793*, "the *Necropolis*." The plan of this *hypogaeum* is drawn with great regularity, very unlike the intricate maze of those of Rome. The

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walls are pierced with three ranges of *loculi*, running, as at Taurinian, at right angles to their length. Very recently a small Christian catacomb has been discovered at Alexandria, described by De Rossi (*Bullettino*, Nov. 1864, Agost. 1865). It is entered from the side of a hill, and is reached by a staircase, which conducts to a vestibule with a stone bench and an apse. This is succeeded by a *cubiculum*, with an *arcosolium* on three sides, opening into an *ambulatorium* containing 28 *loculi*, all set endways to the passage. The whole is full of paintings, of various dates, on successive layers of stucco. One, of a liturgical character, is assigned by De Rossi to the 4th century. But this is probably much too early.

Authorities.—Aringhi, *Roma subterranea*. Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri de' santi martiri ed antichi Cristiani di Roma*. Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*. Bottari, *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiteri di Roma*. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum antiquarum explicatio*. Lupi, *Dissertationi*. Mabillon, *Iter Italicum*. Marchi, *I monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive nella metropoli del Cristianesimo*. Northcote (J. S.) and Brownlow (W. R.), *Roma Sotterranea*. Panvinius, *De ritu sepulchri mortuorum apud veteres Christianos et eorum coemeteriis*. Perret (Louis), *Les catacombes de Rome*. Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes*. Rossi (J. B. de'), *Inscriptiones Christiane*. Rossi (J. B. de' and Mici, S. de'), *Roma Sotterranea*. Seroux D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monuments*. [E. V.]

CATALOGUS HIERATICUS, the name given in the Apostolic Canons (15 and 51, or 14 and 50) to the list of the clergy of a particular church. The term is also said to be applied to that part of the *DIRECTORY* which contained the names of those, still living, who were named in the Eucharistic service; viz. of those who had made offerings, emperors, patriarchs, &c., and lastly of the bishop and clergy of the particular church, as above said. [A. W. H.]

CATECHUMENS. The work of the Church in admitting converts from heathenism or Judaism presented, from the nature of the case, very different features, according to the varying circumstances with which she had to deal. Discipline might be more or less highly organised, converts of higher or lower grades of knowledge or character. If we attempt to form a complete picture from data gathered from different churches and centuries, it must be with the reserve that all such pictures are more or less idealised, and that practically there were everywhere departures more or less important from it. It will be convenient to arrange what has to be said under the heads (I.) The Catechumens. (II.) The Catechists or Teachers. (III.) The Place of Instruction. (IV.) The Substance of the Teaching.

I. Instruction of some kind, prior to the admission of converts by baptism, must have been given from the first, and the word, which afterwards became technical, meets us in the N. T. Apollus was "instructed" (*κατηχημένος*) in the way of the Lord (Acts xviii. 25). Theophilus had been "instructed" in the main facts of the Gospel history which St. Luke inscribes to him (Luke I. 4). The *επιστολὴ* of the apostolic epistles, though not confined to the stage prior to baptism, would naturally include those who were passing

through it; and in the *στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ Θεοῦ* of Heb. v. 12, we have, probably, a summary of the instruction which the writer looked on as adapted for such persons. In practice, however, as in the instances of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii. 36*), and the Philippian gauler (Acts xvi. 31), it must have been of the briefest and simplest kind. The traces of the process and method of instruction in the sub-apostolic age, and the two centuries that followed, are fragmentary and vague. It is not till we get to the 4th century, with its strivings after a more elaborate organisation, that we meet with the developed system which has now to be described. So far as we may think of it as having actually prevailed, it deserves attention as presenting the most complete plan of systematic mission-work that the Church has ever known.

The converts, it is obvious, might be of any age—might have been Jews, or heathens, or heretics—might be ignorant or educated, of good or bad character. They might have been led to offer themselves by the influence of personal friends, or by the sermons preached in Christian assemblies at the religious services to which even outsiders were admitted. They presented themselves to the bishop or priest, and were admitted sometimes after inquiry into character, sometimes without any delay, by the sign of the cross (August. *Conf.* i. 11, *De peccat. merit.* ii. 26) and imposition of hands, to the status of catechumens (1 *Cor.* *Arch.* c. 6, *Conc. Elv.* c. 3). The Councils, as might be expected, prescribe conditions and allow immediate admission only in cases of sickness and of at least decent conduct. St. Martin, however, in his mission work in Gaul, is reported to have admitted his hearers to be catechumens as they rushed to him *caeteratim* on the spot (Sulpicius, *Vita*, ii. 5, p. 294). From that moment they were recognised as Christians, though not as "fideles" (1 *Conc. Constant.* c. 7; *Conc. Theod.* xvi. tit. vii. *de Apostat.* leg. ii.), and began to pass under instruction. The next epoch in their progress was the time when they were sufficiently advanced to give in their names as candidates for baptism; and some writers (e. g. Suicer and Bisnaga) have accordingly recognised only two great divisions, the AUDIENTES, and the COMPLETES. Others, like Bona and Bingham, have made three or four divisions, though differing in details; and it will be well for the sake of completeness to notice these, though it is believed that the classification was never a generally received one.

(1.) Bingham's first class are the *ἐκθροβόμενοι*, those, i. e., who were not allowed to enter the church, and received whatever instruction was given them outside its walls. The existence of such a body is, however, very doubtful. It rests only upon an inference drawn from the fifth canon of the Council of Neo-Cæsarea, ordering that a catechumen (one of the Audientes) who had been guilty of grievous offences should be driven out (*ἐκθροβισθῶ*), and there is no mention of such a class either in the canon itself or elsewhere. What is described is the punishment of an individual offender; and even if the offenders

* The interpolation of the question and answer of v. 37 in the MSS. of later date shows an unconsciousness of the difference between the ecclesiastical and the apostolic practice.

were numerous enough to attract notice, there would be no ground for classing them as in a distinct stage of instruction.

(2.) The next division, that of the *AUDIENTES*, or ἀκούοντες, rests on better evidence. The Greek term is, indeed, not found as the designation of a class till the 4th century, but the *Audientes* or *Auditores* are mentioned both by Tertullian (*de Pœnitent.* c. 6) and Cyriac (*Epist.* 13 to 34). Over and above the instruction they received from their teachers, they were allowed to attend in churches and to listen (hence their name) to the scriptures and to sermons, sharing this privilege with the unbelievers, but probably occupying a distinct place in the congregation.^b They were not allowed, however, to be present when the strictly liturgical worship of the church began, and when the sermon was over, the deacon, mounting on a rostrum of some kind, proclaimed that it was time for them to go (*Const. Apost.* viii. 5). As applied to these, or to the whole body of those who were under catechetical training, the *missa catechumenorum* became the dividing point between the more general worship of the church and the λειτουργία, properly so called.

The feeling which showed itself in this discipline *arcani* kept them in like manner from hearing the Creed or the Lord's Prayer till they took their place among the *fidèles* (Chrysost. *Hom.* xix. in *Mt.*). Sozomen (*H. E.* l. 20) even hesitated about inserting the Nicene Creed in his history lest it should fall into the hands of those who were still in the earlier stage of their Christian training. The practice of repeating the Lord's Prayer *secreta*, which still prevails in the Western Church, probably originated in a like precaution. Assuming the *Audientes* to represent the first class of beginners in Christian training, we may fairly identify them with the "rudes" of Augustine's treatise (*De catechiz. rudibus*) and the ἀτελέστεροι of the Greek Canonists (Balsamon *ad Conc. Nœvocaesar.* c. 5). The time of their probation probably varied according to the rapidity of their progress, and the two years specified by the Council of Elberis (c. 42), or the three fixed by the Apostolical Constitutions (viii. 32), can hardly be looked on as more than rough estimates of what was thought advisable. Any lapse into idolatrous practices or other open sins involved, in the nature of things, a corresponding prolongation of the time of trial. Where the offence was flagrant, the term, in which penance rather than instruction was now the dominant element, might be extended to the hour of death, or to some great emergency (*Conc. Elib.* c. 68).

(3.) Writers who maintain a threefold or fourfold division of the body of catechumens see the third class in the *prostrati* or *genuflectentes* (γυνυκλινοῦντες). These were admitted, not only to stand and listen, but to kneel and pray. As being thus more prominent, they seem to have been known as specially the catechumens, as, e.g., in the εὐχὴ καθηγουμένων of the C. of Laodicea, c. 19. The name, it will be remembered, was applied also to those who were in one of the stages of the penitential discipline of the Church,

^b The place assigned for the *Audientes* was the *Narthex* or portico of the church. (Zonaras, *ed. Conc. Nœvocaes.* c. 11.)

the *fidèles* being degraded from their rightful position and placed on a level with those who were not as yet entitled to the privileges of membership. [PENITENTS.]

(4.) After these stages had been traversed, each with its appropriate instruction, the catechumens gave in their names as applicants for baptism, and were known accordingly as *Competentes* (συμβαπτόμενοι). This was done commonly at the beginning of the Quadragesimal fast, and the instruction, carried on through the whole of that period, was fuller and more public in its nature (Cyril Hieros. *Catech.* l. 5; Hieron. *Ep.* 61, *ad Pinnach.* c. 4). To catechumens in this stage the great articles of the Creed, the nature of the Sacraments, the penitential discipline of the Church, were explained, as in the Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, with dogmatic precision. Special examinations and inquiries into character were made at intervals during the forty days. It was a time for fasting and watching and prayer (*Const. Apost.* viii. 5; 4 C. *Cath.* c. 85; Tertull. *De Bapt.* c. 20; Cyril. l. c.), and, in the case of those who were married, of the strictest continence (August. *de fide et oper.* v. 8). Those who passed through the ordeal were known as the *perfectiores* (τελειώτεροι), the *electi*, or in the nomenclature of the Eastern Church as *Βαπτίζόμενοι* or *Φωτισθέντοι*, the present participle being used of course with a future or gerundial sense. Their names were inscribed as such in the *album* or register of the church. They were taught, but not till a few days before their baptism, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer which they were to use after it. The periods for this registration varied, naturally enough, in different churches. At Jerusalem it was done on the second (Cyril. *Catech.* iii.), in Africa on the fourth Sunday in Lent (August. *Serm.* 213), and this was the time at which the candidate, if so disposed, might lay aside his old heathen or Jewish name and take one more specially Christian (Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 21). The ceremonies connected with their actual admission will be found under BAPTISM. It is only necessary to notice here that the *Sacramentum Catechumenorum* of which Augustine speaks (*De Peccat. Merit.* ii. 26) as given apparently at or about the time of their first admission by imposition of hands, was probably the *εὐλογία* or *panis benedictus*, and not, as Bingham and Augusti maintain, the salt which was given with milk and honey after baptism.*

* It may be well to quote the passage referred to:— "Non unius est modi sanctificatio; nam et catechumenos secundum quendam modum suum per aliquam Christi et orationem et manus impositionem puto sanctificari: et quod accipiunt, *quoniam non sit corpus Christi*, sanctum est tamen, et sanctios quoniam cibi quibus similar, quoniam sacramentum est." Bingham (x. 2, 16), following Bona, infers from a canon of the 3rd Conc. Carth. c. 5, forbidding any other sacramentum than the "solitum sal" to be given to catechumens during the Easter festival, that this must be that of which Augustine speaks; and it is beyond question that this was given during the period of probation, as well as immediately after baptism. It would seem, however, from the canon itself, that some other sacramentum was given at other times; and the word of Augustine, "quoniam non sit corpus Christi," imply, it is believed, something presenting a greater outward likeness to the Eucharistic bread than could be found in the salt. The proviso would hardly have been needed, on Bingham's supposition.

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It is clear that many cases would present themselves in which the normal order of progress would be interrupted. (1.) The catechumen might lapse into idolatry or other grievous sin. In that case he was thrown back, and had to go through a penitential discipline, varying, according to the nature of the offence, from a few months to three or five years, or even to a life-long exclusion (C. Elib. c. 4, 10, 11, 68; C. Nicæen. c. 14; C. Neo. Caesar. c. 5). In no case, however, was the sacrament, which was thought of as indispensable to salvation, refused to the penitent when the hour of death approached. Their sins were looked on as committed in their unregenerate state, and therefore less heinous than they would have been in those who had been admitted to full Christian fellowship. (2.) They might, however, through their own neglect, die without baptism. In that case, they were buried without honour, with no psalms or oblations (1 C. Bracar. c. 35), and were not mentioned in the prayers of the Church. The one comfort left to their surviving friends was to give alms to the poor in the hope that thus they might obtain some alleviation for the souls that had passed beyond the grave without the new birth that admitted them to the Kingdom (Chrysost. Hom. 1 in Philipp.). (3.) Where the loss of baptism was not incurred by their own default, the will was accepted, at least in special cases, for the deed. The death of the younger Valentinian led Ambrose (de Obit. Valent. p. 12) to the wider hope. What was true of catechumen-martyrs and the baptism of blood, as supplying the lack of the baptism of water—and this was received almost as an axiom by all Christian writers from Tertullian downwards (see Bingham, x. 2, 20)—was true of one of whom it might be said "hunc sua pietas abiecit et voluit." Augustine, following in the footsteps of his master, appended to the crucial instruction of the penitent thief against the rigorous dogmatism of those who thought that baptism was absolutely indispensable (de Bapt. iv. 22). (4.) Another common case was naturally that of those who were stricken down by some sudden sickness before the term of their probation had expired. In this case the Church did not hesitate to anticipate the washed-for goal, dispensed with all but the simplest elements of instruction, and administered baptism on the bed of death. [BAPTISM, p. 169.]

II. It is noticeable that, with all this systematic discipline as to the persons taught, there was no order of teachers. It was part of the pastoral office to watch over the souls of those who were seeking admission to the Church, as well as of those who were in it, and thus bishops, priests, deacons, or readers might all of them be found, when occasion required, doing the work of a catechist. The DOCTOR AUDIENTIUM, of whom Cyrillus speaks, was a lector in the church of Carthage. Augustine's treatise, de Catechizandis Rudibus, was addressed to Deogratias as a deacon, the Catechases of Cyril of Jerusalem were delivered by him partly as a deacon, partly as a presbyter. The word Catechist implied, accordingly, a function, not a class. Those who undertook that function were known sometimes as *παιδαγωγοι* (Const. Apost. ii. 37), as having a work like that of those to whom that title was applied on board ship. It was their part to speak to those who were entering the ark or ship

of Christ's Church, to tell them of the perils of the voyage which they were about to undertake, and take their pledge for payment of the fare. The word was part of the metaphor which saw in the bishop the steersman, and in the presbyters the sailors, in the Church itself the *navis* or ship.

III. The places in which catechetical instruction was thus carried on must have varied widely at different times and in different places: sometimes the room or building in which the *fideles* met to worship, before or after service; sometimes a room in the presbyter's or deacon's house, probably at Alexandria, from the special nature of the case, a lecture-room, like the "school" of Tyrannus in Acts xix. 9. It is not till we come to the fully-developed organisation of the Church that we read of special buildings for the purpose, under the name of *κατηχηματα*. They are mentioned as such in the 97th canon of the Trullan Council, and appear, from a Novella of the Emperor Leo's, to have been in the *δωρίπιον*, or upper chamber of the church; probably, i. e. in a room over the portico. In some instances the baptistery seems to have been used for this purpose (Ambros. Ep. 33), while in others, again, perhaps with a view to guarding against premature presence at the rite of baptism, they were not allowed to enter the building in which it was administered (Conc. Arusiæ, c. 19).

IV. The ideal scheme of preparation involved obviously a progress from lower to higher truths. The details varied probably according to the discretion of the teacher and the necessities of the taught, but two great representative examples are found of the earlier stage in Augustine's *Enchiridion de Catechizandis rudibus*, and in the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem. The range of subjects in the former includes the sacred history of the world from the Creation downwards, and then proceeds to the truths of the resurrection and judgment according to works. The better educated may be led to the allegorical meaning of Scripture, and the types of the law. Then came the Gospel narratives, and the Law of Christ. The teaching of Cyril, as intended for the *competentes*, took a wider and higher cycle of subjects, and are based (*Catech.* iv.) upon a *regula fidei*, including the dogmas (1) of God, (2) of Christ, (3) of the birth from the Virgin's womb, (4) of the cross, (5) of the burial, (6) of the resurrection of Christ, (7) of the ascension, (8) of judgment to come, (9) of the Holy Spirit, (10) of the soul, (11) of the body, (12) of meats, (13) of the general resurrection, (14) of the Holy Scriptures.

[E. H. P.]

CATHEDRA (*Καθδρα*).—(1) First and properly, in ecclesiastical usage, the actual throne or seat of the bishop in his episcopal church; or *βθουα και θρόνος* *ἐπίσκοπος* of Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 30), to which Paul of Samosata arrogantly added a *σκήπτρον*,—distinguished by the same Eusebius from the *δευτέρου θρόνου* of the presbyters (*ib.* x. 5, 23);—who also speaks of the *ἀνορθωτικός θρόνος* of St. James at Jerusalem, meaning the actual seat itself still preserved there (*ib.* viii. 19, 32);—called *cathedra veletta* by St. Augustine (*Epist. ad Maxim. civi.*), and *littorata* by Pacian; and inveighed against by St. Greg. Naz. (*Orat. xi.*) as *βήλαι θρόνοι*; and so Prudentius speaks of the bishop's seat, "Fronte sua adversa [i. e. as the upper end of the apse] gradibus sublimè

tribunal Tollitur" (*Peristeph. II. iv. 225*). St. Mark's chair is said to have existed for a long time at Alexandria (Vales. ad Euseb. *H. E. vii. 9*). And one assigned to Pope Stephen is said to have been found in the catacombs by Pope Innocent XII. The wooden chair, with its heathen ivories, representing the labours of Hercules, which is so carefully honoured in St. Peter's at Rome as St. Peter's, is at once the most celebrated, and the most unfortunately chosen, specimen of the class. Episcopal chairs are frequently represented in ancient Christian mosaics or marbles, sometimes adorned with two lions' heads, sometimes with two dogs' heads, sometimes with our Lord Himself represented as sitting in them, sometimes with the B. Virgin, sometimes with the open Gospels laid upon them, sometimes with the bishop himself (Ciampini, *Vol. M. n. 1. tab. 2, 37, 47, 11. tab. 41*; and cf. St. Aug. *Epist. ad Divo. lvi.*); sometimes raised upon steps (*gradatas*, St. Aug. *Epist. ad Maxim. cccii.*, and see Aringhi, *ii. 325*); sometimes "veiled" (*velatae*, St. Aug. as above, see Bosio, *Rom. Sotter. p. 327*). And certain chairs or seats, cut in the tufa stone in the catacombs, are conjectured to have been intended for the bishop at the time when persecution compelled the Christians to hold service there. A Council of Carthage, A. D. 535, forbids a bishop "cathedram collocare in monasterio," i. e. to ordain there.

But hence (2) the word was transferred to the see itself of the bishop, as in Victor Vitens. *De Persec. Vandal. iv.* So *Conc. Milevit. ii. cans. 21, 24*; and "Cathedrae viduatae" in *Cult. Carthage. i. c. 185, 217*; "Cathedrae matricae," in *Conc. Milev. ii. c. 25*; and *Cod. Can. Afric. 123*; and "Cathedrae principales," in *Cod. Civ. Afric. 38*. So also Greg. Tur. *H. F. iii. 1*, and Sidon. Apollin. repeatedly. And earlier than all these, Tertullian (*De Praescript. xxxvi.*) speaks of "Cathedrae Apostolorum," as still existing in the "Ecclesiae Apostolicae;" meaning, not the literal chairs, but the specially Apostolic succession of the bishops of those sees.

(3) The word became used for the Episcopal Church itself, "principalis cathedra," in *Conc. Aquisgr. A. D. 789, can. 40*, meaning the cathedral as opposed to the other churches in the diocese: "Ecclesia Cathedralis," *Conc. Tarracon. A. D. 516, c. ult.*: called also "Ecclesia mater," in the *Conc. Rom. sub Sylvestro, c. 17*; and "Ecclesia matrix," in *Conc. Mogunt. i. c. 8*; and "matrix," simply, by Ferrand. *Breviar. cc. 11, 17, 38*. But "cathedral," used absolutely for the "ecclesia cathedralis," dates from the 10th century, and belongs to the Western Church only. [CATHEDRAL.] [Du Cange; Bingham; Martigny; Walcott, *Sacr. Arch.*] [A. W. H.]

CATHEDRA PETRI. [PETER, FESTIVALS OF.]

CATHEDRAL, also in later times DOM-KIRCHE, *DUOMO*: the chief and episcopal church of a diocese; not so called however until the 10th century, when the epithet, derived from the bishop's *cathedra* or chair, became a substantive name; and called previously the mother church, or the *ecclesia matricae*, in distinction from the parish churches, which were called *tituli* or *ecclesiae dioecesanae*. [CATHEDRA.] It was also sometimes called the "Catholic" church. [CATHOLIC.] The architectural features

of a cathedral are treated in the article CHURCH. The gradual formation and character of the cathedral chapter will be found under CHAPTER. And for the immunities belonging to it simply as a church, see CHURCH, SANCTUARY. As a cathedral church, it was held to be—what at first and in the earliest times it literally was—the parish church of the diocese, to which the others stood as it were in the relation of chapels. In it the bishop was formally enthroned: so *cathedra e* and *incathedravit*, to enthrone. And in it he was to be consecrated, according to ordinary rule. [BISHOP.] Ordinations also, and diocesan synods, were commonly held there. And manumissions of serfs, in Celtic and Saxon England, took place at the altar of the cathedral in the presence of the bishop. Schools and libraries were attached in course of time to cathedrals. And Charlemagne, who ordered monastic schools, and founded palatine schools, found episcopal schools ready to his hand. [SCHOOLS; CANONIC, p. 281.] [A. W. H.]

CATHEDRATICUM.—(1) A pension paid annually to the bishop by the churches of his diocese, "in signum subjectionis;" acc. to *Conc. Bracar. ii. c. 2*, "pro honore cathedrae;" and to *Conc. Ravenn. A. D. 997, c. 2*, "pro respectu Sedis;" both councils limiting the payments in each case to two shillings severally. So also *Conc. Bracar. iii. A. D. 572*, and *Tolet. vii. c. 4*.—(2) Το εὐθροιστικόν, a fee paid by the bishop to the bishops who had consecrated him, and to the clerks and notaries who assisted (Julian. Antecessor, *Const. i. 115, 431*; Justinian *Novell. cxxiii. c. 3*; quoted by Du Cange). [A. W. H.]

CATHISMA (Κάθισμα). A section of the psalter.

(1) The psalter in the Greek Office is divided into twenty sections, called *Cathisina*. Each *Cathisma* is sub-divided into three *Staseis*, and "Gloria" is said at the end of each stasis only. These divisions and the order of reciting the psalter will be explained in a later article. The reason for the name assigned is that, while the choir stand two and two by turns to recite the psalms, the rest sit down.

(2) A short hymn which occurs at intervals in the offices of the Greek Church. It consists of one stanza, or *troponion* (τροπώνιον), and is followed by "Gloria." The name is said to indicate that while it is sung the choir sit down for rest. [H. J. H.]

CATHOLIC, *καθολικός*, *Catholicus*, used in

its ordinary sense of "universal," not only by heathen writers (as, e. g. Pliny), but also not uncommonly by ecclesiastical writers also (as, e. g. Justin Martyr, *Diad. cum Tryph. 81*, *Καθολική ἀπόστασις*, and Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion. ii. 17*, "Catholica . . . homitas Dei," &c. &c.); but commonly employed by the latter as an epithet of the Christian Church, Faith, Tradition, People; first in St. Ignatius (*Ad Smyrn. viii.*), in the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp (in Euseb. *H. E. iv. 14, &c.*), in the *Passio S. Pionii* under Decius (ap. Baron. *in an. 254, n. lx.*), in St. Clem. Alex. (*Strom. vii. p. 899, Oxf. 1715*), and thenceforward commonly, being embodied in the Eastern (although not at first in the Western) creed;—indicating (1) the Church as a whole, as in St. Ignatius above quoted; and so in Arius' creed (Socrat. *i. 20*), $\eta\eta\ \alpha\pi\theta\ \nu\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omega\ \zeta\omega\ \nu\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omega$;

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(2) that portion of the universal Church which is in any particular place, as *ἡ ἐν Χαλκιδῶν καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, as in the *Mart. S. Polywip.*; (3) (when it had grown into an epithet ordinarily attached to the word church), used as equivalent to Christian, "Catholic files" in Prudent. *Peristeph.* iv. 24, "Catholici populi," *id. ib.* 30: or to "orthodox," as opposed to "heretical," as in Pacian. *Epist.* i. *ad Semprom.* "Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus cognomen;" and in *Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341, *αἱ καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι*, as opposed to the Samosatenians; and in *Conc. Arimin.* A.D. 359, *ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* in like opposition to heretics; and in St. Cyril. Hieros. *Lect. Catech.* xviii. advising, in a town where there are heretics, to enquire, *ποῦ ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς ἡ ἐκκλησία*, ἀλλὰ, *ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, &c. &c. So also in the Athanasian Creed, "the Catholic religion," and "the Catholic faith." When men began to look about for a rationale of the epithet, or when driven to do so as in the Donatist controversy (the Donatists meeting the argument against them, drawn from the word, by explaining it, "non ex totius orbis communione, sed ex observatione omnium praeceptorum divinarum atque omnium sacramentorum," St. Aug. *Epist.* 94, § 23), taken to indicate the universality of the Church; so in St. Aug. *Epist.* 52, § 1, "Καθολικὴ Græce appellatur, quod per totum orbem terrarum diffunditur;" and similarly Isidor. *Scriptent.* i. 16, &c. &c. And St. Cyril. Hieros. (*Lect. Catech.* xviii. § 23) dilates upon the word rhetorically in this sense, as intimating that the Church subjugates all men, teaches all truth, heals all sin, &c. In somewhat like way, the Catholic Epistles are so called (= Ἐγκύκλιαι) as early as the 3rd century (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25, vii. 25); because written, *οὐ πρὸς ἐν ἕθνος ἀλλὰ καθόλου πρὸς πάντα* (Leont. *De Sect.* Act. 2). And not only these, but such epistles also as those of Dionysius of Corinth (Καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστολαῖς, Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23); St. Tertullian, again (*De Monog.*), of Catholic tradition. And similarly the well-known definition of "vere Catholicum," in St. Vincent of Lerins, as that which had been held "semper, ubique, et ab omnibus." Optatus (*Cont. Donat.* ii.), in explaining the term by "rationalis et ubique diffusa," was possibly in the first half of his definition thinking of the "Rationalis," who was also called *καθολικός*, being the general receiver of the imperial revenue under the Roman empire; but more probably was confounding the real derivation *καθ' ὅλον*, with a supposed one from *κατὰ λόγον*. (5) Used also somewhat later of the Church as a building; viz. as the distinctive epithet of the bishop's or cathedral church, as against the parish churches; e.g. in Epiphanius, *Haer.* lix. § 1 (*ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ*, in opposition to the smaller churches there, and so also Niceph. iv. 22). (6) In *Conc. Trull.* can. lix. (Labbe. vi. 1170), as the name of the church, as opposed to an oratory (*ἐκκλησιῶν ὀκω*), baptisms (and by inference the eucharist) being celebrated in the *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, but not in the oratory. (7) In Byzantine Greek times, an epithet of the parish church, which was open to all, in distinction from the monastic churches (Cobinius, Balsamon, &c.). (8) Still later, the Patriarchs or Primates of Seleucia, of the Armenians, of the Ethiopians, were styled *Catholici*

CHRIST. ANT.

(Du Cange). See also Thomassin, I. l. 24. The Catholicus of the Persian Church was so called as early as Procopius (*De Bell. Persico*, ii.); and the Catholicus of Seleucia was made so independently of the Patriarch of Antioch (*Arabic Vers. of Nicæna Canons*). The term means, more exactly, a primate, having under him metropolitans, but himself immediately subject to a patriarch. [CATHOLICUS.] Καθολικὸν ὄνομα, in Theophan. (in *V. Constant. Copronymi*), were the sees of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. (9) The term became a title of the King of France, Pipin being so called A.D. 767; and very much later, of the King of Spain also. (Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. 'Holy Catholic Church,' Du Cange; Suicer.) [A. W. H.]

CATHOLICUS. "I have ordered the catholicus of Africa to count out 3000 pures to your holiness," said the Emperor Constantine to Caecilian, bishop of Carthage (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 6). A similar order to indemnify Eusebius the historian for the costs of getting 50 copies of the Bible transcribed for general use was issued by him to the catholicus of the diocese; that is, of the civil diocese called the East (ib. *Vit. Const.* iv. 36). A former holder of this office, Eusebius elsewhere tells us, named Adanctus, had been martyred under Diocletian (*H. E.* viii. 11). Apparently there was one such for each of the 13 civil dioceses, and a 14th attached to the imperial household—*ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων λεγόμενος εἰς βασιλεως* (ib. vii. 10)—who was in later times, according to the Basiliens, or co-le of the Emperor Basil I., called the *λοιοτοητὴ* (ib. vi. tit. 23). Various ordinances relating to this office are to be seen there. The two prominent ideas attaching to it were that of a receiver-general, and of a deputy-receiver. It was formerly discharged in England by the sheriff or viccomes of each county, who forwarded his annual account of receipts and disbursements to the king's exchequer. The ecclesiastical officer called "catholicus" was of a piece with the civil. Procopius, in his history of the Persian war (ii. 25) under Justinian, says that the chief dignitary among the Christians of Dnhis was called "catholicus," as presiding over the whole country, namely, Persia. But according to Dr. Neale (*Eastern Ch.* i. 141), this title had been assumed at a much earlier date by the bishops of Seleucia, meaning by it that they were "procurators-general," in the regions of Parthia, for the Patriarch of Antioch, to whose jurisdiction they were subject, till for political reasons their independence was allowed. The "catholicus" mentioned by Procopius was doubtless head of the Nestorians in Persia, whose teaching was speedily carried thither from Edessa, as the well-known letter of Ibas, bishop of the latter place, to the Persian Maris, alone would shew. Having on the death of Acacius, twenty-second catholicus of Seleucia, A.D. 496, obtained possession of that see, they established their head-quarters there, constituting its archbishop patriarch, and styling him "catholic patriarch." By this phrase they must have meant however not deputy-patriarch, which he was no longer, but *occumental* patriarch, like to them he was in fact. So that when the title got into sectarian hands, it seems to have shifted its meaning to some extent, and implied universal rather than vicarious powers. But as it

the article CHURCH, and character of the word under CHAPTER, belonging to it simply SANCTUARY. As a held to be what at times it literally was—diocese, to which the relation of chapels, really enthroned: so to, to enthroned. And created, according to Ordinations also, and only held there. And tie and Saxon England, the cathedral in the Schools and libraries of time to cathedrals, eral monastic schools, oods, found episcopal [SCHOOLS]; CANONICI, [A. W. H.]

(1) A pension paid to the churches of his "otions," acc. to *Conc. onore cathedrae*; and c. 2, "pro respectu liting the payments in everally. So also *Conc. Tolet.* vii. c. 4.—(2) To by the bishop to the ated him, and to the assisted (Julian. Ante- r; Justinian. *Novell.* Cange). [A. W. H.]

ca). A section of the Greek Office is divided led *Cathisnata*. Each into three *St. ues*, and end of each stasis only. order of reciting the in a later article. The signed is that, while two by turns to recite own. ich occurs at intervals ch Church. It consists *νίου (τροπάρμιον)*, and is The name is said to sung the choir sit down [H. J. H.]

eds, *Catholicus*, used in universal," not only by y. Pliny), but also not istical writers also (as, *l. cum Tryph.* 81. Καθολικὸν, *Adv. Marcion.* *Antis Dei*, &c. &c.); but the latter as an epithet Faith, Tradition, People; *d Smyrn.* viii.), in the arp (in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. *S. Pionis* under Decius . ix.), in St. Clem. Alex. f. 1715), and thencefor- embedded in the Eastern (the Western) creed— ch as a whole, as in St. and so in Arius' creed *περὰ τῶν ἑως περὰ τῶν*;

was a dignity confined at first to the eastern portions of the single patriarchate of Antioch, and there common to the orthodox and heterodox alike, we must not expect to find the accounts given of it clear or always consistent. As a general rule the "catholicus" was subordinate to the patriarch, as I had metropolitans under him; but the officer answering to this description among the Jacobites was more commonly called "*naphrian*," or "fruit-bearer;" the Nestorians on all occasions doing their best to monopolize the other title. Still we read of a "catholicus" for Armenia and for Georgia among the former, as well as for Chaldaea and Persia among the latter; and Jacobite patriarchs also called themselves "catholic," in imitation, and to the annoyance, of the Nestorian. (Aseman. *De Monoph.* § 8, and *De Syris Nestor.* c. xi.; Du Cange, *Gloss. Graec.* s. v.) Later writers, again, speak of a "catholicus" of Ethiopia, of Nubia, of the Isles and elsewhere: that is to say, this title came to be applied in time to any grade between metropolitans and patriarchs (Bever. *Synod.* i. 709), and to be no longer peculiar to a single patriarchate. [E. S. F.]

CATULINUS, deacon, martyr at Carthage, is commemorated July 15 (*Mart. Carthag.*, Usuard). [C.]

CAUPONA, CAUPONES, tavern, tavern-keepers. The Apostolical Constitutions enumerate the *caupo* amongst the persons whose oblations are not to be accepted (bk. iv. c. 9). If such oblations were forced on the priest, they were to be spent on wood and charcoal, as being only fit for the fire (*ib.* c. 10). A later constitution still numbers the *caupo* amongst those who could not be admitted to the church unless they gave up their mode of life (bk. viii. c. 32). Bingham, indeed, holds the *caupo* of the Apostolical Constitutions not to have been strictly a tavern-keeper, but a fraudulent huckster, and there is no doubt that the word is to be found used in a more extended sense in many instances. But there is in the present one no reason for diverting it from its ordinary use. It is clear from too many evidences that the ancient tavern—the *caupona* of the Romans—differed little from a brothel; see for instance Dig. bk. xxiii. t. ii. l. 43; Code, bk. iv. t. l. vi. l. 3. A Constitution of Constantine (A.D. 326), whilst declaring that the mistress of a tavern (the words *caupona* and *taberna* are here used indifferently) was within the laws as to adultery, yet if she herself had served out drink, assimilated her to a tavern-servant, classing such persons among those whom "the wileness of their life has not deemed worthy to observe the laws" (Code, bk. ix. t. ix. l. 29). In the work called the "Lex Romana," which is considered to represent the law of the Roman population in Italy during Lombard times, and which is mainly founded on the Theodosian Code, a similar provision is contained, but with the use of the word *taberna* alone (bk. ix.). This evidently implies that the *caupo* himself, or the *caupona* or *taberna* dominæ, was undistinguishable from the brothel-keeper, and the forbiddance to receive the *caupo's* offering resolves itself into that contained in Deut. xxiii. 18.

This view is confirmed by almost all later church authorities. Thus a cleric found eating in a *caupona*, unless through the necessities of

travel, was by the 46th (otherwise 53rd) of the Apostolical Canons—supposed to be of the 4th century—sentenced to excommunication, the Canon evidently intending a tavern and not a more huckster's shop. The 24th Canon of the Council of Laodicea (latter half of the 4th century, but the alleged dates varying from 357 to 367), enacts that none of the priestly order (*λεπτικαὶ*), from the presbyter to the deacon, nor outside of the ecclesiastical order to the servants and readers, nor any of the ascetic class shall enter a tavern (*καπηλείον*; see also the 7th Canon of the so-called African Council, which however itself only designates a general collection of African Canons). The book of Canons of the African church, ending with the Council of Carthage of 419, c. 40, repeats substantially the above-quoted article of the Apostolical Canons.

In spite of these enactments, we find by later ones that clerics, who were forbidden to enter taverns, actually kept them. Thus certain "Sanctions and Decrees" printed by Labbé and Mansi, after the various versions of the Nicene Canons, from a codex at the Vatican, but evidently from a Greek source, require (c. 14) that the priest be neither a *caupo* nor a *tabernarius*, making thus a distinction between the two terms, which often appear in later days to be synonymous. A canon ascribed by Ivo to the Synod of Tours, A.D. 481, states that "it hath been related to the holy synod that certain priests in the churches committed to them (an abuse not to be told) establish taverns and there through *caupones* sell wine or allow it to be sold;" so that where services and the word of God and His praise should alone be heard, there feasting and drunkenness are found. Such practices are strictly forbidden, the offending priest is to be deposed, the laymen, his accomplices, to be excommunicated and expelled (cc. 2, 3). In the East, indeed, it appears certain from the 43rd Novel, that in the first half of the 6th century, and presumably since the days of Constantine, taverns were held on behalf of the church, and must have been included among the 1100 separate trading establishments which were the property of the cathedral church of Constantinople. But apparently this tavern-keeping for the church was not held equivalent to tavern-keeping by clerics, since about sixty years later, the 9th Canon of the Council of Constantinople in Trullo, A.D. 691, bears "that it shall not be lawful for any cleric to have a tavern. For if it be not permitted to him to enter one, how much less can he serve in it, and do there that which is not lawful?" He must therefore either give it up or be deposed. And although the 68th Canon of the same Council uses a compound of the Greek synonym for *caupo*, in a more general sense (*τοῖς βιβλιοκαπηλοῖς*, translated *librorum cauponatoribus*, i.e. book-sellers), yet in the 76th the strict idea of the tavern seems to recur, where it is enacted that no *καπηλείον* is to be set up within the holy precincts, nor food or other things to be exhibited for sale. And by the 8th century the original sense of *caupo*, *caupona* is palpable through the more modern word (in this application) *taberna*, which occurs in numerous repetitions more or less literal of the above-quoted Apostolical Canon; as in a Capitulary of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, to his clergy, A.D. 797, forbidding them to go from

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CAVERNENSE CONCILIIUM

tavern to tavern, drinking or eating (c. 13);
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 a MS. of the Monastery of Angers, forbidding
 priests to enter a tavern to drink; the 19th
 Canon of the Council of Frankfurt, and the em-
 peror's Frankfort Capitulary (794) to the same
 effect, but extending also to monks; a capitulary
 of 801 (general coll., bk. i. c. 14), quoting the
 Council of Laodicea and the African; and the 325th
 chapter of the 5th book; the Canons of the
 Councils or Synods of Rheims (c. xxvi.), applying
 to monks and canons, and of Tours (c. xxi), both
 n. A. D. 813; the Edict of Charlemagne in 814, c. 18.
 It will thus appear that whilst the severity of
 the Apostolical Constitutions against the indi-
 vidual tavern-keeper is not followed in later
 times, yet that the Western Church, at least
 during the period with which this work is occu-
 pied, persistently treated the use of the tavern
 by clerics, otherwise than in cases of necessity,
 still more their personal connexion with it, as
 incompatible with the clerical character. The
 witness of the Eastern Church is also to the same
 effect, but its weight is marred by the trade,
 including that in liquors, which for two centuries
 at least seems to have been carried on at Con-
 stantinople for the benefit, not indeed of indi-
 vidual devices, but of churches and charitable
 foundations. [See also *Diction. Eccl.*]

[J. M. L.]

CAVERNENSE CONCILIIUM. [AFRICAN COUNCILS.]

CEALCHYTHE, COUNCILS OF. [CALCUTHENSES.] Exact locality unknown, but certainly in Mercia, and probably Chelsea, originally called Chelcheth, Chelchyth, &c. (1) A. D. 787, or possibly 788, a legate council, George, bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Toli, being the legates for Pope Adrian I. Its object was to renew the "antiquum amicitiam" between Rome and England, and to affirm "the Catholic faith" and the six Oecumenical Councils. But it also appears to have been made the occasion of preparing the way for the erecting of Lichfield into an archbishopric independent of Canterbury, which actually took place in 788. A companion council was held in Northumbria (Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* iii. 444, sq.). (2) A. D. 789, called "Pastificale Concilium;" grants made there now extant (K. C. D. 155; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 465). (3) A. D. 793, at which a grant was made to St. Alban's (K. C. D. 152; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 478). (4) A. D. 799, at which a cause was adjudicated between King Coenulf and the Bishop of Selsey (K. C. D. 116, 1034; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 528). There were several councils at the same place after A. D. 800. [A. W. H.]

CELEDEL. [COLIDEL.]

CELEDONIUS, martyr at Leon in Spain, is commemorated March 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CELENENSE CONCILIIUM, A. D. 447, held in a small place close to Lugo in Galicia, against the Priscillianists; an appendage to the 1st Council of Toledo (*Lab. Conc.* iii. 1466). [A. W. H.]

CELERINA, martyr in Africa under Decius, is commemorated with **CELERINUS**, Feb. 3 (*Mart. Baron., Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CELIBACY

CELIBACY. The history of Christian thought and legislation in reference to this subject is essentially one of development. From the first there were the germs of two different systems, at first in due proportion, each the complement of the other. Then, under influences which it will be our work to trace, one passes through rapid stages of growth till it threatens to overpower or crush the other. Protests are uttered from time to time, with more or less clearness. The idea which seemed threatened with extinction finally revives and in its turn dominates unduly. It remains for the future to restore the balance which we recognise in the primitive records of the faith.

1. Any preference of celibacy over marriage was, it need hardly be said, foreign to the ethics of the Old Testament. Wedlock and the fruits of wedlock were God's best gifts. To be unmarried or childless was to be under a "reproach," which it was difficult to bear. The asceticism of the later sects of Jews made in this respect no difference. Even the Essenes lived the life of a communist rather than a monastic society and had wives and children with them. No book of the Canonical Scriptures is stronger in its praises of marriage, or its condemnation of the sins that mar its perfection than that which represents the ethical teaching of the Judaism of Alexandria (*Eclus.* xxv. xxvi.). Preference for the celibate life had, it must be confessed, so far as the Christian Church was concerned, its origin in the New Testament. The birth from the Virgin's womb, the virgin-life of the Baptist and of the Son of Man, the strange words of implied blessing on those who "made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (*Matt.* xix. 12) could not fail to make an impression on the minds of many disciples. The work of the great Apostle, whose activity threw that of all others into the shade, tended in the same direction. He declared without reserve that it was a good and noble thing for a man not to "touch a woman" with the touch even of wedded love (1 Cor. vii. 1). Himself leading a celibate life, he wished that all men could follow his example (1 Cor. vii. 7), and laid down principles which, though limited by his reference to a "present necessity" (1 Cor. vii. 26), led on almost inevitably to a wider generalisation. If the man or woman unmarried was more free from "care," more able to render an undivided service to their Lord, it would be a legitimate inference to think of that life as the more excellent of the two. The degree of its superiority might be exaggerated at a later period, but a higher excellence of some kind was certainly implied in the language of St. Paul. The vision of the 144,000 in the Apocalypse as of those who were "virgins, who were not defiled with women" (*Rev.* xiv. 4) seemed to carry the recognition of that higher excellence into the glorified life of the heavenly Jerusalem.

2. All this was, however, balanced by the fullest recognition of the sacredness of marriage, and was as far as possible removed from the Manichaean tendencies which afterwards cor-

* This is not the place to discuss the question. It may be enough to say that it is a rash exegesis which sees a reference to a wife in the "true yoke-fellow" of *Phil.* iv. 3 or finds, not celibacy, but married continence, in 1 Cor. vii. 7, 8.

rupted it. The presence of Christ at the marriage-feast of Cana (John ii. 1), his vindication of the sacredness of marriage against the casuistry of the scribes as resting on God's primeval ordinance and the laws of human life (Matt. xix. 4), his choice of Apostles who had wives (Matt. viii. 14), and probably children (Matt. xix. 27, 29), guarded against any tendency to treat marriage as among the things common and unclean. Nor was the teaching of St. Paul less clear. The great casuistic Epistle recognises it as a divine institution, makes all limitation on the *ius conjugii* but a temporary means to an end beyond itself (1 Cor. vii. 3-5); allows even, though not approving, the marriage of widowers and widows (1 Cor. vii. 39). The duties of husbands and wives are enforced on new and more mystic grounds than in the ethics of Judaism or Heathenism (Eph. v. 22-33). Their life, in all its manifold relations, was recognised as giving scope for the development of a high and noble form of Christian holiness (1 Pet. v. 1-7). With what might seem an almost startling contrast to his own example St. Paul required the bishop-presbyter to have had the experience of marriage and with at least a preference for those who had brought up children (1 Tim. iii. 2, 4), and extended the requirement even to the deacons of the Church (1 Tim. iii. 11, 12). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews at least implied, perhaps asserted, that marriage was, or might be, "honourable in all things and the bed undefiled" (Heb. xiii. 4). "Forbidding to marry" is classed by St. Paul as one of the "doctrines of devils" which were to be the signs of the apostasy of the latter days (1 Tim. iv. 1).

3. The two lines of thought thus traced, ran on through the Church's history, but in unequal measure. Gradually the teaching which St. Paul condemned mingled itself with his, and the celibate life was exalted above that of marriage, not only because it brought with it a scope of more uninterrupted labour and more entire consecration, but on the ground that there was in marriage and its relations something impure and defiling. In the language of some Gnostic sects, it belonged to the kingdom of the Demiurgus, of the creator of the material universe and of the human body as a part of it, not to that of the higher Christ-Aeon, who was Lord of the kingdom (Tertull. *de Praescript.* c. 33; Irenaeus, i. 28; Hippolytus, *Refut. Omn. Haer.* i. 16). First, women (VIRGENS), and then men, devoted themselves to unwedded life, as offering a higher spirituality. At first, indeed, the more prominent teachers kept within the limits of Apotolitic thought. Hermas (ii. 4, 4) almost reproduced the language of St. Paul. Ignatius (*Ep. ad Polyc.* c. 5) while introducing another thought, that the life of celibacy is "in honour of Our Lord's flesh," warns men against boasting of this, and exalting themselves above others. Even Tertullian, reproducing his own experience, while declaiming vehemently against second, or against mixed marriages, draws, with great power, a picture of the beauty and blessedness of a marriage in which husband and wife are both true worshippers of Christ (*Ad Uxor.* ii. 8). Clement of Alexandria even ventures to depict the true ideal Gnostic as one who marries and has children and so attains to a higher excellence, because he conquers more temptations than that of the

celibate life (*Strom.* vii. 12 p. 741). There were not wanting, however, signs of a tendency to a more one-sided development. Putting aside the treatise *de Virginitate* ascribed to Clement of Rome,^b as probably one of the many spurious writings for which the authority of his name was claimed, and belonging to the 3rd century rather than the 1st, there remain the facts (1) that, outside the Church, TATIAN and the ENCRATITES developed their rigorous asceticism into a total abstinence from, and condemnation of, marriage; (2) that Athenagorus (*Legat.* c. 33), while not condemning it, speaks of many men or women as "growing old unmarried, in the hope of living in closer communion with God," and passes sentence upon second marriage as being no better than a "decent adultery"; (3) that Justin confirms at once his statement and his opinion (*Apol.* i. 15); (4) that Origen claims a special glory in the world to come for those that have chosen the life of consecrated celibacy (*Hom.* xix. in *Jerem.* 4), and gave a terrible proof in his own self-mutilation of the excesses to which a literal interpretation of the mysterious words of Matt. xix. 12 might lead. Many bye-currents of theological thought and feeling tended to swell the stream. The influence of Eastern Dualism, the assimilation by the Church of the feeling, if not of the dogma, which culminated in Manichaeism, the growing honour for the mother of the Lord as the Ever-virgin, the deepening sense of the awfulness of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the embarrassment caused by domestic ties in times of persecution, perhaps also the difficulty of maintaining the purity of married life in the midst of the faithless social corruption of the great cities of the empire—all these led men to take what seemed to them at once the easier and the shorter road to the higher blessedness of heaven. As the monastic life spread, those who embraced it thought of themselves, and were looked upon by others, as being already "as the angels in heaven." The praises of the virgin-state became a common topic for the rhetoric of sermons and treatises; and the dialogue of Methodius of Tyre (*Convivium decem Virginum*) is probably far from being an exaggerated specimen of its class.

Through all this, however, strong as might be the influence of dogma or of feeling, the question, as regards the lay-members of the Church, was left as St. Paul had left it, as a matter for each man's conscience. The common sense of Christian writers led them to see the absurdity of a rule of life which would have led rapidly to the extinction of the Christian society: their reverence made them shrink from condemning what had been from the first a divine ordinance and had now become the symbol of the mystic union between Christ and his Church. There was no attempt so far to enforce the higher life by any legislation.^d Even second marriages, though

^b The authenticity of the treatise has been denied by Roman Catholic theologians. An English translation has been published in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*.

^c Comp. the picture drawn by Clement of Alexandria (*Pedagog.* lit. 2, 3), as showing what was possible even among those who were nominally Christians.

^d A solitary exception is found in the correspondence between Dionysius of Alexandria and Pinytus of Thessalonica (*H. E.* iv. 24). The latter, it would seem, had tried to enforce celibacy among those committed to his care. The former warns him against rashly placing a

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in pressing it was the Heliodorus, then bishop of Tricea, who, in earlier life, had written the sensuous, erotic romance of the *Aethiopia* (Soer. II. E. v. 22). This is one of the instances, however, in which the exception proves the rule, and the general practice of the Eastern Church was not affected by the rigorous asceticism of its European provinces. Even bishops had children born to them after their consecration. This, however, was in its turn opposed to the dominant practice, and the fact that Synesius (A.D. 410) refused to accept the bishopric of Ptolemais unless he was allowed to continue to cohabit with his wife, shews that a dispensation was necessary, and that he too was an exception to the general practice. It came accordingly to be the rule of the Eastern Church that men who were married before their ordination might continue, without blame, to live with their wives, but that a higher standard of self-devotion was demanded of bishops, first by public opinion and afterwards by ecclesiastical and even civil legislation. The feeling found a formal expression in the Council in Trullo, which sanctioned cohabitation in the case of subdeacons, deacons, and priests (c. 13) married before ordination, but ordered the wife of a bishop to retire to a convent or to become a deaconess (c. 48).^b Those who had married after their ordination were however to be suspended, and in future absolutely deposed (c. 36). The strong protest in c. 33 against the growth of a Levitical hereditary priesthood in Armenia may indicate one of the elements at work in bringing about the more stringent enforcement of celibacy. Even the former were subject to restrictions analogous to those which governed the ministrations of the Jewish priesthood, and were not allowed to contract marriage after their ordination, the rule being based on the canon of the Council of Ancyra already referred to, but excluding the power which that conceded of giving notice of the intention to marry, at the time of ordination. The Theodosian Code (*De Episcop.* 14, 2) enforced the same rule, and children born of marriages so contracted were to be treated as illegitimate (Cod. Theod. *de bonis clericis*, Justinian. *Norell.* v. c. 8). The Emperor Leo the Wise (A.D. 886-911) confirmed the Trullan canon, with a modification tending towards leniency. Clergy who so married were not to be reduced as before to lay communion, but were simply degraded to a lower order and shut out from strictly priestly functions. The results of this compromising legislation were probably then, as they are now, (1) that nearly all candidates for the priesthood married before they were admitted to the diaconate, (2) that they continued to live with their wives, but did not marry again, if they were left widowers; and (3) that the great mass of the secular clergy being thus ineligible for the episcopate, the bishops were mostly chosen from among the monks.

[It is interesting to note that the Nestorians till the middle of the 6th century relaxed considerably the rules of the Trullan Council, and that the Monophysite Abyssinians allowed their bishops to retain their wives and live with them.

^b The Council, however, recognized, while it deplored, the fact that bishops continued to live with their wives in Africa, Libya, and elsewhere (c. 12). It forbade the scandal for the future, and punished offenders with deposition.

Zacharias, *Nuova Giustificazione del Celibato Sacro*, pp. 129, 130.] [I. G. S.]

It remains to trace the progress of a more stringent and "thorough" policy in the Churches of the West. The principle asserted at Elvira extended to Western Africa, and was carried further in application. Not only bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but those of a lower grade who ministered at the altar were to lead a celibate life (2 C. Carth. c. 2). It was assumed as an axiom that the intercourse of married life was incompatible with prayer and the sacrifice of the altar, and as the priest ought always to pray, and daily to offer that sacrifice, he must of necessity abstain altogether (Hieron. *Contr. Jovinian.* l. 34). The bishops of Rome used their authority in the same direction. Siricius, in the first authentic decretal (A.D. 385), addressed to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, forbade absolutely the marriage of presbyters and deacons. Innocent I. (A.D. 405) in two decretals addressed to Victorius, bishop of Ronen, and Exsuperius of Toulouse, enforced the prohibition under pain of degradation (*Corp. Juris Can.* c. 4, 5, and 6 Dist. 31). Leo I. (A.D. 443) tried to unite the obligation of the marriage vow and the purity of the consecrated life by allowing those who were already married to continue to live with their wives, but "habere quasi non habeant . . . quo et salva sit caritas conubiorum et cessant opera nuptiarum" (*Epist.* 167 ad *Rusticum*). If this law were not kept, they were to be subject to the extreme penalty of excommunication. So in like manner the 1st Council of Toledo (c. 1) forbade the promotion of deacons or presbyters "qui incontinenter cum suis uxoriis vixerint" to a higher grade. So also the 1st Council of Orange (can. 22, 23, 24) forbade the ordination of deacons unless they make a vow of chastity, and punishes subsequent cohabitation with deprivation. The 1st Council of Tours, as if with deprivation. The 1st Council of Tours, as if afraid of the consequences of this extreme rigor, reduced the penalty to the suspension of those who were already priests from priestly functions, and, in the case of others, excluded them from any higher grade than that which they already occupied (1 C. Turon. c. 1, 2), but allowed both to partake of the sacrament of the altar. The subdeacons, perhaps as finding less compensation in the respect of the people and in the nature of their work, held out longer than those of higher grade. The yoke was, however, pressed on them too by Leo (*Epist.* 34 to *Leo of Catania*) and Gregory the Great (*Corpus Juris Can.* c. 14, Dist. 31), and Spain still kept its old pre-eminence in ascetic rigor. The 8th Council of Toledo (c. 6), A.D. 653, condemned both the marriage of subdeacons after their ordination, and continued cohabitation if they were married before. Their work as bearing the vessels of the altar required that they should keep themselves free from the pollution which was inseparable from that union. Offenders were to be sentenced to something like perpetual imprisonment in a monastery. The 9th Council (c. 10), A.D. 659, described every such union, from bishops to subdeacons, as a "conubium detestandum," and their issue were not only treated as illegitimate and excluded from all rights of inheritance, but treated as slaves "jure perenni" of the Church against which their fathers had offended. It is melancholy, but instructive, to find another Council of the same Church, seventy-two years later (A.D. 731), con-

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pelled to pass canons on the one hand against the spread of unnatural crime among the clergy, pronouncing the sentence of deposition and exile on the bishops, priests, and deacons who were guilty of it, and, on the other, against the attempts at suicide which were becoming frequent among those who had been subjected to the discipline of the Church, with its censures and its penances (18 C. *Tollet*. c. 3 and 4). Stephen IV. (A.D. 769) enforced the rule of the Western as contrasted with that of the Eastern Church (*Corpus Juris Can.* c. 14, Dist. 31).

[The contrast between Eastern and Western feeling is shown singularly enough in their estimate of the relative guilt of clerical marriage and fornication. The Council of Neo-Caesarea (c. 1) punishes the latter with greater severity than the former. That of Orleans (c. 1) calmly puts the two on the same level, "si quis *pollicitus vel uxori se jungat*."] [I. G. S.]

One marked exception has to be noted to the general prevalence of this rigour. The Church of Milan, in this as in other things, maintained its independence of Rome, and, resting on the authority of Ambrose, was content with the Eastern rule of monogamy, and applied it even to its own archbishops. "The practice of marriage was all but universal among the Lombard clergy. They were publicly, legally married, as were the laity of Milan" (Milman's *Latin Christianity*, b. vi, c. 3). The practice against which Peter Damian raved in the 11th century was clearly of long standing, and it may be noted that it bore its fruit in the high repute, the thorough organization, which made the Milanese clergy famous through all Italy.

It does not fall within the limits of this work to carry on the history further. Enough has been said to shew that when Hildebrand entered on his crusade against the marriage of the clergy he was simply acting on and enforcing what had for about seven centuries been the dominant rule of the church. The confusions of the period that preceded this had relaxed the discipline, but the law of the Church remained unaltered. The exceptional freedom enjoyed by the Church of Milan would but make one who strove after the unity of a theocracy more zealous to put a stop to what he regarded as at once a defilement of the sacred office and a rebellion against divine authority.

[Obviously this rapid and yet gradual development which has been traced of clerical celibacy was very largely, if not mainly, due to the influence of monasticism. Celibacy becomes, step by step, compulsory on all the clergy, while the monastic obligation is rivetted more and more tightly by an irrevocable vow. In the monk celibacy was, as has been indicated, an aspiration after superhuman holiness, intensified by that feeling of despair with which he was apt to regard the world around him, and its apparently hopeless state of corruption; and in subtle combination with motives of this kind was the bantering after wonder and veneration. In every

¹ The passages from Ambrose have been much tampered with, and the text is doubtful. "Monogamia sacerdotum" and "castimonia" present themselves as various readings. One text permits, another prohibits, cohabitation after marriage. See the discussion in Mitman's *etc.*, &c.

way the example of the monks told powerfully on the clergy. The more devoted longed to attain the monk's moral impossibility; lower natures were attracted by the prospect of gaining for themselves the monks' commanding position. Thus the rivalry, which never ceased, between the regular and the secular clergy, made the clergy generally more willing to accept the hard conditions exacted of them by the policy of their rulers. So at least it was in Western Christendom. In the East there was a more complete severance between the monks and the secular clergy, the former being debarred more closely from intercourse with the world, and the latter acquiescing in what was for them ecclesiastically a lower standing.] [I. G. S.]

It is obvious that just in proportion to the stringency with which the law of celibacy was carried into effect were its evils likely to shew themselves. One—and that for a time a very formidable one—will form the subject of a separate article. It men had not wives, while the habits of society made them dependent on the domestic services of women, they must have house-keepers. The very idealism of purity which held that husband and wife might live together as brother and sister, seemed to imply that any man and any woman might live together on the same footing without risk or scandal. The scandal came, however, fast enough—and the SUB-INTRODUCTÆ or *Συμεισαστορ* came to occupy a very prominent position in the legislation of the Church. [E. H. P.]

[See, further, *Alteserræ, Asceticon vel Origo loci Monasticae*, Par. 1674; S. Bonaventuræ, *Sentent.* iv. xxxvii. Opp. Venet. 1751; Hallier, *De Sacr. Elect. et Ordinat.* v. i. 10, Paris, 1536; Gerson, *Dialogus sup. Celibatu*, Opp. ii. p. 817; Antwerp, 1606; Ferraris, *Bibliotheca*, a. v. Clericus, Conjuges, Venet. 1778; Lunney, *Impediment. Ordin.* Opp. I. ii. p. 742, Colon, 1731; Schramm, *Compend. Theolog.* iii. p. 694; Augsburg, 1768; Bingham, *Origines Eccles.* 1755; Lond. 1727; Concina, *De Celibatu*, Romæ, 1755; Paleotimo, *De Celibatu*, *Suavia Orig. Eccles.* Venet. 1766; Mich. de Medina, *De Sacr. Hom. Continentiâ*, Ven. 1568; Campegius, *De Celib. Sacerdotum*, Ven. 1554; G. Callixtus, *De Conjug. Cleric.* Helmstadt, 1831; Osiander, *Exam. Celib.* Cleric. Tübingen, 1684; H. C. Lea, *History of Christian Celibacy*, Philadelphia, 1867.] [I. G. S.]

CELLA or CELLA MEMORIAE, a small memorial chapel erected in a sepulchral area over the tomb of the deceased, in which at stated times, especially the anniversary of his decease, his friends and dependents assembled to celebrate an *agape*, and partake of a banquet in his honour. These were often built over the tombs of martyrs, and were then known as *Martyria*, *Memories Martyrum*, *Comitia Martyrum*, and *Confessiones*. Sepulchral buildings of this character were common both to heathens and Christians. Indeed here, as in so much else, Christianity simply inherited existing customs, purged them of licentious or idolatrous taint, and adopted them as their own. Thus heathen and Christian monuments mutually throw light on one another. A Christian inscription, recording the formation of an area and the construction of a *cella*, is given in the article CEMETERY.

Directions for the erection of a building bearing

the same title, and devoted to a similar purpose by a pagan, are given in a very curious will, once engraved on a tomb at Langres, a copy of a portion of which has been discovered in the binding of a MS. of the 10th century in the Library at Basle. The will is printed by De Rossi in the *Bullettino di Arc. Crist.*, Dec. 1863. In it we find most particular directions for the completion of the *cella memoriae*, which the testator had already begun, in exact accordance with the plan he left behind him. This *cella* stood in the centre of an *area*. In front of it was to be erected an altar of the finest Carrara marble in which the testator's ashes were to be deposited. The *cella* itself was to contain two statues of the testator, one in bronze, one in marble. Provision was to be made for the easy opening and shutting of the *cella*. There was to be an *exedra*, which was to be furnished with couches and benches on the days on which the *cella* was opened. Coverlets (*lodiceae*) and pillows (*cervicalia*) to lay upon the seats were also to be provided, and even garments (*abotiae* and *tunicae*) for the guests who assembled to do honour to the departed. Orchards and tanks (*lacus*) formed part of the plan. It was also ordered that all the testator's freedmen were to make a yearly contribution out of which a feast was to be provided on a certain day, and partaken of on the spot. Additional light is thrown upon the last-named provision by the terms of a long and curious inscription relating to a *colleium* for the burial of the dead, consisting chiefly of slaves, of the year A.D. 133. One of the regulations was that the members of the confraternity were to dine together six times in the year (Northcote, *R. S.* p. 51). These *cellae* were memorial halls for funeral banquets. The Christians were essentially men of their country and their age, following in all things lawful the customs of the time and place in which their lot was cast. The recent investigations of De Rossi do much to dispel the idea of the specific and exclusive character of the Christianity of the primitive Church. Rejecting the abuses arising from the license of pagan morals, there was nothing in itself to take exception at in the funeral feast. Indeed the primitive *agapae* or love-feasts were often nothing more than funeral banquets held in *cellae* at the tombs of the faithful, the expenses of which, in the case of the poorer members, were provided out of the *arca communis* or church-chest. We are familiar with pictorial representations of banquets of this nature derived from the Catacombs. Bottari supplies us with two such of remarkable interest from the cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter (Bottari, *Pittura*, tom. ii. tav. 107, 109, 127), and one from St. Callistus (*ibid.* tom. iii. p. 1, 110, 118). [CATACOMBS.] There was a remarkable correspondence between the arrangements of the Christians and heathens in these matters. In both not only was the cost of the funeral banquet paid out of the general fund, but suitable clothing was also provided for those who were present at these banquets. In an inventory of furniture confiscated in the Diocletian persecution in a house where Christians were in the habit of meeting at Circa in Namidia, in addition to chalices of gold and silver, and lamps, &c., we find articles of attire and shoes (*tunicae muliebres lxxvii, tunicae viriles xvi, caligae viriles parva xiii, caligae muliebres parva xlvii*), and other entries of a similar

nature. These *cellae* were not only used for the funeral feasts, which were necessarily infrequent, but also formed oratories to which the faithful resorted at all times to offer up their devotions over the remains of their departed brethren. The name *cella*, as applied to such places of reunion, seems to have been restricted to non-subterranean buildings erected in the funeral *area*, above the grave of the individual whom it was desired to commemorate. Chambers constructed for this purpose in the subterranean cemeteries were known as *cubicula* [CATACOMBS]. Another appellation by which they were known whether above ground or below, was *memoriae martyrum* or *martyria* until they lost their primitive name of *cellae*, and became known as *basilicae* (Hierom. *Ep. ad Vigilant.*). In fact, the magnificent basilica erected above the tombs of the martyrs in the age of the peace of the Church, by Constantine and other Christian emperors, were nothing more than amplifications of the humble *cellae* or *memoriae* built in the area of the cemeteries.

We know from Anastasius (§ 21) that many buildings were erected in the cemeteries by the direction of Pope Fabianus (A.D. 238-354), "multas fabricas per coemeteria fieri precepit." These *fabricae* we may safely identify, with Ciampini, Ansaldo, De Rossi, &c. with the *cellae memoriae* of which we have been speaking. "They were probably little oratories constructed either for purposes of worship, or the celebration of the *agapae*, or of mere guardianship of the tombs according to the common practice of the Romans" (Northcote, *R. S.* p. 86). The peace which the Church had at this time enjoyed for nearly 50 years would have encouraged the erection of such buildings, and rendered the use of them free from apprehension.

Cella and *cellula* were employed at a later time for sepulchral chapels built along the side walls of a church. It is used in this sense by Paulinus of Nola, in whose writings such chapels are more frequently termed *cubicula*. [CATACOMBS.]

An example of the use of the word in the sense of a monastic cell is given by Combens, De Templo S. Sophie p. 260, *δέδοται τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ κελλία εἰς τὰ περίε κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.* [E. V.]

CELLERARIUS, *Cellarius*, *κελλῆριος*, *κελλῆριος*. One of the highest officials in a monastery. As the prior was next to the abbat in spiritual things, so the Cellerarius, under the abbat, had the management and control of all the secular affairs. He was sometimes called *oeconomus* (*οἰκονόμος*), dispenser or procurator. According to most commentators on the Benedictine Rule he was to be appointed by the abbat with consent of the seniors, and was to hold office for one year or more (*Reg. S. Bened. c. 31, cf. Concord. Regul. c. 40*). [I. G. S.]

CELLITAE, *Κελλιῶται*. A class of monks, midway between hermits and coenobites. Strictly speaking, they were the anchorites, *ἀναχωρίται*, so called because they withdrew or retired from the coenobia, wherein the monks dwelt together, to small cells in the immediate vicinity. On festivals they repaired to the church of the monastery, and thus, being still semi-attached to the community, they differed from the hermits, *ἐρημίται*, who were independent of control

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not only used for the necessarily infrequent, to which the faithful offer up their devotions and departed brethren, but to such places of been restricted to non- in the funeral the individual whom it orate. Chamberlains came in the subterranean *cubicula* (ΣΑΤΑΚΟΜΗ) which they were known below, was *memoriae* until they lost their and became known as *Vigilanti*. In fact, the above the tombs of the peace of the Church, or Christian emperors, amplifications of the built in the area of

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employed at a later time built along the side walls in this sense by Paul- writings such chapels are *cubicula*. [CUBICULUM.] of the word in the sense given by Combens, De 30, *δέδοται τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν*.

[E. V.]

Cellarius, *κελλάριος*, highest officials in a monas- next to the abbat in the Cellerarius, under the cement and control of all He was sometimes called dispensator or procurator. commentators on the Bene- appointed by the abbat seniors, and was to hold *Reg. S. Bened. c. 31*, [I. G. S.]

αἰδῶν. A class of monks, its and coenobites. Strictly the anchorites, *ἀναχωρήται*, withdrew or retired from the monks dwell together, in immediate vicinity. On ad to the church of the being still semi-attached they differed from the her- were independent of control

(*Solk. Thes. s. v.*). As preferring the more complete privacy and quiet of these cells to living in common, they were sometimes called *hesychastae*, *ἡσυχασταί*, and their cells *ἡσυχαστήρια* (Bligh. *Orig. VII. li. 14.*; Justin. *Novell. v. 3*).^a

The word "cella," *κελλῶν*, originally meaning the cave, den, or separate cell of each recluse (*Soz. H. E. vi. 31*; *Greg. Dial. li. 34*),^b soon came to be applied to their collective dwelling-place; in this resembling the term monasterium, which signified at first a hermit's solitary abode, and subsequently the abode of several monks together. "Cella," in its later use, was applied even to larger monasteries (*Mab. Ann. v. 7*); but usually to the offshoots or dependencies of the old foundation (Du Cange, *s. v.*) "Cellula" is used for a monastery by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. vi. 8, 29, &c.*). In the Rule of St. Fructuarius "cella" stands for the "black-hole," the place of solitary confinement for offenders against the discipline (*Mab. Ann. Alii. 41*). The *Regula Agricensis* forbade separate cells for the monks; but it is not clear whether this prohibition refers to cells within the walls or to the cells outside of the "cellitae."

Cassian, in his account of the different kinds of monks in Egypt, condemns the "Sarabaitae," who dwelt together in small groups of cells without rule or superior (*Cass. Coll. xviii. 17*). The same distrust of what inevitably tended to disorder and licence is shown in the decrees of Western Councils (e.g. *Concc. Aurel. I. c. 22*; *Agath. c. 38*). But the cells of the "Cellitae," properly so called, resembled rather a "Laura" in Egypt and Palestine, each Laura being a quasi coenobitic cluster of cells, forming a community to which, in the earlier days of monachism, the abbat's will was in place of a written rule. The first of these "Lauras" is said to have been founded by St. Chariton, about the middle of the 4th century, near the Dead Sea (Bulteau, *Hist. Mon. d'Orient. 282*). Other famous lauras were those of St. Euthymius, near Jerusalem, in the 5th century, and of St. Sabas, near the Jordan; to the former only grown men were admitted, to the latter only boys (Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres. Mon. Dissert. Prelim. § 5*).

The motive for withdrawing from a monastery to one of these little cells clustering round it, was, apparently, a desire in some cases of solitude, in others of a less austere mode of life. Each cell had a small garden or vineyard, in which the monk could occupy himself at pleasure (Du Cange, *s. v.*). But sometimes the "Cellita" was a monk with aspirations after more than ordinary self-denial. Thus it was a custom at Vienna, in the 6th century, for some monk, selected as pre-eminent in sanctity, to be immured in a solitary cell, as an intercessor for the people (*Mab. Ann. iv. 44, cf. vii. 57*).

A strict rule for "Cellitae" was drawn up in the 9th century by Grimalac. Their cells were to be near the monastery, either standing apart one from another or communicating only by a window. The cellitae were to be supported by

^a *Κελλωτής* also meant an imperial chamberlain at the court of Constantinople.

^b "Ad propriam cellam revertentur" is taken by some commentators as referring to a convent of nuns already founded by St. Scholastica (*Greg. Dial. li. 34*).

their own work or by alms: they might be either clergy or laymen. If professed monks, they were to wear the dress of the order; if not, a cape as a badge. None were to be admitted into the "Cellitae" except by the bishop or the abbat, nor without a novitiate. They were to have their own chapel for mass; and a window in the wall of the church, through which they might "assist" at the services, and receive the confessions of penitents. A seal was to be set by the bishop on the door of each cell, never to be broken, except in urgent sickness for the necessary medical and spiritual comfort (Helyot, *Diss. Prél. § 5*; Bulteau, *Hist. de l'Ordre S. B. I. li. 21*).

The term *cellitimus* has been supposed equivalent to *cellita*. It is used by Sidonius Apollinaris for the Lerinensian monks (*IX. Ep. 3, ad Faust.*). According to Du Cange it sometimes means a monk sharing the same cell with another. [I. G. S.]

CELSUS. (1) Chill-martyr at Antioch under Diocletian, is commemorated Jan. 9 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuard).

(2) Martyr with Nazarius at Milan, June 12 (*Mart. Usuard*).

The *Mart. Rom. Vet.* places the invention of the relics of these saints on this day, the martyrdom on July 28. The *Cal. Byzant.* commemo- rates them on Oct. 14. [C.]

CEMETERY (*Κοιμητήριον*, Coemeterium). In the familiar term *coemeterium* we have an example—one among many—of a new and nobler meaning being breathed by Christianity into a word already familiar to heathen antiquity. Already employed in its natural sense of a "sleeping place" (*Diod. apud Athenenum, 143, C.*), it became limited in the language of Christians to the places where their brethren who had fallen asleep in Christ were reposing until the morning of the Resurrection. Death, through the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, had changed its nature and its name. "In Christianis," writes St. Jerome, *Ep. 29*, "mors non est mors, sed dormitio et somnus appellatur." "Mortuus convescit dicere dormientes quia evigilaturus, id est resurrectiones vult intelligi" (*Aug. Rs. in 1/s. lxxxvii*). And the spot where the bodies of the departed were deposited also changed its designation and received a new and significant title. The faithful looked on it as a *κοιμητήριον*, "a sleeping-place;" the name being, as St. Zephyrosus says, a perpetual evidence that those who were laid there were not dead but sleeping: *διὰ τοῦτο αἰεὶς ὁ τόπος κοιμητήριον ἀνίσταται ἵνα μὴ ἴσθι ὅτι τελευτήκτες καὶ ἐπιθάλα κλημένοι οὐ τεθνήκασι ἀλλὰ κοιμῶνται καὶ καθύψουσι.* (*Homil. lxxii.*)

The earliest example of the use of the word is, perhaps, in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, c. 222, where we read that Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, "set" Callistus, afterwards his successor, "over the cemetery," *εἰς τὸ κοιμητήριον κατέστησεν* (*Philosophum. lib. ix. c. 7*). Here the word is recognized as an already established term. That its origin was exclusively Christian, and that in its new sense it was a term unknown, and hardly intelligible to the heathen authorities, is evidenced by the form of the edicts which supply the next examples of its use. In the persecution under Valerian, A.D. 257, Aemilianus

the prefect prohibited the Christians of Alexandria, *is τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσέλαιναι*. This edict was revoked by Gallienus on the cessation of the persecution, c. 259, and an imperial rescript again permitted the bishops *τὰ τῶν καλουμένων κοιμητηρίων ἀπολαμβάνειν χωρία*. Had the term been one in familiar use among the heathen inhabitants, it would have been needless to have thus specified them.

A distinction between the burial places of Christians and those of another faith had its origin in the very first ages of the Church. This principle of jealous separation after death between the worshippers of the True God and the heathen was inherited from the Jews. The Jews wherever they resided had their own places of sepulchre, from which all but their co-religionists were rightly excluded. In Rome they very early had a catacomb of their own in the Monte Verde on the Via Portuensis, outside the Trastevere quarter of the city, which was their chief place of residence. Another has been investigated by De Rossi on the Via Appia; the construction of which he considers takes us back as far as the time of Augustus. So also the Christians, in death as well as in life, would seek to carry out the apostolic injunction to "come out, and be separate, and touch not the unclean thing." The faithful brethren of the little flock, the "peculiar people," lay apart, still united by the ties of a common brotherhood, waiting for "the great and terrible day" which according to the universal belief of the primitive church was so near at hand. As an evidence of the abhorrence felt in very early, though not the earliest, times of uniting Christians and pagans in one common sepulchre, we may refer to the words of Cyprian, A.D. 254. This Father upbraids a lapsed Spanish bishop named Martialis, among other crimes, with having associated with the members of a heathen funeral college and joined in their funeral banquets, and having buried his sons in the cemetery over which they had superintendence—"Praeter gentiliam turpia et luttulenta convivia et collegia diu frequentata, filios in eodem collegio, exterarum gentium more, apud profana sepulchra depositos et alienigenis consepultos" (Cyprian, *Epist.* 67). Hilary of Poitiers, c. 360, also commenting on the text, "let the dead bury their dead," asserts the same principle, "Ostendit Dominus . . . inter filelem filium patremque infidelem jus paterni nominis non relinquere. Non obsequium humani patris negavit, sed . . . admonuit non admisceri memoris sanctorum mortuorum infideles" (*Comm. in Matt.* cap. vii.). These Christian cemeteries were in their first origin private and individual. The wealthier members of the Church were buried each in a plot of ground belonging to him, while the tombs of the poorer sort, like that of their Lord, were dug in the villas or gardens of rich citizens or matrons of substance who had embraced the faith of Christ, and devoted their property to His service. The titles by which many of the Roman cemeteries are still designated, though often confused with the names of conspicuous saints and martyrs who in later times were interred in them, are derived from their original possessors, some of whom may with great probability be referred to very early if not apostolic times. The cemeteries which are designated as those of Lucia, Domitilla, Commodilla, Cyriaca, Priscilla,

Praetextatus, Pontianus, &c., were so called, not as being the burial places of these individuals, but because the sepulchral area which formed the nucleus of their ramifications had been their property. Not that in every instance the original cemetery received this large extension. Underground Christian tombs have been found in the vicinity of Rome consisting of no more than a single sepulchral chamber, so that some of these cemeteries may have been always limited to the members and adherents of a single family. The only necessary restriction was that of a common faith. A few years ago a gravestone was found in the catacomb of Nicomedes outside the Porta Pia, bearing an inscription in which a certain Valerius Mercurius, according to the Roman custom, bequeathed to his freedmen and freedwomen and their posterity the right of sepulture in the same cemetery, provided that they belonged to his own religion, *AT (ad) RELIGIONEM PERTINENTIS MEAM*. We have another example of the same kind in an inscription which may still be seen in the most ancient part of the cemetery of Nereus and Achilleus. In this it is recorded that M. Antonius Restitutus made a *hypocaustum* for himself and his family trusting in the Lord, "sibi et suis filientibus in Domino." We have no example of language of this kind in any heathen epitaph. The strongest tie of brotherhood among Christians was a common faith. This bond outlasted death, and nowhere was its power more felt than in their burials. Nor was there anything in the social or religious position of the first Christians in Rome and elsewhere to curtail their liberty in the mode of the disposing of their dead. They lived in, and with their age, and followed its customs in all things lawful. On the contrary, all the ordinances of the Roman legislation under which, as citizens, they lived, were favourable to the acquisition and maintenance of burial places by the Christians. In Rome had need for interment became *ipso facto* invested with a religious character which extended not only to the area in which the sepulture took place, but to the *hypocauste* or subterranean chambers beneath it, and perhaps also to the *cellae memoriae*, the gardens, orchards, and other appurtenances belonging to them. The violation of a tomb was a crime under the Roman law visited with the severest penalties. According to Paulus (Digest. lib. xvii. tit. xii. § 11) those convicted of removing a body or digging up the bones were, if persons of the lowest rank, to suffer capital punishment; if of higher condition, to be banished to an island, or condemned to the mines. This privilege reached even to those who, as martyrs, had forfeited their lives to the law. The *leges* contains the opinions of some of the most eminent Roman lawyers that the bodies of criminals might legally be given up to those who asked for them. "Corpora animadversorum quibuslibet petentibus ad sepulcrum danda sunt" (Paulus ap. Digest. lib. xviii. tit. xxiv.). Ulpian (*vid.* § 1) adduces the authority of the Emperor Augustus for the restoration of the bodies of criminals to their relations. In his own time, he remarks, a formal petition and permission was requisite, and the request was sometimes refused, chiefly in cases of high treason. This exception may have sometimes interfered with the Christians obtaining possession of the body of a martyr

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who had refused to swear "by the fortune of Caesar." But for the first two centuries there is no evidence of any such prohibition, and unless the "Acts of the martyrs" are to be altogether discredited, the nucleus of many of the existing catacombs was created by the burial of some famous martyr on the private property of a wealthy Christian. The facilities for burial would be also further enlarged by the existence of legalized funeral guilds or confraternities (*collegia*), associated together for the reverent celebration of the funeral rites of their members. The Christians were not forbidden by any rules of their own society, or laws of the empire, to enter into a corporate union of this kind. The jurist Marcian, at the beginning of the third century, as quoted in the *Digests (De Colleg. et Corpor. lib. xlvi. tit. xlii. 1)*, when stating the prohibitions against *collegia sodalicia*, soldiers' clubs, and other illicit combinations, expressly excepts meetings the object of which was religious, "religiosis causis eorum non prohibentur," provided they were not forbidden by a decree of the senate; as well as associations of the poorer classes meeting once a month to make a small payment for common purposes, one of which was the decent burial of their members, "permittitur tenuioribus stipem mensuram conferre, dum tamen semel in mense eorum" (*Digest. ibid.*). That such associations existed among Christians with the object, among others, of defraying the funeral expenses of their poorer brethren, is clear from the Apology of Tertullian. He says, speaking of the *arca publica*, or public chest: "Every one makes a small contribution on a certain day of the month (modicum unusquisque stipem mensura die . . . appoint), or when he chooses, provided only he is willing and able, for none is compelled. . . . The amount is, as it were, a common fund of piety. Since it is expended not in feasting, or drinking, or indecent excess, but in feeding and burying the poor, &c. (egenis sistentis humanitas-que)." Tertull. *Apolog.* c. xxix. The first historical notice we have of any interference with the Christian cemeteries is found in Africa, A.D. 203. And this was not an act of civil power, but was simply an outbreak of popular bigotry. "Arcae non sicut," Tertull. *de Spectul.* c. iii. [AREA]. We do not find any general edict aimed at the Christian cemeteries before that of the Emperor Valerian, A.D. 257; and even this is directed not against the cemeteries themselves but against religious meetings in the sacred precincts, and is absolutely silent as to any prohibition of burial. After this, the cemeteries became expressly recognized by the civil power.

We cannot doubt that places of interment must have been provided by the Church, in its corporate capacity, for its members at a very early period. It was not every Christian whose dead body would be sure of receiving the pious care that attended the more distinguished members of the Church. Their abhorrence of cremation, and repugnance against admittance with the departed heathen forbade their finding a resting place in the heathen columbaria. The horrible practice where the bodies of the lowest slaves were thrown to rot in an undistinguished mass, could not be permitted to be the last home of those for whom, equally with the most distinguished members of the

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Church, Christ died. "Apud nos," writes Lactantius, "inter pauperes et divites, servos et dominos, interest nihil" (*Lact. Div. Inst. v. 14, 15*). A common cemetery would be one of the first necessities of a Christian Church in any city as soon as it acquired a corporate existence and stability. Rome could not have long dispensed with it. And when we read of Callistus being "set over the cemetery," by Pope Zephyrinus (c. 202), we cannot reasonably question that the cemetery which we know from Anastasius "Callistus made (fecit) on the Appian way, and which is called to the present day the cemetery of Callistus" (*Anastas. § 17*), was one common to the whole Christian community, formed by Callistus on a plot of ground given to him for this purpose by some Roman of distinction. It is a plausible conjecture of De Rossi that the example of those who had bestowed this cemetery on the Christian community would speedily be followed by other believers of wealth, and that others of the larger cemeteries which surround Rome owe their origin, or fuller development to this epoch. This probability is strengthened when we find it recorded by Pope Fabian, in the early part of the same century (A.D. 248), that "after he had divided the regions among the denizens he ordered numerous buildings to be constructed in the cemeteries" (*Multas fabricas per coemeteria fieri precepit*, *Anast. § 21*). It was in one of these memorial chapels that in all probability Pope Xystus II. was martyred, A.D. 261, "in coemeterio animalversum," Cyprian, *Ep. 80 (81)*. Anastasius records that the charge under which he suffered was contempt for the commands of Valerian (*Anast. § 25*), and, as we have seen, one of the persecuting edicts of that emperor forbade the Christians to enter their cemeteries. Among the internal arrangements of the church attributed in the *Liber Pontificalis* to Dionysius (A.D. 261-272) is the institution of cemeteries, "coemeteria instituit" (*Anast. § 28*). From this period large public cemeteries became a recognized part of the organization of the Christian Church. It was considered a duty incumbent on the richer members to provide for the reverent interment of the poor, and where other means were wanting, St. Ambrose sanctioned the sale of the sacred vessels by the Christian community rather than that the dead should want burial (*Ambros. de Offic. lib. ii. c. 28*).

The form, position, and arrangements of the early Christian cemeteries were not regulated by any uniform system, but were modified according to the customs of the country, the nature of the soil, and the conditions of climate. Attention having been for a long time chiefly drawn to the subterranean cemeteries of Rome, it has been too hastily inferred that all the early Christian burial places were underground vaults. But as Mommsen says, "the idea that the dead were usually buried in such vaults in early Christian times is as erroneous as it is prevalent" (*Contempor. Rev.*, May 1871, p. 166). We know that at Carthage the Christian dead were buried, not in *hypocausts*, but in open plots of ground, "*arcae sepulchrorum nostrarum*." Against these burial places the populace directed their mad attack with the wild cry, "Down with the burial places" (*arcae non sint*), and with the fury of Bacchanals dug up the graves, dragged forth the decaying corpses, and tore them into fragments

(Tertull. *ad Scap.* 3, *Apolog.* c. xxviii.). Half a century later we find the word in use at Carthage. St. Cyprian was buried "ad arcus Marcobili Caudilliani proconratoris" (Ruinar, *Acta Martyrum Sincera*, p. 203). It also occurs in the Acts of Montanus and Lucius, "in medio eorum in area solum servari jussit (Montanus) ut nec sepulturae consortio privaretur" (S. 279). The same term is found in connection with a monumental cemetery chapel, *cella memoriae*, in a very remarkable inscription from Caesarea in Mauretania (Iol) given by De Rossi (*Bullet. di Arch. Crist.* April, 1864):—

"Aream at (ad) sepulchra cultor verbi contulit,
Et cellam struxit suis cunctis sumptibus.
Ecclesiae sanctae hanc reliquit memoriam.
Salvete fratres puro corde et simplici,
Euclypius vos salos sancto spiritu.
Ecclesia Fratrum hunc restituit titulum.
Ex Ing. Asteri."

"This graveyard was given by the servant of the Word, who has also built the chapel entirely at his own expense. He left the *memoria* to the Holy Church. Hail, brethren! Euclypius with a pure and simple heart greets you, born of the Holy Spirit." The remainder of the inscription records the restoration of the *titulus*, which had been damaged in one of the former persecutions, by the *Ecclesia Fratrum*. The concluding words, "ex ingenio Asteri," give the name of the poet.

We find sufficient evidence of this custom of burying in enclosed graveyards, according to the modern usage, prevailing in other districts. The language of St. Chrysostom with respect to the immense concourse of people who assembled on Easter Eve and other special anniversaries for worship and the celebration of the Eucharist in the *cemeteries* and at the *martyria*, with which the city of Antioch was surrounded, can only be interpreted of cemeteries above ground. There is not the slightest reference to subterranean vaults, which would have been altogether inadequate to receive the multitudes who thronged thither (cf. Chrysost. Hom. 81, *eis τὸ ὄνομα κοινῆς κληρονομίας*; Hom. 65, *de Martyriis*; Hom. 67, *in Drosidem*). The same inference as to the position of the cemeteries may be legitimately drawn from other passages of early writers. This is the only satisfactory interpretation of the passage in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. vi. c. 30), relating to assemblies held in the cemeteries "for reading the sacred books, singing in behalf of the martyrs which are fallen asleep, and for all the saints from the beginning of the world and for the brethren that are asleep in the Lord, and offering the acceptable Eucharist." We learn also from Athanasius (*Apolog. pro Fide*, p. 704) that during the week after Pentecost the people fasted and went out to pray *περὶ τὰ κοιμηθήρια*. The prohibitions of the Council of Elvira (A.D. 305, *Canon*, 34, 35) of the custom of females passing the night in the cemeteries, which was the cause of many scandals under the colour of religion (cf. Petron. Arbit. *Matrona Ephes.*), and of the lighting of candles in them during the *day-time*, "placuit cereis in coemeteriis non accendi, inquietandi enim Sanctorum spiritus non sunt" (cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 15, "Quare inquietasti me ut suscitarer?"), indicate open-air cemeteries furnished with *martyria*, monuments, and memorial

chapels, not subterranean vaults. We would explain in the same way the 110th canon of the Council of Laodicea (A.D. 360) forbidding members of the Church to resort to the cemeteries or *martyria* of heretics for the purpose of prayer and divine service, *εὐχῆς ἃ ὁσπασίας ἔχουσιν*. Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, d. 482, describes the burial place of his grandfather as a grave (*scroba*) in a field (*campus*) (Sidon. Apoll. lib. iii. ep. 12).

Nor even in Rome itself, though the actual place of interment was as a rule in a subterranean excavation, now known as a *catacomb*, does the word *coemeterium* exclusively denote these underground vaults. De Rossi, following Settele (*Atti della Pont. Acad. d' Arch.* tom. ii. p. 51) has abundantly shown in his *Roma Subterranea* (cf. vol. i. pp. 86, 93, &c.), that *coemeterium* when it occurs in the *Lives of the Popes* and other early documents frequently denotes the monumental chapels and oratories, together with the huts of the *fossores* and other officials, erected in the funeral enclosure. "The long peace from the reign of Caracalla to that of Decius might well have encouraged the Christians to erect such buildings, and allowed them to make frequent use of them notwithstanding occasional disturbances from popular violence" (Northcote, *R. S.* p. 80-87). When we read of popes and other Christian confessors taking refuge in the cemeteries and living in them for a considerable period, we are not to suppose that they actually passed their time underground, under circumstances and in an atmosphere which would render life hardly possible, but in one of the buildings annexed to the cemeteries, either for religious purposes, or for the guardianship of the sacred enclosures.* Thus when we read in Anastasius (§60) that Boniface I. in the stormy period that accompanied the double election to the papedom, A.D. 419, "habitavit in coemeterio Sanctae Felicitatis," we find Symmachus, his contemporary, writing without any allusion to the place of his retirement, "extra murum deductus non longe ab urbe remoratur" (Symmach. *Ep.* 1. 73). We have a distinct example belonging to the same period, of residence in a *cella* of a cemetery. This is the priest Barbatianus, who having come from Antioch to Rome retired to the cemetery of Callistus, "clam latens in *cellula sua*" (Agellius, *Vitae Pont. Ravenn.*). Ptolemaeus Silvius, quoted by De Rossi, *Bullettino*, Giugno, 1863, writing A.D. 448, speaks of the innumerable *cellulae* dedicated to the martyrs with which the areas of the cemeteries were studded. All these buildings taken collectively were often comprised under the name *coemeterium*. Onuphrius Panvinius (d. 1568), one of the earliest writers on Christian interment, *De Ritu sepelendi. Mort. apud vet. Christ.*, p. 85, expressly states that "inasmuch as worshippers were wont to assemble in large numbers at the tombs of the martyrs on the anniversaries of their death, the name of cemetery was extended to capacious places adjacent to the cemeteries, suitable for public meetings for prayer." "We read," he continues, "that the early Roman pontiffs were in the habit of keeping these stations, that is, performing all their public pontifical acts among the tombs of

* Express reference is made by Ulpian to the habit of dwelling in sepulchres (*Digest.* lib. xviii. tit. xii. § 3).

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 crowds, administer the sacraments, and preach
 the word of God." [CHURCHYARD.]

That the term *coemeterium* was not restricted
 to the subterranean places of interment is also
 clear from the fact that though interment in the
 catacombs had entirely ceased in the 5th cen-
 tury, we read of one pope after another being
 buried in *coemeterio* (cf. Siricius, A.D. 398, Anast.
 § 55; Anastasius A.D. 402, *ib.* § 56; Bonifacius,
 A.D. 422, *ib.* § 61; Coelestinus, A.D. 432, *ib.* § 62).
 Even of Vigilius, who died A.D. 555, long after
 the catacombs were disused for burial and had be-
 come nothing more than places of devotion at the
 tombs of the martyrs, we read (*ib.* § 108), "cor-
 pus . . . sepultum est . . . in coemeterio Priscilla-
 e" (Anast. § 108). Hadrian I. in his celebrated
 letter to Charlemagne on images, also makes
 mention of the pictures executed by Coelestinus
 "in coemeterio suo" (*Concilia*, Ed. Mansi xiii.
 p. 801). (For fuller particulars, see De Rossi,
Rom. Sott. vol. i. p. 216, 217). There is an ap-
 parent exception in the case of Zosimus, A.D. 418,
 Sixtus III. A.D. 440, and Hilarius, A.D. 468, all
 of whom are stated to have been buried "ad
 Sanctum Laurentium in crypta" (Anast. § 59,
 65, 71). But as De Rossi remarks the exception
 only proves the rule. For this crypt did not
 at this time form part of the extensive cemetery
 of St. Cyriacus, but was the substructure of the
 altar (*confessio*) of the Basilica erected over it
 by Constantine, A.D. 330, of which it formed the
 nucleus. The result of his investigation is thus
 summed up by De Rossi, u. s.: "It is manifest
 that the *cemeteries* in which during the fifth cen-
 tury the bodies of the popes were interred were
 all buildings under the open sky, and that history
 is in accord with the monuments in presenting
 no single example in that period of a burial
 performed according to the ancient rites in the
 primitive subterranean excavations."

Although the words *κοιμητήριον*, *coemeterium*,
 were generally applied to the whole sepulchral
 area, and the buildings included within it, yet
 instances are not wanting in which it is used of
 a single grave. The examples adduced by De
 Rossi (*R. S. p.* 85) are exclusively Greek. He
 refers to *Corpus Inscr. Graec.*, n. 9298; 9304-6;
 9310-16; 9439-40; 9450; and mentions a bi-
 lingual inscription from Narbonne of the year
 537, in which the tomb is styled *KYMETEPION*.
 In Baldetti, p. 633, we have an inscription from
 Malta stating that the *KOIMHTHPION* had been
 purchased and restored by a Christiana named
 Zosima, Aringhi also (*Rom. Subt.* tom. i. p. 5)
 adduces an example of a sarcophagus bearing
 this designation, *KOIMHTHPION TOTTO OK-*
TABIAAH TH IAIH ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΛΑΤΔΑΚΙΕ.
 The word is of excessive rarity in the catacombs
 themselves. The epitaph of Sabinus (Perret V.
 III. 67), in which we read *CYMETERIUM BAL-*
BIANAE, is perhaps the only instance known.

The Latin equivalents for *κοιμητήριον* most
 usually found were either *dormitorium*—e.g.,
VECTI IN PACE DOMINI DOMITORIUM (cf. Reines,
Synonym. Inscr. Antiq. 356); or *Pompeiana ma-*

¹ In the *Sacramentarium Eccl. Roman.* the *Missa*
de Quaveris, cap. 163, contains prayers for the souls
 "omnium fidelium in hac Basilica quiescentium."

CHALCEDON

trona corpus ejus de judice eruit et imposuit in
 dormitorio suo" (*Acta S. Maximi*, apud Kulnart,
 p. 264)—or in Africa, *acochitorium* (De Rossi,
R. S. i. p. 86). A long list of other names by which
 at various epochs and in different countries,
 Christiana places of interment were designated
 may be found in Baldetti (*Osservazioni*, pp.
 584-586).

(Uingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. viii. ch. 8-10, bk.
 xxiii. ch. 1-2); Baldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i*
Cineterii; Bottari, *Sculture e pitture antiche*;
 Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*; Aringhi, *Roma Sotter-*
ranea; Panvinus, *De Ritu Sepeliendi*; Anastasius,
De Vita Rom. Pontif.; Raouli-Rochette,
Tableau des Catacombes; De Rossi, *Roma Sotter-*
ranea; Nestle and Brownlow, *Roma Sotter-*
ranea. [E. V.]

CE (SER. [THURSDAY.]

CELESTINIUS, bishop and confessor at Aux-
 erre (about A.D. 500, is commemorated June 10
 (*Mart. Usuard*). [C.]

CEREA: S. (1) Martyr at Rome under
 Hadrian, is commemorated June 10 (*Mart. Rom.*
Vet., Usuard). [C.]

(2) Soldier, martyr at Rome under Decius,
 Sept. 14 (*Mart. Usuard*). [C.]

CEREMONIALE A book containing direc-
 tions or rubrics for the due performance of cer-
 tain ceremonies. The more ancient term for such
 a book is *ORDO*, which see. [C.]

CERREUS. [TAPER.]

CERREUS PASCIALIS. [MAUNDY

THURSDAY.]

CHAIR. [CATHEDRA; THRONE.]

CHALCEDON (COUNCILS OF). (1) A.D.
 453, better known as "the Synod of the Oak"—a
 name given to a suburb there—at which St.
 Chrysostom was deposed. To appreciate its
 proceedings, we should remember that St. John
 Chrysostom had been appointed to the see of
 Constantinople five years before, and that The-
 ophilus, bishop of Alexandria, had been summoned
 thither by the emperor Arcadius to ordain him.
 Theophilus had a presbyter of his own whom he
 would have preferred, named Isidore, so that in
 one sense he consecrated St. Chrysostom under
 constraint. It was against the 2nd of the Con-
 stantinopolitan canons likewise for him to have
 consecrated at all out of his own diocese: but in
 another sense he was probably not loth to make
 St. Chrysostom beholden to him, and be possessed
 of a pretext himself for interfering in a way
 threatening to eclipse his own, where he could
 do so with effect. Hence the part played by him
 at the Synod of the Oak, over which he preside,
 and in which no less than 12 sessions were occu-
 pied on charges brought against St. Chrysostom
 himself, and a 13th on charges brought against
 Heraclides, bishop of Ephesus, who had been or-
 dained by him (Mansi III. 1141-54). The num-
 ber of charges alleged against St. Chrysostom
 was 29 at one time and 18 at another. When
 cited to appear and reply to them, his answer
 was: "Remove my avowed enemies from your
 list of judges, and I am ready to appear and
 make my defence, should any person bring aught
 against me; otherwise you may send as often as
 you will for me, but you will get no further."
 And the first of those whom he reckoned as such

made by Ulpian to the habit of
Digest. lib. xviii. tit. xii. § 3).

was Theophilus. One of the charges against him was some unworthy language that he had used to St. Epiphanius, lately deceased, who had supported Theodosius in condemning the originalists, regarded by St. Chrysostom with more favour. The others refer to his conduct in his own church, or towards his own clergy. The synod ended by deposing St. Chrysostom, having cited him four times to no purpose; when he was immediately expelled the city by the emperor, and withdrew into Bithynia, to be very shortly recalled.

(2) The 4th general—held its first session, October 8, A.D. 451, in the church of St. Euphemia—for the architectural arrangements of which see Evagrius (ii. 3)—having been convened by the emperor Marcian shortly after his elevation. In his circular to the bishops (Mansi, vi. 551-4) he bids them come to Nicaea—the place chosen by him originally—to settle “some questions that he says have arisen apparently respecting the orthodox faith, and been also shown him in a letter from the archbishop of Rome.” But in reality St. Leo had urged a very different course. In his 1st epistle to the late emperor he had indeed petitioned that a council might be held in Italy, should a council be required at all (ib. 83-5); and when Marcian applied to him “to authorise” the council about to be held (ib. 93-4), his reply was that he would rather it were postponed till the times were more favourable (ib. 114-5). It was only when he found his advice unheeded that he decided on sending representatives thither (ib. 126-9), and then on the solemn understanding that there should be no resettlement attempted of the Nicene faith. Even so, he reminds the empress (ib. 138-9) that his demand had been for a council in Italy; and tells the council expressly that his representatives are to preside there, custom forbidding his own presence (ib. 131-5). His representatives, on their part, warn the emperor that unless he is present in person they cannot attend (ib. 557-8). Hence, to facilitate this arrangement, the council is transferred to Chalcedon. Bishops to the number of 360 attended, in some cases by deputy, the 1st action, and 19 of the highest lay dignitaries represented the emperor. Usually 630 bishops are said to have been at the council sooner or later (Bever, ii. 107). It might have been supposed this total had been gained originally by placing the 6 before, instead of after, the 3: still there are 470 episcopal subscriptions to the 6th action, and members of the council themselves spoke of it as one of 600 bishops (Mansi, vii. 57, and the note).

As to their places in church, the lay dignitaries occupied the centre, in front of the altar-screen; and one of the most remarkable traits of this council is their control of its proceedings all through. On their left were the legates from Rome, and next to them Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Caesarea, Stephen of Ephesus, and other Easterns. On their right were Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the bishops of Egypt, Illyria, and Palestine generally. On the motion of Pascasinus, the first legate, Dioscorus was ordered by the magistrates to quit the seat occupied by him in the council, and to take his place in the midst where the accused sat. The charges alleged against him by the legates were that he

had held a council and sat as judge, without permission of the apostolic see. Eusebius of Dorylaeum, sitting in the midst as his accuser, complained of the iniquitous sentence passed upon Flavian and himself at the council of Ephesus (see the art. on this) two years before. Dioscorus begged its acts might be read. This was done: but meanwhile Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrus, who had been deposed there, having since been restored by St. Leo, and invited to this council by the emperor, entered and took his seat, amidst vehement protests from the bishops on the right. After the acts of the “Robbers’ Meeting” had been read, which included those of the two synods of Constantinople preceding it, all agreed that Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius, and three more, who had been most forward in deposing Eusebius and Flavian, deserved to be deposed themselves. The rest might be pardoned, as having acted in ignorance or under coercion.

Action or session 2 followed, October 10. The judges or lay dignitaries proposing that the faith should be set forth in its integrity, the bishops replied that they were limited to the creed of Nicaea, confirmed at Ephesus, and interpreted by the letters of SS. Cyril and Leo more particularly. On this it was recited by command of the judges, from a book by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, amidst shouts of adhesion. And immediately after, without a word more, by order of the same judges, Actius or Atticus, deacon or archdeacon of the church of Constantinople, recited from a book what purported to be the creed of the 150 fathers, that is, of the 2nd general council, on which some remarks have been made elsewhere. [CONC. CONST. AND ANTIOCH.] But the abruptness of its introduction here merits attention, especially when viewed in connection with a short scene in the 1st action (Mansi, vi. 631-2). Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicus, there remarked that Eutyches had dealt fraudulently in professing his faith in the words of the creed of Nicaea, as it stood originally; for it had received additions from the holy fathers since then, owing to the false teaching of Apollinarius, Valentinus, Macedonius, and their followers; two such being “from heaven” after “descended,” and “by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary” after “incarnate.” This is the first clear reference to the new clauses of the Constantinopolitan creed in this or any other council extant. And it is to be observed that even the creed of Nicaea, quoted in the definition, contains them. But Diogenes had hardly finished his sentence, when the Egyptian bishops exclaimed, “nobody will bear of any additions or subtractions either: let what passed at Nicaea stand as it is.” Dioscorus had urged this all along. Thus advantage was promptly taken of his condemnation to promulgate this creed in the same breath with that of Nicaea, while the account given of the additions occurring in it by Diogenes is such as to connect it at once with those synods of Apollinarius and Rome, at which the errors of Apollinarius and Macedonius were condemned. Its recital was followed by the same shouts of adhesion as, in older form, which is the more remarkable, to that time, stress had been laid exclusively, both here and at the synods rehearsed in the first action, on the creed of Nicaea, confirmed at

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Ephesus, without the slightest reference to any-
 thing that had ever passed at Constantinople.
 After this, the two letters of St. Cyril were read
 that had been heard already from the acts of the
 council under Flavian, and then the letter of St.
 Leo to Flavian—the reading of which had been
 preented at the "Robbers' Meeting"—in a
 Greek translation. Three passages in it were
 called in question by the bishops of Illyria and
 Palestine; but Aetius and Theodoret producing
 similar expressions from St. Cyril, they were
 accepted. Five days were allowed for further
 deliberation.

At the 3rd action, however, October 13,
 two days in advance from which the lay dig-
 nitaries were absent, Eusebius of Dorylneum
 having brought another indictment against Dios-
 corus, fresh charges were produced against him
 also by two deacons and one layman of his own
 church, and he not appearing to meet them,
 after having been twice summoned, was formally
 deposed—the Roman legates, by general consent,
 delivering their judgment first, and the rest in
 order assenting to it—but the sentence of his
 deposition was framed on the model of that of
 Nestorius. Letters were written to the emperor
 and empress and to his own clergy, acquainting
 them with it.

Action 4 followed, October 17, or rather 15
 (see Mansi, vii. 83), when the judges appeared
 true to their engagement. By their order
 minutes of the 1st and 2nd actions were read
 out, to the marked exclusion of what had passed
 at the 3rd. They then called upon the bishops
 to declare what had been decided by them re-
 specting the faith. The legates replied by pro-
 nouncing the faith of Nicaea, Constantinople, and
 Ephesus to have been embraced by the council
 and expounded faithfully by St. Leo in his epistle
 to Flavian. To this, all present assented; and
 Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eusta-
 thius, the five bishops who had, in the 1st action,
 been classed with Dioscorus, were permitted to
 sit in the council on subscribing to it. Con-
 sideration of a petition from 13 Egyptian bishops
 who objected to do so was adjourned till they
 had elected a new archbishop. Eighteen priests
 and archimandrites who had petitioned the em-
 peror were next heard. Among them was Bar-
 tholomaeus the Syrian, accused of having murdered
 Flavian. The burden of their petition was that
 Dioscorus should be restored. The 4th and 5th
 canons of Antioch were quoted from a book—in
 it numbered as canons 83 and 4—against them,
 and they were allowed 30 days for consideration
 whether to submit to the council or be deposed.
 Lastly, Photius of Tyre was heard in behalf of
 the rights of his church against Eustathius of
 Berytus, whose city had been created a metro-
 polis by the late emperor. The council ruled,
 and the judges concurred, that the question be-
 tween them should be settled according to the
 canons, and not prejudiced by any pragmatial
 constitutions of the empire.

On the 5th action, commencing October 22,
 the judges called on the bishops to produce what
 had been defined by them on the faith. When
 read it gave offence to the legates and some few
 Easterns, as not including the letter of St. Leo.
 The former threatened to leave, and were told
 they might; but on reference to the emperor,
 he said a synod should be held in the West, if

they could not agree. A committee was there-
 fore formed of the principal bishops, and at
 length the definition appeared with the creeds
 of Nicaea and Constantinople following in suc-
 cession, but authorised equally, in the first part
 of it; and in the second, the synodical letters of
 St. Cyril to Nestorius and to the Easterns, and
 the letter of St. Leo to Flavian, as their received
 exponents on the mystery of the Incarnation.
 On the doctrine of the Trinity, those creeds, it
 was particularly said, required no further explana-
 tion; nor was any other faith to be taught, or
 creed proposed for acceptance, to converts from
 what heresy soever, under pain of deposition in
 the case of the clergy and excommunication in
 that of the laity.

At the 5th action, October 25, all subscribed
 to this definition—the Roman legates attesting
 merely that they subscribed, the rest that they
 defined as well. This was done in the presence
 of the emperor Marcian, the empress Pulcheria,
 and a splendid suite; the emperor telling them in
 a short address that he had come thither, like
 Constantine, to confirm what they had done, not
 to display his power. After which, he approved
 of their definition, and announced his intention of
 punishing all who contravened it, according
 to their station. At his instance three rules
 were made; one for making monks more depen-
 dent upon bishops, and two more forbidding the
 clergy to undertake secular posts, or migrate
 from the church to which they belonged. And
 here the council, doctrinally speaking, ends.

The other actions, to the 14th inclusively, re-
 lated to matters between one bishop and another,
 and occupied the rest of October. At action 7
 sanction was given to a territorial arrangement
 between the bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem,
 by which the former was in future to have
 jurisdiction over the two provinces of Phoenicia
 and that of Arabia—the latter over the three
 called Palestine. At the 8th action Theodoret, who
 had already subscribed to the definition with the
 rest, was called upon to anathematise Nestorius,
 which he did, including Eutyches, and three
 more bishops similarly called upon did the same.
 The 9th and 10th actions passed in enquiring into
 what had been decided at the synods of Tyre and
 Berytus respecting Ibas, bishop of Edessa, three
 years before. Their acts having been rehearsed,
 and the sentence passed upon him at the "Rob-
 bers' Meeting" summarily cancelled, he was
 declared orthodox on anathematising Nestorius
 and Eutyches, and restored to his see. Yet, in-
 consistently enough, in another case, that of
 Domnus of Antioch, the judgment of the "Rob-
 bers' Meeting" was allowed to stand, his suc-
 cessor, Maximus, having been consecrated by
 Anatolius of Constantinople, recognised by St.
 Leo, and received at this council. Domnus,
 whose piety was admitted by all, was adjudged
 a pension out of the revenues of the see in which
 he had been uncanonically superseded. The
 Greek account of this proceeding indeed has
 been lost, but two of the Latin versions contain-
 ing it purport to have been made from the Greek
 (Mansi, vii. 177-8, 269-72, and 771-4). Actions
 11 and 12 were taken up in hearing a con-
 tention between Bassianus and Stephen for the
 see of Ephesus, as bishop of which, Stephen had
 hitherto sat and voted at this council. Neither
 had been canonically ordained in the judgment

of the council, so that a fresh election had to be made, but both were allowed their rank and ordered a pension of 200 aurei respectively out of the revenues of that see. In the former of these actions, the 16th and 17th canons of Antioch were read out of a book by Leontius, bishop of Magnesia, numbered as 95th and 96th, and applied to their case. At the 13th action Eunomius, bishop of Nicomedia, complained that the privileges of his church had been infringed by the bishop of Nicaea. Imperial constitutions were quoted on both sides, which, according to the judges themselves, had nothing at all to do with the rights of bishops: and the 4th Nicene canon which Eunomius read out of a book as the 6th, settled the question in his favour. The insertion of a salvo to the see of Constantinople, proposed by its archdeacon, was negatived by the judges, who said that its rights of ordaining in the provinces would be declared in their proper order. At the 14th action, Athanasius and Sabinianus, who had each sat and subscribed as bishop of Perrhe, submitted their respective claims—the former adducing two letters in his favour from SS. Cyril and Proclus, the latter the acts of the synod of Antioch under Domnus, deposing his rival, and the fact of the "Robbers' Meeting" having restored him. For the judgment of the council, see *Concil. Hierap.* A.D. 445.

What is printed as the 15th action, without date or preface, would seem to be, strictly speaking, a mere continuation of the 10th action by the hierarchy for framing canons after the judges had retired. This would follow from what is said to have passed in the 16th action, October 28—at least, if this date is correct. There the legates complained to the judges of what had been done yesterday, after the latter had retired, and subsequently to their own withdrawal also. Now, October 27 had been the day of the 10th action, and the 11th action was not till October 29. Consequently there was just the interval required for them to have complained on October 28, and had the canon to which they objected read out publicly. Thus, when Ibas had been acquitted, the judges withdrew, and the bishops, probably not expecting any more business, remained to make canons. Twenty-seven in all, including those previously recommended by the emperor, were drawn up, and, according to one of the oldest Latin versions extant, were subscribed to by all, not excepting the legates (Mansi, vii. 400-8). After the legates had retired, the Eastern bishops again remained, and agreed to three more, making a total of 30; but to the last three the legates had not been parties, and equally declined subscribing the day after (Mansi, ib. 429-54). As Beveridge remarks, they are omitted as well by John Scholasticus as by Dionysius Exiguus (ii. 124), nor have they ever been received in the West.

Only the 28th, however, demands any notice. Those who were most interested in it said in their defence that they had asked the legates to take part in framing it, and they had replied that they were without instructions. The judges, on the other hand, had bade them refer it to the council. And doubtless it was as much a question for the council as those which had been settled in the 7th and 13th actions. In one sense it merely renewed the 3rd canon of Con-

stantinople, A.D. 381, conferring honorary precedence (*προσβία*, throughout—erroneously rendered by the Latinus in each case "primatum"); upon the bishop of that city next after Rome, and for the same reason as had there been given. And if, in addition, it gave the bishop of that city the right of ordaining metropolitans in the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, still this was afterwards proved to have been done with the full consent of the bishops of those dioceses. And so we are brought to what really passed at the 16th action, opening abruptly with a speech of the legate Lucentius (Mansi, vii. 441), as reported in the Greek version. Here both sides were called upon by the judges to produce the canons on which they relied; and the legates, in quoting the 6th of Nicaea, substituted for the first clause of it, "Quoi ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum." No protest was actually made to these words, but it was cited in its genuine form afterwards by the Constantinopolitan archdeacon. And as for the 3rd of Constantinople, Eusebius of Dorylaeum testified to having read it himself at Rome to the Pope, and to his having received it (p. 449). The judges at last having delivered their opinion that the primacy before all, and chiefest honour, according to the canons, should be preserved to the archbishop of elder Rome, but that the archbishop of Constantinople ought to have the honour and power assigned him in this canon, it was accepted by all present, in spite of the legates, who had previously desired to have their protest recorded against what had been passed in their absence, for this 2nd speech of Lucentius clearly followed the reading out of the canon, October 28. Afterwards it was denounced in a series of epistles by St. Leo, who nevertheless, neither by his legates, nor in his own name, seems ever to have objected to the 9th and 17th canons of this council, authorising appeals to the see of Constantinople far more fully than the Sardican canons ever had Rome (Bever. ii. 115-6). Yet these form part of the 27 subscribed to by all, including the legates, and received in the West. No others among them, save the first, are worth noticing; but these, perhaps, have never been sufficiently noticed. By the first it is decreed that "the canons of the Holy Fathers, made in every synod to this present time, be in full force"—in other words, the collection of canons published by Beveridge, Justellus, and others, as the "code of the universal Church," is ordered to become law (Bever. ii. 108; Cave, *Hist. Lit.* i. 486-7). It only remains to observe that Evagrius attributes no more than 14 actions to this council (ii. 18), and seems to say that most of the canons were framed at the 7th. Other accounts, that of Liberatus, for instance (Brev. l. 13), vary from his. Before separating, the bishops addressed the emperor in vindication of their definition, and the Pope in vindication of their 28th canon (Mansi, vii. 455-74 and vi. 147-61), telling St. Leo that he had interpreted the faith of Peter to them in his epistle, and presided over their deliberations in the person of his legates, as the head over the members. The Pope was deaf to all argument on the subject of the canon, while setting his seal to their definition. In one of his letters to Anatolius (Mansi, vi. 263) he goes so far as to say that the 3rd canon of Constantinople had never been notified to the apostolic see, though Eusebius of Dorylaeum had

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 d the Pope in vindication
 (Mansi, vii. 455-74 and vi.
 ew that he had interpreted
 them in his epistle, and
 lliberations in the person of
 d over the members. The
 argument on the subject of
 g his seal to their defunctio.
 o Anantolus (Mansi, vi. 203)
 say that the 3rd canon of
 never been notified to the
 Eusebius of Dorylaeum had

testified at the council to his having publicly
 received it himself. In the same spirit it is,
 perhaps, too, that he never once mentions the
 creed of the 150 fathers; in other words, that of
 Constantinople, by name, though he must have
 received it with the definition of this council:
 and indeed he said of it latterly, "tam plenis
 atque perfectis definitionibus cuncta firmata sunt,
 ut nihil et regulae quae ex divina inspiratione
 prolata est, aut addi possit nisi minui" (*Ep. ad
 Leon. Imp.*, Mansi, vi. 308). Such, however,
 was his zeal against the canon that he was at
 one time thought not to have approved of the
 definition.

Edicts in succession issued from the emperor,
 ordering all persons to submit to the council,
 and forbidding all further discussion of the
 points settled by it. The law of the late em-
 peror, confirming the acts of the "Robbers'
 Meeting," was reopened; Eutyches deprived of
 the title of priest; and Dioscorus exiled to
 Gangra in Paphlagonia. Great opposition was
 nevertheless made to its reception by their ad-
 mirers, in Egypt especially, to which the "Codex
 Encyclicus," or collection of letters in its favour,
 addressed for the most part to the emperor Leo,
 on his accession, A.D. 458, was intended to be a
 counter-demonstration (Mansi, vii. 475-627 and
 755-98).

[E. S. F.]

CHALDAEI. [ASTROLOGERS.]

CHALICE. (Latin, *calix*; Greek, *ποτήριον*,
πόταλον; French, *calice*; Italian, *calice*; Ger-
 man, *Kelch*; Anglo-Saxon, *calic*.) The cup in
 which the wine is consecrated at the celebration
 of the Holy Communion, and from which the
 communicants drink. Chalices have been divided
 into several classes, of which the more important
 are—*offertorial*, in which the wine brought by
 the communicants was received; *communional*,
 in which the wine was consecrated; and *minis-
 terial*, in which it was administered to the com-
 municants.

Vessels of this description being indispensably
 required for the celebration of the most impor-
 tant of the rites of the Christian religion it is
 obvious that from the very earliest period some
 such must have been in use, but it does not
 seem possible to determine how soon they began
 to be distinguished by form, material, or orna-
 ment from the cups used in ordinary life. Per-
 haps the earliest notice which we have of any
 mark by which a cup used for eucharistic pur-
 poses was distinguished from those in ordinary
 use, is the passage in Tertullian (*De Pudic.* c.
 10): "Si forte patrociniabitur pastor, quem in
 calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Chris-
 tianum sacramenti, merito et ebrietatis idolum et
 moechiae asylum post calicem subsequetur."

It seems indeed quite possible that at that
 early period when the administration of the
 Eucharist was connected both as regards time
 and locality with the feasts of charity (*agapae*)
 the distinction between the vessels used for
 each purpose was less strongly drawn than
 afterwards came to be the case, and that in
 the earliest centuries there was little or no dis-
 tinction of either form or decoration between
 the eucharistic cup and that of the domestic
 table.

The eventually exclusive adoption of the word
 "calix," as signifying the eucharistic cup, may
 CHURCH, ANT.

perhaps be deemed to imply that the form of
 cup most generally employed in the celebration
 of the Communion, was that specifically called
 "calix." This word is held usually to denote a
 cup with a somewhat shallow bowl, two handles
 and a foot. Vases of various forms are often
 depicted on the walls or vaults of the catacombs,
 but it is generally uncertain how far these are
 merely ornaments, and it would not appear that
 in any one instance a representation of what can
 with certainty be assumed to be a eucharistic
 chalice has been observed among these paintings.
 It would at first sight appear extremely probable
 that among these numerous representations of
 vases, some at least should be intended to rep-
 resent that which was above all precious to those
 for whom these decorations were executed, but
 the paintings of the earlier period are with hardly
 an exception allegorical or symbolical, scarcely
 ever in a primary sense historical, and never
 liturgical, unless the allusions to the sacraments
 conveyed by figures of fishes, baskets of bread,
 and the like deserve to be so called.



Vase from Sarcophagus at Bordeaux.

It has been supposed by some, Boldetti (*Osser-
 vazioni sopra i Cimiteri dei SS. Martiri*) among
 others, that the glass vessels decorated with
 gold leaf, the bottoms of which have been found
 in considerable numbers in the catacombs at-
 tached to the plaster by which the tiles closing
 the loculi were fixed, were, if not actually chal-
 lices, at least drinking-vessels in which the com-



Vase from the Sarcophagus of Anisiphus at Milan.

municants received the consecrated wine, and
 from which they drank. Padre Garrucci (*Vetri
 Ornati d' Oro*, Pref. xi) has however shown that
 this opinion does not rest on any secure founda-
 tion. It has also been thought that the figures
 of vases so often found incised on early Christian

memorial stones were intended to represent chalices, and thereby to indicate that the deceased person was a priest. Though this may possibly have sometimes been the case, other and more probable explanations of the occurrence of these figures of vases may be suggested; but there is a marked similarity between the type of vase usually employed and the forms of the earliest chalices of which we have any positive knowledge.

The woodcut represents one of these vases as shown in low relief on the sarcophagus in the chapel of St. Aquilinus attached to the church of S. Lorenzo at Milan, which is supposed to have contained the remains of Ataulphus king of the Goths (c. A.D. 415), or of his wife Placidia.

The earliest chalice still existing is probably that found with a paten at Gourdon in France,



Chalice found at Gourdon.

and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Impériale in Paris. This is represented in the annexed woodcut, and is of gold ornamented with thin lines of garnets. With it were found 104 gold coins of Emperors of the East, 25 of which of Justin I. (518-527) being in a fresh and unworn condition and the latest in date of the entire hoard, it is reasonable to conclude that the deposit was made in the earlier part of the 6th century.

Of not much later date were the splendid chalices belonging to the basilica of Monza, no longer in existence, but of which representations, evidently tolerably accurate, have been preserved in a large painting probably executed in the latter half of the 15th century, and now in the library



Chalice from Monza.

of that church. This painting represents the restitution to the basilica of the contents of its treasury which took place in 1345. These chalices are represented in the accompanying woodcuts, both were of gold set with jewels; their weight is variously stated at from 105 to 170 ounces. These there is ground to believe, were

in the possession of the church of Monza before the year 600, and may indeed with great probability be supposed to be of even greater age. A rude sculpture over the west doorway of that church, believed to date from circa A.D. 600, represents several chalices of various sizes, some with and some without handles.

Chalices of glass of very similar form are met with, and may with much probability be attributed to the 6th or 7th centuries; two examples are in the British Museum; these are of blue glass and somewhat roughly made. As, however, these bear neither inscriptions nor any Christian symbol, it cannot be affirmed with certainty that they were sacramental chalices. Moroni (*Descrizione di Edizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*) mentions a chalice of blue glass as being preserved in the church of the Isola S. Giulio in the lake of Orta in Lombardy, as a relic of the saint who lived in the 5th century; this, he says, was without a foot. It is not now to be found there.

In the church of the church of Sta. Annetasia at Roncole a chalice is preserved as a relic, as it is said to have been used by St. Jerome; the bowl is of white opaque glass with some ornament in relief, the foot is of metal.

A chalice is preserved (at Maastricht), which is believed to have belonged to St. Lambert, bishop of that city (ob. 708); it is of metal, (? silver) gilt, the bowl hemispherical, the foot a frustum of a cone; the whole without ornament.

A chalice of exactly the same form is to be seen in an illumination in the very ancient gospels preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, and known as St. Augustine's.



Chalice formerly at Chelles.

Until the year 1792 the abbey of Chelles, in the diocese of Paris, possessed a most splendid

example of ancient work of date from Fortunatus and the allegorical transition somewhat in the bowl ten inches of a French

A single chalice was Culbert year 1100 in its lion, the lion Bull. 2 was not presented. Of the able exam

minister in woodcut) or incrustation that it was it is probable when that Great.

One of the brogio at M example of of the 9th handles.

So much examples, or also be collected and weight of they were

church of Monza before
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from circa A.D. 600,
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Similar forms are met
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Church of Sta. Anastasia
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formerly as Challes.

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CHALICE

example of a golden chalice (see woodcut), which
ancient inventories asserted to have been the
work of St. Eligius (or Eloi), and therefore to
date from the first half of the 7th century.
Fortunately an engraving of it has been pre-
served in the *Panoplia Sacerdotalis* of Du Saussay,
and the character of the work corresponds with
the alleged date. It is obviously an instance of
transition from earlier to later forms, though
somewhat exceptional from the great depth of
the bowl. It was about a foot high and nearly
ten inches in diameter, and held about the half
of a French litre.

A singular exception in point of form was the
chalice which was found with the body of St.
Cuthbert when his relics were examined in the
year 1104; this is described as of small size and
in its lower part of gold and of the figure of a
lion, the bowl which was attached to the back of
the lion being cut from an onyx (*Act. Sanct.*
Brit. 2 Mart.). It may be surmised that this
was not really made for a chalice, but had been
presented to him and converted to that use.

Of the next century, the 8th, a very remark-
able example still exists in the convent of Krem-



Chalice at Kremsmünster.

minster in Upper Austria; this chalice is (vide
woodcut) of bronze ornamented with niello and
incrustations of silver. As the inscription shows
that it was the gift of Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria,
it is probably earlier than A.D. 788, the year
when that prince was deposed by Charles the
Great.

One of the bas-reliefs of the altar of S. Am-
brogio at Milan (finished in 835) gives a good
example of the form of a chalice in the beginning
of the 9th century. It has a bowl, foot, and
handle.

So much may be gathered from still existing
examples, or representations of them; much may
also be collected, especially as regards the size
and weight of chalices and the materials of which
they were composed, from the notices to be

CHALICE

339

found in various historical documents, and par-
ticularly in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

It has been asserted that in the apostolic age
chalices of wood were in use; but for this asser-
tion there is no early authority; St. Boniface in-
deed is reported in the 18th canon of the Council
of Tribur to have said that once golden priests
used wooden chalices, and Platina (*De Vit. Pont.*)
asserts that Pope Zephyrinus (A.D. 197-217)
ordered that the wine should be consecrated not
as heretofore in a wooden but in a glass vessel.
The *Liber Pontificalis* in the life of Zephyrinus,
however, merely says that he ordered patens of
glass to be carried before the priests when mass
was to be celebrated by the bishop. Glass was
no doubt in use from a very early date; St.
Jerome (*ad Rustic. Mon. Ep. 4*) writes of Exu-
perius, bishop of Toulouse, as bearing the Lord's
blood in a vessel of glass, and St. Gregory
(*Dialog. lib. i. c. 7*) says that St. Donatus, bishop
of Arezzo, repaired by prayer a chalice of glass
broken by the heathens. The use of wood for
chalices was prohibited by several provincial
councils in the 8th and 9th centuries (*Conc.*
Tribur. can. 18), of horn by that of Cel-
chythe (*Conc. Calcut. can. 10*), and Pope Leo
IV. (847-855) in his homily, *De Cura Pos-
torali*, lays down the rule that no one should
celebrate mass in a chalice of wood, lead, or
glass. Glass, however, continued to be occa-
sionally used to a much later date. Martene (*De*
Antiq. Eccl. Rit. t. iv. p. 78) shows from the
life of St. Winocus that in the 10th century the
monks of the convent in Flanders founded by
him still used chalices of glass. Pewter was
also in use, and it would seem was considered as
a material superior to glass, for we are told of
St. Benedict of Aniane (ob. 821) that the vessels
of his church were at first of wood, then of glass,
and that at last he ascended to pewter (see his
Life, by Ardo, c. 14, in Mabillon's *Act. SS. ord.*
S. Benedicti, Sæc. iv.).

A chalice of glass mounted in gold is men-
tioned in the will of Count Everhard, A.D. 837
(Miræus, *Op. Dip. t. i. p. 19*). A chalice of ivory
and one of cocoon-nut (?) (*de nucæ*) set with gold
and silver are mentioned in the same document;
these however may have been drinking-cups, not
sacramental chalices.

The use of bronze appears to have been excep-
tional and perhaps peculiar to the Irish monks.
St. Gall (*Mabillon's Act. SS. ord. S. Ben. Sæc. 2,*
p. 241), we are told, refused to use silver vessels
for the altar, saying that St. Columbanus was
accustomed to offer the sacrifice in vessels of
bronze (acrels), alleging as a reason for so doing
that our Saviour was affixed to the cross by
brazen nails. This traditional use of bronze was
no doubt continued by the successors of the Irish
missionaries in the South of Germany, and ex-
plains why the Kremsmünster chalice is of that
material, a circumstance which has caused the
question to be raised whether that vessel was
anything but a mere drinking cup. The use of
niello and of damascening with thin silver in
the decoration of this vessel, and the peculiar
patterns of its ornamentation, connect it closely
with the Irish school of artificers, who were in
the habit of employing bronze as the main ma-
terial of their works.

The precious metals were however from a
very early, perhaps the earliest, period most pro-

bably the usual material of the chalice. The earliest converts to Christianity were not by any means exclusively of humble station, and it was not until it spread from cities into remote villages that many churches would have existed whose members could not afford a silver chalice: nor do we until a later age find traces of a spirit of asceticism which would prefer the use of a mean material. We have at least proof of the use of both gold and silver in the sacred vessels in the beginning of the 4th century, for we are told by Optatus of Milevi that in the Diocletianian persecution the church of Carthage possessed many "ornamenta" of gold and silver (Opt. Mil. *De schism. Donat.* i. 17). The church of Ciria in Numidia at the same time possessed two golden and six silver chalices (*Acta Purgat. Caccitoni*, in the *Works* of Optatus). That it was believed that the churches possessed such rich ornaments at an earlier period is shown by the language which Prudentius puts into the mouth of the Prefectus Urbis interrogating St. Lawrence—

"Argutea serpens ferant,
Lumare sacrum sanguinem," &c.
(*Peristeph. Hyann* III. 69).

The passages in the *Lib. Pont.* which relate the gifts of Constantine to various churches are with reason suspected as untrustworthy, but are at least of value as recording the traditions existing at an early age. They make mention of many chalices, some of gold, some of silver; 40 lesser chalices of gold, each weighing 1 lb., and 50 lesser ministerial chalices of silver, each weighing 2 lbs., are said to have been given to the Constantinian Basilica (St. John Lat.), and in lesser numbers and of very various weights to many other churches. Whatever, however, may be the historical value of these passages, that churches in the 4th and 5th centuries possessed great numbers of golden or silver chalices, cannot be doubted. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* I. iii. c. x.) tells us that Childebert in the year 531 took among the spoils of Amalariac sixty chalices of gold. Many instances of gifts of chalices of the precious metals to the churches of Rome by successive popes are to be found in the *Lib. Pont.* Of these the following may deserve special mention: a great chalice (calix major) with handles and adorned with gems, weighing 58 lbs.; a great chalice with a siphon (cum siphone) or tube, weighing 36 lbs.; a covered (sphoclostus, i. e. ἐπαβάκλειστος) chalice of gold, weighing 32 lbs.; all three given by Pope Leo III. (795).

Little is to be found as to the decoration of chalices; occasionally they bore inscriptions, as in the case of that made by order of St. Remigius (Remi, ob. 533), which Frodoard tells us bore the following verses:—

"Haurit hinc populus vitam de sanguine sacro,
Injeto ac ratum quem fides habere Christus,
Remigius reddidit dominum et sua sacerdos."

The golden chalices of Monza, it will be seen by the woodcuts, were splendidly adorned with gems, which in the painting from which these figures have been drawn, are coloured green and red, but the only symbol betokening their destination is the cruciform arrangement of the larger gems on one of them. The chalice found at Gourdon also has neither inscription nor Christian symbol, and if it had not been found in

company with a paten bearing a cross its destination might have been a matter of doubt.

On the chalice of Kramsbrunn are on the bowl half-length figures of Christ and the four Evangelists, on the foot like figures of four prophets.

The division of chalices into various classes evidently belongs to a period when primitive simplicity of ritual underwent a change to a more complex and elaborate system. The earlier *Ordo Romanus* speaks of a "calix quotidianus" and opposes to this the "calix major" to be used on feast-days ("dignus vero festis calicem et patenam majores"), but says nothing of any distinction between the "calix sanctus" and the "calix ministerialis." Reasons of convenience no doubt caused the use of chalices of very different sizes. The great number of chalices of small size mentioned in the *Lib. Pontif.* and elsewhere may lead to the supposition that at one period the communicants drank not from one but from many chalices; but this matter is involved in doubt.

A practice existed of communicating the clergy alone by means of the chalice in which the wine was consecrated, and of pouring a few drops from this into the larger chalice which was offered to the laity. When this practice originated or how long it lasted seems obscure. It is suggested in the article "Calix," in Ducange's *Glossary*, that the verses engraved by order of St. Remi on the chalice which he caused to be made (p. ante) allude to this practice; but this does not seem certain. It is mentioned in the *Ordo Rom.* (c. 29), but the vessel in which the drops of consecrated wine were mixed with the unconsecrated, and from which the laity drank through a "fistula" or "pugillar," is called scyphus, and is apparently the same vessel as that carried by an acolyte at the time when the oblation were received from the laity and into which the contents of the calix major (c. 13) were poured when the latter had become filled. Pope Gregory II. (A.D. 731-735), in his epistle to Boniface, disapproves of the practice of placing more than one chalice on the altar ("congruum non esse duos vel tres calices in altario ponere"). When this practice was in use we may conclude that the large chalices with handles were those used for the laity.

The large chalices were also used to receive the wine which the intending communicants brought in amulæ; as in the last *Ordo Rom.* c. 13 ("Archidiaconus sumit amulam Pontificis... et refundit super eolum in calicem"). When used in this manner it is called "offertorius" or "offerendarius." "Calices baptismi" or "baptismales" were probably those used when the Eucharist was administered after baptism, and possibly for the milk and honey which it was the custom in some churches (*Act. Concil. iii.* c. 24) to consecrate as the sign and to administer to infants. Pope Innocent III. (A.D. 402-417) is said in the *Lib. Pontif.* to have given "ad ornatum baptisterii" (apparently of the basilica of St. Gervasius and Prothasius at Rome) three silver "calices baptismi," each weighing 2 lbs. Whether the baptismal chalices differed from other chalices in form or in any other respect is not known.

Besides the chalices chiefly used in the rites of the church, vessels called "calices" were sus-

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ended from the arches of the ciborium and even from the intercolumniations of the nave and other parts of the church as ornaments. In the *Lit. Pontif.* we find mention of sixteen "calices" of silver placed by Pope Leo IV. (847-8) on the enclosure of the altar (super circuitu altaris) in the Vatican basilica, of sixty-four suspended between the columns in the same church, and of forty in a like position at S. Paolo f. l. m. Many of these were, however, most probably cups or



Suspended Chalices.

rases, not such as would have been used for the administration or consecration of the Eucharist. The drawings in MSS. show suspended vessels of the most varied forms; some examples taken from the great Carolingian bible formerly in the Biblio- theque, Paris, now in the Musée des Souverains in the Louvre, are shown in woodcuts. [A. N.]

CHALICE, ABLUTION OF. [PURIFICATION.]

CHÂLONS-SUR-SAÔNE, COUNCILS OF. [CHALONENSES], provincial:—(1) A. D. 470, to elect John bishop of Châlons (Labb. *Conc.* iv. 1820). (2) A. D. 579, to depose Salonius and Sagaritarius, bishops respectively of Embrun and Gap, deposed by a previous council (of Lyons and Gap, 567), restored by Pope John III., and now again in desposal (Grog. *Yar. Hist. Franc.* v. 21, 28; Labb. *Conc.* v. 963, 964). (3) A. D. 594, to regulate the psalmody at the church of St. Marcellus after the model of Agune (Labb. *Conc.* v. 1531). (4) A. D. 603, to depose Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, at the instigation of Queen Brunichilde (Frelegar. 24; Labb. *Conc.* v. 1612). (5) A. D. 650, Nov. 1, of thirty-three bishops, with the "vicarii" of six others, enacted 20 canons respecting discipline: dated by Le Comte A. D. 694 (Labb. *Conc.* vi. 387). [A. W. H.]

CHANCEL (τὰ ἔθρον των κηρικιδων, Theodor. *H. E.* v. 18). The space in a church which contains the choir and sanctuary, and which was generally separated from the nave by a rail or grating (cancelli), from which it derives its name. "Cancellus, cantorum excellens locus" (Papian, in Duane, s. v.; compare CANCELLI). It is a characteristic difference between Eastern and Western churches that in the former the distinction between the bema (or sanctuary) and the choir is much more strongly marked than that between the choir and the nave, in the latter the distinction between the nave and the choir is much more strongly marked than that between the choir and the sanctuary. Compare Choir, PRESBYTERY. [C.]

CHANT. [GREGORIAN MUSIC.]

CHAPEL. A building or apartment used for the performance of Christian worship in cases in

which the services are of an occasional character, or in which the congregation is limited to the members of a family, a convent, or the like. Greek, *παρεκκλησία*; Latin, *capella, oratorium*. In the languages of the Latin and Teutonic families a modification of the word 'capella' is in use, as also in Polish. In Russian *pridal*.

The derivation of the word 'capella' is a matter of doubt. The Monk of St. Gall (*Lit. Cur. Mag.* l. 4) states that the name was derived from the 'capa' or cloak of St. Martin: "Quo nomine (i. e. 'capella') Francorum reges propter capam St. Martini sancta sua appellare solebant." The word 'capella' is said to be found in inscriptions in the Roman catacombs in the sense of a sarcophagus, a grave, or place of burial. It occurs at a later time as used for a reliquary, and for the chamber in which reliques were preserved; as in a charter of Childeric, t. A. D. 710, published by Mabillon (*De Ro Dipl.*), in which the passage "in oratorio suo sen capella S. Marthini" occurs. The canopy over an altar was also called 'capella' (compare CUPELLA). In the sense of a chamber or building employed for divine worship, it does not seem to have been in use in early times. Among early instances of its employment which have been noticed, are in the capitularies of Charles the Great (*Capit.* v. 182), where it is applied to chapels in or annexed to palaces; and in the passage in the laws of the Lombards (iii. 3, 22), "ecclesie et capellae quae in vestra parochia sunt," where detached buildings are probably referred to. In the earlier centuries "oratorium" would no doubt have been used in either sense, as in the 21st cap. of the Council of Agde, A. D. 506, "Si quis etiam extra parochias in quibus legitimus est ordinarius conventus oratorium in agro habere voluerit reliquis festivitibus ut ibi missas tenent propter fatigationem familiae justa ordinatione permittimus" but with the proviso that the greater festivals should be celebrated "in civitatibus aut in parochiis."

Chapels may be divided into several classes:—1st, as regards their relation to other churches; being (A) dependent on the church of the parish, or (B) independent, in some cases even exempt from episcopal visitation. 2dly, as regards their material structure; being (A) apartments in palaces or other dwellings; (B) buildings forming part of or attached to convents, hermitages, or the like; (C) buildings forming parts of or attached to larger churches; (D) sepulchral or other wholly detached buildings. No strictly accurate division is, however, possible, for in some cases buildings might be placed in either of two classes.

It is here proposed to speak of chapels with regard to their material aspect only; and buildings which from an architectural point of view do not differ from churches will be mentioned under the head CHURCH. As however it is impossible to draw a clear line between churches and chapels, several buildings will be found treated of under CHURCH, which in strictness should perhaps be rather deemed chapels; some of these, as Sta. Costanza at Rome, being too important in an historical point of view, or too extensive and magnificent, to be omitted from any attempt to trace the progress of church building in its main line.

Gatticus (*De Orat. Dom.*) has collected many

proofs of the early existence of domestic or private chapels; but the earliest existing example of the first class is probably the small chapel now known as the *Sancta Sanctorum* (originally St. Lawrence) in the fragment of the ancient palace of the Lateran which still remains. It was the private chapel of the popes, and appears to have existed as early as A.D. 384; for Pope Pelagius II. then placed there certain relics (MSS. *Bibl. Vat.* ap. Baronius). It is a small oblong apartment on an upper floor. The example next in date has fortunately been singularly well preserved. It exists in the palace of the archbishops of Ravenna, being their private chapel. It was constructed, or at any rate decorated with mosaic, by the Archbishop Peter Chrysologus (elected in A.D. 429). It is a simple oblong with a vaulted roof. Of the same character is the chapel at Cividale in Friuli, which, although forming part of a Benedictine convent, as it measures only 30 feet by 18 feet, can hardly have been other than a private chapel, probably of the abbat. It is attributed on historical evidence to the 8th century. It is a parallelogram without an apse, about two-fifths being parted off by a low wall, to serve as a choir.



Oratory at Gallorus.

Buildings of the second class, viz., conventual chapels, were intended for the private and daily use of the community; the larger churches for celebration on great festivals, when large numbers of strangers attended the services. In some instances even more than two chapels existed in a monastery; for Adamnan (*De situ terrae Sanctae*, ii. 24) says that at Mount Thabor, within the wall of enclosure of the monastery, were three churches, "non prae aedificii." In the tower or keep of the convent of St. Macarius in the Nitrian valley are three chapels, one over the other (Sir Gardner Wilkinson, *Handbook of Egypt*); but it does not appear what their date is. Sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Handbook of Egypt*, p. 305) states that a tradition among the monks attributes the foundation of the convent to the 5th century.

In Ireland still exist some small chapels which may be assigned with probability to very early dates. Mr. Petrie (*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 133) thinks that such structures

as the Oratory at Gallorus in Kerry, shown in the woodcut, may be considered to be the first erected for Christian uses, and as ancient as, if even not more ancient, than the conversion of the Irish by St. Patrick. This example measures externally 2½ feet by 10, and is 16 feet high, the walls being 4 feet thick. It has a single window in its east end. On each of the gables were small stone crosses, of which the sockets only now remain.

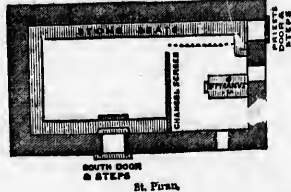
Of somewhat later date, but Mr. Petrie thinks as early as the 5th or 6th centuries, are such buildings as Tempull Cennannach, on the middle island of Arran, in the bay of Galway. This measures internally 16 feet by 12, and is built of very large stones, one not less than 18 feet in length. The church of St. MacDara, on the island of Crunch Mhic Dara, off the coast of Connemara, measures internally 15 feet by 11. Its roof was of solid stone, built in courses until they met at the top.

The above-mentioned examples are simple quadrangular buildings without distinction between nave and chancel, but others are met with, apparently of equal antiquity, in which a small chancel is attached to the nave and entered by an archway. In no case is an apse found in Ireland.

The buildings of this class are so rude and simple that it is not easy to establish satisfactorily any chronological arrangement founded on their architectural character; it would appear, however, that buildings of similar character were constructed until in the 11th or 12th centuries more ornate structures were erected.

Many of these small chapels were, however, constructed of wood, and the whole class was known (Petrie, p. 343) as 'duir-theachs,' or 'dertheachs,' the probable etymology of which is "house of oak." It appears from a fragment of a commentary on the Brehon laws (Petrie, p. 365) that 15 by 10 were customary dimensions for such buildings, and the stone chapels are usually found not to differ very greatly from them.

Buildings of very similar character exist in Cornwall, and their foundation is attributed to the missionaries from Ireland: such was the chapel of Perran, or St. Piran in the sand, said



to have been founded by St. Piran (or as he is called in Ireland St. Kieran) in the 5th century. It had been completely buried in the shifting sand of the coast, but in 1835 the sand was re-

moved, and a perfect state was discovered; as simple plan by a wall apparently.

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moved, and the building discovered in an almost perfect state; it is 29 ft. long externally by 16j broad; as will be seen from the plan, it was a simple parallelogram, but divided into two parts by a wall or screen. The tomb of the saint apparently served as an altar.

The chapel of St. Maddern is very similar in plan, but has the peculiarity of having a wall in one angle; that of St. Gwythian has both nave and chapel, the latter entered by a narrow doorway. Mention of several others of like character will be found in a paper by the Rev. W. Haslam, in vol. ii. of the *Architectural Journal*. The masonry of these buildings is very rude and irregular, but the huge stones, and roofs constructed of stone, which are found in Ireland do not seem to occur in Cornwall. A building of like character was discovered from the sands of the coast of Northumberland in 1853, near Ebb's Nook, not far from Bamborough; it closely resembles the Cornish oratories. The name seems to connect it with St. Ebban (ob. 683), sister of St. Oswald, king of Northumberland.

Some of the Cornish chapels were perhaps rather those of hermitages than of convents, and the same observation may be applied to the like buildings in Ireland.

Chapels of the third class, those attached to churches, may be divided into three sections: A, those forming part of the main building above ground; B, those connected with the main building, but distinct from it; C, those under ground, or crypts.

Although very many churches built before A.D. 800, exist in such a state that we may feel tolerably certain that we possess an accurate knowledge of their original ground-plans, scarcely any clear examples of chapels which could be placed in the first section can be pointed out. We cannot suppose the apartments which are found in very many of the churches of the 5th and 6th centuries in central Syria on either side of the narthex to have been chapels in the sense of having been used for divine worship; nor were the lateral apses originally constructed for a like use, since we have contemporary testimony (Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* xxxii.) that one was used as a sacristy, and the other as a place in which the devout might read the scriptures and offer prayers; if, however, we define the word chapel so as to admit apartments destined to serve as places for prayer, but not for the celebration of the rites of the church, we must consider the lesser apse on the left of the great apse as a chapel. In the description which St. Paulinus has given (*Ep.* xxii.) of the basilica of St. Felix, mention is, however, made of 'cubicula' in the following passage: "Totum extra concham basilicæ, spatium alto et lacunato culmine geminis utrinque peritibus dilatatur, quibus duplex per singulos acies columnarum ordo dirigitur. Cubicula intra peritibus quaternis longis basilicæ lateribus in atriis secretis orantium vel in lege Domini meditationum præterea memoriis religiosorum et familiarium accommodatos ad pacis æternæ requiem locos præbent." [CUMCULUM.]

This passage seems to show clearly that in some instances apartments were placed by the sides of the nave, but this was probably very exceptional, for, as has been said above, no example of such a plan now exists. It should, however, be noticed that in two churches of very early

CHAPEL

date openings have existed in the side walls with which chapels may have been connected; these are the churches of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme and that of Sta. Balbina, both at Rome; in the first were five openings on each side of the nave, in the second six. The first of these buildings is, however, held to have been the hall of the palace of the Sessorium, and not originally constructed to serve as a church; the second is believed to date from the 5th century, but to have been reconsecrated by St. Gregory about A.D. 600.

At a very much later date we find in the church of Sta. Christina at Pola de Lena, near Oviedo, in Spain, apartments attached to and entered from the nave. These are no doubt contemporary with the church, the date of which is probably near A.D. 809. These apartments may have been chapels, but it has been surmised that they were really built to serve as sacristies. The like arrangement occurs at Sta. Maria de Naranco, near Oviedo, which dates from A.D. 848. One almost unique example exists in the church of Romlin Motier, where the upper story of the narthex has a small apse on the east, and was therefore probably intended to serve as a chapel; it is nearly square in plan, and divided into three aisles by two ranges of columns supporting groined vaults. As the church of which this forms a part was a large conventual one, this was probably intended to serve as the smaller chapel generally found in convents. The church is believed to date from 753, the narthex to be somewhat later.

The chapels which belong to the second section, viz. those attached to churches, but distinct buildings, are not very numerous, and in most cases their primary object was sepulchral. Such the three attached to the church of St. Lorenzo at Milan would appear to have been, though it has been suggested that that on the south was a baptistery, and that on the north a porch or vestibule.

That on the south, now called the church of St. Aquilinus, is octagonal externally, while internally semicircular and rectangular niches alternate, one in each face; in it are two massive sarcophagi, one of which is believed to contain the remains of Ataulphus, king of the Goths. The conchs of two of the niches retain some mosaics of a very early period, perhaps the 5th century. This building is connected with the church by a vestibule, supposed by Hübsch (*Alt-Christliche Kichen*, p. 22) to be of later date; it is a square vaulted chamber with apses east and west. The chapel of St. Sixtus on the north side has exactly the same plan, but is much smaller; that of St. Hippolytus at the east end of the church is also octangular externally, but internally forms a cross with four equal limbs. All three are probably not remote in date from the church itself, which would seem to have been built about the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century.

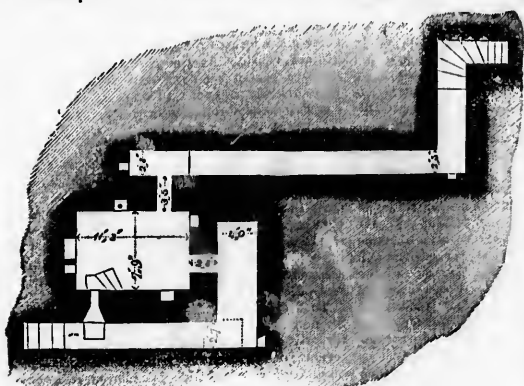
In like manner Pope Hilarius (461-467) added to the baptistery of the Lateran chapels dedicated in honour of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

Of the early part of the 9th century we have a most interesting example in the chapel of St. Zeno attached to the church of St. Praxedis (Sta. Prassede) at Rome, built by Pope Paschal I.

about 819, and fortunately preserved almost unaltered. It is in plan a square with three rectangular recesses, the walls are covered with marble and the lunettes and vaults with mosaic.

This chapel is entered from the nave, and the doorway is very remarkable, being partly made up of ancient materials and partly original work, as the inscription testifies, of Pope Paschal's time. Over this doorway is a window, and the wall round it is covered with medallion portraits of our Lord, the Apostles, and some other saints in mosaic. The execution is but rude. This chapel is contemporaneous with the church to which it is attached, and is perhaps the earliest undoubted instance of such an arrangement; it is, however, so constructed as both externally and internally to seem an independent building attached to the church and not a portion of it.

The practice of constructing such appendages to a church seems, however, to have continued exceptional until the end of our period. None appear on the plan for the monastery of St. Gall, no doubt prepared between 820 and 830; nor do any seem to have formed parts of the minister of Aix-la-Chapelle.



Crypt under Ripon Cathedral.

In the East, as the rule that there should be only one altar in a church has always existed, chapels (in the sense of apartments in which celebrations of the eucharistic service could take place) have rarely formed parts of churches, but sometimes are found attached to them. One instance of a chapel attached to a church would appear to exist in the church of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica, where a small triapsal building is attached (v. Texier and Pullan, *Byzantine Arch.* pl. xviii.) to the east end of the south side of the church. It has been suggested that this was a sacristy, but its form seems to show that it was really a chapel; it may possibly have belonged to the adjacent monastery. To the church of the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai six chapels are attached on each side of the nave, but these are doubtless not of the original fabric.

The third class, viz. subterranean chapels, doubtless had their origin from the chambers in

the catacombs in which the remains of martyrs or confessors had been placed. What could be more natural than that when a church or an oratory was built over the spot where a martyr had been interred, the chamber should be preserved and made accessible?

We have probably an instance of one of these chambers preserved in the remains of the basilica of St. Stefano, in Via Latina, built by Pope Leo I., 440-461. Where, however, no chamber existed, a crypt was not constructed. Hence, in the earlier churches of the city of Rome, we find no crypt forming part of the original plan, but small excavations under the altar, to receive some holy corpse brought from the extramural cemeteries. [COSSIGNO.]

St. Gregory, we are told, "fecit ut super corpus beati Petri et beati Pauli Apostolorum Missae celebrarentur." He probably formed a crypt and placed the "loculus" in it, erecting an altar in the church above over the bodies. After this time frequent mention is made of the confession as a vault with stairs leading into it. In those churches of the earlier period at Rome, which remain in a tolerably unaltered

state as Sta. Sabina (A.D. 425) and Sta. Maria in Trastevere, only very small vaults are found as confessions, but in St. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna, a crypt appears as part of the original structure; it consists of a passage running within the wall of the apse, and another passing under the high altar.

French antiquaries (Martigny, *Dic. des Antiq. Chret.* art. 'Crypte') have claimed a very high antiquity for crypts under several churches in France, e.g. that under the church of St. Mellon (? St. Gervais), at Rouen, is alleged to

show the construction of the 4th century. It would seem probable that in most cases where they belong to early periods they are ancient sepulchral chapels or oratories, or, possibly, tombs of the Roman period, and not structural crypts. Two crypts, however, exist, which were it would seem, structural; these are those of St. Irenaeus at Lyons and of St. Victor at Marseilles. The first of these has a central and side aisles divided originally by columns which carry arches, the courses of which are of brick and stone alternately, above there is a string and a barrel vault. The central aisle ends in an apse; the church is said to have been founded in the 4th century. The crypt of St. Victor is in connection with some catacombs, the original church dated from the 5th century. The crypt consists of a series of vaulted compartments divided by very massive rectangular piers.

Two remarkable crypts exist in England, those in the cathedral of Ripon and in the abbey church

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Crypts exist in England, those at Ripon and in the abbey church

of Hexham: both are attributed to St. Wilfrid, who founded monasteries at both places; that at Ripon between 670 and 678, that at Hexham about 673. It appears from the testimony of Island (*Itin.* i. 89, 2nd ed.) that the actual cathedral of Ripon does not occupy the same place as the church of the abbey built by Wilfrid, and there is much uncertainty whether the like is not true of the church of Hexham.

The similarity of the plans and the peculiarity of the structures can leave no doubt that one person planned both, and this can hardly have been any other than St. Wilfrid. The model which he followed was evidently not the confession of a church but the cubiculum and galleries of a Roman catacomb, and the principal vault in each does in fact bear considerable resemblance to the cubiculum adjacent to the cemetery of St. Callixtus (about two miles from Rome in the Via Appia), in which the bodies of St. Peter and Paul are said to have remained for a considerable time.

The vault in question (Marchi, *Roma Sott.* pl. xli.; CATACOMBS, p. 310) has an arched roof nearly semicircular, but really formed by five small segments of circles, and has the same height, about 9 feet, and the same width, 8 feet, as the two crypts, but being in plan nearly square, while the crypts are oblong, is only 8 feet long, while they are 11-3 and 13-4. It is evidently by no means unlikely that St. Wilfrid may have intended to construct models of a place in his time most highly venerated and much resorted to, such as models of the Holy Sepulchre were built in later times. Some of the small niches in the wall were probably intended to contain relics or to hold lamps. The ante-chamber to the principal vault is stated to be covered by a demi-vaulted roof, as Mr. Wallbrun surmises, in order that the steps of the altar might be carried on it. If these structures were not beneath churches, probably small "cellae memoriae," such as will be hereafter noticed, covered and protected the access to them. Whether they were originally provided with stairs is uncertain.

A crypt existed in the Saxon church of Canterbury, and was, we are told by Edmer, the chanter (quoted by Gervase, *De Convent. et Rep. Norw.* Eccl.), "ad instar confessionis S. Petri fabricata," it was beneath a raised choir, and appears to have had several passages or divisions. Whether this formed part of the early church, or was one of the additions made by Archbishop Odo (cir. 950), is unknown.

A crypt also appears in the plan for the church of St. Gall (made cir. A.D. 800). It consisted of two parts, a "confessio," which was reached by steps descending between two flights ascending to the raised presbytery, and a "crypta," which seems to have consisted of two passages entered from the transepts on either side, but running outside the walls; a third, connecting the former two, and running in front of the apse, and another short passage running from the last mentioned to a spot beneath the high altar. There is a close resemblance between this arrangement and that in the Roman churches of the same period (as St. Cecilia) where the crypt follows the line of the wall of the apse. Altars were placed in both crypt and confession.

In the church of Brixworth, in Northampton-

shire, which there is evidence for believing to date from cir. A.D. 700, is a crypt running round the apse externally, originally covered with a vault; and, according to Mr. Poole (*Reports and Papers of Arch. Soc. of Antiquaries, York, and Lincoln*, i. 122) there are also traces of a short passage running westwards from this to the probable position of a "confessio" below the high altar. Mr. Watkins, however (*The Basilica &c. of Brixworth*), asserts that there could have been no crypt under the apse, as the original door was on a level with the rest of the church. [Continued.]

A remarkable crypt or "confessio" exists under the raised presbytery of the church of St. Cecilia at Rome, and apparently dates from the construction of the building by Pope Paschal I. (817-824). It consists of a vaulted space south of the altar (the church stands nearly north and south), a passage running round the interior of the apse, and another passage running south from the north end of the former, but stopped by a mass of masonry supporting the high altar. Within this mass is a sarcophagus, containing the body of the saint. The passages are lined with slabs of marble set on end; many of these have early inscriptions, and were probably brought from an adjacent cemetery. The same arrangement exists at Sta. Prassede, and nearly the same at SS. Quattro Coronati and St. Pancrazio—all at Rome—and it seems to have been the normal arrangement about this period. It will be observed that it is very much the same as that at Brixworth and St. Gall. At Falda, in Hesse Cassel, is a crypt which is usually attributed to the 9th century. It consists of a circular passage, within which is a circular space, the vault of which rests on a short clumsy column, with a rude imitation of an Ionic capital.

Buildings of the fourth class, i.e. sepulchral chapels, were constructed at a very early period. The practice of erecting large structures for such purposes being familiar to several nations of antiquity before the Christian era it is not surprising that when they became converts to Christianity they continued a practice which their new faith would rather encourage than reprehend.

The greater part of the chambers in the catacombs near Rome may be considered as belonging to the class of sepulchral chapels. [See CATACOMBS.]

At what time the practice of placing an altar and of celebrating the eucharistic service in a sepulchral chapel was first introduced cannot be stated with precision. We are indeed told in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Pope Felix I. (250-274), that he "constituit super sepulcra martyrum missas celebrari," but altars not placed over tombs may have already been used. As, however, the practice of praying for the dead existed in the 4th and even in the 3rd century, it seems not unlikely that the practice of placing altars in sepulchral chapels may have come into use in the former of those periods. Perhaps the earliest undoubted instance of a chapel having been constructed to serve at once as a place of sepulture and of divine worship is that of the "Templum Probi," a small basilica attached to the exterior of the apse of St. Peter's at Rome, and built by Sixtus Aemilius Petronius Probus, who died A.D. 355. He and his wife were undoubtedly buried in it, and its form makes it highly improbable

that the celebration of the eucharist within it was not contemplated by the builder.

Cav. de Rossi, however, appears (*Bull. di A. ch. Crist.* 1864, p. 25) to think that in the earlier centuries the chief use of such "celle memorie" was to afford a fit place for the banquets held in honour of the dead, and such buildings he believes to have been erected in AREAE, or enclosures set apart for sepulture outside the walls of cities, as early as the 2nd century, or probably even at an earlier period. That such buildings were also used as oratories there can be little doubt, since Sozomen (*Ecc. Hist.* ix, 2) states that the martyr St. Eusebia was placed in a *εὐχέρσιον* near Constantinople, on the spot where the church of St. Thyrsus was afterwards built. [CELLA MEMORIAE.]

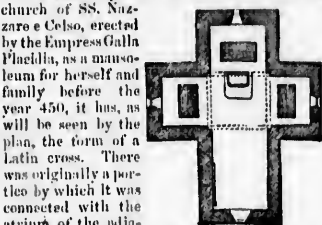
An example has been recently discovered outside the gates of Rimini of very similar plan, which is described as that of a Greek cross, before which is an oblong apartment. Some remains of bas-reliefs, and a sepulchral inscription dated Maximo Consule (i. e. A. D. 523), give ground for the presumption that the building is not of later date than the 6th century. The remains of an altar were discovered; but as this contained a "sepulchrum" in which was a leaden box, doubtless containing relics, it could hardly have been caved with the building.

Of about the same date were apparently the chapels at the cemetery of St. Alessandro, about six miles from Rome, discovered a few years ago: these had been formed from chambers in the first level of a catacomb, and are partly below the ground. There were two chapels with a space between them; one of these ends with an apse, on the chord of which is what appears to be the substructure of an altar; the other has a rectangular termination: at the end of this was found a marble cathedra raised upon a platform, and below this platform an altar, under which is a shallow grave lined with slabs of marble, from which the body of St. Alexander is believed to have been removed. Another chapel opened from this, and is of an irregular square form, with a small apse. The general character of the pavements and such ornamental portions as remained is of circa A. D. 500, and a monumental inscription bore the names of consuls of 443 and 527.

Of sepulchral chapels or mausoleums of undoubted date, perhaps the earliest is the tomb of the Empress Helena, outside Rome (cl. A. D. 328), a circular building standing on a square basement, in which is a vault. In the circular portion, which is about 66 feet in diameter internally, are on the floor, eight large niches, and above them as many windows; the whole is covered by a dome. It may be said that this is merely a tomb, but the large size of the windows points to an use other than that of a sepulchre. The *Liber Pontificalis* states that it was provided by the Emperor Constantine with an altar of silver and much church furniture and many vessels, but the trustworthiness of this part of the book is doubtful. Of nearly the same date is Sta. Costanza, the mausoleum of a daughter of the Emperor Constantine, also a circular building with a dome, but which has an internal peristyle and had also one externally. Further description of this building will be found under CHURCH.

Another circular mausoleum, which no longer exists, was that built by the Emperor Honorius in connexion with the Vatican Basilica; it was about 100 feet in diameter and very similar to that of the Empress Helena. In the ruins of this, in 1548, a marble sarcophagus containing the remains of one or both of his wives was discovered.

The building next to be mentioned is one of peculiar interest having come down to our time almost uninjured, and containing the sarcophagi, which it was constructed to receive, unviolated; this is the chapel at Ravenna now called the church of SS. Nazario e Celso, erected by the Empress Galla Placidia, as a mausoleum for herself and family before the year 450, it has, as will be seen by the plan, the form of a Latin cross. There was originally a portico by which it was connected with the atrium of the adjacent church of Sta. Croce. Three immense sarcophagi are placed in the three upper arms of the cross, and contain the remains of the Empress Galla Placidia, and of the Emperors Honorius II. and Constantius III. Between these stands the altar, but this is said to have been brought from the church of St. Vitale. The chapel is paved and lined with rich marbles up to the springing of the arches which carry the dome; this last, the lunettes below the dome and the arches and the soffits of the arches are all covered with mosaics of very beautiful character.



SS. Nazario e Celso, Ravenna.

Of the highest interest, both architecturally and historically, is the tomb of Theodoric (cl. 526), outside the walls of Ravenna; this is



Mausoleum of Theodoric.

of two stories, the lower externally deagonal, but enclosing a cruciform crypt. The upper story is circular and was surrounded by a range of small pillars carrying arches; opposite to the entrance is a niche, which no doubt once contained an altar; this story is covered by a low dome 30 feet in diameter internally, hollowed out from a single slab of Istrian marble. There are many peculiarities of detail in this building,

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Nazario e Celso Ravenna.

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CHAPEL

among them a small window in the form of a cross with limbs of equal length, all the bounding lines of which are convex. The sarcophagus containing the body of the king was probably placed in the centre of the upper chamber.

In one very remarkable instance, however, that of the Minster at Aix-la-Chapelle, the great Emperor founded neither an episcopal nor a conventual church, but constructed a building on a magnificent scale indeed, but essentially on the plan of a mausoleum of the earlier Empire; whether or not it was the intention of Charlemagne to construct at once a Minster and a splendid tomb, it is certain that it has ever been looked upon as the "memoria" of that great man. An account of this very remarkable building will be found under CRECHEN.

Detached chapel-like buildings not attached to convents, and not sepulchral,



Plan of Kalybe.

are not often met with, though probably once common. In most instances they have perished either from time or neglect. In the Haouran, however, where since the 6th century the ruined cities have been uninhabited and the country a desert, many buildings which Count de Vogüé (*La Syrie Centrale*, Avant-



Kalybé at Omm-es-Zeitoun

propos, p. 8) considers to have been oratories or chapels still exist, a good example of these Kalybes is that of Omm-es-Zeitoun, which an inscription engraved on its front shows to have been built in A. D. 282. It must, however, be observed that there seems to be in them no trace of any altar or of any place to receive it, and that, in that at Chaggn, is a vault below the building, which latter circumstance gives rise to a doubt whether they may not have been sepulchral.

One example may be mentioned of a detached chapel of an early date, which was not certainly sepulchral, that, namely, built by Pope Damasus (367-385) near the baptistery of the Lateran at Rome, but not now in existence. It had a short

CHAPTER

nave, a square central portion, and three large semi-circular niches or apses, the so-called transverse triapital arrangement. Such a plan was often adopted in order to afford place for three sarcophagi, and hence it may be thought that this chapel was really built as a "cella memorie;" but it exists in the church of Bethlehem, where it certainly could not have been chosen with that intention.

CHAPLET. (1) It was anciently the practice of some churches to crown the newly baptized with a chaplet or garland of flowers. See BAPTISM, p. 104.

(2) For chaplet in the sense of a succession of prayers recited in a certain order, regulated by beads or some such device, see ROSARY. [C.]

CHAPTER [CAPITULUM], the body of the clergy of a cathedral, united under the bishop (for other senses of the Latin term see CAPITULUM).

1. The origin of chapters themselves, apart from the name, begins from a very early date. The presbyters, and subordinately the deacons of each diocese, constituted from the beginning the council of the bishop of that diocese [BISHOP], joined in his administration of it, and in the approval of candidates for ordination, &c., and in fact, though not in name, were his chapter. And these, at first, all lived in the cathedral city; and as country cures came gradually to exist, served them from that city. In time, however,

country presbyters became fixed in their several localities. And a distinction grew up accordingly, by the period of the great Nicene Council, between town and country presbyters, *civitatesenses*, and *diversasani* or *rurales presbyteri*,—the latter being reckoned as a somewhat lower grade than the former. In accordance with this distinction, and as a natural result of their distance from the bishop's residence, the country presbyters (and deacons) became in effect, although never formally, excluded from the Episcopal council or (so to call it by anticipation) chapter. At Rome this state of things became permanent, so that all the city clergy, and they only, became the chapter; and hence, after a lapse of centuries and

some other changes, the cardinal-bishops, priests, and deacons. In general, however, time brought about two further but equally gradual changes.

1. The bishop and his more immediate clergy took to living a life in common, although each still retaining his own special share of church goods and living upon it. And thus the town clergy in general became separated from those, who specially served the cathedral but had no cure in the city itself. And the chapter (so to call it) became gradually restricted to the latter, viz., the *cathédrales* proper, to the exclusion of the former, or general body of the town clergy; a right disused, as before, ceasing naturally in time to be recognised as a right at all. 2. The *cathédrales* themselves became increased in number by the addition of various diocesan officers: as e.g. the archdeacon, archpresbyter, *primicerius* or *crastus*, *scholasticus*; or again, the *archidiaconus*; and through the engrafting upon the bishop's establishment of seminaries for youths and clergy, the *praepositus* or provost, &c. And thus a body of officers grew up, who, through their position and special attachment to the bishop and the cathedral, helped yet more to exclude outsiders. The time of St. Augustine and of Eusebius of Vercelli may be taken as the period whence the first of these changes began; the latter bishop endeavouring also to engraft the monastic life upon the common life of himself and his clergy, which St. Augustin did not; and the monastic bishoprics of the Anglo-Saxon church, established by St. Gregory and the Canterbury St. Augustine, and copied through Anglo-Saxon missions in Germany, helping on the practice. The British monastic bishops may be also referred to, who were anterior to the Canterbury mission; but the Celtic monasteries, with their dioceseless and often subordinate bishops, are anomalous, and irrelevant to the present question. The progress of the change may be marked, 1, by the Councils of Tours, ii. A.D. 567, and of Toledo, iv. A.D. 633, which require the presbyters, deacons, and all his *clerici*, manifestly the town clergy, to reside with the bishop, the latter making an exception for those only of whom health or old age rendered it desirable that they should live apart in their own houses; and by *Conc. Eborac.* A.D. 666, can. 12, which empowers a bishop to recall a country presbyter and make him a *cathédralis*;—2, by the gradual limitations of the word *Canonicus*, which in the Councils of Clermont, A.D. 549, can. 15, and Tours ii. A.D. 567, still included *all* the clergy, even the minor orders, while the 3rd Council of Orleans, A.D. 538, uses it for all on the roll, and the 4th, A.D. 549, speaks still of "matricula ecclesiae," but which Gregory of Tours (*H. F. x. sub fin.*), who wrote about the close of the 6th century, speaking of "*mensa canonicorum*" and a charter of Chilperic, A.D. 580 (quoted by Du Cange), restrict to the cathedral clergy (the distinction of regular and secular canons and the special sense of the term belonging to the later period after Chrodegang): so that in A.D. 813, *Conc. Magunt.* and *Tiron* iii., there had grown accordingly to be two classes of "*Canonicus*," chapters under a bishop, and colleges under an abbot (see also Council of Calchythe, A.D. 785, can. 4); and these two, under the name of *Capitulum*, are mentioned in *Conc. Vern.*, A.D. 755, can.

11, the monks living "secundum regulam," i.e., of St. Benedict, the clergy of the cathedral "sub ordine canonico." Yet even in the time of Charlemagne "*canonicus*" still had a double meaning, being either in general any clergyman on the roll (and "*canonicus*" life meaning "*clerical*" life), or in particular the clergy who lived in common under the bishop [*CANONICUS*]. The second change above noticed was also of gradual growth. The offices of archpresbyter and archdeacon were no doubt ancient [*ARCHIPRESBYTER, ARCHIDIACONUS*], but did not become attached at once to the cathedral, probably not until the 6th or 7th centuries. The *Primicerius* and *Archidiaconus* were of later date still [*PRIMICENTOR, PRIMICERIVS*]; and so also the *Scholasticus* [*SCHOLASTICUS*]. Two further changes however were needed in order to complete the establishment of the modern chapter,—1, The appointment of a dean, which grew out of the office of *praepositus*. The latter came into existence under the bishop, in analogy with the *praepositus* under the abbot among Chrodegang's canons, but his office being gradually restricted to external administration, a *decanus* was appointed to conduct the internal discipline, after the analogy apparently of monastic *decani*; the 10th century being the period of the first institution of the office; and the dean gradually supplanted the provost [*DECANUS*]. 2. The conversion of the prebends (in fact though not in name) into benefices, i.e. of customary separate payments to individual cathedral members out of the church stock into a common treasury of the body, together with fixed rights of individual members to definite shares. The first "*commune aerarium*" in France is attributed to Sigebert, Archbishop of Rheims, after A.D. 700; so that *canonicus quasi canonicus*, although a bad derivation, yet represented at first a real fact; as does also the more plausible derivation from *canon* = a fixed pension, called *sportula* by St. Cyprian, and "*consuetum clericorum stipendium*" by *Conc. Valentin.*, *1. syn.*, and *Agilth.*, quoted by Du Cange. Prebends also began to be founded by bishops and other patrons about the same period.

2. For the history of the word chapter, see *CAPITULUM*. It was used as early as A.D. 755, *Conc. Iern.*, and so at Aix in 789, and Mayence in 813, &c., for the episcopal chapter, as well as that of Chrodegang's canons. And about that time it was that bishops began to make the cathedral clergy their special council. Its restriction to this only, followed in the course of another two centuries.

3. The functions of the cathedral chapter were simply derived (and (so to say) usurped, from those of the original council of the bishop, viz. the diocesan clergy. And the 8th century may be taken as the period when the "chapter" thus absorbed into itself the right of being the special council of the bishop. Administration of the diocese in the bishop's absence or during a vacancy, naturally fell to the bishop's "senate;" and accordingly, even in early times, it was found necessary to enact, "ut presbyteri sine conscientia episcopi nihil faciant" (*Conc. Arelat.* l. c. 19; and see *Can. Apost.* 38, &c.). Ordinations, however, were of course always excluded; but not so the patronage, under the like circumstances, of the bishop's livings. And this became the privilege of the chapter about the 8th century.

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The right of electing the bishop was not so
 speedily usurped. It did not become customary
 in the chapter only to elect until the 11th cen-
 tury. And the final decree, absolutely restrict-
 ing the right of election to that body (to the
 exclusion of the comprovincial bishops, as well
 as of the other diocesan clergy), only dates from
 Pope Innocent III. in the 13th. The change had
 run parallel with that which restricted the elec-
 tion of the pope to the cardinals. The charge
 of the cathedral services of course belonged to
 the chapter. Other privileges enumerated by
 Mayer (i. 73) for the most part are merely such
 as belong to any corporate body as such; as, e. g.,
 the possession of a common seal (the earliest,
 however, known to Mabillon, dating only A. D.
 1289), the right of making bye-laws, the power
 of punishing the excesses or misconduct of indi-
 vidual members. For the schools attached to
 cathedrals, see SCHOOLS.

4. The constituent members of a chapter varied
 in almost every cathedral. The dean, as has been
 said, was a comparatively late addition, of at
 earliest the 10th century; while in most cathedrals
 there was no such office until late in the
 11th. The archpresbyter appears to have been
 at first the principal, under the bishop; until he
 was supplanted by the archdeacon. And these two
 with the *custos*, or *primicerius* (so called at
 Rome, i. e. as the first entered on the wax tablet
 or list), were styled the "tria culmina ecclesiae."
Choro episcopi, in name but in nothing else, lingered
 on in a very few, mostly French, cathedrals. A
scholasticus, a *sacrista* or *cimeliarchus*, an *archi-
 cantor*, &c., also occur; for whom see under the
 several titles. And there were, besides, a staff
 of clergy for the general service of the cathedral
 church, together with *lectores*, *ostiarii*, *choroistae*,
adlythi, &c. A *praepositus*, or provost, also
 occurs in the 8th and 9th centuries. But the
 complete organization of a modern or a mediæval
 chapter—the bishop, the *quatuor personæ*, sc.
 dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, the
 archdeacons, canons, &c.—belongs to Norman
 times and the 12th century. And minor canons,
 and vicars choral, &c., are an abuse of like date.

5. In the Eastern Church, the body of clergy
 serving a cathedral church was often exceedingly
 numerous: e. g. under Justinian, the "Great
 Church," out of the four at Constantinople,
 is said to have been served by 60 presbyters,
 100 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 90 subdeacons, 100
 readers, 25 *cantores* in all 415; besides 100 *osti-
 arii*, who served all four churches. There were
 also special officers in Eastern cathedrals, as e. g.
πρωτόπαιδας, *πρωτόφάτης*, *χαρτοφύλαξ*, *σκευο-
 φάλαξ*, &c.; for whom see under the several titles.
 But no such development of the chapter took
 place as in the West, so as to restrict to it the
 offices of electing the bishop, acting as his council
 or representative, &c. &c.

[Thomassin; Du Cange; Mayer, *Thes. Nov.
 Sit.*, &c., *Eccles. Cathedr. et Coll. in Ger-
 mania*; Walcott, *Cathedrals*, and *Sacr. Archie-
 ologia*.]
 [A. W. II.]

CHAPTER OF BIBLE. [LECTIONARY.]

CHAPTER-HOUSE, a place of assem-
 bly for monks or canons, forming part of the
 conventual buildings; called *capitulum*, says
 Papias, because there the *capitula*, or chapters
 of the monastic rule, were read and expounded.

For the ancient custom was that after prime,
 before the monks went forth to their labour,
 a chapter of the rule was read aloud to them.
 The meeting of the monks for the purpose of
 hearing such a reading was itself called *CAPITULUM*
 (Duange's *Glossary*, s. v. *Capitulum*). The
 ancient plan of St. Gall contains apparently
 no chapter-house; and perhaps the first instance
 of a house built especially for the general meet-
 ings of a brotherhood or college for other than
 devotional purposes is that mentioned in the
 life of Abbot Ansegis of Fontanelle (c. 9, in *Act. SS.
 Ben. saec. iv. pt. 1. p. 635*), who is said to have
 built, about A. D. 807, near the apse of the church
 of St. Peter, and on the northern side of it,
 a house which he called *conventus* or *curia*, in
 Greek *buleuterion*, because in it the brethren
 were wont to assemble for the purpose of taking
 counsel on any matter (Martene, *De lib. Monach.
 lib. 1. c. v. § 3*). [C.]

CHAPTER, THE LITTLE. [CAPITULUM.]

CHARALAMPES, martyr, A. D. 198, com-
 memorated Feb. 10 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CHARAUNUS, martyr at Chartres, is com-
 memorated May 28 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CHARIOTERS. Among the callings which
 were regarded by the Church of the first three
 centuries, that of the charioteer held a promi-
 nent place. It had its chief, if not its sole,
 sphere of action in games which were inseparably
 connected with the old religion of the empire.
 The men who followed it were commonly more
 or less disreputable, and had been excluded, even
 by Roman law, from most of the privileges of
 citizenship (Tertull. *de Spectac.* c. 22). It was,
 through the eager excitement which attended it,
 incompatible with meditation and prayer (Tertull.
l. c.). We find accordingly that such persons
 were not admitted to baptism, unless they re-
 nounced their occupation (*Const. A. ost. viii.*
 32). If they returned to it after their admis-
 sion to Christian fellowship they were to be ex-
 communicated (*C. Epi. c. 62. I. C. Arch. c. 5*).
 When the games of the circus were repro-
 duced under Christian emperors, the rigour of the
 Church's discipline was probably relaxed.

[E. H. P.]

CHARITAS, virgin, martyr under Hadrian,
 commemorated Aug. 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*). As
 AGAPE, Sept. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*). Compare SA-
 PIENTIA, SOPHIA. [C.]

CHARITINA, martyr, is commemorated
 Oct. 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CHARIFON, holy father and confessor, A. D.
 276, is commemorated Sept. 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*).
 [C.]

CHARISMATA: literally "graces" which
 are the effect of grace; that is, of the outpouring
 of the Holy Ghost, consequent on the Ascen-
 sion of our Lord into heaven,—all, properly speaking,
 subjective; yet St. Paul calls the pardon of sin
 in one place (Rom. v. 15), and eternal life in
 another (*ib. vi. 23*), a "charisma"; that is, a
 gracious or free gift on the part of God through
 Christ. Again, subjective graces have been dis-

* A various reading gives, however, "annus" instead
 of "an'iga." It is possible that this may be a sign of a
 diminished horror of the charioteer's calling.

tinguished into two classes: 1. those conferring mere power (*gratis gratis dante*); and 2. those which affect the character (*gratis gratum facientes*). The *locus classicus* for both is 1 Cor. xii. to the end of ch. xiv. (on which see Bloomfield, Alford, Cornelius & Lapide, and others), where they are thrown together without much system or classification. Of the former class, some were neither permanent nor universal, as the gift of healing: others, as for instance, that which he affirms elsewhere to be in Timothy by the laying on of his hands (2 Tim. i. 6; comp. 1 Pet. iv. 10); in other words, the gift conferred upon all ministers of the Gospel at their ordination, fitting them for their respective posts, were permanent, but not universal. Both were bestowed primarily for the edification of the whole body; not but that it would fare better or worse with each individual possessed of them according to the way in which they were used. "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man, to profit withal." Of the latter class all were permanent and universal, being designed primarily for individual sanctification: all had them therefore without exception; and any body might double or quadruple his share of them by his own exertions. Where they lay dormant in any, the fault was his own. Wherever they were cultivated, they would bring forth, some thirty, some sixty, and some a hundredfold. "Follow after charity," says the Apostle: this is a gift of the same character with faith and hope, permanent (*aiétes*) and bestowed on all. Therefore the degree to which you may become possessed of it rests with yourselves. As you follow after it, so you will obtain it. For those gifts which are not given to all you can only pray: still I enjoin you to pray; and of these "pray rather that ye may prophesy;" in other words, that ye may "understand the Scriptures" (comp. Luke xxiv. 45), and be able to interpret them for the benefit of others, as well as your own;—a gift which is permanent, and for the good of all, like charity. Of ordinary gifts, I have devoted a whole chapter to shew that charity should occupy the first place: of extraordinary gifts, I proceed to shew in the ensuing chapter my reasons for considering prophecy, taken in its widest sense, to be first also; one is for practice, the other for information: to understand the Scriptures, and to act upon them right, for general as well as for private profit and edification, is to fulfil every purpose for which grace is vouchsafed. Prophecy, therefore, will mean here the gift of expounding, rather than of foretelling (Corn. & Lap. *ad. l.*), and to the nine extraordinary "charismata" set down here, correspond the nine ordinary, described as "the fruit of the Spirit," in the Epistle to the Galatians (v. 22). To these last three more have been added, making twelve in all; while faith, hope, and charity have been contrariwise classified by themselves as the three theological virtues. [E. S. F.]

CHARITY SCHOOLS. [SCHOOLS.]

CHARMS. [AMULETS.]

CHARTOPHYLAX. One, says Beveridge (*Synod.* ii. 167), who kept the archives and documents or charters of the church. This in the Church of Constantinople was a high office; so much so, that under Antronicus Junior he was called "Magnus Chartophylax" who discharged it.

His duties were by no means those of a mere librarian or registrar, but included with them those of a chancellor. He wore suspended round his neck the ring or seal of the patriarch; received and examined all letters intended for him, with the exception of those coming from other patriarchs; furnished the list of those who should be promoted to vacant benefices of all sorts; and was entrusted with the authorisation of the nuptial benediction. When the 6th Council opened, it was the chartophylax, or keeper of the archives of the great church, whom the emperor ordered to fetch the books of the previous oecumenical councils from the patriarch's library, then the depository for all authentic ecclesiastical records. As both volumes of the 5th Council were subsequently proved to have been tampered with [CONCIT. CONSTANT. 34], there must have been one dishonest chartophylax at least in the 130 years intervening between the 5th and 6th councils. For the rest, see Gretser and Gaur, c. 4 of their Commentaries on *Codinus*; c. 1, Du Fresnoie's *Gloss. Græc. et Lat.*; Saucer's *Thesaur.* s. v. [E. S. F.]

CHARTULARIUS. An officer entrusted with the keeping of charters or registers; and in the Eastern Church subordinate to the chartophylax. Such was his position, at all events, in the Church of Constantinople, according to the ecclesiastical list of *Codinus* (c. 1, with Gretser and Gaur's Commentaries, c. 13); but from his next chapter we see there was a superior officer called "the great chartularius" attached to the imperial household (c. 2, and Gretser and Gaur, c. 3). Elsewhere we read of "chartularii" belonging to the army, navy, and several other departments of state, whose records were voluminous; while the number of ecclesiastical "chartularii" for the different dioceses of the East is regulated by Justinian in the first book of his Code (tit. li. c. 25). St. Gregory the Great calls a monk named Hilary, whom he employed in Africa to transact business for him, indifferently his "chartularius" or "notary"; shewing both offices to have been synonymous in the Church of Rome then (*Ep.* l. 77, ed. Migne, and the note). And Photius, two centuries and a half later, addresses one Gregory several times, in corresponding with him, as "deacon" and "chartularius" (*Ep.* iii. ed. Valetta). Later, a very different sense sometimes attached to this word: "Qui per epistolam liber fiebat," says Sirmondus (*ad tom. Concil. Gall.* p. 679), "chartularius dicebatur." Again, "chartularium," in the neuter gender, stands for the place where charters and such like documents were kept literally; but in the West it has long served to denote those volumes, often called Red or Black Books from the colour of their binding or their rubrics, and written on parchment, in which the charters and customs and properties belonging to each monastery were transcribed (Du Fresnoie, *Gloss. Lat. et Græc.* s. v.). [E. S. F.]

CHASUBLE. [CASULA.]

CHEESE, IN EUCHARIST. [ELEMENTS.]

CHERSONESUS, the martyrs of, A.D. 296, are commemorated March 7 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CHERUBIC HYMN. [HYMN, THE CHERUBIC.]

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An officer entrusted bers or registers; and in dinate to the charto- tion, at all events, in ple, according to the us (c. 1, with Gretser c. 13); but from his was a superior officer arius" attached to the and Gretser and Gari, ead of "chartularii" navy, and several other nos records were vember of ecclesiastical fferent dioceses of the inian in the first book St. Gregory the Great y, whom he employed siness for him, indit- "or notary"; shew- en synonymously in the p. i. 77, ed. Migne, and wo centuries and a half gory several times, in a "deacon" and "char- aletta). Later, a very attached to this word: flebat," says Sirmondus p. 679), "chartularius hartularium," in the the place where char- were kept literally; long served to denote ed Red or Black Books binding or their rubrics, t, in which the charters ties belonging to each bed (Du Fresnoe, *Gloss.* [E. S. F.]

[A.]

MARIST. [ELEMENTS.]

the martyrs of, A.D. 296, in 7 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [C.]

N. [HYMN, THE CHE-

CHEST. [ARCA. CAPSA.]

CHILD BIRTH. [CHURCHING OF WOMEN.]

CHILDEBERT, king, deposition at Paris, Dec. 23 (*Mart. Usardi*). [C.]

CHILDREN. It is the object of this article to bring together the materials for a picture of the home life of Christians of the first eight centuries, so far as it affected the treatment of their children and their thoughts about them. It is obvious that every such picture must be more or less idealised, that in practice its completeness was marred by variations at different periods and in different churches, by the more or less perfect triumph of Christianity over heathenism. Making allowance for this, however, it is hoped that the representation here given will enable the reader to estimate the influence of the religion of Christ in this phase of human life with some distinctness. It is obvious also that in the course of the inquiry we must come in contact with many questions which, separately, demand a more dogmatic and more exhaustive discussion. These it will be enough to notice briefly.

(1.) We may start with the fact that the new faith taught men to set a higher value upon the sacredness of human life. The corrupt morals of the empire had all but crushed out the natural *eropy* which binds the hearts of the fathers to the children. Infants were looked upon as innumbrances to be got rid of. The mothers of illegitimate children, sometimes even mothers who were married, killed or deserted their children without scruple, or called in the aid of women who made a business of the art of abortion. Against all such practices Christian purity raised its voice. Barnabas enumerates the sins in question among the things incompatible with the "way of light" (c. 19). The author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* speaks of the freedom of the Christian society from these practices as one of the marks of difference between them and the heathens among whom they lived (c. 5). Athanasius condemns those who expose children, or procure abortion, as alike guilty of murder (*Legat.* c. 35). Justin speaks against the exposure as a common offence, and dwells on the enormities that followed, children so deserted, male and female, being the chief supply of the market for prostitution (*Apol.* i. 29). The practice lingered, however, even among Christians, and the Council of Elvira had to treat them as including a female catechumen from all but death-bed baptism, one who was already baptized even from death-bed communion (*C. Elib.* c. 63, 68). The Council of Ancyra, about the same time, acknowledging that the severer penalty had been the rule of the Church, reduced it to ten years' penance (c. 20), that of Lerida (c. 2) to seven, subject however to the condition of continuance in a penitential life; and if the offenders were in orders, to exclusion from liturgical functions.

(2.) We start, then, with the Christian conviction that children were a "heritage and gift that cometh from the Lord," to be received as a trust for which parents would have to render an account. It might have seemed that that feeling would have found universal expression in the dedication of infants, as soon as might be after their birth, by the sacred rite of baptism.

Our Lord's command, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not," might seem to sanction, if not to command, the practice. It must be admitted, however, that the traces of infant baptism in the first 150 years are but scanty, that the evidence of the New Testament is far from decisive. The statement of Suicer (*Thesaur.* ii. 1136) that for the first two centuries no one was baptized who could not make a conscious profession of his faith is, perhaps, overstrained, but it is true that the evidence on the other side is meagre. Justin's statement that "many had been made disciples of Christ, *ἐκ παίδων*" (*Apol.* ii. p. 62) is somewhat strained when these words are translated, as Bingham does, "from their infancy." The witness of Irenaeus, who says that "*infantes*" (as well as "*parvuli*") "*renascuntur in Deum*" (ii. 22), and identifies regeneration with baptism is, however, more distinct. That of Origen, however, that the Church's practice was "*etiam parvulis baptismum dari*" (*Hom. viii. in Levit.*) is rendered less so, by the distinction drawn by Irenaeus between the "*parvuli*" and the "*infantes*,"^a the treatise in which Tertullian urges "*enunciatio baptismi*" as the safer and better course is rather in the tone of one who is contending against a growing practice than of one who rejects a tradition of the universal Church (*de Bapt.* c. 18). Wall on *Infant Baptism* is, of course, the great storehouse of arguments in favour of the primitive and universal use of the rite for infant children. It may be noted, however, (1.) that the command in Matt. xxviii. 19, seems to imply capacity for discipleship as a condition of baptism; (2.) that the "holiness" of Christian children is made to depend, in 1 Cor. vii. 14, not on baptism, but on the faith of one, at least, of the parents; (3.) that the mention of "households" as baptized is, at best, a precarious foundation for a wide generalisation. If baptism were thought of as limited to those who could make a confession of faith, it would not be deemed necessary to mention infants as not included in the "household" that was baptized, any more than it would be necessary to except them if one were speaking of a whole household going forth to fight against the enemy. It may fairly be conceded, however, that at least from the time of Irenaeus, Origen, Tertullian, the practice was common. The further question remained, at what stage in their infancy; and here the answers varied. Some pressed the analogy of circumcision and argued for the eighth day, but this was rejected by Cyprian (*Epi. l. ad Fidum*, lix. nl. lxiv.) and by a Council of Carthage under his guidance. Gregory of Nazianzum, on the other hand, urged a delay of three years, more or less, that the child might be able to utter its profession of faith with its own lips (*Orat. xl. de Bapt.*). The Council of Elvira (c. 22) snctioned the earlier age; but this was done not as resting on an immemorial practice, but on a special dogmatic ground, "*quia non suo vitio peccarunt*," as though it needed a justification. Generally, except in cases of necessity, infant baptism, like that of adult converts, was

^a We have in both these passages to content ourselves with a Latin translation of a Greek original. A passage in the Latin version of Origen's *Hom. in Levit.* xiv. seems to bring even children who are just born within the range of the "*parvuli*."

postponed till the Easter following their birth (Socrates, *H. E.* v. 22; *C. Antissiod.* c. 18; August. *Serm. de Temp.* 110; Ambros. *de Myst. Pasch.* c. 5).^b The case of Augustine shows, however, that even a mother like Monica, acting, it may be, under the influence of the feeling of which Tertullian had been the spokesman, could postpone her child's baptism indefinitely, only eager to hasten it if there were any imminent fear of death (August. *Conf.* i. 11).^c Even where baptism was postponed, however, the child was claimed for Christ, was signed with the sign of the cross, and made to taste of the salt which was known as the "mysterium" or "sacrament" of catechumens (*Id.*). [CATECHUMENS.] After an interval, varying according to the different views just stated, the child was brought to the font, stripped of its clothes, and baptized, making its acts of renunciation and adherence, if old enough, with its own lips; if still in infancy, through its sponsors. [SPONSORS.] Where children were left orphans, or were deserted by their parents, they were brought by benevolent Christians, who in the sight of the Church took charge of them. The priest announced the fact from the altar, and the child became the "abunmus" or foster-child of the person so adopting him^d (1 C. Vasens. c. 9).

Baptism in such cases was followed, after an interval of uncertain duration, by confirmation. If a bishop were present at the baptism, the rite was that both rites were administered in immediate succession. As soon as the child was taken from the water he received the sacred unction and the imposition of hands. (Tertull. *de Bap.* c. 7, *de Uesuv. Carn.* c. 8.) In the absence of the bishop there was, of course, a delay; but the modern practice of Protestant churches of treating confirmation as the personal acceptance by the adult of what had been promised by the infant, was altogether foreign to the life of the ancient Church, as it is now from that of the East. In both cases, indeed, in order to guard against any inconvenience which might follow from the prolonged absence of the bishop, the priest was allowed to administer confirmation as well as baptism.

The admission of the infant to the privileges of Christian fellowship did not, however, stop here. There is almost, if not altogether, as weighty evidence for infant communion as there is for infant baptism. It was the recognised practice of the African Church in the time of Cyprian (*De Laps.* c. 25). The Apostolical Constitutions (viii. 12, 13) show that it was also the custom of the East. It was vehemently urged by Augustine as essential to the complete salvation even of the baptized (*Epist.* 23 *ad Bonific.* *De Peccat. Merit.* i. 26) and was defended against the scorn of unbelievers by the mystic pseudo-Dionysius (*de Hierarch. Eccl.* vii. 11). The Sacramental of Gregory and the Council of Mâcon (c. 6), A.D. 588, are witnesses to its prevalence in the churches of Rome and Gaul. The first intimation of any wish to stop

^b The Sunday before Easter was known in consequence as the "Octave Infantum."

^c Augustine blames the delay. It is true, but it is with reference to a baptism in boyhood, not in infancy.

^d The word occurs in this sense in Christian epitanias. (De Romul. l. 46.)

it is found in the third Council of Tours (c. 19), in A.D. 813, and that continued inoperative for nearly three centuries. In this respect the Churches of the East, as in the case of confirmation, follow in the footsteps of antiquity.

So far, then, the child of Christian parents was met at its birth with these symbols, and, as it was believed, assurances of salvation. The work of moral training began with the first dawn of consciousness. He would be taught to make the sign of the cross upon his brow, or lips, or chest, on rising or lying down to sleep, or when he bathed or put on his clothes (Tertull. *de Cor.* *Md.* c. 2). Soon a pious parent would tell him the story of the Gospels, as Monica did to Augustine, even though unbaptized (*Conf.* i. 17), or give him daily some texts of Scripture to be learnt by heart, as Leonidas did to Origen (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 2). He would learn the Lord's Prayer and the Creed as things for daily use, would be taught to pray at midnight, at sunrise, and at every meal (Tertull. *de Orat.* c. 20). The stories of martyrs who had suffered, sometimes the actual spectacle of those sufferings, would kindle his emotions. The range of instruction would become wider as he would be led first to the *Italaic*, or sapiential, books of Scripture, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes; then the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles; last of all the Pentateuch, the historical books, and the Prophets. (Hieron. *Epist.* 57, *ad Iactant.*) For his general education, however, he would have to go to any school that might be opened, and these were, for four centuries or more, in the hands of heathens. For those who went to such schools Homer was still the groundwork of intellectual culture (August. *Conf.* i. 23). Grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, completed the course of teaching (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 2). It would be naturally a time of anxious watchfulness for Christian parents. When this was over the child would pass to the responsibilities of adolescence. Negatively we may be sure that no true Christian would allow his child to be a spectator of the games of the circus or the mimes of the theatre; that wherever this was tolerated it would be looked on as a sign of spiritual decay. [ACTORS.]

CHILDREN, COMMUNION OF [INFANT COMMUNION.]

CHIONIA, martyr at Thessalonica, under Diocletian, April 1 (*Mart.* Hieron., Bedae); April 3 (*Mart.* Usuardi); April 5 (*Mart.* Hieron.); April 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CHIROTHECAE. [GLOVES.]

CHLODOLD, presbyter and confessor, is commemorated Sept. 7 (*Mart.* Bedae, Usuardi). [C.]

CHOIR, ARCHITECTURAL (*Chorus, Suggestus; Ἀναβαθ.*). Every complete church consists of at least three parts: bema (or pre-bytery), choir, and nave. The bema, entered in ancient times by none but the clergy, was devoted to the celebration of the holy mysteries; the choir was for the "clerks," in the widest sense of the word; the nave for the general body of the faithful. The bema corresponds to the space east of the altar-rails (called the sanctuary or presbytery) in an ordinary English church, and the choir to the remaining portion of the chancel. In monastic churches the choir is the place where the

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It is extremely difficult to determine the antiquity of the division between sanctuary and choir. Most of the passages of ancient authors bearing upon the matter give the impression that the rail or screen [CANCELLI] separated the whole space devoted to the clergy from that devoted to the people, and that there was no 'chorus' distinct from the sanctuary. It is, in fact, probable that Hieronius of Autun (*Genava Annot.*, i. 140) is right in saying "olim in modum corone circa aras cantantes stabant," though his etymology is wrong. The canon of the fourth council of Toledo, in the 7th century, quoted below, is perhaps the earliest instance in which the threefold division, sanctuary, choir, and nave, is clearly recognised. The remains of ancient churches give us but little information on this point, as screens are the most destructible and changeable portions. When we do meet with authentic testimony as to the arrangements of churches, we find generally that the whole of the eastern apse was occupied by the sanctuary, which was screened off from the rest of the church, while the choir was a raised space immediately west of the screen of the sanctuary [CHURCH, p. 375]. Whether the Greek SOLEAS is identical with this raised space or suggests is doubtful.

The description of a church in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 57) implies that bishop, presbyters, and deacons occupied the space at the east end of the church, which was set apart for them, but does not mention any barrier between clerks and people. We find however such a barrier existing in the 4th century, when the laity were forbidden to enter the enclosure set apart for the altar and the clergy. This appears from the fact that St. Ambrose deprived the emperors of the exceptional right which they had enjoyed of passing within the screen [CANCELLI]. See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 25; Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 18. To this the emperors submitted; and the edict of Theodosius the younger and Valentinian lays down that the emperors are to approach the altar only for the purpose of making their offering, and to withdraw immediately. In accordance with this the Trullan council (canon 69), while forbidding the laity generally to enter the sanctuary (*ιερον θυσιαστηριον*), expressly permits the emperors to enter for the purpose of offering their gifts, "according to very ancient custom." This privilege Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople († 806), threatened to withdraw from Constantine VI. if he contracted the marriage which he was meditating (Life by Ignatius, in *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. p. 584).

The same privilege which was granted to emperors seems in ancient times to have been conceded to unordained monks (Jerome, *Ad Heliodorum*). The 4th canon of the second council of Tours (A.D. 567) forbids the lay people to stand among the clergy, whether at vigils or at mass, and reserves all that portion of the church which is on the altar-side of the screen for the clerks engaged in the service (*choris psallentium clericorum*); yet the sanctuary (*sancta sanctorum*) was to be open for the purpose of praying and communicating both to laymen and to women [COMMUNION]. The same canon was repeated in effect by the council of Autun in the year 672.

CHRIST. ANT.

So too a Capitulary of the year 744 (art. 9, ed. Baluz.) forbids the laity to be within the screen in time of divine service, whether mass or vigil. So the council of Rome under Eugenius II., canon 33.

The liberty which in Gaul was given to lay people, of entering the choir to communicate, does not seem to have been given in Africa. St. Augustine (*Serm.* 392) speaks of the screen (*cancelli*) as the place where laymen ordinarily communicated; neophytes, however, seem to have drawn near the altar for their first communion (*Serm.* 224). In Spain the fourth council of Toledo (can. 18) of the year 633 enjoins the [ministering] priest and deacon to communicate before the altar, the rest of clerks in the choir, the people outside the choir.

Women were generally not permitted to enter the choir (*Conc. Lugdun.*, c. 44), unless for the purpose of communicating. And although nuns were probably excepted in ancient times (Augustine, *Epist.* iii.), their exclusion seems in the 9th century to have been general, at least in Gaul (Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulare*, c. 6). Ahto, bishop of Basle in the early part of the 9th century (*Capitulary*, c. 14), ordains that no woman should approach the altar; and that when the altarcloths required washing, they should be taken off by the clerks, and handed to the women at the door of the screen. The presbyters were also to receive the women's offerings outside the screen. (Duensing's *Glossary*, s. v. *Chorus*; Martene, *De Rituibus Antiquis*, i. 123 ff.) [C.]

CHOIR OF SINGERS. (*Chorus Cantorum*.) St. Augustine (*on Ps.* 149) says, "Chorus quid significet, multi norunt . . . chorus est confessio cantantium." Isidore of Seville gives the definition, "chorus est multitudo in sacris collecta, et dictus chorus quod initio in modum corone circum aras starent et ita psallerent." This etymology is undoubtedly false, but the statement upon which it is founded is by no means improbable. Whether it be true or not, that in the earliest ages the choir was grouped round the altar, we know that at a comparatively early period the choir had a space assigned to it in a church, [CHOIR, ARCHITECTURAL.] distinct from the SANCTUARY, which contained the altar.

"The choirs of our time," says Amalarius (*de Div. Off.* iii. 4), early in the 9th century, "are clothed in linen (linum), and he distinguishes between this and the inner vestment of byssus which the singers were under the Old Dispensation (2 Chron. v. 12). Compare *SCHOIA CANTORUM*." [C.]

CHOREPISCOPUS (*Χορηγικός*) = country bishop, vicarius episcopi (*Conc. Ancyran.*, *Neo-Cesar.*, *Antioch.*, &c., *Isid. Hispal.* *De Offic. Eccl.* ii. 6, &c.), *villanus episcopus* (*Capit. Car. M.* vii. 187), *vicanus episcopus* (Hincmar), as opposed to the *cathedratis episcopus* (Du Cange);—to be distinguished, as being stationary, from the *περιερευτής* or *visitator*, who itinerated, although the two became often confounded together:—a class of ministers between bishops proper and presbyters, defined in the Arabic version of the Nicene Canons to be "loco episcopi super villas et monasteria et sacrosanctos villarum;" called into existence in the latter part of the 3rd century, and first in Asia Minor, in order to meet the want of episcopal supervision in the country

part of the now enlarged dioceses without subdivision:—first mentioned in the Councils of Ancyra and Neo-Caesarea, A.D. 314, and again in the Council of Nice (which is subscribed by fifteen, all from Asia Minor or Syria); sufficiently important to require restriction by the time of the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341; and continuing to exist in the East until at least the 9th century, when they were supplanted by *κλήροι* [ΧΑΡΧΗΙ]:—first mentioned in the West in the Council of Riez, A.D. 439 (the Epistles of Pope Damasus I. and of Leo M. respecting them being forgeries), and continuing there (but not in Africa, principally in France) until about the 10th century, after which the name occurs (in a decree of Pope Damasus II. ap. Sigeb. *in an.* 1048) as equivalent to archdeacon, an office from which the Arabic Nicene canons expressly distinguish it. The functions of *chorepiscopi*, as well as their name, were of an episcopal, not of a presbyterial kind, although limited to minor offices. They overlooked the country district committed to them, "loco episcopi," ordaining readers, exorcists, subdeacons, but, as a rule, not deacons or presbyters (and of course not bishops), unless by express permission of their diocesan bishop. They confirmed in their own districts, and (in Gaul) are mentioned as consecrating churches (Du Cange). They granted *epitaphical*, or letters dimissory, which country presbyters were forbidden to do. They had also the honorary privilege (*τιμώμενοι*) of assisting at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the mother city church, which country presbyters had not. (*Conc. Ancyra. can. xiii.*; * *Neo-Caesar. can. xiv.*; *Antioch. can. x.*; *St. Basil. M. Epist. 181*; *Rab. Maur. De Instit. Clor. i. 5*; &c. &c.) They were held therefore to have the power of ordination, but to lack jurisdiction, save subordinately. And the actual ordination of a presbyter by Timotheus, a *chorepiscopus*, is recorded (Pallad. *Hist. Lausiac. 106*). The office also offered an opportunity for a compromise in cases of schism, of which the Nicene Council availed itself, by authorising a Catholic bishop (among other alternatives) to find a place as *chorepiscopus* for any reconciled Novatian bishop (*Conc. Nic. can. viii.*). And the same council (*Epist. Sign. in Socrat. i. 9*) places reconciled Meletian bishops also in a somewhat similar position, although not calling it by the name itself. It was found also a convenient mode of disposing of "vacant" bishops, when such occurred. The office continued to exist among the later Eastern sects also: sc. among the Jacobite Syrians, where the *chorepiscopus* proper, who presided over a rural district, is distinguished, both from a titular *chorepiscopus*, more properly *archipresbyter* or *proto-pope*, who was a kind of leading presbyter in the episcopal city, and from the *επιθεωρητής* or *visitator*, who went circuit; and among the Nestorians, where also both *chorepiscopus* and *επιθεωρητής* existed, as distinct classes (Denzinger, *Rit. Orient. Proleg. 116, sq.*; and see also the Arabic version of the Nicene canons, cans. 58 to 70). In both these bodies the *chorepiscopi* were presbyters. And in one ritual they are appointed without imposition of hands (Denzinger, *ib.*). In the West, i.e. chiefly in Gaul, the order appears to have prevailed

* For the meaning of this canon and its various readings, see *Month. Reliq. Sac.* III 436-439.

more widely, to have usurped episcopal functions without due subordination to the diocesan, and to have been also taken advantage of by idle or worldly diocesan. In consequence it seems to have aroused a strong feeling of hostility, which shewed itself, first in a series of papal bulls, condemning them; headed, it is true, by two forged letters respectively of Damasus I. and Leo M. (of which the latter is merely an interpolated version of *Conc. Hâspr. II. A.D. 619, can. 7*, adding *chorepiscopi* to *presbyteri*, of which latter the council really treats), but continuing in a more genuine form, from Leo III. down to Pope Nicholas I. (to Rodolph, Archbishop of Bourges, A.D. 864); the last of whom, however, takes the more moderate line of affirming *chorepiscopi* to be really bishops, and consequently refusing to annul their ordinations of presbyters and deacons (as previous popes had done), but orders them to keep within canonical limits;—and secondly, in a series of conciliar decrees,—*Conc. Ratispon. A.D. 800, in Capit. tit. iv. c. 1, Paris. A.D. 829, lib. i. c. 27, Meld. A.D. 845, can. 44, Metens. A.D. 888, can. 8, and Capitul. v. 168, vi. 119, vii. 187, 310, 323, 324*,—annulling all episcopal acts of *chorepiscopi*, and ordering them to be repeated by "true" bishops; and finally forbidding all further appointments of *chorepiscopi* at all. The title however lingered on for some centuries, in France and Germany, as applied to various cathedral dignitaries in particular cathedrals, but in senses wholly irrelevant to its original and proper meaning (see instances in Du Cange).

That *chorepiscopi* as such—i.e. omitting the cases of reconciled or vacant bishops above mentioned, of whose episcopate of course no question is made—were at first truly bishops, both in East and West, appears almost certain, both from their name and functions, and even from the arguments of their strong opponents just spoken of. If nothing more could be urged against them, then that the Council of Neo-Caesarea compared them to the 70 disciples,—that the Council of Antioch authorises their consecration by a single bishop, and that they actually were so consecrated (the Antiochene decree *might* mean merely nomination by the word *γίνεσθαι*, but the actual history seems to rule the term to intend consecration, and the [one] exceptional case of a *chorepiscopus* recorded [*Act. Episc. Cenoman. ap. Du Cange*] in late times to have been ordained by three bishops [in order that he *might* be a full bishop], merely proves the general rule to the contrary),—and that they were consecrated for "villages," contrary to canon,—then they certainly were bishops. And Pope Nicholas expressly says that they were so. Undoubtedly they ceased to be so in the East, and were practically merged in archdeacons in the West. And the non-episcopal nature of the functions to which they came to be limited would naturally lead to such a result. The language of the canons and of the Fathers (e.g. St. Basil. M. above quoted, or again St. Athanasius [*Apol. II. Opp. i. 200*], who distinguishes them both from bishops proper and from presbyters, and again both from city and from country presbyters), naturally implies that at first they were bishops in the common sense of the word. The special rites in the East for their appointment probably belong to a time when they had undoubtedly

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purged episcopal functions from the diocessans, and the advantage of by idle or consequence it seems to consist in the relief of hostility, which is a series of papal bulls, and, it is true, by two letters of Damasus I. and the latter is merely an inter-c. *Hispal.* II. A.D. 619, *epi to presbyteri*, of which (treats), but continuing in from Leo III. down to Pope , Archbishop of Bourges, of whom, however, takes of affirming *charcispisopi* and consequently refusing of presbyters and (has done), but orders canonical limits;—and conciliar decrees,—*Conc. Capit.* tit. iv. c. 1, *Paris*. *Meld.* A.D. 845, can. 44, 8, and, *Capitul.* v. 168, 323, 324,—annulling all *isopsci*, and ordering them "true" bishops; and finally appointments of *clerepi*—however lingered on for and Germany, as applied dignitaries in particular as wholly irrelevant to its meaning (see instances in

such—i. e. omitting the vacant bishops above mention of course no question of truly bishops, both in almost certain, both from ions, and even from the long opponents just spoken could be urged against them, of Neo-Caesarea compared ples,—that the Council of air consecration by a single actually were so conse- decree might mean merely and *viveaba*, but the actual the term to intend come) exceptional case of a d [Act. *Episc. Cenoman*. e times to have been oros in order that he might ly proves the general rule id that they were conse- contrary to canon,—then bishops. And Pope Nicholas they were so. Undoubtedly in the East, and were prac-deacons in the West. And ture of the functions to be limited would naturally t. The language of the thers (c. g. St. Basil. M. in St. Athanasius [Apol. II. distinguishes them both from presbyters, and again from country presbyters), at first they were bishops of the word The special their appointment probably when they had undoubtedly

there sunk down into presbyters. It ought to be said, however, that authorities are divided upon the question: English writers mainly (Beveridge, Hammond, Cave, Bingham, Routh, to whom may be added the weighty authority of Van Espen) asserting their episcopal character, while others (see a list in Bing. II. xiv. 2, 3, to which may be added Morinus and Du Cange) allege them to have been presbyters. It need hardly be said that they are not identical with either *conditors* or *suffragans*, properly so called: although they do bear a close resemblance to such bishops as, e. g. the Bishop of Dover in pre-Reformation times in England, and to the sundry Irish and foreign and other stray bishops, who are found so numerous doing the work of English bishops for them in the 12th to the 18th centuries, and to the suffragans as intended by Henry VIII., and now actually revived in England. (Bellarm. *De Clericis*, c. 17; Cellot. *De Hierarch.* iv. 14; Morinus, *De Sac. Ord.* and *Dissert.*; De Marca, *De Concord.*, §. ii. 13; Du Cange; Smeec; Bingham; Van Espen.) [A. W. H.]

CHORISTER. [CANTOR.]

CHRISTIANI. A heathen variation of the name Christiani. Instead of *Xpianōs*, the more classical word, *Xpianōs*, *gracious* or *good*, was commonly supposed to have been the name or title by which Jesus of Nazareth was distinguished, and his followers therefore were called Christiani. The mistake is noticed by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Lactantius, and others, but the name having a good signification, they do not wholly reject it. Tertullian however remonstrates with the enemies of the faith for prosecuting Christians merely for their name, a name which, according to either derivation, ought to command admiration rather than hatred. "Christianus, quantum interpretatio est, de unctioe delictuurs. Sed et cum perperam Christianus pronunciat a rohis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia peneris) de savitate vel benignitate compositum est. Omitur ergo in hominibus innocens etiam nomen innocuum" (Tertul. *Apol.* c. 3; Bingham, I. i. 11). [D. B.]

CHRISM. (*Μύρον*, *Χρίσμα*; *Chrisma*. The latter word is sometimes feminine; "miscet ipsam chrismum." *Ordo Rom.* I. c. 42.) The sacred oil or unguent used in the ceremony of anointing. The term is also used so as to include the oil blessed for the unction of catechumens and of the sick.

St. Basil (*De Spiritu*, S. c. 66 [nl. 27]) mentions the blessing of the oil of anointing for use in baptism as one of the observances derived from the earliest times by unwritten tradition. The earliest extant testimonies to its use, whether in baptism or in other ceremonies of the church, are the following.

Tertullian (*De Baptismo*, c. 7) says, "next, coming forth from the baptismal font, we are anointed with oil blessed according to the primitive ordinances, in accordance with which men were anointed with oil from the horn as a consecration for the priesthood." He seems to regard the anointing with oil as a symbol of the universal priesthood of Christians.

St. Cyprian (*Epist.* 70, c. 2, p. 768, ed. Hürtel) speaks of the oil sanctified on the altar, with which the baptized are anointed [BAPTISM]; and

this oil, he says, the heretics who had no true altar could not have.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 43, § 3, and 44, § 1) the direction is given, immediately after baptism, "let the ministrant anoint the person baptized with unguent (*μύρον*), saying over it, 'Lord God . . . grant that this unguent may so effectually work upon him that is baptized that the sweet savour of Thy Christ may abide in him fixed and firm.'" In this case, the unguent was evidently perfumed. There is nothing in the passage to suggest that it had undergone any previous consecration.

Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* 48, in *Julian*.) speaks of oil sanctified or consecrated on the spiritual and divine Table; Optatus of Milevis (*C. Donatist.* vii. p. 102) says that this ointment is compounded (conditur) in the name of Christ; and the Pseudo-Dionysius (*De Hierarch.* *Eccles.* c. 4) mentions the use of the sign of the cross in the consecration of it.

The privilege of consecrating chrism was in comparatively early times strictly confined to the episcopal order. The twentieth canon of the first council of Toledo (A.D. 398) censures those presbyters who ventured to prepare chrism for themselves, and desires them to send a deacon or subdeacon to fetch the chrism from the bishop, so as to be in time for the festivities of Easter Day. To the same effect writes Bishop Montanus to the clergy of Palencia and to Theoribius (Hardouin's *Concilia*, ii. 1143).

The greater quantity of chrism was probably at this time consecrated immediately before Easter, but it does not appear that the consecration was as yet limited to a particular day; on the contrary, the canon above cited expressly lays it down that the bishop might consecrate chrism at any time. But in the 5th century it became an established custom to consecrate the chrism and oil for use throughout the year on Maundy Thursday. Pope Leo complains in a letter to his namesake, the Emperor of the East (*Epist.* 156, p. 1324), that in consequence of the murder of Proterius, bishop of Alexandria, the oblation was prevented and no chrism was consecrated. Eligius of Noyon († 658), preaching on Maundy Thursday (Hom. 10 in *Cocua Dom.* p. 245, *Biblioth. Patr. Colon.*) speaks of chrism being consecrated on that day throughout the Christian world. In the empire the consecration on Maundy Thursday was enjoined by a capitulary of Charles the Great (*Concil. Germani* v. i. 342); yet at a somewhat later date the custom had probably not become universal; for a synod of Meaux of the year 845 forbade (canon 46) the preparation of chrism on any other day, as if such preparation was even then not quite unknown.

The Gelasian Sacramentary has a *Missa Chrismatis* on Maundy Thursday, referring to the consecration both of chrism and of oil for the unction of the sick (Migne's *Patrol.* lxxv. p. 1099). The Gregorian Sacramentary has also on the same day full directions for the consecration of oil and chrism in the mass (pp. 66-69); the ceremony consists of benediction, and breathing on the prepared unguent [AMPULLA]. With this may be compared the directions of the *Ordo Rom.* I. (App. c. 7, p. 34), which are probably of about the same age. Some of the later *Ordines* (see *O. R. X.* pp. 97, ff.; *XV.* pp. 480 f.) also give directions for the benediction of chrism

by the pope on Maundy Thursday. It appears from the *Ordo* last referred to that it was at one time customary for the pope to bless chrism only in the year of his coronation, and every seventh year afterwards.

It appears from the *Euchologion* that in the Greek Church also the blessing of chrism is one of the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday.

The chrism is not simple oil, but oil mixed with balsam. Elicius of Noyon (*Hom. 8, In Cleti Dom.*) tells us that the mingling of balsam with the oil typifies the union of regal and sacerdotal glory. Compare Tertullian (*De Bapt. 7*), cited above. And Gregory the Great (*In Cantic. i. 13*) refers the balsam of Agaddi to that balsam which, mixed with oil and blessed by the bishop, makes chrism, typifying the gifts of the Holy Spirit. For the Eastern Church, the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite testifies (*Hierarch. Eccl. c. 4*) that the sacred unguent (*ἱεράριον*) or chrism is composed of fragrant substances. The modern receipt for its composition (as given in the *Euchologion*) prescribes, in fact, besides oil and wine, thirty-six different kinds of aromatics.

For the principal uses of chrism, see BAPTISM, AFFIRMATION, ORDINATION. [C.]

CHRISMAL (*Chrismale*). (1) The vessel or ask in which the consecrated oil or CHRISM was contained [AMPULLA].

(2) A vessel for the reservation of the consecrated Host. In the Rheims MS. of the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (p. 432, ed. Ménard) is given a "Præfatio Chrismalis," while the *Ordo Romanus* in the corresponding place has the rubric, "Præfatio vasculi in quo Eucharistia conservatur." It is of this kind of chrismal that Egbert (*Penit. xii. 6*; in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, lii. 428) and Halitgar (*Penit. c. 10*, p. 701, Migne) speak, as of a vessel which the priest carried with him and might lose. Some, however, take this chrismal for the CORPORAL.

(3) A cloth used to cover relics. In the *Life of Elicius*, attributed to St. Ouen (ii. 71), we read of a miracle wrought upon one who rubbed his face with the fringe of a chrismal which covered the relics of the saint.

(4) Old-English *Chrism*. The white cloth laid over the head of one newly baptized, after the unction with chrism [BAPTISM, p. 163]. This cloth is called in Theodore's *Poenitential* (ii. iv. 7; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 193) "pannus crismatis;" in later authors, "vestis crismalis," "crismalis pannus," "mitra baptizatorum," "crismale capitum." (Ducange, s. v.) [C.]

CHRISMARIUM. The vessel in which chrism is kept (Council of Auxerre, c. 6). It is sometimes however taken for a reliquary (Gregory of Tours, *De Mirac. S. Martini*, iv. 32; Fortunatus, *Vita Germani Paris. c. 47*). [C.]

CHRISOM. [CHRISMAL.]

CHRIST, PICTURES OF. [JESUS CHRIST IN ART.]

CHRISTEMPOREIA, *Χριστεμπορεία*—the selling of Christ—a name sometimes employed in the 5th century to signify simony. During the ages of persecution there was no place for simoniacal transactions; but when the higher offices of the Church brought wealth and dignity

to their possessors, there were not wanting ambitious and worldly men who sought to obtain such offices by bribery or other unworthy means. To check and prevent such discreditable practices, severe laws were enacted both in church and state as early as the 5th century. The Council of Chalcedon (c. 2) decreed that if any bishop gave ordination or an ecclesiastical office or preferment of any kind for money, he himself should lose his office and the party so preferred be deposed. Other like decrees occur in the so-called Apostolical Canons (c. 29), the Council of Constantinople under Gennadius, A.D. 459; the 2nd Council of Orleans, Bracara, and many others. The imperial laws also were no less stringent in regard to this abuse. *Eg.* it was enacted by one of Justinian's Novels (123, c. 1), that whenever a bishop was to be chosen, the electors should take an oath and insert it in the election paper that they did not choose him for any gift or promise or friendship, or any other cause, but only because they knew him to be a man of the true Catholic faith and of blameable life and good learning. And in another law (Novel 137, c. 2) it is further provided that the party elected shall also at the time of his ordination, take an oath upon the holy Gospels that he neither gave nor promised by himself or other, nor hereafter will give to his ordainer or to his electors, or any other person, anything to procure him an ordination. And for any bishop to ordain another without observing the rule prescribed, is deposition, by the same law, both for himself and the person so ordained.

These were some of the securities required by the ancient Church against the practice which they stigmatized by the designation of Christemporeia (Bingham, iv. 3, 4). [D. B.]

CHRISTENING. [BAPTISM.]

CHRISTIACUM CONCILIUM. [CRESSY.]

CHRISTIANA, or **CHRISTINA**, virgin, *μεγαλομάρτυς*, martyr at Tyrus in Italy (?) A.D. 200, is commemorated July 24 (*Mart. Bedae, Rom. Vet., Usuardi, Cal. Byzant.*).

CHRISTMAS (FESTIVAL OF) (*ἡμέρα γενεθλίου, τὰ γενέθλια, Natalis, Natalitia, Nativitas, Domini*, &c. From the latter is derived the name of the day among peoples of the Latin race [*e.g.* the French *Noël*], and also among the Celtic nations, which were Christianized by Latin-speaking missionaries. In Germany the day is called the *Weihnachtsfest* from the solemn vigils which preceded the festival itself. The English *Christmas* [so the Dutch *Kerstmisse, Kersmis*, whence *Kerst-maend*, a name for December], analogous to such forms as *Candlemas, Lammas, Michaelmas, Childermas*, superseded the older name *Yule* [Anglo-Saxon, *Geol*], by which the day is still known among the Scandinavian nations).

I. *Origin of Festival.*

It is not hard to understand why the Christian Church should have commemorated by an annual festival the Saviour's Incarnation. How far, however, the church was led by the possession of actual historical evidence to assign, as it has done, December 25 as the date of the Nativity, is a matter on which it is impossible to speak

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were not wanting among those who sought to obtain other unworthy means, such as the election of a pope by a discreditable practice both in church and in the world during the last century. The Council of Trent, if any bishop or presbyter of any diocese should refuse to be elected, or if he himself should refuse to be elected, or if he should be elected in a manner not in accordance with the canon-law, the Council of Trent, A. D. 1545; the Council of Trent, and many others, were no less stringent in this respect, than it was enacted by the Council of Trent, A. D. 1545, that whenever the electors should take the election paper that they had drawn for any gift or promise, or for any other cause, but only because he was a man of the true and blameless life and good law (Novel 137, c. 2) that the party elected by the ordination, take an oath that he neither gave or other, nor hereafter give or to his electors, or to procure him an bishop to ordain another law prescribed, is deposited for himself and the

the securities required by the canon-law, which practice which designation of Christendom. [D. B.]

BAPTISM.]

ONCHILUM. [CRESSY.]

CHRISTINA, virgin, at Tyrus in Italy (?) died July 24 (Mart. Bedae, *Byzant.*).

FESTIVAL OF) (*ἡμέρα τῆς*
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otherwise than most doubtfully.* On the one hand, due weight must be given to the unanimous agreement of the Western Church as far as the tradition can be traced back, and to the almost universal acceptance of this view by the Eastern Church at an early date. It is certainly not altogether impossible that there may have been some trustworthy tradition, some foundation for Tertullian's remark as to the archives of the Jews stored up at Rome, some slight substratum of truth underlying the legend as to the visitation of the day by Julius I. (*vide infra*). Further, sundry independent considerations, astronomical and otherwise, tend to make it probable that our Lord's birth took place near the end of the year. On this point reference may be made to Seyffarth's *Chronologia Sacra*, which refers the Nativity to December 22 (p. 239), see also Ideler, *Chronologie*, vol. ii. pp. 385 sqq. On the other hand, some have argued on various grounds in favour of the greater probability of the Nativity having been in the autumn. Thus Lightfoot (*Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, vol. ii. p. 32, ed. Gandell) would make it coincide with the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, and associate it with that Festival in the same way in which the Passover and Easter, Pentecost and Whitsuntide correspond. His arguments mainly turn on the interpretation of Old Testament prophecies; e.g. our Lord died in Nisan, and if His ministry lasted three years and a half, as Lightfoot infers from Daniel ix. 27, then since our Lord at the beginning of His ministry was *ἔτιω ἑπτάκοττα ἀρχόμενος* (Luke iii. 23), we have, reckoning back from His death, Tisri or September for the season of His birth. Again, he infers from a comparison of Zechariah vi. 16, 17, that it would be most improbable that the Feast of Tabernacles alone of the three great Jewish festivals should fail of the honour by which the Passover became exalted into Easter, and Pentecost into Whitsuntide. To decide the matter thus, however, in the absence of any more tangible historical evidence, is obviously unsafe. To the same end but on different grounds argues Jablonsky (*Dissertationes si. de origine Festi Natalis Christi in Ecclesia Christiana quantum stato die celebrari solent*, in his *Opuscula*, vol. iii. pp. 317 sqq. Amsterdam 1809. See also Winter, *Der Stern der Weisen*, p. 110, Copenhagen 1827), maintaining for example that St. Luke's statement (ii. 8), of the shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night would hardly have been possible on the assumption of the December date, seeing that it would then have been the rainy season, and the flocks would therefore have been under shelter. A further discussion, however, on this point rather belongs to the province of Biblical Chronology.

Many learned men have seen in the particular period at which we celebrate Christmas, evidence in favour of our viewing the Christian festival as an adaptation of previously existing Jewish or heathen festivals; to the more striking views of this kind we shall now briefly refer.

* Even in very early times the great uncertainty of the matter was clearly felt. Thus Jacob, bishop of Edessa (d. 578 A.D.), is quoted by Dionysius Bar-Salibi as saying, "No one knows exactly the day of the nativity of the Lord, this only is certain, from what Luke writes, that He was born in the night" (*Assmann, Bibl. Cr. vol. ii. p. 163*).

(3) Some, as Oldermann (*De festo Evacuorum Judaico, origine festi Natalis Christi*, 1715) have viewed Christmas as a continuation and development of the Jewish Feast of the Dedication, a festival of eight days' duration beginning on Chleu 25 (= December 17), which was the anniversary of the purification of the temple by Judas Maccabaeus after the outrages of Antiochus Epiphanes (see 1 Macc. iv. 52-59; 2 Macc. x. 1-8; Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 7, 8). Still while there seem to be several coincidences between the two feasts, such a transference from Judaism to Christianity of which no hint whatever is given in early times is exceedingly unlikely.

(5) Others have derived it from some one or other of the Roman festivals held in the latter part of December, as the *Saturnalia*, or the *Sivillaria* which followed them, or the *Juvenalia* established by Nero. A more striking parallel, however, than any of these is to be found in the *Brunalia*, or the *Natalis Invicti* [*Solis*], when the Sun, then at the winter solstice, was, as it were, born anew, even as Christ the Sun of Righteousness then dawned upon the world. This is the view of Wernsdorf, *De origine Solennium Natalis Christi ex festivitate Natalis Invicti*, Wittenberg 1757; of Jablonsky partly [*supra*]; also of Mr. King (*Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 49), who derives the Roman festival from the Mithras-worship of the Sun. Then as Mithraism gradually blended with Christianity, changing its name but not altogether its substance, many of its ancient notions and rites passed over too, and the Birthday of the Sun, the visible manifestation of Mithras himself, was transferred to the commemoration of the Birth of Christ. Numerous illustrations of the above remarks may be found in ancient inscriptions, e.g. SOLI INVICTO ET LUNAE AETERNAE C. VETTI GERMANI LIB. DUO PARATUS ET HERMES DEDERUNT, or ΗΑΙΟ ΜΙΘΙΑ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΗ (Gruter, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, p. xxxiii.) In the legend on the reverse of the copper coins of Constantine, SOLI INVICTO COMITI, retained long after his conversion, there is at once an idea of the ancient Sun-God, and of the new Sun of Righteousness. The supporters of this theory cite various passages from early Christian writers indicating a recognition of this view. The sermon of Amrose, quoted by Jablonsky, is certainly spurious, and is so marked in the best editions of his works; it furnishes, however, an interesting illustration of an early date. The passage runs thus, "Bene quodammodo sanctum hunc diem Natalis Domini *Solem novum* vulgus appellat, et tanta sui auctoritate id confirmat, ut Judaei etiam atque Gentiles in hanc vocem consentiant. Quod libenter amplectamur nobis est, quia oriente Salvatore, non salum humani generis salus, sed etiam solis ipsius claritas innovatur" (*Serm.* 6, in *Appendice* p. 397, ed. Bened.). In the Latin editions of Chrysostom is a homily, wrongly ascribed to him, but probably written not long after his time, in which we read, "Sed et *Invicti Natalis* appellat. Quis utique tam invictus nisi Dominus doster, qui mortem subactam devicit? Vel quod dicunt *Solis esse Natalem*, ipse est *Sol Justitiae*, de quo Malachias propheta dixit, Orietur vobis timentibus nomen ipsius Sol Justitiae et sanitas est in penulis ejus" (*Sermo de Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae*: vol. ii. 1113, ed. Paris, 1570). Leo the Great

finds fault with the baneful persuasion of some "quibus haec dies solemnitate nostrae, non tam de Nativitate Christi, quam de nobi ut dicunt solis ortu, honorabilis videtur" (*Serm.* 22, § 6, vol. i. p. 72, ed. Ballerini). Again, the same father observes, "Sed hanc adorandum in caelo et in terra Nativitatem nullus nobis dies magis quam hodiernus insinuat, et nova etiam in elementis luce radiante, coram (ad totam) sensibus nostris mirabilis sacramenti ingerit claritatem" (*Serm.* 23, § 1, p. 87).

We may further cite one or two instances from ancient Christian poets: Prudentius, in his hymn *Ad Nativitatem Domini*, thus speaks (*Cathemerinon* xi. init., p. 364, ed. Arevalus):—

"Quid est, quod arcum circumum
Sol jam recurrente deserit?
Christusque terra nascitur
Qui lucis augeat tramitem?"

Paulinus of Nola also (*Poema* xiv. 15-19, p. 382, ed. Muratori):—

"Nam post solstitium, quo Christus corpore natus
Sole novo gelidae mutavit tempora brumae,
Atque salustiferum praestans mortalibus ortum,
Procedente die, sicut decreverat notis
Jussit."

Reference may also be made to an extract in Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* ii. 163) from Dionysius Barsalibi, bishop of Amida, which shows traces of a similar feeling in the East; also to a passage from an anonymous Syrian writer, who distinctly refers the fixing of the day to the above cause; we are not disposed, however, to attach much weight to this last passage. More important for our purpose is the proposition of a council of Rome (743 A.D.) "Ut nulla Kalendas Januarias et bromae (=brumalia) colere praesumpserit" (can. 9, Labbé vi. 1548), which shows at any rate that for a long time after the fall of heathenism, many traces of heathen rites still remained. A similar mention is found also in the proceedings of the Quinisext Council (692 A.D.), τὰς οὐτως λεγομένας Καλῆδας καὶ τὰ καλοῦμενα Βρομάλια (can. 66, Labbé vi. 1170).

(7) Others have even derived Christmas from the Northern festival (*Yule*) in December, in honour of Freya (cf. Loecenius, *Antiq. Sueco-Goth.* lib. i. c. 5, Holmiae, 1645; Scheffer, *Upsalia Antiqua*, p. 296, Upsal, 1666).

(8) Jablonsky, while considering, as we have said, that in the festival of the *Natalis Invicti* is to be found the origin of the celebration of our Lord's Nativity by the Roman Church, maintains (*op. cit.* pp. 361 sqq.) that the Christians derived this festival primarily from the Basilidians. These, as we learn from a passage of Clement of Alexandria cited at length below, celebrated Christ's baptism as being His manifestation to the world on Tubi 11 (=January 6), and Jablonsky argues that this particular day was suggested to them by the Egyptian festival of the *Invenio Osiridis* or *Festum Osiridis nati* or *renati* (cf. Juvencus viii. 29; Athenagoras, *Legatio*, c. 22, p. 299, ed. Maranus), itself a commemoration of the renewed life of the sun from year to year, which he thinks was celebrated on that day. (On this last point, however, much doubt exists. Wytténbach, *Animadversiones in Plutarchi Moralia; De Iside et Osiride*, p. 366 F, considers that if Plutarch's text is correct, the festival took place in Athyr or November, and

Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 262, would fix it in Choeac or December.)

(9) Some writers have argued that the Christian festival was not so much a transformation of a previously existing non-Christian one, as an independent festival set up as a counter-celebration at the same time with the heathen festival; this distinction, however, is rather apparent than real. Augusti, for example (*De antiq. ritibus*, vol. i. p. 226), sees in it a standing protest against those sects which denied or obscured the great truth of the Incarnation, such as the Manichaeans, Gnostics, Priscillianists, and the like.

II. History of Festival.

We do not find in the earliest Christian times uniformity of observance as to the day on which our Lord's Nativity was commemorated. The earliest allusion to it is made by Clement of Alexandria, and is of so much importance that we shall give it at length. After speaking of the year of our Lord's birth, he proceeds: "Aad there are some who over curiously (*επιπεριγύρορον*) assign not only the year but even the day of the birth of our Saviour, which they say was in the 28th year of Augustus, on the 25th day of Pachon.^b And the followers of Basilides celebrate also the day of His baptism (of $\eta\ \delta\ \alpha\ \delta\ \epsilon\ \beta\ \alpha\ \kappa\ \alpha\ \iota\ \tau\ \omega\ \upsilon\ \beta\ \alpha\ \rho\ \tau\ \iota\ \lambda\ \epsilon\ \upsilon\ \alpha\ \tau\ \omega\ \varsigma\ \alpha\ \nu\ \tau\ \omega\ \tau\ \eta\ \nu\ \eta\ \mu\ \epsilon\ \rho\ \alpha\ \nu\ \epsilon\ \rho\ \alpha\ \nu\ \tau\ \omega\ \varsigma$), spending the night before in readings, and they say that it was in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, on the 15th of the month Tubi, but some say that it was on the 11th of the same month. . . . Further, some of them say that he was born on the 24th or 25th of Pharmuthi." (*Stromata*, lib. i. c. 21, vol. i. p. 407, ed. Potter). The two days here specified as those on which the Nativity was celebrated, Pachon 25, and Pharmuthi 24 or 25, are respectively May 20, April 21 or 22 (see Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 11; *Patrol.* xc. 345). Jablonsky (*op. cit.*), and Le Nourry (*In Clem. Alex. opp. Diss.* ii. art. 5) infer from the language of Clement that Tubi 11 or 15 (January 6 or 10) was observed by the followers of Basilides as the day of the baptism as well as of the Nativity. We should venture to doubt this idea, but it is perhaps supported by the passage cited below from Epiphanius. Gisseler also (*Kirchen Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 154, ed. 3) considers the inference incorrect.

We may probably assume the above-quoted passage to be decisive against any general celebration of the Nativity in Clement's time. Possibly indeed, though as we have already said the inference seems doubtful, he may refer to a celebration of the day by some of the sects of the time, since he speaks of the Basilidians "observing also the day of the baptism." Further, it would seem as if Clement rather censured the attempt to fix accurately the day of our Lord's birth, itself conclusive evidence against a general recognition of the festival in Clement's time.

It was the general custom in early times, in the East, to fix the Nativity on January 6, which thus served as the anniversary both for the Birth

^b Ideler (*op. cit.* ii. 287 n.) suggests as a reason for this fixing of the day on the part of the Egyptians, that baptizing Christ was born in the 9th month, they referred it to the 9th month of their own calendar.

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cus, vol. II. part 2, p. 6 or 7 (December.) argued that the Christmas transformation on-Christian one, as an up as a counter-religious with the heathen festi- however, is rather ap- t, for example (Humb. 1), sees in it a standing a which denied or ob- of the incarnation, such as Priscillianists, and

of Festival.

earliest Christian times as to the day on which commemorated. The made by Clement of much importance that. After speaking of th, he proceeds: "And ver curiously (resep- the year but even the saviour, which they Augustus, on the 25th e followers of Basilides His baptism (ol di ar) idroo tiv hapoo e-pri-ct before in readings, as in the 15th year Tabi, as on the 11th of the ner, some of them say e 24th or 25th of Phar- e. 21, vol. I. p. 407, et. here specified as when was celebrated, Pachon or 23, are respectively (see Bede, De temporu c. 345). Jablonsky (op. Clem. Alex. opp. Diss. e language of Clement uary 6 or 10) was ob- of Basilides as the day as of the Nativity. We this idea, but it is per- asage cited below from also (Kirchen-schichte, considers the inference in-

sume the above-quoted against any general cele- n Clement's time. Pos- he have already said that he may refer to a cele- ome of the sects of the Basilidians "observ- baptism." Further, it rather censured the ly the day of our Lord's evidence against a general n in Clement's time. custom in early times, in on January 6, which ersary both for the Birth

suggests as a reason for this of the Egyptians that be- 9th month, they referred it to calendar.

and the Epiphany. An illustration of this, not however applying to an Oriental Church, may perhaps be derived from the accounts of the visit of Julian the Apostate, when at Vienne in Gaul, to a church with the view of seeming in accord with the religion of his soldiery. Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxi. c. 2) speaks of this visit as taking place on the Epiphany ("periarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dicitant"). and Zenarus Christiani Epiphania dicitant"). It is just possible, however, that the references may be to different events.

To derive illustrations of the practice from distinctly Eastern sources, we may refer in the first place to a letter attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, which professes to be addressed by him to Julius, bishop of Rome, on this subject. This letter, though a palpable forgery, affords interesting evidence of the existence of the practice of combining the two feasts on January 6. We derive our knowledge of it from two sources: (1) a summary of it given in a letter, *De Nativitate Iovanni*, of John, bishop of Nicæa (end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century) to Zacharias, Catholicos of Armenia Major (Combesia, *Historia Monothelit.* pp. 298 sqq.); and (2) an anonymous *Avaykaia dihygias*, published by Coteler from a MS. in the Library of Paris (*Actes Apostolici*, i. 310, ed. 1724). The general substance of these is to the effect that the bishop of Jerusalem complained of the inconvenience of celebrating the Nativity and the Epiphany on the same day, seeing that as he went in person to scenes commemorated by these events, Bethlehem and the Jordan, it was difficult to perform both journeys in one day, and the services were necessarily mutilated. He therefore requests information as to the proper day of the Nativity, adding that Titus carried away to Rome the archives of the Jews from which the fact might be cleared up. (For this point, cf. Tertullian *contra Marcionem*, lib. iv. c. 7.) The pope in answer declares that he has examined the records and finds that December 25 is the day on which the Nativity should be held. The latter of the two documents we have referred to adds that this decision caused much murmuring—"Now at that time Gregory Theologus [Nazianzen] was at Constantinople, and there arose no small murmuring among the citizens, as though he had been dividing the feast, and they said, Thou hast divided the feast, and art casting us into idolatry." According to this document the name of the bishop of Jerusalem in question was Juvenal, a successor of Cyril (see Cyril. Hierosol. p. 370, ed. Toultée).^a

A possible allusion to this affair may be cited

^a The unhistorical character of these documents is equally obvious whether we take Cyril or Juvenal: for Julius was dead nearly a century before the time of the latter. Again as for Cyril, the letter, according to Coteler's obvious correction, claims to be written not by the well-known Cyril ("who wrote to Constantine" (i. e. Constantine) concerning the appearance of the tuninous cross at Jerusalem) but a later one in the time of Valerius, mentioned by Kipphanus (*Itac.* lxxvi. 20). This however is impossible, for the end of the pontificate of Julius only has overlapped that of Cyril. Even if, in spite of the letter, we refer it to Cyril, we are no better off, for it is clear that the practice of celebrating the Nativity and the Epiphany together continued in Jerusalem after his time.

from the *Loudatio S. Stephani* by Basil of Se-leucia, who flourished at the time of the Council of Ephesus (*Patrol. Gr.* lxxv. 469), who says of Juvenal that he "began to celebrate the glorious and adorable salvation-bringing Nativity of the Lord," which not improbably means celebrated as a distinct festival. Possibly the explanation of the whole thing is that Juvenal initiated some change in accordance with the Western practice, which was then explained as a direct action of the Roman See, and was finally associated with the more famous name of Cyril.

To show that the change was not one made in Palestine, we may further appeal to the Latin homily *De Nativitate Domini*, found in Latin editions of Chrysostom, which though not received as a genuine writing of that Father, is assigned by Toultée (*op. cit.* p. 369) to the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th. The writer is contending that the Western plan of dividing the festivals is correct, and finds fault with Orientals who cling to their old method on the ground that they must know best in whose land our Lord's earthly life was past (Chrysostom, vol. I. p. 1116, ed. Paris, 1570).

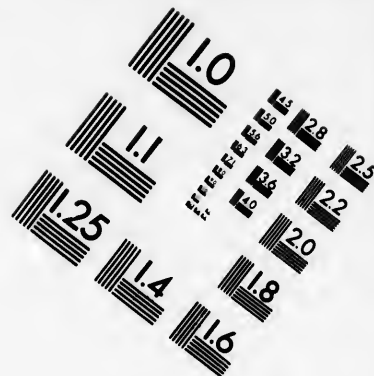
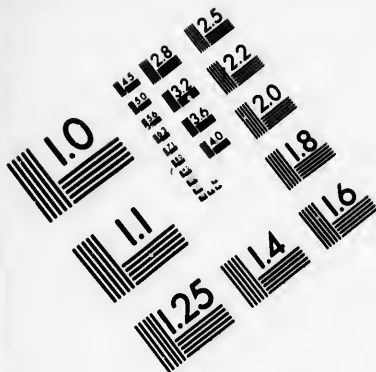
Important testimony on this point may be derived from Cosmas Indicopleustes (*Topographia Christiana*, lib. v.; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxviii. 197), who after referring to the message of the angel to Zacharias and the visit of the Virgin to Elizabeth, says that Christians concur in celebrating the Nativity in the ninth month, on Chocæ 28 (=December 24), "but the people of Jerusalem, as though from what the blessed Luke says that Christ was baptized when 'beginning to be about thirty years old,' celebrate the Nativity on the Epiphany." He then appears to say that the people of Jerusalem were right in supposing that our Lord's baptism fell on the anniversary of His birth, but that the Church had wisely postponed the celebration of one of these events for twelve days lest either festival should meet with insufficient attention. Thus Jerusalem was incorrect in taking the later day for the anniversary of the Nativity. "But the people of Jerusalem alone by a reasonable conjecture, yet not accurately, celebrate [the Nativity] on the Epiphany, and on the Nativity they celebrate the memory of David and of James the Apostle." We further gather from the letter of John of Nicaea already referred to (*op. cit.* 1141) that the Church of Jerusalem appealed to the authority of James, the Lord's brother, for their practice of celebrating the Nativity on January 6. He adds that in the time of Honorius the patriarchs of Constantinople (Chrysostom), Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch formally acquiesced in the Western plan.

We shall now adduce evidence to show that the practice of the Alexandrian Church agreed in this matter with that of the Church of Jerusalem. In his notes to his Latin translation of the Arabic Preface, Canons and Constitutions of the Nicene Council, Abraham Ecchelenius cites from the Constitutions of the Alexandrian Church, "*In die auton Nativitatis et Epiphaniæ* eo tempore quo concilium Nicænum conæctum fuit, præcepit ejs patres ut noctu missa celebraretur" (Labbe ii. 402):

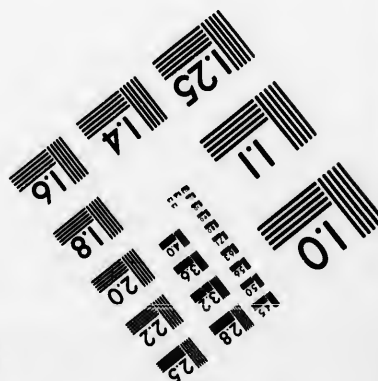
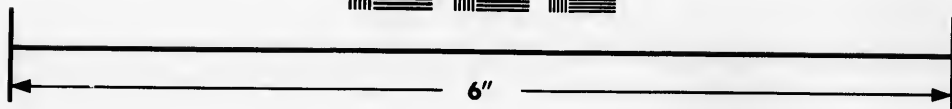
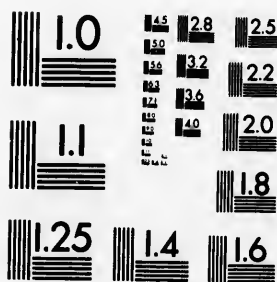
Cassian^a again (*Collatio* x. c. 2; *Patrol.* xlix.

^a It would almost seem as though there were grounds for believing the change to have taken place in Egypt by





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lation to be gone through on joining the Roman things is, "If any one on the 25th the Annunciation, the Nativity of Christ, He had previously *op.* the same MS. an attack *κατὰ κακίστων Ἀρμενίων* on January 5 in the feast of the Annunciation morning they celebrate, and in the Liturgy the

Armenians practice references in invectives (*ἄδωκα ἑπισημολογίας* of Armenia, in the 3, li. 10, Combefis, *Illice-05*). The modern Armenians this practice (Nesle, introd. p. 741).

so far as we can trace us to have kept the two Epiphany always unhesitatingly (*Comm.* in ed. Bened.): "Et dies venerabilis est, *non ut in carne*, tunc enim ab-
paratur."

very ancient Calendarium xlii. 1227), which marks "viii. Kal. Jan. Domini ii Dei," with a note of the

We shall only cite here calendars, that of Buche-which Muratori (*De Rebus* approximately to the dates actively. These severally as Christ in Bethlehem (*l.c.*). Other Liturgical (treated of separately.

is forthcoming to show that in the Epiphany was produced festivals, and therefore more important, for *Hittorp* (In vigilia Theophani, Cologne, 1568) *præter undam est, quod isti (i.e. the Epiphany), tot nononoritur sit quam prima illi this is after all only a portance, and the Nativity a festival of the highest sacramentary, which is certain* *Ordo* which *Hittorp* refers and Charlemagne.

endeavour to show that the December 25, in accordance with, began to take place in the end of the 4th century. It is believed in by Ephrem who is cited as saying, "On the Nativity of His Conception, [of January] was His Nativity (*Or. li. 163*). The Nativity has been gradual. For,

that the Western Church marks the Nativity by a solemn name, and the Nativity by a solemn inference that the former was and was thence introduced into the latter as a separate festival was of

to say nothing of Armenians, we find Epiphanius saying (*Haer.* li. 24, vol. i. p. 446, ed. Petrus): "For since He was born in the month of January, that is, viii. Id. Jan. which is according to the Romans January 5, according to the Egyptians Tuth 11, according to the Syrians or the Greeks Androspe 6, according to the Cyprians or Salmianians the 5th of the 5th month, according to the Paphians Julius 14, according to the Arabians Aleem 21, according to the Cappadocians Atarta 13, according to the Hebrews Tibleth (Tebeth) 13, according to the Athenians Mienacterion 6 . . ."

It does not appear whether Epiphanius means that all these nations celebrated the Nativity on the day thus indicated: it is more probable that he is merely giving the various equivalents for the day in different systems of reckoning. In fact his mention of the Romans is perhaps conclusive.

The most important piece of evidence, however, towards fixing the date of the change in the East by which December 25 became recognized as the day of the Nativity is to be found in a Homily of Chrysostom to the people of Antioch, *εις την γυνθλιον ημεραν του Σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου* (vol. ii. p. 354, ed. Montfaucou), which Montfaucou (p. 352) gives strong reasons for believing to have been delivered on December 25, 386. After saying how earnestly he had wished to see on the day of the Nativity a congregation like that which was then met together, Chrysostom proceeds: "Nevertheless it is not yet the tenth year since this day has been made manifest and plain to us, still as though it had been handed down to us from the beginning (*ἀνωθεν*) and many years ago, it has flourished thus through your zeal. And so a man would not err who should call it at once new and ancient,—new, in that it has recently been made known to us; but old and ancient, in that it has speedily won an equality with older festivals. . . ."

And as plants of good stock speedily grow up and produce fruit, "so this day too, known from the beginning to those who inhabit the West, but brought to us not many years ago. . . ." The change, however, at first meets with opposition. "I know well," he adds, "that many even yet dispute with one another about it, some finding fault with it and others defending it, . . . since it is old and ancient, for the prophets already foretold His birth, and from the beginning it has been manifest and notable to the dwellers from Thrace even to Gades." Again (§ 2) he refers his hearers to the archives at Rome as a source whence certain evidence on the point could be obtained, and adds "from those who have an accurate knowledge of these things and inhabit that city, have we received this day. For they who dwell there, observing it from the beginning and by old tradition, themselves sent to us new the knowledge of it." Again (§ 5) after fixing April as the time of the Annunciation, he arrives for the Nativity at the month Apellæus (December),

* Montfaucou here cites Athanasius (*Præf. Comm. in Matth.* vol. i. p. 1025, ed. Ben-d. 1787) as speaking of December 25 as the Nativity. But to the first place the Benedictine editors had considerable doubt of the genuineness of the fragment ("si non aperte spurium admodum suspexit videtur, in quo sunt pluraque *καθωσθη*"); and in the next, it seems rather the death of Herod which is indicated than the birth of our Lord.

"this present month, in which we celebrate the day."

From the above-quoted language of Chrysostom, we may notice; (1) that about the year 386 A.D. the festival of the Nativity, as distinct from and independent of the Epiphany, was a novelty of a few years' standing in the East; (2) that Chrysostom believed that the Western Church had celebrated an independent festival "from the beginning and by old tradition;" (3) that the change was met with opposition, and therefore would be gradual.

Combining, then, Chrysostom's definite testimony with the fact that Epiphanius had, perhaps a little before this time, concurred with the old Eastern view, and that at the time of the Council of Ephesus the change was tacitly recognized at Alexandria, we may fairly argue that in those parts of the Eastern Church where the old plan was still continued (Jerusalem possibly and Armenia certainly), the Western plan was being gradually adopted in the period which we may roughly define as the last quarter of the 4th and the first quarter of the 5th century.

Whether before the time of Chrysostom any part of the Eastern Church observed the Nativity on December 25, it is difficult to say. The date of the various parts of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (see the Article) being so doubtful, we shall merely cite from them a passage bearing on this point: "Observe the days of the festivals, brethren, and first the Nativity, and let this be celebrated by you on the 25th day of the ninth month. After this let the Epiphany be very greatly honoured in your eyes, on which the Lord revealed to you His Own Godhead; and let this be held on the 6th day of the tenth month" (v. 13; cf. also viii. 33, where the two festivals are again distinguished). Cotelier in his introduction (*op. cit.* p. 197) also cites a passage found in some MSS. of Anastasius which professes to be quoted from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, in the present text of which, however, it is not found: "For our Lord Jesus Christ was born of the Holy Virgin Mary in Bethlehem, *εν μηνι κατὰ Αλυπτιους Χοιακας κε'* [probably a mistake for *κθ'*, which = December 25] *Σαραββωρη της ημερας η εστιν προ οκτω κалаων Ιανουαριου.*"

The result of all this investigation then is roughly this. In the case of the Eastern Church there is no certain evidence pointing to a general celebration of the Nativity on December 25 before the time of Chrysostom. Till then it had been held on January 6 in conjunction with the Epiphany, and even after this date some churches of the East retained for some time their old plan.

In the West we are told that the festival had been recognized, and celebrated on December 25 "from the beginning." We are not able to produce any very ancient witnesses from Western Fathers, but may fairly assume that it had existed sufficiently long for Chrysostom to be able to use reasonably and without fear of contradiction such a word as *ἀνωθεν*. We have also called attention to the recognition of it in ancient calendars.

Since the time of Chrysostom, the Nativity has been received by all Churches of Christendom as one of their most important festivals. Thus, in a sermon attributed to Gregory of Nyssa, but

of doubtful authenticity, it is said: "Now is heard accordant throughout the whole inhabited world the sound of them that celebrate the feast." (*Patrol. Gr.* xlv. 1148). Chrysostom (*In B. Philogonum* 4, vol. i. 497) speaks of it as second in importance to no festival, "which a man would not be wrong in calling the chief (*μυρρόβορως*) of all festivals."

Several sermons are extant of Pope Leo I. on the subject of the Nativity, further exemplifying this statement (*Serm.* 21-30, vol. i. pp. 64 sqq. ed. Ballerini).

It is curious that in one of his epistles Augustine does not seem to recognize the Nativity as a festival of the first order, where after referring to the Divine Institution of the Sacraments, he proceeds to those things "quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus," on the authority of the Apostles and the Church, "sicut quod Dominus Passio et Resurrectio et Ascensio in celum et Adventus de celo Spiritus Sancti anniversaria solemnitate celebratur" (*Epist.* 54 § 1 [olim 118]; *Patrol.* xxxiii. 200). Yet he deemed the festival of such importance that he has written not a few sermons for the day, showing the celebration of this festival in Africa (see *Serm.* 184-196, 369-372; *Patrol.* xxviii. 995 sqq., xxxix. 1655 sqq.; the authenticity of the latter group, however, is doubtful).

III. Liturgical Notices.

The Roman Church evidently accounted the Nativity one of the most important feasts from very early times. Their earliest Sacramentary, that of Pope Leo, contains nine Masses for the day (vol. ii. 118 sqq.). There is, however, no notice of a Vigil. In the Preface in the first Mass it is said: "Quoniam quidquid Christianæ professionis devotio celebratur, de hac sunit solemnitas: principium, et in hujus muneris mysterio continetur." See again the Preface in the seventh Mass: "Atque ideo sicut primis fidelibus exitit in sui credulitate pretiosum, ita nunc excusabilem conscientiam non relinquit, quæ salutaris mysterii veritatem, toto etiam mundo testificante non sequitur."

In the Gallesian Sacramentary four Masses altogether are given: (1) For the Vigil at Nones; (2) For the Vigil *in nocte*; (3) For the Vigil *Mane primi*; (4) For the Nativity *in die*; that is to say, there are practically three Masses on the Nativity itself. After this again are several prayers for the Nativity, whether at Vespers or Matins.

The Gelasian Sacramentary borrowed a good deal from the Leonine here. The Collect and *Secreta* for the services of the Vigil at Nones and *Mane primi*, and a Collect and the Preface for the Nativity itself as well as two (the 2nd and 4th) of the added prayers all come from the large number of Masses for the day in the older Sacramentary (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1055 sqq.). We now pass on to the Gregorian Sacramentary. Here, as in the previous case, there are altogether four services with a large number of alternative forms. The second mass is connected in some MSS. with the church of S. Maria Major; thus, *Natalis Domini ad S. Mariam Majorem* (MS. Rodrudi), *Nocte ad S. Mariam* (MS. Ratoldi); and the third contains also the commemoration of S. Anastasia, and one MS. mentioned by Ménard (*in loc.*) gives two prefaces for the day, one for the Saint and

the other for the Nativity (cf. *Greg. Sacr.* col. 5 sqq. ed. Menard). See also the *Antiphonary*, where, as before, four Masses in all are recognized (*ib.* col. 657 sqq.), and a still more elaborate set of forms is given in the *Liber Responsa* attributed to Gregory (*ib.* col. 741 sqq.).

The *Ordo Romanus* (ed. cit. p. 19) prescribes three Lectures from Isaiah for the Vigil of the Nativity: (1) ix. 1-8. 4; (2) xl. 1-xli. 20; (3) li. 1-15. The Ambrosian Liturgy of the Church of Milan (Pamelius, *Liturgy. Lat.* vol. i. pp. 293 sqq.) gives one Mass for the day.

We may now briefly examine the Liturgical monuments of the Gallican Church. In the ancient Lectionary of that Church, there were originally twelve Lectures for the Vigil of the Nativity. Those which are yet extant, five in number, are: Isaiah xlv. 23-xlvi. 13; an extract from a sermon of Augustine^b *De Nativitate Domini*: Isaiah liv. 1-1xi. 7; Malachi ii. 7-iv. 6; St. John i. 1-15.

The Lectures for the Nativity itself are Isaiah vii. 10-ix. 8 (with some omissions); *Daniel* [Benedicite] *cum benedictione*; Hebrews i. 1-3; St. Luke ii. 1-19 (Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. ii. pp. 106 sqq.). In illustration of this plan of having twelve Lectures for the Vigil of the Nativity, here doubtless equivalent to the Matins of the Nativity, Mabillon (*l. c.*) cites from the *Regula* of Aurelian, bishop of Arles: "In Natale Domini et in Epiphania tertia hora surgite: dicite unum nocturnum et facite sex missas [=lectiones] de Isaiâ prophetâ; iterum dicite nocturnum, et legantur alie sex de Evangelio" (*Patrol.* lxxviii. 390).

It will be seen that in the Gallican Lectionary one Mass only is presupposed for the day of the Nativity, and in accordance with this the Gothic-Gallic Missal (*op. cit.* pp. 188 sqq.) gives us one Mass for the Vigil and one for the day. In the ancient Gallican Missal, the forms of the Preface "ad vesperum . . . Domini" and prayers "ad initium noctis . . . Domini," "in media nocte Natalis Domini."

The Mozarabic Missal gives us but one Mass for the day and ignores the Vigil. The Prophetic Lecture, the Epistle, and the Gospel are respectively Isaiah ix. 1-7; Hebrews i. 1-12; St. Luke ii. 6-20 (ed. Leslie, pp. 37 sqq.). The Brevisary gives Matins for the Vigil; and for the day of the Nativity, (1) Vespers that is on the evening preceding December 25; (2) Matins and Lauds. Into the Vesper service enters the noble hymn, "Veni Redemptor Gentium."

It will have been noticed that the Roman Liturgies, the Gelasian and Gregorian, give three Masses for the Nativity, while those for the Churches of Milan, Gaul, and Spain give but one. In the case of the Gallican Church this may be illustrated from Gregory of Tours, who in the life of Nicetius of Lyons (*Vite Patrum*, viii. 11, p. 1196, ed. Bened.), says: "Facta quoque hora tertia, cum populus ad missarum solemniam conveniret, hic mortuus in ecclesiam est delatus." On the other hand, we must mention that in a writing of Eufonius, a Spanish bishop, who wrote 845 A.D., is an allusion to a triple Mass on the Nativity, Easter, Whitsunday, and the Transfiguration (*Patrol.* cvii. 888). This

^b This passage, attributed to Augustine, does not seem to be his, nor is it included in his works.

ivity (cf. Greg. Sacr. col. See also the *Antiphonary*, Masses in all are recog-), and a still more elabo- in the *Liber Responsalis* (ib. col. 741 sqq.).

(*ed. cit.* p. 19) prescribes the saints for the Vigil of the Liturgy of the Church *Liturg. Lutt.* vol. i. pp. as for the day.

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Nativity itself are Isaiah (omissions); *David's* *Actiones*; and Hebrews i. 1-13; *Alion, de Liturgia Gallicana*, In illustration of this plan ions for the Vigil of the s equivalent to the Matins *Alion* (l. c.) cites from the op of Arles: "In Natale tertia hora surgite: di- et facile sex missas [=lec- turae]; iterum dicite nae- aliae sex de Evangelio"

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is probably a leaning to the Roman plan, or it may be a custom of independent origin.

The cause of the triple Mass in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries is thus explained by Mabilion (l. c.), that in consequence of three being the number of "stations" discharged in ancient times in Rome by a Pope on that day, three Masses were instituted. We shall again quote the ancient *Ordo Romanus* on this point (p. 19): "Prima die Vigilinae Natalis Domini hora nonnunt Missam ad S. Mariam. Qua epleta canunt vesperinalem synaxim, dehinc vadunt ad cibum. In crepusculo noctis intrat Apostolicus ad vigiliam in praefatam Ecclesiam, tunc non cantant ibi invitatorium ad introitum, sed epletis vigiliis et matutinis, sicut in Antiphonario continetur, ibidem canunt primam Missam in nocte. Qua epleta, vadunt ad S. Anastasiam canere aliam Missam de nocte. Dehinc pergunt ad S. Petrum, ut ibi vigiliis celebrent, ab eo loc ubi invenerit eos psallere qui ibidem erant. Ipsi enim intrant ad vigiliam debito tempore in processu noctis et canunt invitatorium et prosequuntur ordinem Antiphonarii. Unde haec nocte describuntur." The above will account for the commemoration of S. Anastasin at the viously groundless statement that the institution of these nocturnal Masses is to be referred to Pope Telephorus (ob. 138 A. D.).

Attention has already been called to the fact of the early recognition of the Vigil of the Nativity. In addition to the examples cited, we may further appeal to a still older witness, Augustine, who speaks of it in one of his letters (*Epist.* 65 ad *Xantippum* [olim 236]; *Patrol.* xxiii. 234). It differed in this respect from the ordinary type of Vigil in that it continued through the night, making with the Nativity itself one great solemnity. Thus we read in the letter of the Bishops Lupus and Euphronius to Bishop Talasius: "Vigilia Natalis Domini longe alio more quam Paschae Vigilia celebranda, quia hic lectiones Nativitatis legendae sunt, illic autem Passionis. Epiphaniae quoque sollemnitas habet suum specialem cultum. Quae Vigiliae vel maxime aut perpete nocte aut certe in matutinum vergente curandae sunt. Paschatis autem Vigiliae a Vespere ruro in Matutinum usque perducitur" (*Patrol.* lviii. 66). In the *Capitula* of Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury (ob. 690 A. D.), the difference of the practice of the Latin and Greek Church in this matter is pointed out, in that the former began the Vigil at Noons, the latter late in the evening (*Capit.* 66; *Patrol.* xcix. 957). The Gelasian, Grego-

¹ This seems more probable than the view adopted by Quenell in his notes on the works of Leo I. (*Epist.* 9 [1 ed. Quenell], vol. ii. 1399), that the custom arose from a distinct authorization in the Roman Church to hold several masses, as might be found necessary, on festivals of great importance, such as Christmas and Easter, when there would be a great concourse of people, more than a church could contain at once. He quotes an illustration of this from our own church, when the Council of Oxford (1222 A. D.), under Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, enacted "ad haec duximus statuendum districtius inhibentes ne sacerdos qui plurim missarum solacia celebrat his in die, ex quo pro die Nativitatis et Resurrectionis Domini fecit vel in exequiis detineturorum." (*Can. 6*; Labbé, vol. xl. p. 274.)

rian, and Pamelius' Ambrosian Sacramentaries give also Masses for the Octave of the Nativity, January 1, which would also of necessity be the anniversary of the day of the Circumcision, by which express name it is denoted in some other Liturgies. [CIRCUMCISION.]

The existence of the group of important festivals between Christmas and the Epiphany seems to point to a wish on the part of the early Church to render the whole season one great festival, by redeeming as much as possible of the time from ordinary worldly business, in commemoration of persons more or less indirectly connected with our Lord's Nativity. Thus a Council of Tours declares: "Inter Natale Domini et Epiphania omni die festivitates sunt itemque praebeantur." (*Concil. Turonense* ii. can. 17; Labbé, vol. v. 856). From the great importance of the festival, the Nativity, it happening to coincide with a fast, claimed the right of overriding the fast. Indeed there was a fast preceding the Nativity which just stopped short of it. Thus Aurelian, already quoted, says (l. c.), "A Calendis Novembris usque ad Domini Natale quotidie jejunandum absque Sabbato et Dominico." Cf. also the canon we have just cited of the Second Council of Tours, "De Decembri usque ad Natale Domini omni die jejunent." We may further cite in illustration Epiphanius (*Adversus Haereses: Epist. to Fidei* 22, vol. i. p. 1105), who, after saying that there is no fast throughout the fifty days of Pentecost, adds, "Nor on the day of the Epiphany, when the Lord was born in the flesh, is it lawful to fast, although it happen to fall on the fourth or the sixth day of the week." It will be remembered from a previously cited passage of this writer so that his day of the Epiphany is at once Epiphany and Nativity.

As a festival of so great importance, Christmas was one of the seasons, on which it was especially enjoined on all, clergy and laity alike, to communicate. Thus the Council of Agle (506 A. D.) orders: "Ut cives qui superiorum sollemnium, id est Paschae ac Natalis Domini vel Pentecostes festivitibus cum episcopis interesse neglexerint, cum in civitatibus communionis vel benedictionis accipiendae causa se nosse debent, triennio a communione priventur ecclesiae." Again: "Si quis in clero constitutus ab ecclesia sua diebus sollemnibus defuerit, id est Nativitate, Epiphania, Pascha vel Pentecoste, dum potius saecularibus lucris studet quam servitio Dei parat, convent ut triennio a communione suspendatur. . . ." (*Concil. Agathense*, can. 63, 64; Labbé, iv. 1393). Springing from the same tendency is the injunction of the First Council of Orleans (511 A. D.): "Ut nulli civium Paschae, Natalis Domini vel quinquagesimae sollemnitate in villa licet celebrare, nisi quem infirmitas prohibuit renuisse" (*Concil. Aurelianense* i. can. 25; *ibid.* 1408). It was allowed by the Council of Epao (517 A. D.) for people of rank (cives superiorum natalium) to invite their bishop to themselves at Christmas or Easter to receive his blessing (*Concil. Eptanense*, can. 35; *ibid.* 1580).

IV. *Christmas Presents.* As coming at the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, and as being in itself a time when from the Great Gift then given by God to man, all memories end to peace and friendship, the season of Christmas has from

time immemorial been associated with the mutual giving of presents and the interchange of cordial wishes.

A similar custom prevailed among the Romans, who on the Calends of January offered to the emperor or to their patrons presents called *strenae* (hence French *étrenne*). See, for instance, Suetonius, *Calig.* 42; cf. *Aug.* 57, *Tib.* 34; also Dion Cassius, *liv.* 35.

That the Christian custom is derived from the above we do not of course affirm, although we are far from denying the possibility of such an origin.

Traces of the custom are to be found in the Greek Church, as we learn from Gear (Notes to Codinus, *De Officiis Constantinopolitanis*, c. 6; *Patrol. Gr.* clvii. 308), who speaks of boys and youths running about the streets at this season, and "ad amicorum portas modulus senis ac musicis instrumentis $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\chi\rho\nu\alpha$ [wishes for long life and happiness; see Ducange, *Glossarium* s. v.] presterunt, senia reportaturi, cunctique $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\eta\eta\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$ pro natalitiis Christi muneribus se cumulante certantim."

The custom of the *strenae* as an offshoot of heathenism, did not find much favour in the eyes of the early Church. Thus in a sermon *De Calendis Januarii*, wrongly attributed to Augustine, we read, "Diabolicus etiam strenae et ab aliis accipiunt et ipsi aliis tradunt" (*Patrol.* xxxix. 2002, 2004).

V. *Literature*. We must express our obligations here especially to Jablonsky's *Dissertationes* II., Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, vol. III. pp. 31 sqq. ed. Venice, 1783; Augusti, *Christi. Archæologie*, vol. i. pp. 211 sqq.; Binnerim, *Denk-würdigkeiten*, vol. v. part 1, pp. 528 sqq. Reference may also be made to Bynæus, *De Natali Jesu Christi*, Amsterdam 1694; Kandler, *De Natali Christi*, Rotterdam 1699; Köpken, *ἱστορικὴ βίβλος*, Rostock 1705; Ittig, *De Ritū festiuitatis Nat. Christi celebrandi*, Wernsdorf, *De Originibus Solennium Natalis Christi*, Wittenberg, 1757.

CHRISTOPHORI. A name sometimes applied to Christians in the ancient Church, as expressing the Presence of Christ within them by His Spirit. As early as Ignatius we find the appellation *Theophori* in use, to signify that Christians are the Temple of God; and *Christophori* also occurs in the early writers in a similar sense: e.g. in the epistle of Philens, bishop of Thmuis, recorded by Eusebius, l. viii. c. 10, we find him speaking of the martyrs of his own time as $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\rho\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, because they were temples of Christ and acted by His Holy Spirit (Bingham, i. 1, 4).

CHRISTOPHORUS. (1) Martyr in the city of Sines, A. D. 256, is commemorated July 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi); April 28 (*Mart. Bedæ*); May 9 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Monk, martyr at Cordova, Aug. 20 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CHRONITAE, $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\iota\tau\alpha$. A name of reproach given to the Catholics or orthodox Christians by Aetius the Arian and his party: intimating that their religion was but for a time, that its day was being fast spent, and that it must soon give place to the more enlightened system of Arianism: a conceit which has been

characteristic of heresy in all ages of the Church (Bingham, l. iii. 16). [D. B.]

CHRONOLOGY. The object of the several articles in this work relating to chronology is to describe the methods used by the writers of our period in measuring time, and the reduction of their methods to that at present in use in this country. This evidently involves the consideration of the various non-ecclesiastical calendars, or modes of reckoning time, employed by writers of the first eight centuries, and of the modifications introduced into them by the influence of Christianity.

To place an event in time, we must have a fixed epoch or era from which to measure, and a fixed, or at least, a determinable, standard by which to measure the interval from that era. The principal epochs from which intervals of time have been measured are given under *ERA*. The great natural divisions of time are days, lunations, and solar years; and almost every nation has either endeavoured to discover the relation which lunations bear to solar years (*EPACT*), and so to keep the lunar months in some kind of correspondence with the seasons of the solar year; or has abandoned the observation of the moon in its division of time, and divided the solar year into twelve months, somewhat longer than lunar months. See *MONTH, YEAR*. Further, nearly all nations have adopted for the convenience of common life purely conventional divisions of time, not corresponding to any natural division, such as the Roman *ANNUUS*. The conventional division with which we are principally concerned is the *WEEK*.

As the various events of Christian history received annual commemoration, the days of such recurring commemorations became recognised as elements in chronology (*CALENDAR*). The principal modification which the calendar underwent in consequence of ecclesiastical considerations is that which arose from the annual variation in the observance of Easter, and the festivals connected with it. See *EASTER, INDICATIONS*. [C.]

CHRYSANTHUS, martyr at Rome under Numerianus (A. D. 283), is commemorated Dec. 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*); March 19 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [C.]

CHRYSOGONUS, martyr at Rome under Diocletian, is commemorated Nov. 24 (*Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vet.*, Bedæ, Usuardi). Some MSS. of the Hieronymian *Martyrology* give Aquileia as the place of martyrdom. [C.]

CHRYSOSTOM, LITURGY OF. [*LITURGY*].

CHRYSOSTOM. ST. JOHN, is commemorated Nov. 13 (*Cal. Byzant., Ethiop.*). Translation of his relics to Constantinople, in the reign of the younger Theodosius (A. D. 435), Jan. 27. The Byzantine had also in more recent times a festival of SS. Basil, Gregory Nazianzenus, and Chrysostom, on Jan. 30. The *Mart. Rom. Vet.*, and *Mart. Usuardi* place the *Natalis* of St. Chrysostom on Jan. 27, and do not mention the *Translation*. [C.]

CHRYSOTELUS, presbyter, martyr at Cordova, is commemorated April 22 (*Mart. Bedæ, Rom. Vet. Usuardi*). [C.]

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S, presbyter, martyr at Carthage April 22 (*Mart. Bedae*). [C.]

CHURCH

CHURCH (1), in respect to the reverence and the privileges attached to the building.

(1) It was customary to wash the hands and feet before entering the church, for which purpose a fountain was commonly provided in the middle of the atrium or court before the church, called *cantharus* or *phidæa*; so Euseb. *II. E. x. 4*; Tertull. *De Orat.* c. xi.; Paulinus of Nola, *Epist. ad Severum*; Socrates, *ii. 38*; St. Chrys., repeatedly; Synes. *Epist.* cxli.; quoted by Bingham. Kings and emperors also left their arms, and even their diadems, and their guards, outside when entering a church (Theodos. *Orat. in Act. i. Conc. Ephes.*; Bingham, VIII. x. 8). And the Egyptian monks, after Eastern custom, put off their sandals (Cassian. *Instit. i. 2*). It was customary, also, to show reverence to the church by embracing, saluting, and kissing, its doors, threshold, and pillars. So St. Athanasius (*Opp.* ii. 804, ed. 1627), St. Chrysostom (*H. m. xxix. in 2 Cor.*), Paulinus (*Natal. vi. Felicitæ*), Prudentius (*Hymn II. in S. Laurentii*. 519, 520), &c., quoted by Bingham, *ib. 9.*—(2) Upon entering the church, "the Christians in the Greek and Oriental churches have, time out of mind, used to bow . . . towards the altar or holy table;" a practice for which no known ancient canon exists, and which looks therefore like a primitive practice, and one probably borrowed from the Jews (Mede, *Dis. on Ps. 132*, quoted by Bingham). A profound silence was also to be observed within the building (Cassian, *Instit. ii. 2*; S. Greg. Naz. *Orat. xix.*) And coughing, spitting, &c., were forbidden.—"A gemitus, screatus, tussis, risu, abstinentes" (St. Ambros. *De Virg. liii. 9*). And Nonna is eulogized by her son, St. Greg. Naz. (*Orat. xix.*), as, among other things, never spitting, and never turning her back upon the altar.—(3) Election of bishops and of clergy, synods, catechetical schools, and the like, were allowed to be held within churches. But eating meals there was strictly forbidden, even in time of the *ἀγάπαι*:—"Οὐ δεῖ ἐν τῷ κυριακῷ ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἕθειν καὶ ἀκούθιστα στρωσινοῦν" (*Conc. Laodicea. c. 28*).—"Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventer, nisi forte transeuntes hospitium necessitate illic reficiantur; et populi, quantum fieri potest, ab hujusmodi conviviis prohibentur" (*Conc. Carth. III. can. 30*; *Cod. Can. Afric. 42*). St. Augustin, however, is compelled to tolerate, whilst he severely condemns, the custom of feasting in the church in memory of the martyrs—"Qui se in memoriam martyrum iebriant, quomodo a nobis approbari possunt, quom eos, etiam si in domibus suis faciunt, sana doctrina condemnet" (*Cont. Faust. xx. 21*). The Emperor Leo also (*Novel. lxxiii.*), and *Conc. Trull. can. 97*, forbid people from lodging in certain galleries in the church, called *catechumenia*. And the *Conc. Elberit. can. 35*, prohibits private vigils of women in the church precincts—"ne foemine in coeniterio pervigilent;" although the practice of spending whole nights there in prayer was permitted to men (see e. g. Theodoret, v. 24; S. Athanas. *Epist. ad Severum*.; Socrat. i. 37; &c.); and *cubiculi*, or cells, were sometimes provided for the purpose (Paulin. *Epist. xii. ad Sever.*)—(4) Holding assemblies privately out of the church was strictly forbidden: *Εἰ τις παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἰδία ἐκκλησίασι. καὶ καταφρονῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἰθέλαι*

CHURCH

πράττειν, μὴ συνάσας τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου κατὰ γυνάμην τοῦ ἱερακόπου. ἀνάθεμα ἴστω (*Conc. Gangr. can. 6*); and can. 5 of the same council condemns those who despise the church and its assemblies.—(5) The church was a place of safety, both for valuables and for life and person. Besides the archives and treasure of the church itself, the church treasury served as a safe receptacle for other precious things, public or private: as, e. g. the cutib therewith the increase of the Nile was measured, which had been kept in the temple of Serapis, was transferred by order of Constantine to the Christian church, and retransferred to the idol temple by Julian the Apostate (Ruffin. ii. 30; Sozom. i. 8; Socrat. i. 18).—(6) Immunity of life and person attached also to such as took refuge in a church: for the details of which see SANCTUARY. (Bingham.) [A. W. H.]

(2) The building set apart for the performance of Christian worship.

- This article is arranged as follows:—
I. Names, p. 365.
II. Early History, p. 366.
III. The Period from Constantine to Justinian, p. 368.
IV. The Period from the death of Justinian to the death of Charles the Great.
1. The western part of the territory of the Eastern Empire, p. 374.
2. Armenia and the adjacent provinces, p. 379.
3. Italy, p. 379.
4. France, Germany, and Switzerland, p. 380.
5. Spain, p. 382.
6. Ireland, p. 384.
7. Scotland, p. 385.
8. England, p. 386.

I. Names.—Greek, *Ἐκκλησία, Κυριακή*, or τὸ Κυριακόν; Latin, *Ecclesia, Dominica* (i. e. *domus dominica*), or *Basilica*; French, *Eglise*; Italian, *Chiesa*; Spanish, *Igreja*; Roumanic, *Biserica*; Anglo-Saxon, *Chre, Cyrie*; Old German, *Chriuchiu*; Modern German, *Kirche*; Dutch, *Kerk*; Icelandic, *Kyrkia*; Swedish, *Kyrka*; Russian, *Теркоф*; Polish, *Kosciol*, if Greco-Russian, *Cerkiew*; Irish, *Domhlagh* (i. e. stone house), *Tempall, Eclais, Eglais*; Welsh, *Eglwys*; Hungarian, *Ej, haz, Temploin*.

The names for a church in the languages of the Latin family are evidently derived from the Greek *Ἐκκλησία*; those in the languages of the Teutonic and Scandinavian families apparently from *Κυριακή*.

Several other terms have been used by Greek and Latin writers of the earlier centuries when speaking either of churches, or of oratories or places of assembly. Such are *oikos, templum*, by Lactantius, St. Ambrose, Eusebius, St. John Chrysostom. Arnobius and Lactantius use the word *conventiculum*, while concilium and *synodus* are also found in use not only for the assembly but for the edifice (v. Bingham ii. 84). Isidore of Pelusium (lib. ii. *Ep. p. 245*) in the like case distinguishes between *Ἐκκλησία* the assembly, and *Ἐκκλησιαστήριον* the building.

Descriptive phrases were also employed, as *προσευκτήρια, οἴκη εὐκτήρια* (by Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and others) *Oratoria, Domus Dei, Domus Ecclesiae, Domus Divina*, by various writers from the third century downwards. Bingham, however, has shewn that in the 6th century *Domus Ecclesiae* was sometimes used, not to signify the church, but the Bishop's house, and that in the 5th century (and probably even somewhat later), *Domus Divina* was the official style for the Imperial palace.

Βασίλειον [see ANACORON] as equivalent to basilica is used by Eusebius (*De Lavde Constant.* c. 9), but is only rarely employed.

Churches erected especially in honour of martyrs were called **Μαρτύρια**, Martyria, Memorials, **Τρόπαια**, Tropaea, **Τίμαια**, Tituli.

Those who wrote in Latin, in the dark ages, appear to employ the word basilica for the most part, when they wrote of a large church, oratory when of a chapel or oratory. Those who wrote in Gaul, in the 6th and 7th centuries, are said by De Valois (v. Du Cange, *Gloss. art.* 'Basilica') to have used basilica for the church of a convent, and ecclesia for a cathedral or parish church. Gillis, in the 6th century employs ecclesia and basilica, adding to the latter word 'martyrium.'

II. Early History.—At what time the Christians began to erect buildings for the purpose of celebrating divine worship is unknown, but it is obvious that inasmuch as they held frequent assemblies for religious purposes, suitable places for such assemblies would be required, and that when the congregations became large rooms in private houses would cease to afford the requisite space.

The assertions of some of the earlier Christian writers, as Arnobius (*Disputat. adv. Gent.* lib. vi. c. 1), Origen (*c. Cels.* lib. 7. c. 8), Minucius Felix (*Octav.* c. 8, 10, 32) that the Christians had neither temples, altars nor images, that God could be worshipped in every place, and that his best temple on earth is the heart of man, should, it would appear, be understood, not literally—for there is positive evidence of the existence of churches in the 3rd century—but that they had no temples or altars in the Pagan sense of those words, and that their religion was spiritual, and not dependent upon places or rituals.

The passage from Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* vii. 5, p. 846) and those from other writers, quoted by Bingham (*Antiq.* bk. viii. c. 1, § 13), prove that a certain place was called **ἐκκλησία**, but, in strictness, not that it was a separate building, constructed and set apart for that purpose. The documentary evidence of the next century, the 3rd, is, however, much more decisive. The chronicle of Elessa (in Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* xi. 397) mentions the destruction of temples of Christian assemblies in A. D. 292.

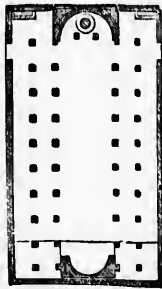
Aelius Lampridius in his *Life of the Emperor Alexander Severus* (A. D. 222-235), narrates that the Christians having occupied a certain place, it was confirmed to them on the ground that it was better that God should be worshipped there after any manner, than that it should be given up to the adverse claimants, the 'popinarii,' or tavern-keepers. Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Caesarea, states that he built several churches there and in the adjacent parts of Pontus. In addition to which, many other testimonies of a like nature might be adduced.

The edict of Diocletian, usually attributed to the year 302, ordering the destruction of the churches and the confiscation of the lands belonging to them, confirms these statements, and Lactantius' account (*De Mort. Persecutorum*, c. 12) of the destruction of the church at Nicomedia in A. D. 303, shows that some of them at least were considerable edifices.

There is some ground for believing that in the

3rd century those plans and arrangements of churches which we find to prevail in the 4th and following centuries were, at least in part, already in use; St. Cyprilian (*Ep.* 59, p. 688, Martel) imagines Pagan altars and images usurping the place of the altar of the Lord, and entering into the "sacrum venerandum consessum" of the clergy. In this there seems to be an evident allusion to the arrangement usual in later times, in which the altar was placed in the apse, and the clergy sat on a bench around it.

So also in the passage in Tertullian (*De Tut. c.* 4), when that writer speaks of certain sinners being removed not only from the 'limen' but also 'omni ecclesie tecto,' not only from the threshold of the church itself, but even from every dependent building, such as the narthex, the atrium, or the baptistery. It is doubtful whether any now existing church can be attributed, upon good evidence, to this century. One which had been believed so to date, is the basilica of Reparatus, near Orleansville, in Algeria, the ancient Castellum Tingitanum. It is about 80 feet long by 32 wide, and is on the "dromical" or as we now say basilican plan, that is, in the form of a parallelogram, longer than wide. It was divided into a nave and four aisles by four ranges of columns. It has now an apse at each end, both internal to the line of walls. According to an inscription, still remaining, the earlier part of the building dates from 252, but the era is most probably not that of Christ, but of Mauritania, and the date corresponds with A. D. 325; the other apse was added about A. D. 403, to contain the grave of the saint.



Basilica of Reparatus.

The earlier apse, with the ground in front of it, is raised about three feet; and below it was a vault, in which were two sarcophagi. It is not, however, clear whether this arrangement was original. Another African church, that of D'jemila, which is believed to date from the latter part of this century, presents the remarkable peculiarity of being without an apse. It measures 92 feet by 52. Near the end furthest from the entrance door is an enclosure entered by a doorway in front and one on each side. This, no doubt, surrounded the altar and the seats of the priests.

Some other churches which have been supposed to belong to this century, as the cathedral of Trèves (v. Hübsch, *Dia altchristl. Ki-chen*, pl. vi.), and the small church at Annona, in Algeria, though on the basilican plan, are much wider in proportion to their length than is usual in the later examples. In the case of Trèves the building is, in fact, a square (or very nearly so), measuring about 120 feet internally with an apse. The roof was supported by two monolithic columns of granite, about 40 feet high, on each side. If the church were not square, but oblong, about which there is some doubt, there were probably three, and perhaps even

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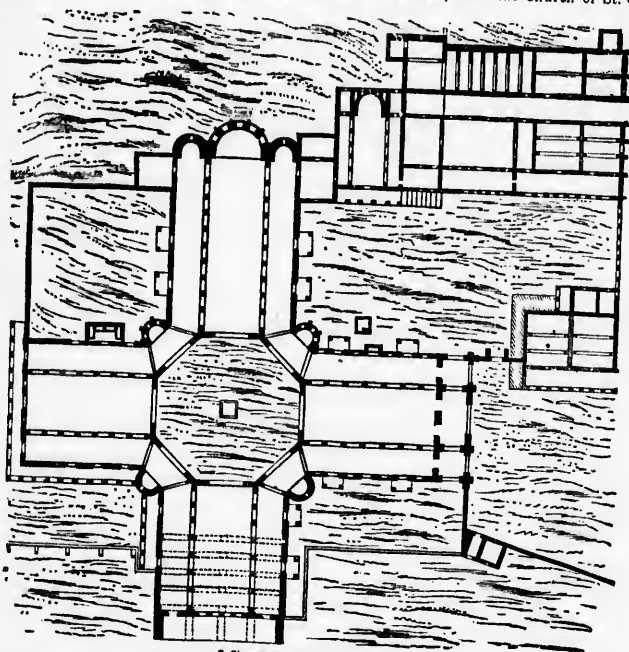
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five of these columns on each side. By some, however, as by Kugler, *Gesch. der Baukunst* i. 404, this building is attributed to about the year 550, but it seems very improbable that so bold a plan, involving arches of great span, supported on monolithic columns nearly 50 feet high (including bases and capitals) was conceived and executed at that time. The church at Tuffkha, in central Syria, exhibits the same square form, with a semi-ovoid apse projecting from the side opposite to the entrance. This building, in style and construction, most closely resembles a basilica at Chagga, which M. de Vogüé ascribes to the third century, and it must be presumed that he considers the church to be of the same date. It

depth by a little less in width, and being about 20 feet high internally.

Some of the churches in Egypt and Nubia, as at Erment in Egypt and Ibrim in Nubia (v. Kugler, *Gesch. der Baukunst*, i. 378), are, no doubt, of a very early date, perhaps of the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the following century, but no certain date can be affixed to them. In both those named the apse is enclosed within the walls, the angles of which are occupied by chambers. This arrangement, indeed, seems to have been very early adopted and very generally adhered to in the East. Some early examples of the same plan may be found also in the West, as in the Church of St. Croce



S. Simeon Stylites, Kalat Bama'an.

is constructed like many other buildings in the same part of Syria, in a very peculiar manner, being entirely roofed with large slabs of stone, which rest on arches spanning the nave at intervals of about 7 ft. 8 in. The flat roofs of the aisles formed galleries.

One very remarkable feature in this building is the tower which ranges with the façade and rises to a height of about 43 feet. If this church be of the date to which it would seem to belong, this must be considered as the first appearance of a tower in ecclesiastical architecture.

The church is not large, measuring externally (exclusive of apse and tower) about 57 feet in

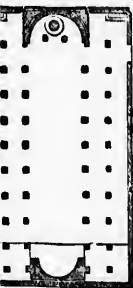
in Jerusalem at Rome; but it does not seem to have been frequently used.

When, in the year A.D. 313, the Emperor Constantine had published the edict tolerating the Christian religion, and still more when, in A.D. 324, he took it under his patronage, a great increase in the erection of churches, and in the size and splendour of the edifices, naturally ensued—the emperor himself setting the example by erecting at Jerusalem and elsewhere churches of great magnificence.

It has been shewn that churches of the basilican type were erected before the period of Constantine, and it is probable that sepulchral or memorial churches of circular or polygonal

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plan, and oratories or chapels of many various forms, may have been also built, but it is not until the 4th century that we have examples of all three of these classes, the date and character of which are well ascertained. Typical forms for the two first classes were established in the great buildings erected during the reign of Constantine, and have influenced the construction of churches down to the present day.

The basilican, or, as the Greeks called it, the domical plan, continued, in the great majority of instances, to be in use in the West (though with certain modifications) until after the period embraced by this work, and in Rome until after the year 1000.

It was almost equally prevalent in the East until the genius of the architect of St. Sophia at Constantinople had evolved from the other typical form, viz. that of the memorial church, a new combination so striking and impressive as to have permanently influenced the church architecture of Asia and of the east of Europe in favour of a modification of the memorial type; while in the West, churches the plans of which are thence derived, continue to be, as they had been before, exceptional; such are S. Vitale at Ravenna and S. Lorenzo at Milan.

In the earlier period the choice of form would seem to have been guided by the intention most strongly present to the founder. Where special intention of doing honour to the memory of a martyr existed, the circular form was chosen, but where this was not the leading thought, the basilican; the latter lending itself better to the celebration of divine services with a large attendance of worshippers. In several instances a basilican and a memorial church were placed in close proximity, as at Jerusalem by Constantine, Khat Sem'an in Central Syria, at Nola by Paulinus, at Constantinople in the churches of St. Sergius and of St. Peter and Paul, and several others, the circular or polygonal church being in almost all these cases dedicated in honour of a martyr.

It will be most convenient when describing the churches erected from the time of Constantine to that of Justinian to divide them according to the threefold division mentioned above, viz., into: 1st, basilican; 2nd, memorial or sepulchral churches; and 3rd, oratories (which are treated of under the head CHAPEL), without paying much regard to the country in which the examples are found. During this period, in fact, so much unity, as well of ritual and practice in religious matters as of style and feeling in art, prevailed throughout the Roman Empire, that the differences between the ecclesiastical architecture of its various provinces are chiefly differences of detail.

At the beginning of the period which follows, viz., that from Justinian to Charles the Great, the great development of the Byzantine style took place, and the architecture of the East is thenceforward widely different from that of the West. Soon afterwards the fragments into which the empire had divided were formed into new nations, most of whom developed something of new plan or new style in their ecclesiastical buildings, and it will therefore be necessary to treat of the architectural history of most of these nations separately. This part of the subject may be divided into the following sec-

tions:—1, The western part of the territory of the Eastern Empire; 2, Armenia and the adjacent provinces; 3, Italy; 4, France, Germany, and Switzerland; 5, Spain; 6, Ireland; 7, Scotland; 8, England.

III. *The Period from Constantine to Justinian.*—It has been thought by some writers (v. Martigny, *Diet. des Antiq. Chret.* art. Basilique), that the crypts or chapels of the catacombs near Rome have served as models for the primitive Christian churches, by which it would appear that churches of the basilican type are meant. This opinion would, however, appear to rest on no sufficient foundation, for the so-called chapels are in general either a series of two, three, or even five, chambers, usually not more than 6 or 7 feet square, connected by doorways, as in the instance of the "chiesa principale" of the cemetery of St. Agnes (v. Marchi, tav. xxv. xxxi. xxxvii.), or hexagonal, polygonal, or oblong excavations, without apse or any of the usual features of a church, such as the crypt discovered by Bosio in the cemetery of the Via Salaria Nuova, but not now accessible, which has been held to have been a church (v. Marchi, tav. xxxlii.). In this an octagon of about 23 feet in diameter is connected by a doorway about 4 feet wide, with an oblong chamber about 12 feet wide by 32 long. [CATACOMBS.]

The so-called basilica of St. Hermes, in a cemetery near the Via Salaria Vecchia, of an oblong form, terminating in an apse, was, no doubt, reduced into its present form by Pope Hadrian I., as the *Lib. Pontif.* tells us of that pope that he "basilicam coemeterii sanctorum martyrum Hermetis, etc., miris magnitudinis innovavit."

No church of the period of Constantine has come down to modern times in a complete state, but fortunately a contemporary writer (Eusebius) has left us such detailed accounts, that, with the assistance which we can obtain from existing remains, we can form a very complete picture of a church of that period.

The earliest church of the building of which we have a distinct account, is that which Paulinus built in Tyre between A.D. 313 and A.D. 322. Eusebius (*Ecccl. Hist.* bk. x. iv. s. 37) states that the bishop surrounded the site of the church with a wall of enclosure; this wall, according to Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 189, c. xlii.), can still be traced, and measures 222 feet in length, by 129 in breadth. In the east side of this wall of inclosure he made a large and lofty portico (*σπράτορος*), through which a quadrangular atrium (*αὐτοῖον*) was entered; this was surrounded by ranges of columns, the spaces between which were filled by net-like railings of wood. In the centre of the open space was a fountain, at which those about to enter the church purified themselves.

The church itself was entered through inferior porticoes (*τοῖς ἐσθόρταισιν προπύλαις*), perhaps a narthex, but whether or not distinct from the portico which bounded the atrium on that side does not appear. Three doorways led into the nave; the central of these was by far the largest, and had doors covered with bronze reliefs; other doorways gave entrance to the side aisles. Above these aisles were galleries well lighted (doubtless by external windows), and looking upon the nave; these were adorned with beautiful work in wood. The passage is rather obscure, and has been

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variously translated; the above is the sense of Bunsen's paraphrase (*Basiliken des Christ. Roms*, s. 31). Hübseh (*Alt. Christ. Kirchen*, s. 75) thinks that the word εἰσβολαὶ (entrances) stands for windows, and that the woodwork was a thorn. It seems, however, more probable that the εἰσβολαὶ were the openings from the galleries into the nave, and the woodwork the railings or balustrades which protected their fronts.

The nave or central portion (βασιλικὸν οἶκος) was constructed of still richer material than the rest, and the roof of cedar of Lebanon. Dr. Thomson states that the remains of five granite columns may still be seen, and that "the height to the dome was 80 feet, as appears by the remains of an arch." Nothing which Eusebius says leads to the supposition that it was covered by a dome, and the arch was probably the so-called triumphal arch through which, as at St. Paolo E. L. M. at Rome, and many other basilican churches, a space in front of the apse somewhat like a transept was entered. Hübseh has made a conjectural restoration of the church thus arranged.

The building, having been in such manner completed, Paulinus, we are told, provided it with thrones (θρόνοι) in the highest places for the honour of the presbyters (προέδρων), and with benches, or seats (βάθροι), according to fitness, and, placing the most holy altar (ἅγιον ἕλυθον θεοταστήριον) in the midst, surrounded the whole with wooden net-like railings of most skilful work, so that the enclosed space might be inaccessible to the crowd. The pavement, he adds, was adorned with marble decoration of every kind.

Then on the outside he constructed very large external buildings (ἐξέδρα) and halls (οἶκοι), which were attached to the sides of the church (ὁ βασιλικῶν), and connected with it by entrances in the hall lying between (ταῖς ἐν τῶν μέσων οἶκον εἰσβολαῖς). These halls, we are told, were destined for those who still required the purification and sprinkling of water and of the Holy Ghost.

In A.D. 333 Constantine caused a basilica to be erected at Jerusalem near the site of the sepulchre of our Lord, which was either included in this building or in a circular or octagonal adjacent structure, the basilica being called ἐκκλησία Σαῦτητος—church of the Saviour. What the plan and situation of these buildings were, and whether anything now existing be the remains of these buildings, are questions full of difficulty and have been the subject of much controversy (v. Fergusson, *De Vogüé, Eglises de la Terre-Sainte*).

To discuss the various theories and the arguments on which they are founded would occupy far too much space. Eusebius unfortunately has written of the subject in a somewhat rhetorical manner, so that the plan of the structure cannot be clearly made out, but some interesting particulars may be gathered from his account of the basilica.

It had (*Life of Constantine the Great*, lib. lii.) double porticoes or, as we should say, aisles (ἴσθμους στωῶν), or rows of piers with colonades (καρπώματα) in two stories above and below or on the ground, which stretched throughout the whole extent (μήκει) of the temple.

By *καρπώματα* we should perhaps understand not subterranean but on a level with the ground, the "ἀνάγμαι" corresponding with the triforium of a mediæval church. Recent investigations have shown that extensive subterranean galleries exist on a part of the site (according to Mr. Fergusson's views) of this church, but their character and date has as yet not been satisfactorily ascertained. The inner rows were of highly decorated piers, the exterior of enormous columns (iii. c. 37). If we understand as Bunsen (*Die Basiliken Roms*, s. 33) does, that the rows stretched across the front as well as along the sides, we may perhaps understand by interior (ἀπὸ ἐξῆς τῶν ἑμπροσθεν) those which ran lengthwise, and by the exterior (ἀπὸ ἐπιπροσώπου τοῦ οἴκου) those which ran across the front.

The three doors by which it was entered looked to the east. Opposite to these doors was the hemispherical head region (κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντός ἡμισφαίριον) of the whole; i. e. the apse. This was decorated with twelve columns, on which were as many large silver vessels. The walls were built of hewn stone in regular courses, and covered literally with slabs of variegated marble. The roofs were of wood richly carved and gilt, and covered externally with lead (c. 36).

Before the entrances was an atrium. There was a first court with porticoes, before which were the entrances of the court; then on the middle of the market-place the prothyæ or outer gateways, whose magnificence astonished all who saw them. Mr. Fergusson thinks that the so-called golden gateway on the east side of the Haram enclosure, is one of these prothyæ.

Another building in the Holy Land, the church at Bethlehem, has strong claims to be considered as the work of this period (v. De Vogüé, *Eglises de la Terre-Sainte*, p. 46). It has an oblong atrium, a vestibule divided into three portions, the central of which alone opens into the church, double aisles with columns of the Corinthian order, and at the end opposite to the atrium the transverse-triangular arrangement—i. e. one apse at the end of the building, and two others, one at each end of a transept-like space; beneath the centre of this space is the crypt of the Nativity.

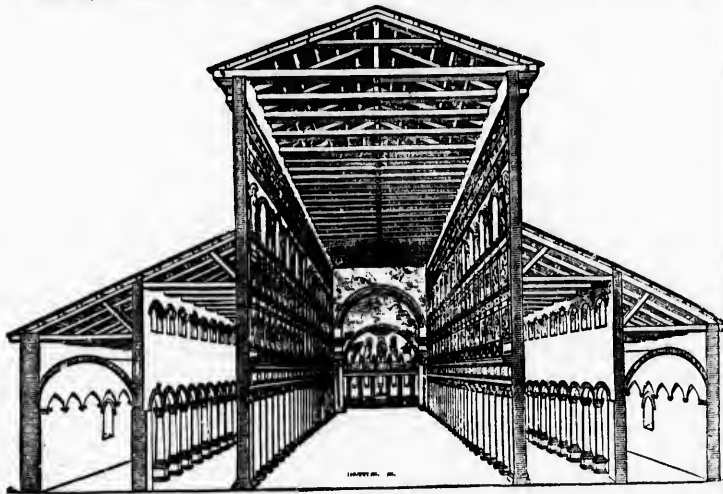
As to the churches built in Rome during the reign of Constantine much uncertainty exists: the *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to him the erection (in several cases at the request of Sylvester, then bishop of Rome) of seven churches in that city, and describes at much length the ornaments and vessels of precious metals with which they were decorated. As, however, these accounts are for the most part not confirmed by other authorities, and contain many matters of an improbable character, they are not generally accepted as trustworthy. That the churches of St. John Lateran, of St. Peter, Sts. Croce in Gerusalemme, and Sta. Costanza, were erected or converted into churches at this time is however universally admitted. Of the first nothing of the period of Constantine is now visible and no distinct account of its size or plan has come down to us. Of St. Peter's, though it no longer exists, we have a full account and careful drawings and plans. It will be seen by the accompanying woodcut that it was of the same type as the churches which Eusebius describes, a five-aisled basilica ending in an apse, before the front

of which was an atrium. It was a church of very large size, being 380 feet long by 212 wide, and covering above 80,000 English square feet; as much, as Mr. Fergusson remarks, as any mediæval cathedral except those of Milan and Seville. The transept, it will be seen, extends beyond the width of the nave. The interior range of columns would seem to have been of uniform dimensions and to have supported a horizontal entablature, the exterior range carried arches. Over the entablature was a lofty space of wall in later times divided into two layers of panels, each containing a picture, and above these were clerestory windows of great size, one over each intercolumniation. It is not certain that the prolongations of the transept beyond the walls of the nave are part of the original plans for Pope Symmachus (A.D. 498-514) as said in the *Lib. Pontif.* to have built two cubicles, or oratoria, in honour of St. John the Baptist and

five arched openings, of which that in the centre is the largest. These have been supposed by Kugler (*Gesch. der Baukunst*, i. 376) to have been originally windows; they are now built up, but it may be seen that the masses of wall which separate them were covered with thin plates of marble of two or more colours arranged in patterns. Above these openings are a like number of immense windows measuring, according to Ciampini (*Ict. Mon.* i. 75), about 28 feet high by 14 feet 6 inches wide.

The church of Sta. Pudenziana at Rome has also been assigned, with much apparent probability, to the earlier half of this century; it has been greatly modernized, but retains in the apse the finest early Christian mosaic in Rome (engraved in Gally Knight's *Italian Churches*, vol. i. pl. 23). This mosaic is assigned by most competent judges to the 4th century.

The other church at Rome which has been



St. Peter, Rome.

St. John the Evangelist. The "Confession" was a very small vault under the altar, and it is not quite clear that any vault at all was part of the original construction.

The basilica of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme deserves notice as an instance of the alteration of a hall or civil basilica into a church. It formed part of the palace known as the Sessorium. When converted into a church a very large apse was added at the east end; this apse is enclosed by chapels, of which that on the south-east is covered by a cupola and is believed to be original, that on the north-east is of a later date. It can hardly be doubted that a chapel similar to that on the other side originally occupied the site. This is the only instance in Rome of this system of enclosing the apse, one which, as has been said, was common in Africa and in parts of the East.

The lateral walls of Sta. Croce are pierced by

mentioned as of the Constantinian period, Sta. Costanza, will be described when circular and polygonal churches are spoken of.

Other churches of the basilican type were constructed by order of Constantine, as the original church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, that of the Apostles and others at the same place, but all these have been destroyed or rebuilt.

Towards the end of this century (A.D. 386) the great church of St. Paul, beyond the walls (fuor le mura) at Rome, was commenced, and until the fire of 1822, remained far less altered than any other building of the period in or near that city. It resembled St. Peter's in size and design, with the exceptions that the transept was of the same width as the nave, and that the columns of the nave supported arches instead of architraves. It was lighted by (according to Ciampini) 120 windows, each 29 feet high by 14 feet 6 inches wide.

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The church of S. Stefano in Via Latina, built by Pope Leo I. (A.D. 440-461), had fallen into ruin and the remains become covered with earth. They were discovered in the year 1858, and present some points of interest. There is a double vestibule at the east end of the church, and a remarkable arrangement in front of the altar apparently arising from a wish to preserve a small oratory already existing on the spot, but what is still more interesting is that the plan of the "chœrus cantorum" and enclosure of the altar can be traced, portions of the walls forming these enclosures existing; they were worked in stucco and painted. As this work has quite the character of the 5th century these are probably the earliest remains of the kind which have been noticed, if we except those on the basilica at Djemilah in Algeria, mentioned above. The pavement of large slabs of marble is also no doubt original.

The church of St. John Studios at Constanti-

Several churches in Central Syria are described by Count de Vogüé as belonging to this period.

The other principal type of church is, as has been said, the sepulchral or memorial, in the earlier examples usually circular in plan, in later not unfrequently polygonal. The models from which such buildings were originally developed were doubtless the sepulchres of a circular form, many of which were erected at Rome at the close of the Republican period and under the emperors. These structures were originally nearly solid, containing only small chambers; such are the tomb of Cecilia Metella and the tomb of Hadrian now enclosed in the castle of St. Angelo. In later examples, as in that of the Tossian family, and that of the Empress Helena (now commonly called Torre Pignatarra), the upper story is occupied by a chamber, taking up as much of the diameter as the necessity of making the wall strong enough to sustain a dome permitted. This chamber in some cases,



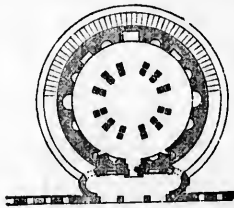
St. Paul, Rome.

ople, built A.D. 463, now a mosque known as Iurachor-Dschamissi, shows that as regards plan and design there was in the 5th century little difference between a basilican church in Rome and in Constantinople. This building has been well illustrated by Salzenberg (*Alt-Christliche Bauwerke von Constantinopel*), and it will be seen from his plates that it consists of a portico or naos, a nave and aisles divided by columns, carrying a horizontal architrave, and on this another colonnade supporting arches, so as to give semi-circular galleries over the aisles, and an outer semi-circular within, semi-hexagonal without. The proportion of width to length is greater than is usual in the basilican churches of Rome, perhaps an early indication of that preference for plans approaching to a square which Byzantine architecture afterwards so strongly manifests. The most characteristic feature is, however, the great size of the galleries, no doubt intended to be used as a gynæceum.

as in that of the Torre Pignatarra, was well lighted by large windows. From such a building to the church of Sta. Costanza the progress is easy, the external peristyle, as in Hadrian's tomb, was retained, and another was introduced into the interior on which the dome was supported. Some approach to a cruciform plan it will be seen was produced by grouping the twenty-four coupled columns which carry the dome in groups of six, and leaving a wider space between each group than between each pair of columns. A niche in the aisle wall corresponds to each inter-columniation, those corresponding to the wider intervals being of larger size than the others. In these larger niches sarcophagi were placed; one of porphyry now in the Museum at the Vatican, was removed from the niche opposite to the door. The external peristyle has been entirely destroyed. This building has been called a baptistery, but there is no trace nor record of the existence of

a piscina or font. The probability would appear to be that it was erected as a mausoleum for the Constantian family. This building is about 100 feet in diameter, the dome being about 40.

If we admit Mr. Fergusson's theory that the building erected by order of Constantine over the sepulchre of our Saviour, it must be classed among memorial churches. This appropriation of the building has been the subject of much controversy, but in the present state of our knowledge the question can scarcely be satisfactorily decided. Whoever compares the engravings of the capitals in the church at Bethlehem, given by Count de Vogüé (*Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, p. 52) with that of the capitals in the 'Dome of the Rock' (*The Holy Sepulchre*, by James Fergusson, p. 68), must see that both are of one closely similar design and probably of the same date, which there can be little doubt is the earlier part of the 4th century. The 'Dome of the Rock' is an octagon 155 feet in diameter, with two aisles and a central dome, this is supported by four great piers, between each of which are three pillars supporting arches springing direct from their capitals; the space between these and the external wall is divided into two aisles by a screen of eight piers and



Sta. Constantia, Rome.

sixteen pillars—two pillars intervening between each pier. On the capitals of these pillars rest blocks which carry a frieze and cornice; these last carry arches above which was a second cornice. The whole building has undergone much alteration, and these capitals and friezes appear to be the best preserved portions of the original design.

It seems clear that one of two hypotheses must be held; either that the existing remains are those of a building of the period of Constantine, erected on the spot and still retaining their original architectural arrangement, or that portions of such a building have been removed from another site, and re-erected where we now find them.

Eusebius (*De Vita Constant.* li. 50) tells us of another octagonal church erected by order of Constantine, of which no trace now remains. This was at Antioch; Eusebius describes it as of wonderful height, and surrounded by many chambers (*oikous*) and exedrae (*ἐξέδραις*), which it would appear were entered from the galleries (*χωρημάτων*) which both above and below ground encircled the church.

A church was also built by Constantine at Constantinople (Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* iv. 58, 59) as a memorial church of the Apostles (*μαρτύριον ἐπὶ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων*), and at the

same time as a place for his own burial. This building was destroyed by Justinian, and its precise form is unknown; but that it was in some manner cruciform appears from the distich of Gregory of Nazianzus, in the poem of the dream of Anastasius:—

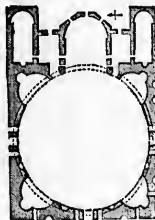
Σὺν τοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἔδος Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν
Πλευραῖς σταυροῦσι τέτραχα τεμόνευον.

It would seem that it stood in the centre of a large atrium, surrounded by porticoes. Bunsen (*Die Basiliken des Christl. Roms*, s. 36) thinks that in this edifice we may discern the germ of the Byzantine type of church.

It is a matter of some difficulty to distinguish between a sepulchral chapel or tomb and a memorial church; the one class in fact runs into the other, the distinction between them depending upon the object which the builder had in view; when he constructed a large edifice in which services were to be frequently held, still more if this building was intended to be the cathedral church of a bishop or the church of a district, the structure must be considered as a church, although it was also constructed in order to honour a martyr and to protect his tomb; when on the other hand it was of small size, and its primary object was to contain the tomb or tombs either of the builder or of some saint, it must be considered as only a sepulchral chapel although containing an altar, and although services were occasionally celebrated within it.

Several remarkable buildings of the 5th century belong to the first class. One of these is the church of St. George at Thessalonica, which

consists of a circular nave 79 feet in diameter, covered by a dome, a chancel, and an apse; the walls of the nave are 20 feet thick, and in them are eight great recesses, two of which serve as entrances and one as a sort of vestibule to the chancel, the roof is covered with a magnificent series of mosaics. The cathedral



Cathedral at Bosrah.

at Bosrah, in the Honouran, the date of which is ascertained to be A.D. 512, has a plan with several points of similarity to that of St. George, particularly as regards the chancel.

In Italy some circular churches were constructed to carry, not domes, but wooden roofs; of these the most remarkable example is St. Stefano Rotondo, at Rome, built between A.D. 487 and A.D. 483. This church had originally two aisles and is of very large size, having a diameter of about 210 feet.

The church of St. Lorenzo at Milan, once the cathedral of the city, is very remarkable, as shewing an attempt to combine the circular with the square plan. Its real date has not been ascertained, but it is probably of the earlier part of the 5th century. The main building has lost all original character through repairs, but according to Hübsch the original walls exist to a height of nearly 40 feet, and the ground plan may therefore be accepted as original.

It will be of the church that on the north side has been a vestibule on the south is as a baptistery; the building was consecrated as a chapel, a purpose originally destined for the line was also of the 5th century have contained 415 really distinct places of deposit. Hübsch, however, founded chiefly work, that the main church. In this instance memorial church juxtaposition. The class remain to two large circular north side of St. was afterwards



and the other Honorius, or at the Stadt Rom, erected to St. Peter.

The building attributed to the emperor on the authority of the position and construction that it seems probable the same time, the Emperor Honorius which have come but seven square feet in diameter 100 feet in diameter.

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Χριστοῦ μαθῆται
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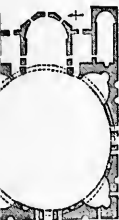
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Cathedral at B-wah.

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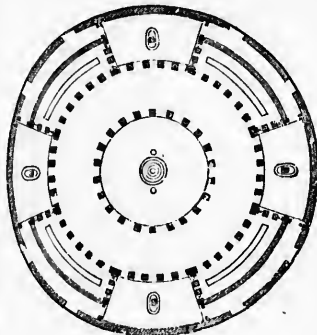
churches were roof- ed, but wooden roofs- table example is St. s, built between A.D. church had originally large size, having a

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It will be observed that chapels are annexed to the church on the north, south, and east; that on the north is supposed by Hübsch to have been a vestibule, that now called St. Aquilino on the south is thought to have been constructed as a baptistery, that on the east in all probability was constructed to serve as a sepulchral chapel, a purpose to which, whether it was originally destined or not, the chapel of St. Aquilino was also applied as early as the beginning of the 5th century, if the sarcophagus said to have contained the body of Ataulphus (ob. A.D. 415) really did so, and if this was its original place of deposit.

Hübsch, however, gives it as his opinion, founded chiefly on the character of the brick-work, that the chapels are later in date than the main church.

In this instance we have the two classes, the memorial church and the sepulchral chapel, in juxtaposition. A few instances of the latter class remain to be mentioned, and firstly the two large circular edifices which stood on the north side of St. Peter's at Rome, one of which was afterwards called the church of St. Andrew,



St. Stefano Rotondo, Roma.

and the other having been the sepulchre of Honorius, or at least of his two wives (*Besch. der Stadt Rom*, II. i. 95), was afterwards dedicated to St. Petronilla.

The building of the church of St. Andrew is attributed to Pope Symmachus (A.D. 498-514) on the authority of the *Liv. Pontif.*, but the position and connexion of the buildings was such that it seems probable that both were built at the same time, which was apparently that of the Emperor Honorius. According to the plans which have come down to us they had no apses, but seven square-ended recesses in the thickness of the walls. They were of large size, about 100 feet in diameter.

A still existing building of the same class is the chapel at Ravenna, built by the Empress Galla Placidia (ob. 450), which, though more properly a sepulchral chapel than a church, cannot be widely passed over here. It is in plan a Latin cross without an apse: from the intersection of the arms rises a tower enclosing a small dome. This example is of peculiar interest, as the earliest known instance of this plan which after-

wards came to be so extensively used in Western Europe. Recent excavations have shown that the chapel was originally entered by a portico, which was in connexion with the atrium or narthex of the adjacent church of Sta. Croce. (*De Rossi, Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* 1866, p. 73.)

A further account of sepulchral chapels will be found under CHAPEL.

Although heathen temples were in consequence of their plans little suited for adaptation to Christian worship, they were occasionally during the earlier centuries of the Christian era, as well as in later times, converted to this purpose. One of the most remarkable early examples of this transformation is that of the temple of Venus at Aphrodisias, in Caria, where the original building was enclosed by a wall and an apse added at one end, the cella demolished, the columns of the posticum removed and placed in a line with the lateral columns, and a wall pierced with windows was raised on the lateral colonnade as to form a clerestory. A church was thus formed of large size, about 200 feet long by 100 feet wide. Messrs. Texier and Pullan (*Byz. Arch.* p. 89) believe this transformation to have taken place between the periods of Constantine and of Theodosius.

The period of Justinian is one of special importance in the history of ecclesiastical architecture. From this time the basilica plan went, in the East, almost or entirely out of use, and a modification of the plan of St. Sophia was almost exclusively adopted, the modified plan being a quadrangular figure approaching a square with a dome covering the centre, and a large internal porch or narthex at the entrance. This plan, however, did not originate with the architect of St. Sophia, the germ of it is perhaps to be found in the domed oratoria or Kalybés of Syria; from such a simple dome—a building like the cathedral of Ezra, in which the dome is surrounded by an aisle, and an apse added—is readily derived, this example dates from A.D. 510; and if to such a plan a narthex be added, we have the typical Byzantine plan, as in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople, built under Justinian, but somewhat earlier than St. Sophia. The peculiar feature of the latter church is the placing of the dome not upon piers and arches on every side, but upon semi-domes east and west, by which means a vast space, more than 200 feet long by 100 feet wide, totally unencumbered by piers or columns, was obtained. This construction has, however, never been copied in Christian churches, but it has served as a model for the mosques of Constantinople.

All the minuter peculiarities of construction and of detail, however, henceforward prevail in the East, to the exclusion of the Roman style, which previously was in use. In the West, examples of Byzantine character continue to be very rare. St. Vitale at Ravenna is perhaps the only prominent example, until a much later period. The church of St. Sophia is, however, in itself a monument of such importance as to require to be noticed in some detail.

It is a building of very considerable dimensions, covering about 70,000 square feet, exclusive of the portions of the atrium (or exo-narthex), the baptistery, and other annexed buildings.

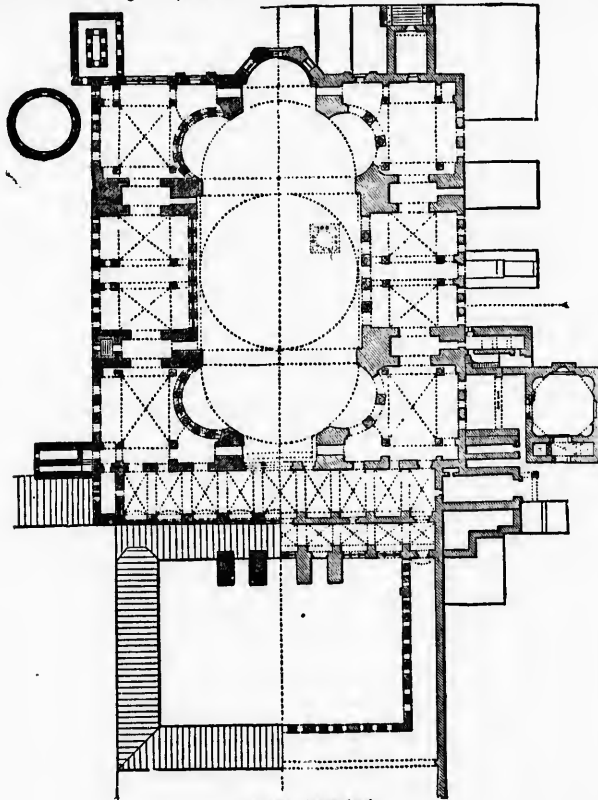
From the exo-narthex, the principal or eso-

narthex, 205 feet in length internally, by 26 feet in breadth, is entered. The principal mass of the building forms nearly a square 235 feet north and south, by 250 feet east and west, with an apse projecting on the east side. The central dome is 107 feet in diameter by 46 feet in height, and rises 180 feet from the floor. The semi-domes are of the same diameter. The aisles are spacious, but, in consequence of the exigencies of the constructional arrangement, are so divided as

with ornaments in relief; but those now existing do not seem to be of the period of Justinian.

All the columns, capitals, &c., are of porphyry or marble. The floors and all other flat spaces are covered with marble slabs of the richest colours, the domes and curved surfaces with gold ground mosaics.

Little is known as regards the precise position of the various fixed appliances by which the church was fitted for divine worship. The altar



St. Sophia, Constantinople.

to form rather a series of chambers than continuous galleries. There is, it will be seen, but one apse, in front of which is a shallow chancel space, covered by a barrel-vault. On the upper floor are chambers corresponding with those below, which furnished places for women.

The windows are filled with slabs of marble, pierced with square openings filled with thick pieces of cast glass. When the windows are large they are divided into three or six parts by columns and architraves. The doors are of bronze,

is supposed to have stood in the chancel space or bema, in front of the apse; the iconostasis appears, according to Salzenberg, to have been placed at the western end of the bema, and to have been about 14 feet high. From the poem of Paul the Silentiary, we learn that it was of silver, had three doors, the central the largest, and 12 columns raised on a stylobate, and was adorned with figures (probably bust figures) of our Lord, the Virgin Mary, Prophets and Apostles, in discs or medallions. Whether these figures were in the

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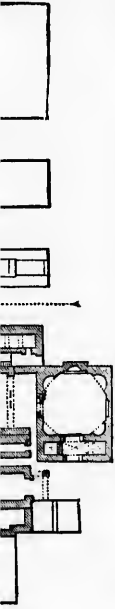
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Paul the chrus or pla apt that the apt for the that of the " *γλῶσσος* *δὲ* chrus extend which the su nearly in the towards the have been di seles, to the decons, and readers and si nus to have l by Justinian o sage it is said We should no that the true much gilding the case of the have been ap the priests.

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but those now existing period of Justinian. Columns, &c., are of porphyry and all other flat spaces and slabs of the richest carved surfaces with gold

and the precise position of the columns by which the church was worshipped. The altar



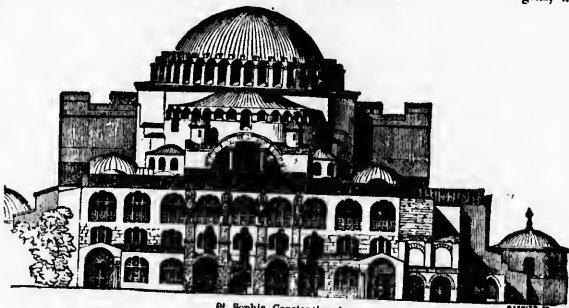
in the chancel, space of the iconostasis appears, to have been placed at the west end of the eastern semi-dome, possibly therefore the line of division between the enclosures for the superior and inferior clerics ran at this point, the chorus for the readers and singers, extending thence to the ambo.

Two compartments, known as the prothesis and diaconicon, are mentioned by Byzantine writers, but it has been a matter of dispute

CHURCH

where they were situated. It would seem probable that the compartment north of the iconostasis was the prothesis and that south, the diaconicon. The seat for the emperor was on the south side, and near the diaconicon; that for the empress, also on the south side, but in one of the central divisions of the triforium.

The circular building was the sacristy, the rectangular, the baptistery. The same emperor, also, built a church at Constantinople—that of St. Sergius, now called



St. Sophia, Constantinople.

figures of our Lord, St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, and others, woven in silk and gold.

The circumference of the apse was occupied by the syntronos or seats for the patriarch and bishops. These were of silver-gilt, separated by shafts, probably carrying canopies.

Paul the Silentiary says nothing as to the chorus or place for the readers and singers, except that the iconostasis divided the portion set apart for the celebration of the mysteries from that of the "many-tongued multitude" (*πολυγλώσσου ὄχλου*). This seems to show that the chorus extended from the iconostasis to the ambo, which the same authority states to have stood nearly in the middle of the church, but rather towards the east. This space may, however, have been divided into two parts; one, the solens, to the east, set apart for the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons; the other for the readers and singers. The solens is said by Codinus to have been originally of onyx, but made by Justinian of gold (*χρυσῶν*). In the same passage it is said that the ambo was made of gold. We should no doubt understand in both cases that the true meaning of the passage is that much gilding was employed as a decoration. In the case of the solens the gilding may probably have been applied to the seats or stalls for the priests.

It would appear from the measurement given by Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. xxxi.) that the holy conch (*ἅγια κόγχη*) commenced at the western end of the eastern semi-dome, possibly therefore the line of division between the enclosures for the superior and inferior clerics ran at this point, the chorus for the readers and singers, extending thence to the ambo.

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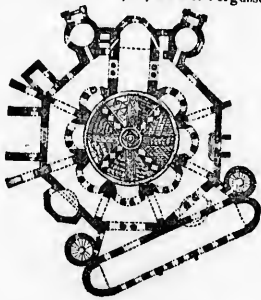
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The circular building was the sacristy, the rectangular, the baptistery.

The same emperor, also, built a church at Constantinople—that of St. Sergius, now called

Kutchuk Agia Sophia (Little St. Sophia)—which evidently suggested the plan which eventually became the normal one of all Byzantine churches. In this the peculiar form of capitals and treatment of foliage, which are characteristic of Byzantine art, are fully shown.

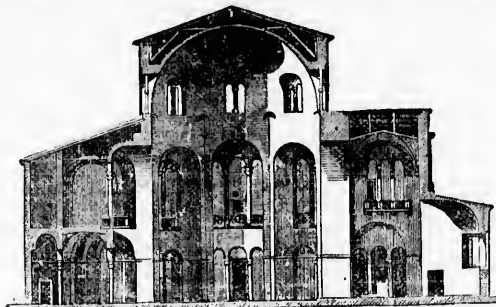
The church of S. Vitale at Ravenna, built between 526 and 547, is, as Mr. Fergusson has



St. Vitale, Ravenna.

remarked, so far as the arrangement of the dome, of the galleries, and of the pillars which support them, almost identical with St. Sergius. But S. Vitale has a sort of clerestory below the dome, which is raised about 20 feet higher. The arrangement of the aisles, choir, and exterior walls differ, it will be seen, very much; and it would seem that the architect had studied the building at Rome known as the Temple of Minerva Medica. S. Vitale is thoroughly By-

zantine in detail, and, in spite of most tasteless repairs and additions, still retains much that is characteristic and interesting, especially in the choir, the lower part of which is lined with slabs of precious marbles, and the upper with the well-known mosaics.



S. Vitale, Ravenna.

While, however, churches with domes were constructed, basilican churches were also built. In connection with that of St. Sergius at Constantinople, was a basilican church dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, which has been destroyed. The church of the monastery of St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, which still exists, is basilican. It has never as yet been well illustrated; but the

interior apse are innovations upon the original plan.

Another basilican church of the period of Justinian is that of Dana, between Antioch and Bir. This, likewise, has a single apse, but the end of the church is a straight line, oblong

apartments—no doubt to serve for the prothesis and diaconicon—being placed one on each side. It is remarkable that the arch of the apse is of the horseshoe form, and those of the nave are very much stilted. The capitals are Roman in character.

The finest example of a basilican church of this period is, however, that of S. Apollinare in



S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.

detail of the capitals appears to be more Roman than Byzantine. It is a basilica with one apse; but in order to form a chapel for the supposed site of the burning bush, an interior apse has been formed. At the sides are four chapels, but it would seem probable that the chapels and the

Classe, at Ravenna, dedicated in 549. Here the eastern ends of the aisles are parted off, and terminate in apses, of which arrangement this is, perhaps, the earliest instance of which the date is well ascertained. It is a church of very noble proportions, and retains the decorations of

the apse in a complete state. The interior of the basilica is Roman in character, the capitals resting on a cross with a cross.

Attached to the church is a tall circular tower, which is the same age as the church tower. The tower stands on the site of the tower standing at Ravenna. The tower stands on the site of the tower standing at Ravenna. The tower stands on the site of the tower standing at Ravenna.

The cathedral of Ravenna, built in the 6th century, is particularly interesting. It is a basilica with a single apse, and is the finest example of a basilican church of this period. The interior of the church is in a state of ruin, but the exterior is still in good preservation. The church is a fine example of the architecture of the 6th century.

To this section of the churches it is desirable to add the Basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna, dedicated in 549. Here the eastern ends of the aisles are parted off, and terminate in apses, of which arrangement this is, perhaps, the earliest instance of which the date is well ascertained. It is a church of very noble proportions, and retains the decorations of

upon the original

of the period of
between Antioch and
single apse, but the
straight line, oblong

the apse in marble and mosaic, in a very complete state. The capitals are, as seems to be usual in the basilican churches of this period, more Roman than Byzantine in character. Upon the capital rests a block or dossieret, ornamented with a cross, as in many other churches of the time.

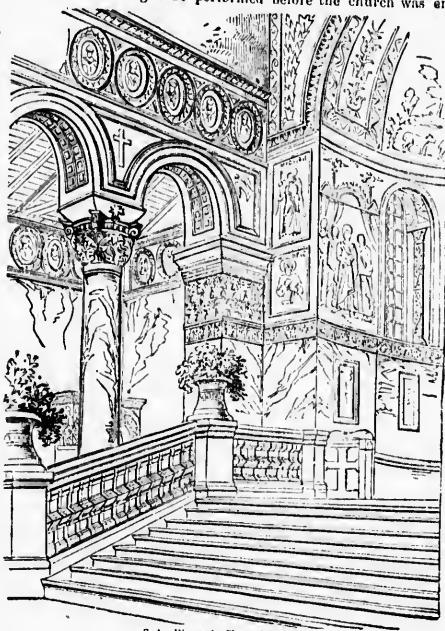
Attached to the west front is a tall circular tower of seven stages, which is probably of the same age, and perhaps the earliest extant example of a church tower. Though, according to Hübisch (*Alt. Christl. Kirchen*, p. 34), the lower part of the tower standing near the cathedral of Ravenna may probably date from the previous century, and parts of some other towers, both at Rome and at Ravenna, may belong to the beginning of the 6th. Attached to the church of S. Vitale at Ravenna are two small round towers, which have perhaps never been carried to their full intended height.

The cathedral of Parenzo in Istria, built circ. A.D. 542, is too interesting to be passed over, particularly as it has undergone extremely little alteration, and retains the atrium before the front, and the baptistery opening from the atrium on the side opposite to the church—the baptistery, unfortunately, in a semi-ruinous state. Here, it will be seen, the aisles have apsidal ends internally, but the wall is flat externally. The apse is of peculiar interest, retaining the cathedra for the bishop and the bench for the clergy, in apparently an unaltered state, while the wall behind, to about one half of its height, is covered with an extremely rich and tasteful decoration in "opus sectile," the patterns being composed of pieces of the richest marbles, lapis lazuli, and mother-of-pearl. Above the cathedra is a cross standing on a globe, and figures of dolphins, tridents, cornucopias, and burning candles are sparingly introduced among the patterns of architectural character. On the west front, and on the east end above the apse, are remains of fresco paintings of an early date. In this church, although basilican in plan, the capitals are Byzantine in character.

To this account of individual churches it may perhaps be desirable to add, for the sake of giving a clearer idea of what a church of the period which has been under consideration was, an attempt to reconstruct in imagination such a building in a complete state with its fittings and decorations. Existing remains, with the assistance to be derived from the writers of the time, allow this to be done with sufficient assurance of accuracy. A basilican church of the first class in Rome,

Constantinople, or one of the larger cities of the Roman Empire, may be thus described.

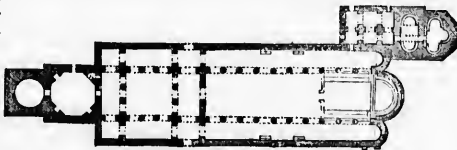
A stately gateway gave admittance to a large court (atrium) surrounded by covered colonnades, in the centre of which was a fountain or a vase (cautharus) containing water, so that ablutions might be performed before the church was en-



S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.

tered. On one side of this atrium and entered from it was the baptistery. The basilica itself was usually, when the circumstances of the site permitted, placed on the western side of the atrium, so that the rising sun shone on its front. This

front was pierced by three or five doorways according to the number of the aisles, and in that part which rose above the colonnade of the atrium, windows of immense size admitted light to the interior; the wall between and above these windows was covered sometimes, in parts, with mosaic of glass in gold and colour, but usually with plates of richly coloured marbles and porphyries arranged so as to form patterns;



Parenzo.

dated in 549. Here the
are parted off, and ter-
a arrangement this is,
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is a church of very
ains the decorations of

sometimes, however, stucco painted was the cheaper substitute. When the building was, as was always the case at Rome, of brick, the same decoration, by means of marble slabs or of stucco, was, if not actually carried out, in all probability, almost always projected for the whole exterior of the building. In only one case at Rome—that of the transept of S. Pietro in Vincoli, built A.D. 412—is the finish of the brickwork such as to lead to the conclusion that it was intended to remain uncovered.

The doors were of bronze adorned with sculptures in relief, and frequently gilt, or of wood, often richly inlaid or carved. Curtains of the richest stuffs, often of purple or scarlet, embroidered with gold, hung at the doors, to exclude the heat of summer or the cold of winter while the doors stood open.

In the interior the whole floor was covered either with tessellated pavements or with slabs of many-coloured marbles arranged in beautiful patterns. The aisles were separated from the nave by ranges of marble columns whose capitals supported either arches or horizontal architraves. The great width of the nave, in a first-class basilica frequently more than 80 feet, and the forest of columns on either hand (one of the colonnades often containing 24 or more columns) when there were double aisles, produced an architectural effect of great magnificence. The clerestory wall was pierced by numerous immense windows with arched heads, one of which was over each intercolumniation. These windows were no doubt divided by columns or pilasters and architraves, and the divisions fitted with slabs of marble pierced in a variety of patterns—these perforations were in many or most cases fitted with talc, alabaster, or other transparent or semi-transparent stones, or with glass either plain or coloured.

The roof was flat and of wood, where magnificence was sought it was richly adorned with carving and gilt. The semi-dome which covered the apse was covered with mosaic pictures, the subject being usually Christ, either seated or standing, with his apostles ranged on each hand. The earliest existing example of this arrangement is in the church of Sta. Pudenziana at Rome, which although it has been much injured and largely repaired, still shows so much goodness of style that it can hardly be attributed to a later date than the 4th century. Where a transept existed it was usually divided from the nave by an arch, the face of which fronting the nave was often also covered with mosaics; a colossal bust of Christ was often the central object of the picture, being placed over the crown of the arch, while on either side and below are represented the seven candlesticks, the symbols of the evangelists, and the twenty-four elders.

Details as to the arrangement of the fittings of churches will be found under the respective heads; it may be sufficient here to say that the apse was furnished with a bench following its circumference for the higher clergy, in the centre of which was a raised seat (cathedra) for the bishop; that the altar was usually placed on the chord of the apse at the top of a flight of steps, and parted off from the nave by railings (cancelli); below it was often a platform or space (solens), and beyond this a quadrangular, usually oblong, enclosure (chorus, presbyterium;

the last perhaps improperly), in which the singers and readers were stationed. This enclosure was formed by railings or dwarf walls, and connected with these was theambo or reading desk. At Rome, and probably elsewhere, a space on either side of the chorus was also ruled in, that on the right being called 'senatorium,' and appropriated to senators or other men of rank, that on the left, called 'matroneum,' to women of the same degrees. Where a gallery, or, as we now say, a triforium existed, it was set apart for women, but this arrangement was not very common in the West.

Benches or other seats were probably provided in the chorus, the senatorium, and the matroneum, but the rest of the church was left altogether open and free. These seats were either of marble or of carved wood, in many instances gilded, the railings of the same materials or of bronze. Over the altar was a lofty and richly decorated canopy (ciborium), from the arches of which hung curtains of stuffs of the richest colours interwoven with gold. Like curtains often depended from the arches of the nave, and hung at the doors. Vases, crowns, and lamps of silver or of gold hung from the arches, or were placed upon the dwarf walls or partitions which separated the various divisions of the edifice.

According to the proposed plan, the history of the ecclesiastical architecture of the period which follows, viz. from the death of Justinian to that of Charlemagne, will be treated of under separate sections.

IV. *The Period from the death of Justinian to the death of Charlemagne.*—1. *The western part of the territory of the Eastern Empire.*—During the reign of the Emperor Justinian, churches were built on the basilican plan, as well as on one derived probably in part from such churches as that at Ezra, in central Syria, in part from the circular or polygonal churches which had been constructed throughout Christendom. Soon after the time of Justinian the basilican type was no longer followed, but a peculiar plan was adopted, that in which the building assumes a form approaching to a square, the central part being covered by a dome placed on a drum pierced with windows. The period which followed the death of Justinian was one of political trouble, and hence examples of the progress of Byzantine architecture during the latter part of the 6th and the 7th centuries are somewhat deficient. The church of St. Clement at Ancona, however, probably belongs to this period, as the dome is raised on a low drum pierced with windows; in plan the church approximates to that of the later Greek churches. The church of St. Irene at Constantinople, which may probably date from the earlier half of the 8th century, shows a further advance, as the dome is there raised on a lofty drum pierced with windows; some features of the earlier plan are, however, preserved, as there is only one apse, and as its form is oblong. The church of St. Nicholas at Myra is perhaps more modern than either; it has a double narthex, three apses, a lesser one on each side of the larger, and a dome raised on a drum in which are windows. If the remains of the iconostasis and ciborium shewn in plate lviii. of Texier and Pullan's *Byzantine*

Architecture mention, the whole of the building, dimensions, about 80 wide in the transept in width.

Another church, probably of about the same date, exists in ruins at Tabala in Lycia.

2. *Armenia.*—The churches remain as yet been known to be formed as existing. The 6th centuries, the 7th, must refer to a great high antiquity churches, but it is really of early date.

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The church of St. Simeon (1204) to date from the 5th century, follows in a late Georgian arrangement, how Borrah in the H.

The two rooms which flank the nave are doubtless mosaic, but to which must be referred.

The primitive Ekmiazin, however, but wanted probably founded alterations and one in 705.

The church erected between Byzantine than

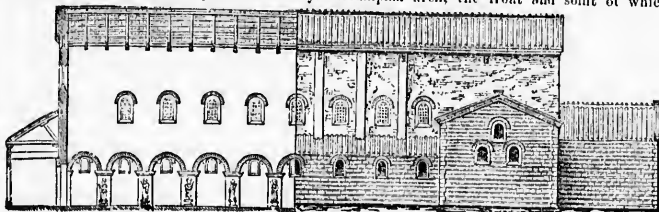
3. *Italy.*—In the 6th century, the Roman Mura (578-590) Agnese (625-633) were undertaken in one respect,

Architecture are those of the original construction, the whole space east of the dome was parted off from the bema. This church is of considerable dimensions, about 100 feet in extreme length by 60 wide in the eastern part, the nartheces extending in width to about 115 feet.

Another church of much interest, and probably of about the same date, is that which exists in ruins near the remains of the ancient Tabala in Lyca.

2. *Armenia and the adjacent provinces.*—The churches remaining in these countries have not as yet been studied with sufficient care and knowledge to allow very satisfactory conclusions to be formed as to the real dates of those now existing. The Persian invasions in the 5th and 6th centuries, and the Mahomedan conquest in the 7th, must have caused damage and destruction to a great portion of the older buildings; a high antiquity is nevertheless claimed for several churches, but how much of the existing building is really of early date, is very uncertain.

One of the earliest is apparently that at Digiour near Ani in Armenia, which Mr. Ferguson thinks may be referred to the 7th century. It bears an evident resemblance in style, though not much in plan, to some of the churches of the Houran dating from the previous century.



SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

The church of St. Hripsime near Etchmiadzin is believed by Dr. Neale (*Holy Eastern Church*, i. 204) to date from the 6th century, and he considers its peculiar plan to have been the form followed in a large proportion of the Armenian and Georgian churches. The germ of the arrangement, however, exists in the cathedral of Beirah in the Houran of A. D. 512.

The two recesses in these Armenian churches which flank the apse in which the altar stood, were doubtless used for the prothesis and diaconicon, but to what use the other two were applied must be matter of conjecture.

The primate church of Armenia, that of Etchmiadzin, has something of the same arrangement, but wants the western chamber. It was probably founded in 524, but underwent many alterations and reparations, one very important one in 705.

The church of Usunlar is said to have been erected between 718 and 726; its plan is rather Byzantine than distinctively Armenian.

3. *Italy.*—In Rome but few important works were undertaken during the 6th, 7th, or 8th centuries, the rebuilding of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura (578-590) (the present choir), and of S. Agnese (625-638) were among the most considerable undertakings. These buildings are alike in one respect, viz. that they have a gallery or

triforium carried over the aisles and along the wall of the front. At S. Lorenzo the aisle roofs have been destroyed, but no doubt once existed. In other respects they do not differ from the earlier churches.

The church of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio alle tre Fontane, near Rome, founded 625-638 and rebuilt 772-795, is however very remarkable in an architectural point of view, as it is not constructed with columns taken from older buildings, but altogether of new material and with considerable originality.

In the early part of the 9th century three churches were built in Rome by Pope Paschal I. (817-824), Sta. Prassede, Sta. Cecilia, and Sta. Maria, in Domenica. All still exist, and though badly injured by repairs and alterations, still present very much that is interesting and original. The first has a nave and aisles, a transept, and a single apse. The columns dividing the nave from the aisles are antique and support an entablature, the ranges are broken by three oblong piers, which carry arches spanning the nave, but these, according to Hubsch, are not original, but inserted not very long after the construction of the building. The transept is entered from the nave by a triumphal arch, the front and soffit of which

are covered with mosaics, as are also the apse and the wall on each side of it. All these were placed there by Pope Paschal, and are most valuable monuments of the state of art of his period.

Below the raised tribune is a "confessio"—a vault under the high altar. The west end of the transept (the church standing nearly north and south) was at an early time parted off by a wall, and on this a low tower has been raised. The part thus walled off is of peculiar interest, as perhaps no portion of a church of so early a date remains in so unaltered a state. The walls are covered with remains of frescoes which seem to be coeval with the mosaics, and the windows retain the pierced slabs of marble, the apertures of which still contain fragments of the laminae of tale through which light was admitted.

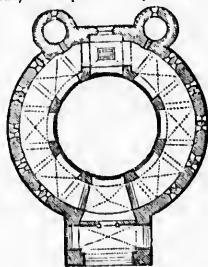
The chapel of S. Zeno, attached to the east side of the nave, has been noticed under CHAPEL. The doorway leading into it is of great interest to the architectural antiquary, as it shows that in the beginning of the 9th century the prevalent style of ornament was that formed by knots or plaited patterns of the same character as those in use in England and elsewhere between A. D. 700 and A. D. 1000. The execution is feeble, scratchy, and irregular.

Sta. Cecilia has been greatly altered, but

retains very interesting mosaics, also the work of Pope Paschal. The distribution and subjects are much the same as those at Sta. Prassede.

The Roman churches of this date, however interior in style to those of the earlier period, must have presented an appearance of equal splendour; mosaic and precious marbles were not spared, nor doubtless gilded roofs. Doors were of bronze, or even of more costly materials, for Honorius I. is said in the *Lib. Pontif.* to have covered the doors of the Vatican basilica with silver weighing 975 lbs.

Examples of churches of the period under consideration, with well-ascertained dates, are not so readily to be found in other parts of Italy as in Rome; but a few buildings exist which can be assigned on historical data to this period, the character of which is quite in accordance with that of those of other countries whose date can be ascertained. Such are the Duomo Vecchio and Sta. Giulia at Brescia, and SS. Apostoli at Florence. The first of these is by some assigned to the latter part of the 7th century, by others, with greater probability, to about A.D. 774; it is a large circular church about 125 feet in diameter, covered by a dome of 65 feet internal diameter; it is extremely plain, having no shafts or columns, but piers carrying square-edged



Duomo Vecchio, Brescia.

arches springing from very simply moulded impost; the whole is roughly and irregularly built.

Sta. Giulia forms part of a convent founded by Desiderius, King of the Lombards (757-773) and is a basilican church.

SS. Apostoli at Florence is believed on respectable authority to have been dedicated in the presence of Charles the Great; it is a small basilican church with antique columns, probably brought from Fiesole.

The Duomo of Torcello, near Venice, is believed to have been originally built in the 7th century, but largely repaired or rebuilt in A.D. 1000. It is on the basilican plan, with ranges of columns dividing the nave from the aisles; it is particularly interesting, as preserving in a more perfect state than elsewhere the internal arrangement of the apse, the bishop's cathedra being placed against the central point of the curve at the top of a flight of steps, on either side of which are six concentric ranges of steps for the presbyters; the altar is placed on a platform in front, and a screen divides the presbytery or chorus from the nave. Under the apse is a small crypt. In front of the church

are the traces of a baptistery, square externally, octagonal within. The apse is flanked by two minor apses, which may probably date from the rebuilding. This church has much resemblance to the cathedral of Parenzo in Istria. Close to its west front stands the small church of Sta. Fosca, which by some is believed to be of the same date as the Duomo, by others is referred to the 9th or 10th century. S. Giovanni in Fonte, the baptistery of the Cathedral of Verona, though much altered and repaired, probably dates from a period not later than the 9th century; it is a small building with nave, aisles, and apse.

4. *France, Germany, and Switzerland.*—Though many and large churches were constructed in the opulent cities of the Roman provinces of Gallia during the period of Roman occupation, nothing has come down to our time except a few fragments. The description given by Silvanus Apollinaris (*Epist.* xii.) of the gilded roof, the glass mosaic of the walls, the variously coloured marbles, and the stony wood of columns seems to shew that in their pristine glory the churches of Lyons or of "opulent Vienna" were little inferior in splendour to those of the imperial city.

Churches continued to be constructed under the rule of the Teutonic conquerors, although doubtless of much diminished magnificence. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 14) describes the basilica built by Perpetuus at Tours, in honour of Eustochius, in the following words: "Habet in longum pedes centum sexaginta, in latum sexaginta; habet in altum usque ad cameram pedes quadringenta quinque, fenestras in altario triginti duas, in capso viginti; ostia octo, tria in altario, quinque in capso."

Hubsch (*Alt-Christl. Kirchen.* pl. xviii. figs. 6 and 7) has made a conjectural plan and section of this church, believing it to have been planned as parallel-triapsal.

The same historian (ii. 16) describes the church built by St. Namatius at Clermont, as 150 feet long, 60 feet broad, and 50 feet high, with a round apse, and aisles on each side. It had, he says, 42 windows, 70 columns, and 8 doors. The walls of the altar were adorned with "Opus sarsurium," i.e. scutell work, of various marbles.

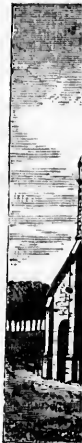
At Perigueux are said (J. H. Parker, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 248) to be remains of a church of this period, remarkable as having barrel vaults carried on arches transversely across the aisles. At Beauvais, attached to the cathedral, is a portion, no doubt the nave and aisles, of a much earlier church known as the Basse Oeuvre; it closely resembles in character the buildings in Italy, such as SS. Anastasio near Rome, which are believed to date from the 7th or 8th centuries; but it may even be older, as it is simply a building Roman in style, and so plain as to give none of that assistance towards the formation of an opinion as to the date which mouldings or ornament afford. The great size of the windows is, however, perhaps, an indication of early date. Several other smaller examples of like character are said to exist within the diocese of Beauvais.

In the baptistery at Poitiers we have an example of a somewhat more ambitious attempt at classical architecture; but the manner is

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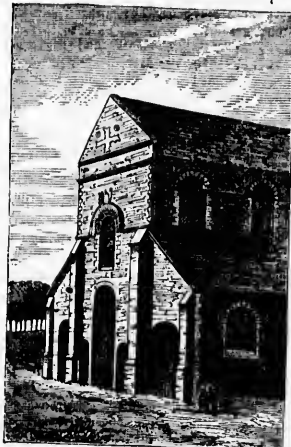
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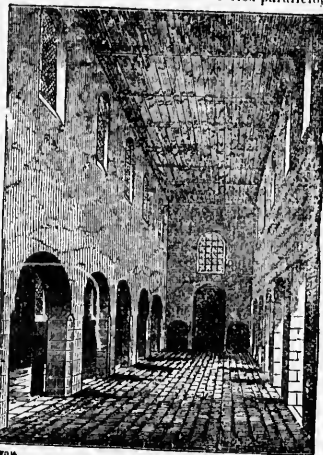
which the ornamental pieces are put together denotes an utter barbarism and want of architectural knowledge or taste.

Somewhat akin to this building are some churches not far from the Loire, as St. Genéroux near Poitiers, Savenières in Anjou, &c.; both these show a reminiscence of Roman methods of building, and the former has much decoration by triangular pediments and a sort of mosaic in brickwork, probably a variety of the opus saracurium of Gregory of Tours. The buildings of this class are ascribed by the French antiquaries with much probability to the period from the 6th to the 8th century.

In the valley of the Rhene and the adjacent territories, where are abundance of remains of Roman architecture and plenty of excellent and durable freestone, the classical models were so well copied for several centuries that it is matter of great doubt to what date many buildings should be assigned. One very characteristic example is



BENEFICE.



work, but the impostes generally are of the rudest kind, though one or two shew mouldings of a somewhat complicated character and apparently properly cut, whether these are the work of a later time or not is not clear. Beneath the central tower is a sort of cupola resting on pendentives, and pierced in the centre with a large orifice.

When, however, the influence of Charles the Great, whose regard for architecture is well known, began to make itself felt, we find a marked improvement in architecture; besides the most remarkable monument of his reign, the minster of Aix-la-Chapelle, we have several other churches erected either under him or his immediate successors, which enable us to form a definite conception of the style of the period.

Before these are described one building of very anomalous character should however be mentioned. This is the gateway at Lorsch, not far from Worms. It is a two-storied parallelogram,

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the porch of the cathedral of Avignon, which was all the character of a building of the lower empire, but in Mr. Fergusson's opinion is not older than the Carlovingian era. The same ornaments are found on this porch and in the interior of the church, and it would therefore seem that the whole building is of about the same date.

In the Jura, not far from Orbe, at the convent of Romain-motier, a church was dedicated in A.D. 753 by Pope Stephen II., and the nave, transepts, and tower now existing, are believed to be those of the original structure. The two-storied narthex Mr. Fergusson thinks may be a century or two, but Blavignac (*Hist. de l'Archit. de la Savoie*, &c.) only a little later. The columns of the nave are circular masses, only three diameters in height, corbelled out square at the top, the bases quadrangular blocks. The arches have a sunk face, but no ornament or moulding. Some shafts in the eastern part of the church have capitals rudely imitating Roman

the lower storey pierced with three large arch ways, and was no doubt the gateway leading into the atrium of the church of the monastery, of which class of buildings this is perhaps the only existing example (at least in the west), of an early date.

The most remarkable and most authentic work of the period in Germany or France is the minster of Aix-la-Chapelle, the original character of which, though hidden by repairs and mistaken attempts at decoration, can still be satisfactorily ascertained: it was commenced in 796, and dedicated in 804; it is externally a polygon of sixteen sides, to the west was attached a tower-like building, flanked by two circular towers containing staircases. What the original arrangement of the east end was is unfortunately unknown, as in the 14th century it was replaced by a new choir. The building is about 105 feet, the dome 47 3 inches in diameter, and the latter rises about 100 feet above the floor.

In the interior are eight compound piers,

made up of rectangular figures and without shafts, which support plain round arches; the triforium is very lofty, and the arches opening from this into the central space have screens of columns in two stories, the lower carrying arches while the upper run up to the arch which spans the openings. Above there are eight round-headed windows, and the whole is covered by an octagonal dome. The columns of the triforium are antique, and so it would appear were their capitals; the bases seem to have been made for the building, and according to Kugler (*Gesch. der Baukunst*, i. 400) are very shapeless. The best preserved part of the interior is the belfry over the porch; this is covered with a plain waggon vault, and shews plain rectangular piers with moulded bases, and impostes carrying equally plain arches. The severely simple character of the building is very well seen in this chamber, which is on a level with and originally opened into the triforium. The dome was once covered with mosaic, which has wholly disappeared; but Ciampini (*Ict. Mon.* ii. 41) has engraved a part of it, three of the eight segments of which it was composed. In the central of these is a colossal figure of Christ seated on a throne, surrounded by concentric rings of colour representing the rainbow, the ground on which this figure was placed was golden with red stars, below are seven of the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse. The simple grandeur of this picture must have harmonized well with the whole character of the building. The triforium would seem to have been paved with mosaic and other pavements brought from Ravenna or Rome; two fragments still remain, one of black and white tesserae, the other of sectile work, in marble slabs of various colours. The fronts of the openings from the triforium to the central space are protected by cancelli of bronze, doubtless also brought from Ravenna or Rome; they are of several patterns, some of classical Roman character, others Byzantine.

A vault is said to exist beneath the centre of the church, and to have served as the burial-place of the great emperor; but it is not accessible, and nothing seems to be known as to its character. The western doors are of bronze.

The exterior is very plain, the only ornament being some pilasters at the angles of the drum of the dome; these have capitals of classical character, but in their wasted state it would be difficult to decide whether they are really antique or copies of antique work.

A document of the utmost value as affording information as to the arrangements of a large conventual church, is the plan preserved in the public library of St. Gall, and first published by Mabillon (*Ann. Ben. Ord.*). It appears to have been sent to Abbot Gozpertus, who began to rebuild the church and monastery in A.D. 829, and very probably was prepared by Eginhard, who was prefect of the royal buildings under Charles the Great. The annexed cut represents that part which contains the church and its appendages.

The plan is without scale, and little or no reliance can be placed on the proportional size of the parts, as Professor Willis has observed; the church is said, in legends written upon it, to be 200 feet long and 80 feet broad; but in the plan, if we assume the length to be 200 feet,

the breadth would be only 50 feet. The drawing must no doubt be considered rather as a scheme for a great monastery than as a plan to be carried out by an architect; its peculiarities will be readily seen; first among these are the apses at each end, an arrangement afterwards common in Germany, but of which we have no earlier instance. The circular towers are also remarkable. At the east end the drawing is confused by the attempt to shew both the crypt and the choir; the space marked by slanting lines bears in the original the legend "involutio arearum," and no doubt is meant to represent an arched passage, from whence proceeds a short passage to the confession.

The church of Granson, near the lake of Neuchâtel, according to Mr. Ferguson, is of the Carolingian era, though others are disposed to place it in the 11th century.

In France the most important examples of the Carolingian period seem to be the nave of the church of Mortier en Der, near Vassy, which exhibits a style very nearly akin to that of the Master of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the remains of the church of St. Martin at Angers. This last was founded some years before 819, as the Empress Hermengarde, who died in that year was the foundress, and was interred within it. It consisted of a nave and aisles, a central tower, and a rather long transept; the eastern part having been replaced by a choir of the 12th century. The piers separating the nave from the aisles are oblong, but chamfered at the angles, and carry plain unadorned arches of rectangular section; there is no triforium, but a clerestory of windows of rather long proportion. The tower has a dome which originally sprang from the capitals of four massive circular pillars, which, as they are engaged in the piers which carry the tower, shew only the fourth of a circle. The capitals have some shallow carving, chiefly patterns of plaited work. In several parts of the church two or three courses of flat bricks are introduced between the courses of stonework.

The church of Germigny-sur-Loire is a building of very remarkable character, and in it, incised on the abaci of the two eastern capitals of the tower piers, is an inscription recording its dedication in 806. The plan, it will be seen, is peculiar, having a tower in the middle of a square, with an apse projecting from three of the faces, and two small apses flanking the eastern apse. The piers are square, and have impostes of blocks and some knotwork in shallow relief. Among the most peculiar features are the small shafts attached to the piers at the entrance of the eastern apse. These recall some of the details of Roman-motier, as the impostes do those of St. Martin at Angers.

5. *Spain*.—As in Gaul, little or nothing remains in Spain of the churches built before the invasion of the barbarians; and those which the latter constructed were destroyed by the Arabs. Some capitals and fragments, probably of enclosures of 'cheri canorum,' exist at Cordova ('Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España'), and some other fragments and capitals have been found at Toledo on the sites of the basilicas of St. Leocadia, built A.D. 600, and of St. Giles, said to date from the 8th century ('El arte Latino—Bizantino en España,' by Don José Ama-



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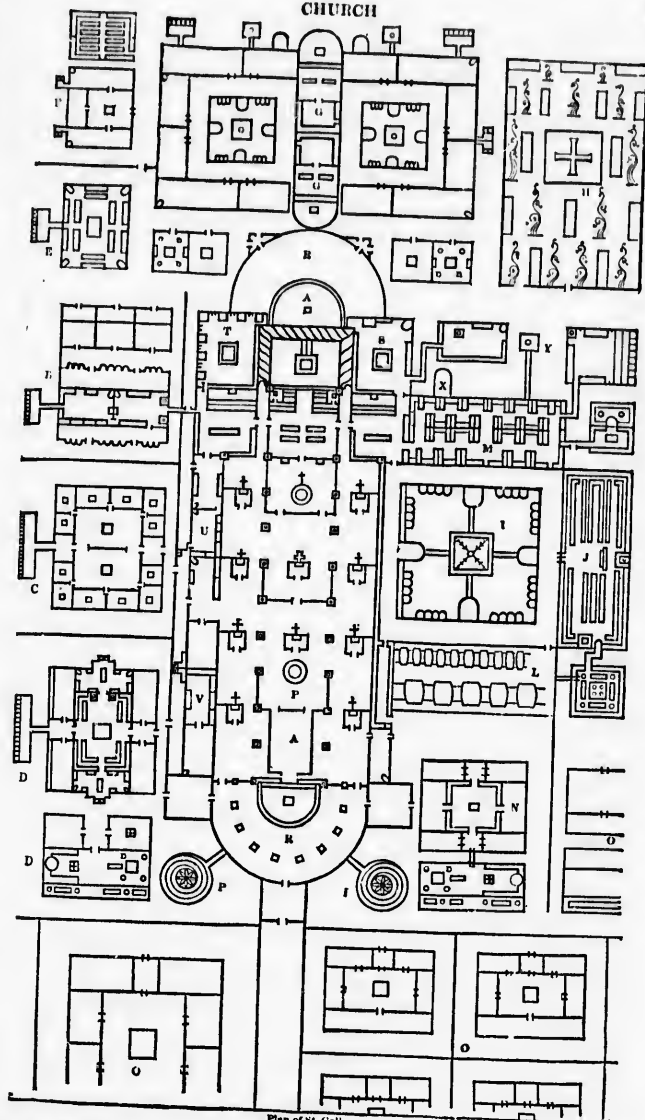
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CHURCH

383



Plan of St. Gall.

AA. The Church.

B. The Abbot's Lodging.

C. The Public School.

D. The Hospital or Guest House.

E. Dispensary.

F. Residence of Doctor, with Garden of

medical herbs.

G. Another small double-apsed Church,

divided by wall across centre.

H. Orchard and Cemetery.

I. Great Cloister.

J. Refectory.

K. Kitchen.

L. Wine Cellar.

M. Dormitory, with various dependent

buildings.

N. Another Hospital, apparently for

inferior class of guests.

O. Stables for horses, cattle, sheep, &c.

P. Fountain.

AA. Open spaces or paradise. (That to
 the west is surrounded by an open
 semicircular porch, by which the
 public were to gain access to the
 Church.)

B. Vestry.

C. Schoolmaster's House.

D. Porter's House.

E. Furnace.

F. Detached chimney-shaft for distil.

G. Library.

dar de los Rios). At Venta de Baños, near Palencia, the church built by Receswinthius in A.D. 691, is stated to remain in a tolerably complete state.

The only other churches which can be supposed to date from a period even as early as the 9th century which have as yet been noticed, are a few in the Asturias, not far from Oviedo.

These, however, present many remarkable peculiarities of plan, having square ended chancel, and chapels or apartments attached to their sides. One of the group, Sta. Maria de Naranco is stated to have been built (r. 848, and as the others are somewhat plainer and ruder in style they are more probably earlier than later. The most remarkable is that of the Ermita de Sta. Christina, near la Pola de Lena, which retains the original partition separating the choir from the nave: the choir is raised above the nave, and the altar recess above the choir, these as well as the western part of the church are vaulted over, so that there are chambers above them. The central space is covered by a waggon vault. The circular panels in the upper part of the choir screen are pierced, the central panel below carved with ornament, having much affinity with that to be seen on the crowns of the 7th century found at Fuente de Guarrazo, near Toledo.

S. Salvador de Valledios, near Villavieiosa, has aisles, but the same system of vaulting over both ends of the church exists, and as in the others there are small chambers right and left on entering by the western door. One of these probably served as a baptistry, as is the case at Sta. Maria de Naranco. A porch and other chambers are attached to the south side, and may have served as dwellings for priests or attendants on the church. This has been attributed to A.D. 892.

Sta. Maria de Naranco is nearly on the same plan, and appears to have always been a parish church.

The upper chambers in all these churches are open to the church, not closed as in Ireland, and capable of being used as dwelling places.

These buildings are all small, Sta. Cristina being about 50 feet long. Sta. Maria de Naranco about 70, but have a good deal of ornament, and exhibit a peculiarity of style, the origin of which cannot be traced to any other country, and which was probably developed from the earlier imitations of Roman work. A clue to the reasons for the peculiarity of plan seems altogether wanting. The square end of the chancel may perhaps be thought to indicate some Irish influence as that country is the only one where this form is anything but the rarest exception.

Although, as has been said, the churches of an earlier period have disappeared, Spain has preserved in a remarkable manner some of the peculiarities of the arrangement of churches in the earlier periods; thus the 'coro,' instead of being placed to the east of the transepts, is, like the 'cath. cantorum' of the early basilicas, extended into the nave, and the central lantern tower is called the 'cimbório,' in memory, doubtless, of a time when it served as the 'episcopium' of the high altar, now placed in the elongated choir, or, as it is called by the Spaniards, 'capilla mayor.' Probably these

traditions were handed down through a chain of numerous links, the earlier of which have perished.

b. *Ireland*.—We find here a great number of very small churches very roughly built, with very little attempt at any decoration, frequently lighted only by one very small window, but constructed usually with extremely large stones, and not unfrequently built with that material exclusively, the roof being formed by horizontal courses, each brought forward until they met at the top.

Such are the churches or chapels of Tempall Ceannach, on the middle island of the bay of Galway (Petrie, *Eccle. Arch. of Ireland*, p. 189), of St. Mac Dara on the island of Cruach Mhic Dara, off the coast of Conamara (*id.* p. 196), of Bataas, Co. Kerry (*id.* p. 169), of Fore, Co. Westmeath (*id.* p. 174), and many others. The two first of these churches form single apartments without any division into nave and chancel, and measure, the first 10 feet 6 inches, by 12 feet 6 inches internally; the second 15 feet by 11 inches; both are roofed with stone in a manner described. The two other churches are in a less complete state, but their doorways are remarkable for their square heads, and the immense size of the stones of which they are constructed; in that of Bataas the lintel is 7 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet high, and extends through the whole thickness of the wall. There appears in this doorway an evident intention of imitating the architecture of a Greek or Roman building in that of Fore the lintel is 6 feet long, 2 feet high, and 3 feet deep, and is sculptured with a cross within a circle, on a projecting tablet. Both these churches are attributed by Mr. Petrie to the 6th or 7th centuries. It is a question of much interest whence the builders of these churches derived their ideas of architecture, these buildings resembling in no respect any contemporaneous structures in England, France, or Italy. Improbable as the suggestion may at first sight appear, it would seem that it was Central Syria which furnished the models; that country abounds with churches and monasteries constructed between the 3rd and 7th centuries in a style founded upon the Roman architecture of the time, but with many peculiarities both of construction and of detail. Among the former of these is the use of very large stones, and the practice of roofing small buildings by advancing each course somewhat beyond the centre than that below; examples of both will be found in plenty in Count Melchior de Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale*. Although in these buildings arched doorways are the most common, these formed precisely in the same manner as the Irish examples, with one large block for a lintel, are frequently found; and one of these (*Syrie Centrale*, p. 99, fig. 4), may almost pass for the original of which the lintel at Fore is the rough copy. The Irish buildings have far more the appearance of such copies of the products of a cultivated school of architecture as might be achieved by native workmen under the direction of immigrants, bringing with them recollections, rather than accurate knowledge of the edifices they had left behind, than that of the first rude essays of an uncivilised race.

The Persians plundered Syria in A.D. 573, the Saracens invaded it in 613, and Central Syria

seems to have that period. monasteries possible that who sought a may have been St. Augustus, w 709 (Petrie, p hundreds, of a tion is made of Desert Ullish, grants are in ginit," without Petrie (p. 124 peculiarities of ings are due t by "the Flirbo which our his at a very remo "were accusto tresses, but eve sepulchres, of a style now ust lasic."

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Two peculiarit ditecture of Ireli invariably rectang found near the en cular. Perhaps t of the former is used as that mo entary, and perpe extraordinary ven always entertained their early sainta Tower.]

7. *Scotland*.—I celebrated monaste unity through the but very few build the period under served. The most the church at Egl a close resemblance churches, and is s round tower att by 16 ft., the chan latter is covered b over which was a c and the external CHRIST. ANT.

seems to have been entirely depopulated about that period. It at that time contained many monasteries and many monks, and it is quite possible that among the numerous foreigners who sought an asylum in Ireland at that period may have been Syrian monks. In the litany of St. Aengus, written, it is believed, in the year 799 (Petrie, p. 137), among the scores, and even hundreds, of strangers of various nations, mention is made of several Egyptian monks buried in Desert Uladh. The greater part of these immigrants are in the litany simply called "peregrini," without indication of nationality. Dr. Petrie (p. 127), however, seems to think the peculiarities of construction of these early buildings are due to the colonisation of the country by "the Firbolg and Tuatha de Danann tribes, which our historians bring hither from Greece at a very remote period; which tribes," he says, "were accustomed to build, not only their fortresses, but even their dome-roofed houses and sepulchres, of stone without cement, and in the style now usually called Cyclopean and Pelagic."

Besides the small churches which have been mentioned above, larger structures were also erected in Ireland at an early date. The cathedral church of Armagh, whether that erected in the time of St. Patrick or of a later date, would appear in the 9th century to have been 140 feet in length (Petrie, p. 157). The more usual length of a church of the first class would, however, appear to have been 60 feet; this dimension having, according to the tripartite life of St. Patrick, been prescribed by the saint for the Domnach Mor (Great Church), near Teltown, in Meath, appears to have been inserted with a sort of sacred character; and it is worth notice that the church at Glinstonbury, founded according to tradition by a St. Patrick, but undoubtedly by missionaries from Ireland, was 60 feet long, by 26 feet broad; it seems to have been of wood.

These larger churches had usually a chancel—in plan a parallelogram—attached to the larger oblong which formed the nave.

Two peculiarities mark the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, one, that the altar end is invariably rectangular, the other that the towers found near the early churches are always circular. Perhaps the most probable explanation of the former is that the form was originally used as that most suitable for a very small edifice, and perpetuated in consequence of the extraordinary veneration which the Irish have always entertained for anything connected with their early saints. [For the round tower see Towers.]

7. *Scotland*.—Irish ecclesiastics founded the celebrated monastery of Iona, and spread Christianity through the Isles and mainland of Scotland, but very few buildings which can be referred to the period under consideration have been observed. The most remarkable would seem to be the church at Eglisbay in Orkney, which bears a close resemblance to one of the early Irish churches, and is especially remarkable as having a round tower attached to it. The nave is 30 ft. by 26 ft., the chancel 11 ft. by 9 ft. 7 in., the latter is covered by a plain semi-circular vault, over which was a chamber constructed between it and the external covering of stone. The nave

also is stated to have had a stone roof. The tower is entered by a door in the west wall of the nave; the chancel arch is described as of a horse-shoe form, but this may probably be occasioned by a settlement of the work. The windows are few and small, the doorways plain, round-headed arches. As in the Irish Islands there were numerous oratories scattered over Orkney and Shetland; the parish of Yell in the latter is said (Hibbert's *Scotland*, p. 530) to have contained twenty chapels. The churches constructed by the Christian Pietists were probably either of wood or of earth, which is the reason of the entire absence of any buildings within their territory which can be assigned to a period before A.D. 800, it is the more remarkable as the numerous sculptured monuments show that the people who dwelt within the limits of the Pictish kingdom could carve stone with extraordinary skill for the period.

8. *England*.—Though the Christians of Britain must undoubtedly have possessed churches of considerable size before the occupation of the country by the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, no certain remains of such buildings have as yet been met with.

The historians of Canterbury assert that Ethelbert gave to St. Augustine an existing church in that city (Willis' *Arch. Hist of Christ Church, Canterbury*, pp. 20, 30) which became the cathedral. Bede mentions the church of St. Martin as an ancient church given in like manner, some portions of wall in the latter have been thought to have formed part of the ancient church. Of the Saxon cathedral nothing remains.

Three influences it will be seen contributed in unequal degrees according to circumstances and locality, to form or to modify ecclesiastical architecture in England; viz. 1, that of Roman architecture either as derived from buildings imported by ecclesiastics and other church builders; 2, that of the Irish missionaries; 3, that of the native school of timber architecture. The first of these we may trace in the plans, in the style of some churches, and in the frequent assertion that a church was constructed "opere Romanorum;" the second, perhaps, in the preference of a rectangular east end over an apsidal, which last, as we find it all but universal in England in the 12th century and common in the 13th, was probably the prevalent plan in earlier centuries; the third, in construction evidently copied from wooden buildings, and in the fact that the baluster shafts, which more than any other feature characterize the ante-Norman style, were turned in a lathe as if they had been wood. It seems probable that the Roman and the native style were concurrent, for we find the two mixed together, as in the curious doorway at Monkwearmouth which there seems to be ground to believe is part of the church built by Benedict Biscop, A.D. 671. Here we have an arch and impost which are evident imitations of Roman work, supported by coupled balusters, and an excessively exaggerated base carved with interlacing ornaments or snakes by a hand which no doubt was accustomed to execute similar work in wood.

The existing remains of English churches, dating between 600 and 800, are unfortunately, with very rare exceptions, only fragments. These

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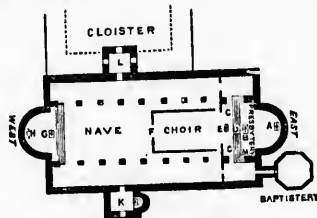
chapel of Tenpall
and of the bay of
of Ireland, p. 129),
of Crnach Ma
mara (*ibid.*, p. 164,
166), of Fore, Co.
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scanty remains, assisted and illustrated by what contemporary or somewhat later writers have told us, will however enable us to form tolerably clear ideas as to the character of the churches which were built in the above-mentioned period.

Of the metropolitan cathedral of Canterbury we have a detailed account, written by Edmer the Chanter, in which he describes the edifice as it existed before the fire of 1067. The annexed plan is copied from that drawn up by Professor Willis (*Hist. of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*) from Edmer's

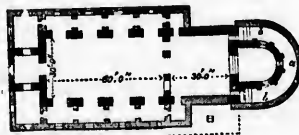


Canterbury Cathedral.

description. The church, Edmer says, was built "Romanorum opere et ex quadam parte ad Imitationem ecclesie beati apostolorum principis Petri," meaning of course the great Vatican basilica. The western apse was probably added by Archbishop Odo about A.D. 950.

Of another church of the larger class we have some important remains. This is that of Stow, in Lincolnshire, where a bishopric was founded in A.D. 678. The church there is cruciform, measuring 150 ft. from east to west, with a breadth of 27 ft. in the nave and 24 ft. in the chancel; the transept is 90 ft. from north to south by 23 ft. wide; the side walls are about 35 ft. high. It has been shown that the transept is evidently the work of two periods, the wall up to a certain height having all the appearance of having suffered from fire, while that above shows no trace of such damage. There is ground for believing that in 870 the church was burnt by the Danes, and that it was extensively repaired between 1034 and 1050 (v. Rev. G. Atkinson, *On the Restorations in Progress at Stow Church, in Reports and Papers of the Architectural Societies of Northants, York, and Lincoln*, i. 315; and the same writer in v. 23 of the same publication, *On Saxon Architecture*), the existing chancel being added in the early part of the next century.

Another church, that of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, has strong claims to be considered

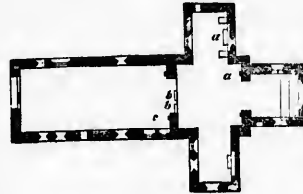


Basilica, Brixworth.

to date from the same period, for Leland tells us, on the authority of Hugo, a monk of Peterborough, that Lanulphus, abbot of Peterborough,

about 690, founded a monastery there, and the existing edifice may be reasonably supposed to be the original church. The repairs which were finished in 1865 enabled the ground plan of the church to be correctly ascertained, and it will be seen to be somewhat peculiar, consisting of a square tower, the lower part of which forms a porch at the west end, with a chamber on each side opening into the porch and also into the aisles, a nave and two aisles with chambers at their east ends, a short chancel without aisles, and an apse surrounded by a corridor or crypt entered by steps from the chancel. The piers are oblong masses; the arches, which spring from square imposts, are of Roman bricks in two courses and wholly without ornament; over each pier is a rather small clerestory window with arched head, also turned in Roman bricks. Attached to the west side of the tower is a circular stair turret of different and less careful work, and therefore probably a later addition. The bases of piers which have been found show that at the west end of the chancel were probably three arches, through which it was entered from the nave.

Another church still exists in a state so far complete that there can be no doubt as to its original plan, but there is no historical evidence as to its date, and its architectural character is such as scarcely to warrant a decisive opinion. This is the church in the castle of Dover, which, in consequence of recent repairs, can be studied more satisfactorily than was previously the case. A short account of it was published by the Rev. John Puckle in 1864 from which the ground



Church at Dover.

plan is taken; from this it will be seen that it is a cruciform church, with a tower between the nave and chancel.

The churches described are undoubtedly examples of "opus Romanum." Some others which have been destroyed were, doubtless, of like character, and as the contemporary or later descriptions contain points of interest, it will be well to cite them. The most remarkable is that of the church built by St. Wilfrid, at Hexham, about 673, written by his disciple Stephen Eddius (*Vita S. Wilfridi*, ap. Mabillon, *AA. SS. O. S. Ben. saec. iv.*, pt. i. p. 646), running as follows: "eujus profunditatem in terra cum domibus mirifice politis lapideis fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum columnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine, murorum ornatam, et variis linearum anfractibus viarum, aliquando sursum, aliquando deorsum, per coelestem circumductam, non est meae parvitas hoc sermone explicare." Richard, the prior of Hexham, in the 12th century, describes it (Twyden's *Scriptores Deem*,

p. 260) as a nobilissimum opus, et in cryptis beneath, a

Unfortunately, in existence at the time it was burnt by the Danes, particularly as his testimony is not particularly as his rareness oratorical confirmed by the which will be found

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"Praecepta Bugge construxit sup Qua fulgent arae bis Insuper apsidam con

Aura contortis flavesc Quae emul altaris sacra Arenas atque calces ge

Ut coelum rutilant ste Sic lata argento const

Hic crucis ex auro fu Argentique simit gen

Hic quoque thuributu Pendit de summo tur De quibus ambrosiam Quando sacerdotis mit

The influence of the church architecture in to be inferred than p amples; carrying, as of asceticism even into

p. 290) as a noble building of hewn stone, with crypts beneath, and walls rising to a great height. Unfortunately, however, the church was not in existence at the time the prior wrote, having been burnt by the Danes, in 875, but his testimony is not to be altogether disregarded, particularly as his mention of crypts and subterranean oratories and winding passages is confirmed by the still existing crypt, a plan of which will be found under CHAPEL, p. 344.

If, however, the church had three stories and columns, some square, some of various forms, it must have been in advance of any building now existing of as early a date, and it seems probable that in his zeal for the glory of St. Willfrid, the prior somewhat exaggerated the architectural splendour of the building.

Of the church built at Ripon by the same prelate, Eddius says "in Hrypis basilicam polito lapide a fundamentis in terra usque ad summum aedificatam, variis columnis et portibus suffultam, in altum crevit" (Mabillon, *AA. SS. Ben. saec. iv. pt. 2, p. 563*).

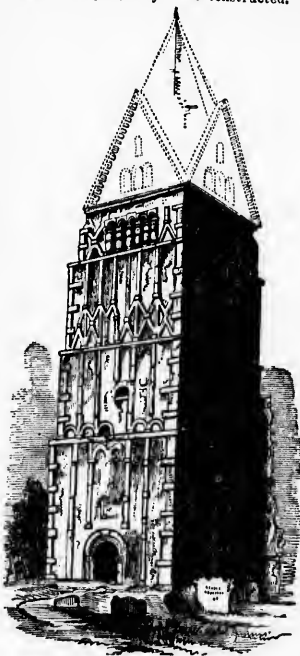
About the same time Benedict Biscop built (A.D. 671) a monastery at Monkwearmouth, the doorway of the church of which has been already commented on, and Ede (*Hist. Abbatum Wearmouth. c. 5*) gives some very interesting notices of his proceedings. He went, we are told, into Gaul, and brought from thence "elementarios qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent," and afterwards sent to the same country for makers of glass to glaze the windows of his church. At a later time he went to Rome, and brought thence pictures of the Virgin Mary and the twelve apostles, "quibus medium ejusdem ecclesiae testudinem ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato praecingeret, imagines evangelicae historiae quibus australeni ecclesiae parietem decoraret, imagines visionum Apocalypsis beati Johannis quibus septentrionalem aequae parietem ornaret." As it appears from this passage that there was a nave with aisles, the north and south walls were probably the ends of the transept, and the church was therefore perhaps cruciform. That in the 7th century the founders of churches in England strove to emulate the splendour of the Continental churches, we may learn from the verses of Althelm (pp. 116, 117, ed. Giles) on the church built by Bugge, daughter of Kentwin:—

"Praecelsa mole sacellum
Bugge construxit supplex vernacula Christi,
Qua fulgent arae bis seno nomine sacrae,
Insuper apsidam consecrat Virginis aram.

Aurea contortis flavescunt pallia flis,
Quae sunt altaris sacri velamina pulcra,
Aureus atque calyx gemmis fulvis cepit operatus.
Ut caelum rutilat stellis ardentibus aptum,
Sic lata argento constat fabricata patena,
Hic crucis ex auro fulgescit lamina fulvo,
Argentique simul gemmis ornata metalla;
Hic quoque turbatum capitulis undique cinctam
Pendit de summo fumosa toramena pandens,
De quibus ambrosianis spirabant thura Sabaea,
Quando sacerdotes missas offerre jubentur."

The influence of the Irish missionaries upon church architecture in England is perhaps rather to be inferred than proved from existing examples; carrying, as they did, their principles of asceticism even into their churches their rude

and humble chapels offered no models which could compete with those supplied by the architects brought from Gaul or Italy who built in the manner of the Romans; but when we call to mind how large an extent of country they occupied, and more or less Christianized, and in what great veneration they were held, it is difficult to believe that the peculiarities of their ecclesiastical architecture were wholly without influence upon that of England. But for the eventual triumph of the Roman system over theirs, more tangible proofs of this would no doubt have existed, but it is possible that the preference of a square over an apsidal termination, which is so strongly shown in English churches from the 12th century downwards, is really due to the habit of imitating the forms of the oratories which St. Cuthbert, St. Aidan, or their disciples, may have constructed. That



Church Tower, at Eborac

the influence of the Irish school upon ornamentation was very great, there can be no doubt, as it is amply proved by existing manuscripts, as the Gospels of Lindisfarne, written about A.D. 710. That these patterns of interlacing ribbons and animals were copied in stone may be observed in the doorway of Monkwearmouth, and on many crosses and other monuments of the period.

No existing example shows what a large church would have been if constructed without

Roman influence, but the little oratories of Cornwall and that at Ebb's Nook, in Northumberland (p. CHAPEL), will serve to show what was the character of their lesser religious buildings.

The third influence, that of an existing school of timber architecture, made itself felt more in the smaller class of churches than in the larger, and though very many portions of churches which exhibit marks of it exist, no entire church of any early date which manifests it has remained. The chief peculiarity is the use of narrow stones placed upright, dividing the wall into sections, exactly in the same manner as timber quartering. No better example of this can be found than the tower of the church of Earls Barton, in Northamptonshire; but it is difficult to find any safe ground for assigning a date to this building, as it is certain that the style was continued into the 11th century. Another peculiarity is the use of the baluster as a shaft, and it has been supposed that this was copied from some Roman example; but the facts that these balusters were turned in a lathe, that they were in use at a very early date, and in every part of England, all seem to point to their having originated in an indigenous style of wooden architecture.

Many churches were constructed entirely of wood. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 25) tells us that Finian, who came from Iona, built at Landisfarne a church "episcopali sede congruam, quam tamen more Scottorum non de lapide sed de robore seteo totam composuit atque harundine textit;" and according to an Irish writer of the 11th century, Conchubenn (*Vit. S. Moluennae*, A. I. SS. *Holl.* 6, Jul. 11), the Scots were accustomed to build with boards "tabulis delolatis," or, as we may perhaps understand the passage, with timbers not left in the round, but smoothed with the adze. In this way, though no doubt at a much later date, the church at Greenstead, in Essex, was constructed, the slabs of oak left after a plank had been sawn out of the middle having been smoothed on the inside with the adze, and placed upright with the curved portion outwards, side by side, so as to form a wall. Very many such structures, no doubt, were erected in districts where wood was plentiful and stone scarce. [A. N.]

CHURCH-BOOKS (*Libri Ecclesiastici*). Under this name the following classes of books are understood to be included:—

1. Such works as were necessary for the performance of the sacred offices, whether of the altar, the baptistery, or the choir [LITURGICAL BOOKS].

2. Certain pastoral letters of venerable bishops, canons of councils, and acts of martyrs, which were occasionally read in public. For instance, we have the testimony of Dionysius of Corinth in Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 23, § 11) that the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians was preserved and publicly read in the Corinthian Church [CANONICAL BOOKS]. The so-called Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles were probably regarded as *libri ecclesiastici* in many churches. On the use of acts of martyrs, see Kuinart, *Acta Sincera*, *pref.* § 5.

3. Not infrequently in ancient times the term church-books included all books contained in the library of a church [LIBRARY].

4. In some cases the church-registers, whether of the baptized or of the dead [DIFFICILES], seem to be included under the term *libri ecclesiastici*. [C.]

CHURCHES, MAINTENANCE OF (*Fabrica Ecclesie*). The funds for the maintenance of the fabric of a church are, and have been from ancient times, derived from two sources,—estates appropriated to that purpose and voluntary offerings. As early as the 6th century we find ordinances, that a definite proportion of the general income of a church should be set apart for the maintenance and repair of the fabric. According to decrees of Pope Simplicius, A.D. 475 (*Ep.* lii. in Binus, *Concilia*, iii. 582), and Pope Gelasius, A.D. 494 (*Ep.* iv. Binus, iii. 636), this proportion was to be a fourth part; while in Spain a third part was to be appropriated to this purpose. See the Council of Tarragona (A.D. 516), c. 8; the second of Braga (A.D. 572), c. 2; of Merida (A.D. 606), cc. 14, 16; the sixth of Toledo (A.D. 693), c. 5. In the Frankish kingdom the repair of the fabric was provided for by setting aside for that purpose a certain part of the endowment of the church; a provision the more necessary, as the voluntary contributions diminished in proportion as the endowments increased. And as estates of the church often fell into the hands of laics, a Diet of the Empire held at Frankfurt in 794 laid down the principle, that the maintenance of the fabric of the church was a charge upon church-lands, in whatever hands they were (Pertz, *Monumenta Germ.* iii. 74). A similar provision was made by some of the ecclesiastical councils held in the year 813 by command of Charlemagne; as in that of Metz (c. 42), the fourth of Arles (c. 25), and the third of Tours (c. 46). At a somewhat later date, the obligation of forced labour for the benefit of the fabric was laid upon the tenants of the church. (Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* i. 737). There are special treatises on this subject by Helfert (*Von der Erbauung, Erhaltung und Herstellung der kirchlichen Gebäude*, 2nd ed. 1834), by Von Reinhardt (*Ueber kirchliche Baulast*, Stuttgart, 1836), and by Permaneder (*die kirchliche Baulast*, Muenchen, 1838). [C.]

CHURCH SCHOOLS. [SCHOOLS.]

CHURCH (SYMBOLS OF). Early representations of the Church of Christ are very numerous, and may be divided into (A) personifications and (B) symbolisms; both of the highest antiquity. Those derived from Holy Scripture may be taken first.

(A) 1. The Lord's comparison of Himself to the Good Shepherd, constantly represented in the Catacombs, and supposed to be the most ancient of purely Christian emblems in painting or sculpture, has frequently united with it pictures of two or more sheep at His feet, besides the one carried on His shoulders. The word "fold" represents the Church, exactly as the word "church" the congregation of Christ's people. [LAMB, GOOD SHEPHERD, &c.] The fresco in the Calixtine catacomb (Bottari, *tav.* lxxviii., and Aringhi, *vol. i.* lib. iii. ch. xxii. p. 327, ed. Par. 1657), of the Shepherd sitting under trees, and surrounded by sheep, or sheep and goats, as here, may be taken as one example out of many. See also that at *tav.* xxvi. In another (Bott. *vol. ii.*

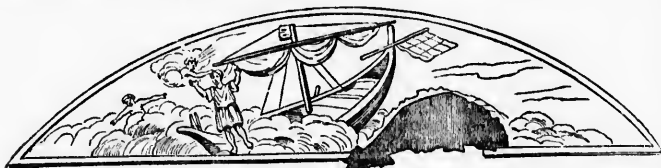
tav. cxviii.) building, see the Shepherds. The sheep of the Churches at Ciampini (from the Sicily) and Bathlee (See BETHLEHEM, Martigny, i. 107) are the windmill. JORDANES, *de reb. Goth.* i. 10, which the *S. Dict.* s. v. "Lamb."

In a mosaic of Sabun's, Rome, by two fountains, open book in c. xxii. p. 327. EX CHURCUM; her; the other TIBUS, and (See Gal. ii. 2) compartment of Verona, traces of Lombard meaning. by two women two children Martigny give in P. Garrucci's two hands Louis baldizes the C. Lamb bearing gram of Christ palm-branches lambs, may be St. Peter and Church into represented in (vol. ii. *Tav.* destroyed by t been broken in tantly happen the Orantes, c Catacombs, are of the Church. Ornate with do in the corners known crypt comb (De Ros alternates with cently discover Bossi, IXOTC, ing the euchar consecrating pri 2. A few re range, of Susar the Church an Pagan. Marti only certain Italian art. Fe *Petra*, p. l. Of Vation, the oth found in Bottari from St. Callixt, more numerous *lari.* 8; lxxviii.

* These subjects ancient mosaics of Paler's Photograp

symbol of the repose of individual Christians in death.

An even more interesting symbolism is where not only the ship is painted as analogous to the Church, but the actual fabric of a church is made like a ship. This was the case with many of the early Romanesque churches, where the apse which completed the basilica had the bishop's throne placed in the centre, as the steersman's once, with semicircular benches below for the



The ship placed on the back of a fish is found in a signet illustrated by Alcandre (*Nav. Ecclæs. referent. Syn.*, Romæ, 1626; see also s. v. *FISH*). Another such gem is in Ficoroni's collection (*Gorn. Ant. Litt. tab. xi. 8, p. 105*). A Jasper given by Cardinal Borghia (*De C. u. e. Volite. n. p. 213* and frontispiece) places the Lord in a galley of six oars on a side, holding the large steering oar. This rudder-ear—or rather two of them—are inserted in the rudest ship-carvings, where other oars are omitted.

The column surmounted by a dove is mentioned by M. Leblant in his *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule*, vol. i. p. 167, as existing on a lamp said to have been found at St. Just. Another had on it the monogram of Christ on a column. Reference is made to Bosio, p. 167, for a column between two doves turning to look at it; but is inclined, see p. 167, to regard it as a symbol of Christ Himself rather than of the Church. [R. St. J. T.]

CHURCHING OF WOMEN; or, THANKSGIVING OF WOMEN AFTER CHILDBIRTH. (*Mulierum post Partum Purificatio*; sometimes called *Inthronisatio post partum*: see Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* xix. 671.)

The Mosaic law lays down (Lev. xii.) precepts for the offerings and purification of women after childbirth; and these legal precepts were observed by the Mother of the Lord herself. Possibly in Jewish-Christian communities this observance passed over, like some other ceremonies, with little change into the Christian congregation; but of this nothing certain is known. There is no mention of any purificatory ceremony after childbirth in the works of Clement of Alexandria, in the Apostolical Constitutions, or in the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The notion, however, that childbirth occasioned some kind of defilement continued to prevail among the Christians of the East, hence the rituals of the Oriental Churches in relation to this matter refer more to purification from defilement than to thanksgiving for safety. Dionysius of Alexandria (cannon 2; in Beveridge's *Pandectæ*, ii. 4) lays it down as a matter admitting of no question, that a woman ought not to be present in church, nor to receive the Holy Communion, within forty days after having given birth to a child. To the

same effect, the ninth of the Arabic canons of Nicaen enjoins: "Women ought to abstain from entering the church and from partaking of Holy Communion for forty days after a birth; after which, let the woman carefully wash her garments and bathe her person and the child; then let her, together with her husband, present him in the church at the steps of the altar; whom, with their accompanying friends, let the priest receive, and say for her the prayer of purification and bless the child according to the prescribed ceremonies of the Church." The forty days' period, then, was clearly regarded as the necessary extent of the woman's purification. Meantime, however, she was not wholly neglected by the Church. Immediately after the birth, a prayer was said over mother and child, and the child signed with the cross. This rite is thought to be alluded to by Chrysostom (on 1 Cor., *Hom. 12*, p. 108, ed. Montfaucou). The office which accompanies it is believed by Goar to be of modern origin. On the eighth day the midwife, or some other matron, brings the child to the church. Before the door the priest again signs it with the cross, and carries it into the church, when the name is given which it is to bear after baptism. Such a ceremony took place, though not in a church, at the birth of the emperor Theodosius II. (A. D. 401), related in the following manner in the life of Porphyrius of Gaza, a contemporary witness: "When seven days were accomplished from the birth of the child, the empress Eudoxia approached and met us at the door of the chamber, bearing the infant wrapped in purple. She bowed her head, and said, 'Bless me, O fathers, and the child which the Lord hath granted me through your holy prayers;' and gave the infant into their arms, that they might sign it with the cross. Then the holy bishops signed both her and the infant, and after praying sat down." (*Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. iii. 653). If the child was in danger of death before the stated period for baptism, it was at once baptized, but the unclean mother was no longer allowed to suckle it, or even to enter the room where it was (Mansi, *Supplement. Conc. i. 815*). If the mother died within the period of uncleanness, her body was taken into the church, and the prayers of purification said over it; after which it was regarded as clean

(Canon. Nicæna Concilia, l. 51.)

On the fortieth day the child went solemnly to church-door—the mother with several prayers; the sign of the altar; the priest and the people Church, on the brow of the Eucharist.

In the Latin Church the same feeling regard to the Eucharist. Even St. Augustine, in his law of the forty days, new dispensation (quest. 64). The same opinion brought Orientals in Tarsus. He had an and St. Augustine's penance for a forty days, a Caesbury, who to Pope Gregory who answered of mind, that on Christians, church to give on which she signed not, although at home for when it was observed. Ep. xi. 64; p. 1. Elected subsequent canons of council of the Maronites (1217) rejected of repelling women forty days after

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CHURCHING OF WOMEN

(*Canon. Nicæno-Arab.* c. 10; in Hardouin's
Concilii, I. 512).

On the fortieth day after the birth, the mother
nd the child, accompanied by the godfather,
went solemnly to the church. Before the
church-door the priest received them, signed
the mother with the cross, and said over her
several prayers. He then took the child, made
the sign of the cross with it, and carried it up to
the altar; the godfather then received it from
the priest and left the church. In the Ethio-
pic Church, mother and child are anointed
on the brow with holy oil, and receive the
Eucharist.

In the Latin Church, also, we find traces of
the same feeling that exist in the East with
regard to the purification after childbirth.
Eren St. Augustine lays down that the Levitical
law of the forty days was still binding under the
new dispensation (*Quæst. in Levit.* lib. iii.
quæst. 64). That Theodore of Canterbury held
the same opinion is not to be wondered at, as he
brought Oriental opinions from his early home
in Tarsus. He (*Penitential*, I. xiv. 18, in Had-
dan and Stubbs' *Documents*, iii. 189) prescribes
penance for a woman entering a church within
forty days after childbirth. Augustinae of
Canterbury, however, had previously appealed
to Pope Gregory I. for his opinion on this point,
who answered, with characteristic largeness
of mind, that the Mosaic law was not binding
on Christians, and that if a woman went to
church to give thanks to God on the very day
on which she had given birth to a child, she
sinned not, although the old custom of keeping
at home for forty days was not to be blamed,
when it was observed in a right spirit (Gregoril
Ep. xi. 64; p. 1158). Gregory's decision influ-
enced subsequent capitularies of the Franks and
canons of councils in the West. Even a council
of the Maronites (Mansi, *Supplement. Conc.* vi.
127) rejecting the "simplicity or superstition"
of repelling women from church for the space of
forty days after the birth of a child.

2. It will readily be supposed that no thanks-
giving followed the birth of a child which was
the fruit of adultery or fornication. As women
who sinned in such sort were excluded from the
congregation until due penance had been done,
they were of course excluded from a service
which included thanksgiving for the fruit of
the womb. Henry of Tours (†871), enjoin-
ing women to return thanks in church as
soon as may be after a birth, expressly makes
the exception, "nisi forte sit adultera" (canon
69, quoted by Binterim, *Denkwürd.* vi. 2, 196).
To the same effect are some decrees of later
councils.

3. The service to be used in the churching of
women was probably in ancient times left to
the discretion of the priest, for no formularies for
this purpose are found in the ancient sacramen-
taries. Martene (*De Ritibus Eccl.* ii. 136, 137)
gives only two forms, from Gallican *codices* of
probably the 14th century. If a larger number
of ancient benedictionals had descended to our
times, we might possibly have found forms for
the benediction of women after childbirth; but
these are rare. Binterim (*Denkwürd.* vi. 2,
180 ff.) gives a churching-service of the Ethiopic
Church, that contained in the Greek *Euchology on*,
and a Latin formula. The latter is from a MS.

CHURCHYARD

of the 14th century, and none probably are, in
their present form, very ancient. [C.]

CHURCHWARDENS. These officers would
seem to be the representatives in the later Church
of the *seniores ecclesiastici*, of whom frequent
mention is made by St. Augustine and Optatus.
We gather from these writers that the *seniores*
ecclesiæ were a sort of elders who were not of
the clergy, but yet had some concern in the care
of the Church. Thus, St. Augustine inscribes
one of his epistles to his own church of Hippo,
"*Clero, senioribus et universæ plebi.*" Some of
these *seniores* were the chief men or magistrates
of the place, such as we still call *aldermen*; who
also formed a sort of lay council of the bishops,
giving advice and assistance in many weighty
matters of the Church. But there were others
known more properly as *seniores ecclesiastici*, who
were entrusted with the utensils, treasure, and
outward affairs of the Church, but had no concern
in its government or discipline; and these
may be regarded as the predecessors of our
churchwardens. The lay elders, so called, of
modern times are ranked above the deacons in
their own communities, and cannot therefore
be identified with the *seniores ecclesiastici* of
the ancient Church, who, not being reckoned of
the clergy, were ecclesiastically inferior to the
order of deacons (Bingham, ii. 18). [D. B.]

CHURCHYARD. The subject of places set
apart for Christian burial has already been con-
sidered under AREA, CATACOMB, and CEMETERY.
The present article relates simply to burial in
the precincts of churches.

The laws of the empire against burying in
cities of course prevented the use of churchyards
within the walls for the purpose of interment so
long as those laws continued in force. The first
attempts to bury in or near churches seem to
have occurred in the case of those churches or me-
morial cells which were built over the remains
of apostles or martyrs; for both Theodosius
(*Coder*, lib. ix. tit. 17; *De Sepulc.* *Yul.* leg. 6)
and Justinian (*Coder*, lib. i. tit. 2; *De Eccl.* leg. 2)
expressly provide against such churches being
made exceptions to the general law. When the
church had kings for nursing-fathers, the privi-
lege of being buried within the precincts was
sometimes extended to Christian emperors. Thus
Constantine desired (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iv. 71) to
be buried near the apostles whom he had en-
shrined, and his son Constantius carried out his
wish by causing him to be buried in the ATRIUM
of the church; a fact to which Chrysostom in-
vokes than once alludes (On 2 Cor., *Hom.* 26, p. 929,
ed. Paris, 1616; *Quod Christus sit Deus*, c. 8, p.
839). Theodosius the elder, Arcadius, and Theo-
dostus the younger, are said by a late historian
(Nicephorus, *II. E.* xiv. 58) to have been simi-
larly buried. The council of Braga of the year
563 (can. 18) allows corpses to be buried, if need
be, around the church (deforis circa murum
basilicæ), but utterly forbids any to be buried
within, alleging the respect due to the relics of
saints.

Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury laid down
(*Penitential*, II. i. 5 and 6, in Haddan and Stubbs'
Councils, iii. 190) the following rule: In a church
in which bodies of unbelievers are buried it is
not lawful to consecrate an altar; but if the
church itself is of good material, let it be pulled

down and rebuilt after the logs of which it is composed have been planed or washed. If the altar has been previously consecrated, mass may be said upon it if 'religious' persons are buried there; but if a pagan be buried there, it is better that the altar should be purified and taken out of the building. It is clear from this passage that burials frequently took place in the rude wooden churches of the 7th century in England, and that only the bodies of pagans were held absolutely to desecrate the place, though the practice of burying in churches does not seem to be looked upon with favour. The council of Nantes, held probably towards the end of the 7th century, in the 6th canon, permits burials in the atrium or fore-court, in the cloister, and in the outbuildings (exœtra) of a church, but utterly forbids them in the church itself and near the altar, where the Body and Blood of the Lord are. The same precept is repeated in the canons of later councils, as in the 52nd of that at Mentz in 813, which however expressly excepts bishops, abbots, worthy presbyters, and faithful laymen. Similar to this is the injunction of Theodulf of Orleans (*Capitul. ad Iresbyt.* ix.). The council of Tribur (A.D. 895), repeating the prohibition with regard to laymen (can. 17), implies that the prohibited burials had already taken place, by the provision that bodies buried in churches in times past were not to be exhumed; and in case the multitude of tombs was such that the ground could not conveniently be levelled, it provides, in almost the same terms as Theodulf, that the altar should be removed, and the church made a mere cemetery-chapel or catacomb.

In the East, the Emperor Leo VI., about the year 900, abrogated (*Novell.* 53) all the old laws against burying in cities, and left men at liberty to bury either within or without the walls; a permission which no doubt gave occasion to burying in the precincts of city churches.

We conclude, then, that burying in the precincts of churches was practised, in the case of very distinguished persons, from the 4th century; more generally, from the 7th century; but that the increasing practice of burying in churches was constantly resisted by ecclesiastical authorities during the whole period with which we are concerned, and was held to be almost a desecration.

Monastic bodies had from very ancient times burying-grounds of their own, that they who had consorted together in their lives might rest together in death (Isidore of Seville, *Regula*, c. 23); these were however originally outside the precincts of the monastery, as we see from the instances of Pachomius, Benedict, and many others. Bede, in the *Life of St. Cuthbert*, speaks of a dead monk being carried to his burial in a cart, which would not have been necessary if the interment had taken place within the monastery. It appears that in many places a chapel or oratory was built on the spot chosen for the interment of the brethren. For instance, Abbot Bertinus (A.D. 660) enclosed a graveyard for his monastery on a neighbouring hill, and built in the midst of it a church dedicated to St. Mary (*Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. iii. pt. 1, p. 110). Afterwards, graveyards were formed within the convent walls, but not within the cloister, and were provided with a separate church. Of this kind as believed to have been the cemetery formed

by Elgil at Fulda, the church of which was dedicated in the year 822 (*Life of Elgil* by Candidus, c. 20, in *Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. iv. pt. 1, p. 278). Benedict of Aniane also caused an oratory to be constructed in the cemetery of his monastery (*Life*, c. 39, in *Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. iv. pt. 1). The ancient plan of St. Gall shows only a cross in the midst of the graveyard within the convent walls. And in process of time burials took place in the cloister itself. Abbot Walfrid, when dying (A.D. 765), desired to be buried in the midst of the cloister (*Life*, c. 8, *Acta SS. Bened.* sæc. li. pt. 2); and it appears that other monks of that rule were buried in the cloister (u. s. c. 14). Later instances are frequent. Monks of distinguished sanctity were occasionally buried in the church itself, as St. Volou of Soissons in the 8th century (*Acta SS. Bened.* iv. 2, p. 530). Except in the case of very saintly persons, burial was not permitted within the first eight centuries in monastic more than in secular churches. (Bingham's *Antiquities*, bk. xxiii. c. 1; Martene, *De litibus Eccl. Ant.* lib. iii. c. 7, §§ 10-14; *De Rit. Monach.* lib. v. c. 10, §§ 100-104; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vi. 3, 443 ff.) [C.]

CIBORIUM. [ALTAR: DOVE, EUCHARISTIC.]

CHLICIA (COUNCIL OF), A.D. 424, at which Theodorus of Mopsuestia, a town in this province, who was still alive, was condemned for his errors (Mansi, iv. 473-4). [E. S. F.]

CINGULUM. (Ζώνη, Zoon, Balteus, Funic.) The girdle, in ancient times, was generally associated with the idea of active exertion, inasmuch as it served to confine and to gird up the long flowing garments which, when unconfined, interfered with all activity. But as a richly-ornamented girdle commonly formed a part of the robes of state worn by Eastern monarchs, we find the girdle occasionally alluded to as a symbol of royal dignity. So Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople, c. 715 A.D., *Myst. Theor.* p. 206, speaks of the girdle, then worn as part of a priest's dress, as signifying the beauty whereby Christ entering upon His kingdom did gird Himself withal, even the beauteous majesty of Godhead. See *Vestiarium Christianum*, pp. 84, 85. Lastly, through yet other associations, which will be obvious to all students of antiquity, the girdle connected itself with the idea of chastity; and it is in this connexion that it is commonly referred to by the later ecclesiastical writers. See, for example, St. Jerome on Ezek. xlv. ; Celestine, bishop of Rome, 432, apud Lubbe, *Concilia*, ii. 1618 ("in lumborum præcinctione castitas . . . indicatur"); Rabanus Maurus, *de Instit. Cleric.* lib. i. c. 17; Pseudo-Alcuin, *de Div. Off. (Vest. Christ.* p. 111); Ivo Carnotensis (*ib.* p. 121). Both in East and West it formed part of the monastic dress from the earliest times. Among Western writers see the *Life of Fulgentius*, bishop of Ruspa, by Ferrandus Diaconus ("pelliceo cingulo tanquam monachus utebatur"); Salvianus, *ad Eccl. Cathol.* lib. iv. (addressing a monk of unworthy character—"Licet religionem vestibus similes, licet filium cingulo aderas, licet sanctitatem pallio mentiris," &c.); Joannis Cassiani, *de Coenob. Instit.* lib. i. c. 11, apud Migne, *Patrol.* xlix. 60; the *Regula* of St. Benedict, *Magal.* lxxi. 490 ("restiti dormiant, et cincti cingulis aut funibus")

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DOVE, EUCHARISTIC.]
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 demned for his errors
 [E. S. F.]

Hildegar, in the 9th century (opud Migne, tom. e.), explains the distinction between 'cingulum' and 'funicus'. "Funicus est qui de cannaba fit vel lino in rotundum; cingulum (sic) autem eorrigia est de lana vel lino, sed non in rotundum sicut funis, sed in latum sicut tricia." For Eastern usage see St. Jerome, *Procat. in Populum S. Pachomii*, opp. ii. 49; Palladius, *Lusitana*, cap. 38 (Migne, lxxiii. 1157) and St. Germanus of Constantinople, in a passage above referred to. He there says of the monastic habit that it was like that of John the Baptist, whose raiment was of camel's hair, and who wore a leathern girdle about his loins. Celestine, bishop of Rome, in his letter to the bishops of Vienna and Narbonne, already referred to, dating about 430 A.D., marks the time when the wearing of a girdle as part of the episcopal dress (probably in imitation of the monastic habit) was first introduced into Gaul. He reproves those to whom he writes for dressing in a pallium and wearing a girdle about the loins, and so seeking to observe the truth of Scripture not in the spirit but in the letter. "Amneti pallio, et tumbos spircincti, credunt se Scripturæ fidem non per spiritum, sed per litteram completuros." See Labbé, *Concilia*, ii. 1618; *Fest. Christ.*, p. 45. [W. B. M.]

CIRBA, COUNCILS OF. [AFRICAN COUNCILS.]

CIRCUMCELLIONES. (1) A name given to the Donatist fanatics in Africa during the 4th century, from their habit of roving from house to house, plundering (Aug. c. *Gaudent.* i. 3). They went about in predatory gangs, consisting chiefly of rustics, on the borders of the Getulian desert, ravaging Numidia and Mauritania, provinces at that time neither thoroughly Christianised nor thoroughly subjected to Roman law. According to Augustine they were notorious for their lawless violence against the Catholics (Aug. c. *Gaudent.* i. 28, 32; *Haer.* 69; c. *Parment.* i. 11; c. *Crescon.* iii. 42, 46, 47; *Epp.* 88, 105, 185), as well as against property (Aug. *Epp.* 15, 85, 185). To restrain their turbulence their own bishops were constrained to invoke the aid of the Roman counts. Augustine defends Mucarius and Taurinus from the charge of having been unduly severe against them, and reproves the exultation of these fanatics over the death of Ursacius (Aug. c. *Litt. Petilian.* cc. 22, 25). At the Conference of Carthage in 411 A.D. the imperial commissioner decreed a fine on those districts wherein the "circumcelliones" were not kept in order (Coleti *Conc.* t. iii.). At Bagai they fought, but unsuccessfully, against Roman cavalry. The war-shout of these "avengers" or "champions of God," as they styled themselves (*ἀγωναρχοί*), Optat. Milevit. *de Schisma.* Donat. iii. 4), "Deo Laudes," in opposition to the "Deo Gratias" of the other party, was terrible to all peaceful people as the roar of a lion (Aug. in *Ps. cxxxvii.* v. 6). Instead of words, which for some time they felt a religious scruple against using (cf. St. Matt. xxvi. 52), they brandished clubs at first, which they called "Spiritus" (Aug. in *Ps. x.* v. 5). Like the "Israelite" assassins, the followers of the "Old Man of the Mountain" in the time of the Crusades, the "Circumcelliones" courted death, wantonly insulting the Pagans at their festivals

(Aug. c. *Gaudent.* i. 32, 49; *Epp.* 12, 16, 185); and, in their frantic eagerness for martyrdom, challenging all whom they met on their way to kill them (Aug. c. *Crescon.* iii. 46, 49; c. *Litt. Petil.* ii. 114; *De Unit. Eccl.* 50; Theodoret. *Haer.* iv. 6). Among the titles which they assumed was that of "Agnostici," to indicate their contempt for learning (Aug. in *Ps. cxxxvii.* v. 6). Though pledged by profession to celibacy, they were guilty of frequent outrages on women, if their opponents may be believed (Aug. c. *Litt. Petil.* i. 16, ii. 195; *De Unit. Eccl.* 50). For these and similar offences, as well as on the charge of aiding the Vandals, they were ordered by Honorius, 412 A.D., to be fined (Hefele in *Kirchengesch.*, iii. 261). Gibbon compares these "circumcelliones" to the "camisards" of Languedoc in the commencement of the 18th century (*Poetice and Fall*, ii. 445, Bohn, 1855).

Circumcelliones (2) were vagabond monks, censured by Cassian, under the name of Sarabaitae, for roving from place to place (*Coll.* xviii. 7). Probably the name was transferred to them from the Donatist fanatics. St. Augustine rebuts this comparison as unmerited, at least within his experience (in *Ps. cxxxvii.* v. 6). But elsewhere (*De Oper. Monach.* 28) he inveighs with characteristic warmth against the idle, vagrant monks, "nusquam missos, nusquam fixos, nusquam stantes, nusquam sedentes," &c., who scoured the country for alms, vending fictitious relics. Benedictus Anianensis quotes Isidorus *de Offic. Eccl.* (ii. 15) against these "circumcelliones" or "circuilliones" as spurious Anchorites (*Concord. Reg.* c. 3, cf. Menard, ad loc.). These vagabond monks were condemned as unstable and scandalous (*Conc. Tolat.* vii. c. 5); and as mock-hermits (*κεκκαδοὶ ψευδοερημίται*) in the Synodical Epistol. Orientalis addressed to the Emp. Theophilus (Suicer, *Thesaur.* sub voce). They are denounced also by *Nisus* (*Epp.* iii. 19); and are probably the "gyrovagi" censured in the *Regula St. Benedicti* (c. 1). The name occurs so late as in Monachus Sangallensis, who relates how a monk, one of the "circumcelliones," "ignarus discipline imperatoris," intruded into the choir in the presence of Carl (*De Gest. Carol. M.* i. 8, v. Canisii *Antiqu. Lectiones*). [I. G. S.]

CIRCUMCISION. As a Jewish rite, or as connected with the controversies of the Apostolic age, this ordinance does not come within the limits of this work. It claims a place, however, even in a Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, as having been adopted from a remote period in the Church of Abyssinia, and as still in use there. In this, as in many other practices, the influence of a large Jewish population has made that community the representative of a type of Judæo-Christianity which must have been common in the first two centuries, but which has since been lost. It has to be noted that circumcision is practised there (and the present usage rests upon an immemorial tradition) before baptism, between the third and the eighth day after birth, and that an analogous operation is applied to female children. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 12. [E. H. P.]

CIRCUMCISION, FESTIVAL OF
 1. *Origin of Festival.*—From the necessary connection of the event commemorated on this day with the Nativity, we must obviously not

look for notices of its celebration at a date earlier than that at which we first meet with those of the Nativity itself.

It will follow from the prescribed interval between the birth of a child and its circumcision that the festival of the Circumcision will fall on the octave of the Nativity; and consequently we continually find January 1 thus marked, even where the service contains references to the day as the anniversary of the Circumcision. It is not until later that we find the day to have acquired sufficient independent rank to bear the title of the Circumcision rather than of the octave as its special distinguishing mark.

It is hard to say when the earliest traces of an observance of the day under either designation are to be found. There is extant a long homily by Zeno, bishop of Verona in the 4th century, which would appear to have been meant for delivery on this day; but, on the other hand, it is not mentioned in the *Kalendarium Carthaginiense*, or in that of Bueherius, both probably documents of the 4th century. Now it has been shown elsewhere [CHRISTMAS] that the first certain allusions to an observance of Christmas as a distinct and independent festival occur towards the end of the 4th century, and that this observance of it was later in the East than in the West. This agrees with what is said above, and with the instances we shall further quote, which tend to disprove the existence of any save perhaps a more or less local recognition of the festival before the end of the 4th century. Here, as in the case of the parent festival of the Nativity, our earliest illustrations come from the West.

Thus we find the day noticed in the Gelasian Sacramentary, the Gregorian Sacramentary and Antiphony, the Gallican Sacramentary and Lectionary, in the Calendar of Fronto, the Mozarabic Liturgy and Breviary, and the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*.

Passing on to the Eastern Church, we find that in the calendar of the Coptic Church given by Selden (*de Synedrâs Ebræorum*, lib. iii. c. 15), the Circumcision is reckoned among the minor festivals, and that the *Apostolic Constitutions*, a work doubtless of Oriental origin, ignores it altogether.

In process of time the day became more and more recognized, and at last the observance became universal.

A reason for the Church's apparent slowness in recognizing and commemorating so important an incident in our Lord's earthly life, at which He received the name Jesus—an event, one would suppose, itself of more than ordinary interest—is doubtless to be found in the fact that on the Kalends of January was held a great heathen festival, characterized by an excessive amount of riot and licentiousness. The Christians, anxious to avoid an apparent toleration of these abominations by holding a festival of their own, even though of a totally different character, on the same day, enjoined a solemn fast, as a wholesome protest and as a means of guarding the unwary from being led astray. See Augustine, *Sermon*, 197, 198 (*Patrol.* xxxviii. 1024 sqq.).

There is also an allusion to this in a canon of the 2nd Council of Tours, A.D. 567 (*Conc. Turonense* II. can. 17; Labbé, v. 857). Further we

find in the *Martyrologium Romanum* (January 1), that a certain Almachius suffered martyrdom for saying, "Hodie octavae Domini dei sunt, cessate a superstitiosis Idolorum et a sacrificiis pollutis." If, as is asserted, this Almachius be the same with the Telemachus mentioned by Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 26), this event must be referred to the time of Honorius, and will point to a certain recognition of the day by the Roman Church at the end of the 4th century. To the subject of this fast we shall briefly refer again.

We shall now proceed to discuss the observance of the day more in detail.

II. *Liturgical Notices.*—It is impossible to determine the character of the evidence borne as to this day by the Leonine Sacramentary, for it is mutilated at the beginning, and commences with the month of April. The last section in it, however, is "In jejuniis mensis decimi," for which five Masses are given, thus furnishing evidence for the observance of the time, though none for the name by which the day was known (ii. 156, ed. Ballerini). It may be added, however, that with this exception there is no allusion to the day in the writings of Leo I., although he has many sermons on the Nativity itself. The Gelasian Sacramentary gives a Mass for the day, *In Octavas Domini*, and there follows one *Prohibendum ab idolis*, pointing to what we have already said as to the heathen festival on this day (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1061). In the former Mass, the main idea is evidently of the octave of the Nativity, and not of any special commemoration of the day itself, there being merely a passing allusion to our Lord's Circumcision, as contrasted with such expressions as "Cujus hodie octavas nati celebrantes . . ." and the like.

In the Gregorian Sacramentary the Mass for the day is headed *In Octavis Domini* (Greg. Sacr. col. 13, ed. Menard), but the Gospel treats of the Circumcision, Luke ii. 21-32. Of two collects given, one has special reference to the Virgin, the other to the octave, and in Pamelius' edition of the Sacramentary, and in the *Cd. Reg. Suec.* is read *Ad S. Mariam ad Martyres*; in the *Kalendarium Romanum* is *Natale S. Marie*, and thus in the Gregorian Antiphony (op. ed. 660) we have *De Sancta Maria in velata Infantini*.

All this points to a twofold commemoration of the day, the one having regard to the octave of the Nativity or the Circumcision, the other to the Virgin, and hence the special prominence given to the mention of her in the Mass for the day in the modern Roman Missal. The Preface and the Benediction in the Gregorian Sacramentary do indeed refer to the Circumcision—"Cujus hodie Circumcisionis diem et Nativitatis octavam celebrantes"—; but there is a certain amount of evidence against their authenticity, they are omitted by Pamelius and are wanting in the *Cd. Reg. Suec.* Possibly, therefore, they are a later addition.

We may next briefly notice the ancient liturgical documents of the Gallican Church. The ancient Lectionary published by Mabillon (*de Liturgia Gallicana*, p. 112), gives lectures in the *Circumcisione Domini* for matins and for the Mass; for the former, Isaiah xlv. 24—xlvi. 7, and for the latter, Isaiah i. 10-20; with 1 Cor. x. 14-31 and Luke ii. 21-40 for the Epistle

and Gospel, the Gelasian Sacramentary and the Ambrosian Sacramentary. The Ambrosian Sacramentary also contains a special lesson for the day, which is the same as that in the Gregorian Sacramentary. The Mozarabic Breviary also contains a special lesson for the day, which is the same as that in the Gregorian Sacramentary.

It is thus probable that the observance of the day was introduced into Spain for early days. The first document observed is to be found in the Council of Tours, which, after remarking that the day is observed from Christ's birth, says "capitur tribulum in istum consuetudine prius in Kalendis ecclesie psallitur, hodie Circumcisionis dicitur" (Labbé, l. c.). The evidence for supposing that the observance was introduced into Spain from the death of Isidorus is not so strong as one places, "phœnicibus Domini usque ad tempus edicere" (*Conc. Turonense* lxxviii. 380). Averlun (*loc. cit.*) from the belief that Isidorus here may mean the *synaxis*; but when it is joined with the above, the less reason for the observance. Further, recent investigations show that by the 7th century the observance had become of such importance that it is mentioned in the *Code de Lois* (Code de Lois, lib. vii. t. 3, l. 6; 63, 1004, Frankfurt, same survives), for in the 8th century in the *Code de Lois* (*Patrol.* lxxxix. 1090) the Council of Mainz is mentioned, can. 36; Labbé, l. c.).

Briefly then to summarize what we have obtained: we have seen that the observance of the day in the 4th century as the octave of the Nativity or the recognition of the day in the modern Roman Missal is borne out by the fact that it is before that date the earliest the name of the day was solely as the octave of the Nativity or the Circumcision. It may be remarked that the Council of Tours, which still adheres to the observance of the day, is the only one of commemorating the day together on January 6, and that the Council of Tours celebrates the Circumcision on January 6. The primary idea of a festival has already been mentioned in the canon of the 2nd Council of Tours, where it is said that the observance of the day is the same as that of the Nativity.

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CIRCUMCISION, FESTIVAL OF

and Gospel, the Gospel being the same as in the
Gregorian and Mozarabic liturgy; the pro-
phetical lection and Epistle in this last being
Isaiah xlviii. 12-20 and Philippians iii. 1-8.
It will be observed that the Epistle in the Gallian
liturgy has reference to the idol practices
which characterized the day. The Gotho-Gallie
Missal (ob. 200) gives an *Ordo Missae in Cir-*
cumcisione Domini nostri Jesu Christi, and the
Mozarabic Breviary and Missal style the day
Circumcisio Domini.

It is thus probable that we must look to Gaul
and Spain for early examples of this title of the
day. The first definite instance that we have
observed is to be found in the canon of the 2nd
Council of Tours (567 A.D.) already referred to,
which, after remarking that every day was a festi-
val from Christmas to Epiphany, adds, "ex-
cipitur triduum illud, quo ad celebrandam Gen-
tilianam consuetudinem patres nostri statuerunt
privatas in Kalendis Januarii fieri litanias, et in
ecclesiis psallitur, et hova octava in ipsis Ka-
lendis Circumcisionis Missa Deo propitio cele-
bratur" (Labbe, l. c.). There is also some evi-
dence for supposing that the title of the Circum-
cision was applied to the day in Spain before
the death of Isidore (676 A.D.), for we read in
one place, "pleneit etiam patribus a die Natalis
Domini usque ad diem Circumcisionis solemne
tempus efflicere" (*Regula Monachorum* 12; *Patrol.*
lxxiii. 880). Arevalo does indeed suggest (*not. in*
loc.), from the belief that the title Circumcision
is probably of later date, that the original words
of Isidore here may have been *Kalendas Janu-*
arias; but when the passage is taken in con-
junction with the above quoted canon, there seems
little reason for having recourse to this hypo-
thesis. Further, remarks in the laws of the Visi-
gods show that by the middle or latter part of
the 7th century the day ranked in Spain of so high
importance that on it the law courts were closed,
and that it then bore the name of the Circum-
cision (*Codex Leg. Visigoth.* lib. ii. tit. 1, lex 11;
lib. xii. t. 3, l. 6; in *Hispania Illustrata*, iii.
853, 1004, Frankfurt 1600). Still, the old
name survived, for we find it at the end of the
8th century in the *Regula* of Bishop Chrodegang
(*Patrol.* lxxix. 1090), and in the proceedings of
the Council of Mainz, 813 A.D. (*Conc. Mogun-*
tacum, can. 36; Labbe, vii. 1250).

Briefly then to sum up the results so far
obtained: we have seen that the *à priori* ex-
pectation, which would assign the end of the
4th century as the earliest possible date of the
recognition of the day under either title, is
borne out by the fact of the absence of allusions
to it before that date; and further that, until
the earliest middle of the 6th century,
it was solely as the octave of the Nativity, and
not as the Circumcision that the day was known.
It may be remarked here that the whole of
Christendom agrees in celebrating the Circum-
cision on January 1 except the Armenian Church,
which still adheres to the old Eastern practice
of commemorating the Nativity and Epiphany
together on January 6, and necessarily therefore
celebrates the Circumcision on January 13.

The primary idea of the day as a fast and not
a festival has already been referred to. The
canon of the 2nd Council of Tours which we
have cited shows the state of the case in France;
that the same custom prevailed in Spain is shown

by an allusion in a canon of the 4th Council of
Toledo, A.D. 633 (*Conc. Tol.* iv. can. 11; Labbe,
v. 1709); cf. Isidore, *de Eccl. Off.* lib. i. c. 46;
although it must be added that a heading in the
Mozarabic Breviary points to the three days
before the Epiphany as the period of the fast:
"Officium jejuniorum in Kal. Jan. observatur
tribus diebus ante festum Epiphaniae." Lastly,
we may refer to the *Ordo Romanus*, which, after
speaking of the heathen abominations which de-
filed the day, adds, "Statuit universa's Ecclesia
jejunium publicum in isto die fieri" (p. 20, ed.
Hittorp.*).

It will, of course, be inferred from what has
been already remarked that there is an absence
of homilies or sermons for the day in the works
of early patristic writers. We may here again,
however, refer to the discourse of Zeno of Verona,
de Circumcisione (lib. i. tractat. 13, p. 99, ed.
Ballerini, where see note 1). In an ancient MS.
of this of the 9th century (the Cl. Remensis) is
added a note in the margin of this discourse,
In Octava Domini pentecostis nona lectio. The
Ballerini consider these notes to have been written
at the time when Archbishop Hincmar (ob. 882
A.D.) gave the MS. to the abbey of St. Remigius at
Reims, and while the MS. belonged to the
Church of Verona (*Pref.* § 5), and that this
discourse was there spoken on the octave of the
Nativity. They infer from the marginal note
the relative importance of the day, considering
that such a remark about the ninth lection would
be made only in the case of the more important
festivals. Bede has written a homily for the day
on Luke ii. 21 (*Hom.* x.; *Patrol.* xciv. 63).

When the fast became a festival it is impos-
sible definitely to say. Probably the process
was a gradual one, and the period varied in
different countries. The statutes of St. Boniface
(ob. 755 A.D.) include it among the special
festivals on which no work was to be done
(*D'Achery, Spicilegium* ix. 66). Still, at a
period subsequent to this, traces of the old state
of things survived, the latest we have observed
being in the *Capitula* of Atto, bishop of Verceil
in the 10th century, who dwells on the expedi-
ency of maintaining the ancient protest
(*Patrol.* xxxiv. 43). [R. S.]

CIRCUS. [CHARIOTRER.]

CIRINUS. [CYRINUS.]

CITHINUS, one of the "martyres Scyllitanii"
at Carthage, July 17 (*Cal. Carthag.*, Bedae, *Rom.*
Vet., Usuardi). [C.]

CLARUS, presbyter, and martyr "in pago
Vilensino," Nov. 4 (*Mart.* Usuardi). [C.]

CLAUDIANUS. (1) Martyr in Egypt under
Numerian, Feb. 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).
(2) Martyr at Nicomedia, March 6 (*Mart.*
Usuardi). [C.]

CLAUDIUS. (1) Martyr at Ostia under
Diocletian Feb. 18 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).
(2) Martyr at Rome, with Pope Marcellinus,
April 20, A.D. 304 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

* The alleged *Statuta Ecclesiae Rhemensis* (Labbe, v.
1694), attributed to Bishop Sonnatius. In which (c. 50)
reference is made to the Circumcision as one of the days
"abique opere forensi excludenda," are probably fabrica-
tions of a later date.

which appointed also a festival day for both St. Gregory the Great and St. Augustine of Canterbury. (4) A.D. 794, called "Synodale Concilium," and "Sanctum Concilium": two grants are extant made there (Kenble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, 164-167; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, 483-485). (5) A.D. 798, referred wrongly by Spelman to A.D. 800; some charters were passed there (Kenble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, 175, 180, 1018; Haddan and Stubbs, *ib.* 512-518). There are intimations also of the annual synod having been held, but without mention of the place (e.g. A.D. 704, and 730 or 737, both Mercian councils, and again, A.D. 755, Haddan and Stubbs, *ib.* 267, 337, 390), which may easily therefore have been Clovesho, and probably was so. [A. W. H.]

COADJUTOR BISHOP, with a right of succession, was distinctly against canon; on the principle that such an appointment interfered with the right of election in clergy and people, &c. [Bisnor.] The institution of *chorepiscopi* appears to have been among the earliest plans for meeting the case of overgrown dioceses. But instances must have occurred at all times of bishops incapacitated by sickness either of body or mind, or by old age. And under such circumstances resignations were, although grudgingly, permitted. [Bisnor.] Nevertheless, coadjutors also,—meaning by the term full bishops, but acting still in place of the proper occupant of the see (still remaining so), and with no right of succession,—occur, although at first rarely; almost every early case being mixed up with the succession-question. St. Ambrose certainly speaks of a coadjutor in this special sense being given to Bishop Bassus, "in consortium regende ecclesie" (*Epist.* 79). And the 5th Council of Paris (A.D. 577), considerably later, contemplates the case as an exceptionally legitimate one. "Nullus episcoporum se vivente alium in loco suo vigat, . . . nisi certae conditiones extiterint ut ecclesiam suam et clerum regere non possent" (can. 2). And in course of time such coadjutors became at length common, and were provided for by, e.g. Boniface VIII. (in *Sexto c. Pastoralis*). St. Gregory the Great meets the case of temporary sickness by the temporary help of a neighbouring bishop; but in more permanent cases he distinctly recommends a coadjutor, but without right of succession, as, e.g. in the case of John of Justiniana Prima (*St. Gregory M. Epist.* ix. 41). [A. W. H.]

COARB (*Corarb*, *Comharbi*, Latinized into *Corbi*, = *Conterraneus*, or *ejusdem terrae*, or *districtus*—so Colgan), the title in the Celtic-Irish and Scottish churches, of the abbatial successor of the original founder of a monastery. So an abbot of Hy would be called the Coarb of Columba; of Armagh, the Coarb of Patrick; of Raphoe, the Coarb of Adamnan, &c., &c. The word occurs much earlier in the Annals; but its common use dates from late in the 8th century, when such abbacies had become hereditary in many cases, and not only so, but had passed into the hands, in some instances, of laymen, while a prior discharged the spiritual office. The transformation in lapse of time of the *Heremach* or *Airchannach*, who was originally the representative of the lay *Advocatus* of the monastery, but gradually usurped the position of hereditary

lay possessor of his original third of the produce of monastic lands, brought him also by a different line to a condition closely resembling what the lay coarbs became (as e.g. at Dunkeld); so that the coarb became to a monastery what the heremach was to any church, monastic or not. A female coarb occurs once or twice (Reeves, *ad Adm. V. S. Columbae*, *Add. Notes*, p. 494). Coarbs that were still clergy, became *tyfyn* in Ireland in later times *Peblun*—rural deans, or archpresbyters, or chorepiscopi (in the later sense of the word), i.e. the head of a "pho-eclesiastical," viz. of clergy who served chapels under him as rector. [Reeves, *Colm's Visitation*, pp. 4 note, 145, 209; Spelman, *Gloss. in v. Corba*; E. W. Robertson, *Early Scotl.* i. 310.] [A. W. H.]

COAT, THE HOLY. Its miracles are commemorated on Oct. 1 in the *Georgian Calendar*.

COCHLEAR. [Spoon.] [C.]

COCK. Representations of this bird occur frequently on tombs from the earliest period. When not associated with the figure of St. Peter, as Bottari, *tav.* lxxxiv., or placed on a pillar, as Boldetti, p. 360; Bottari, *tavv.* xxiv, xxii, &c., it appears to be a symbol of the Resurrection, our Lord being supposed by the early Church to have broken from the grave at the early cock-crowing. A peculiar awe seems always to have attached to that hour, at which all wandering spirits have through the Middle Ages been supposed to vanish from the earth. *Haniel* and the ancient ballad called *The Wife of Usher's Well* occur to us as salient examples of an universal superstition. Prudentius' hymn *Ad Galli Cantum* (*Cithon*, v. 16) adopts the idea of the cock-crowing as a call to the general judgment ("Nostri figura est judicii"); and further on (45 seqq.) he says:

"Hoc esse signum praesit
Noverim promissae spei,
Qua nos somno liberi
Speramus adventum Dei."

And again, 65 seqq.:

"Inte est, quot omnes credimus,
Ilo quietis tempore,
Quo galus exultans canit,
Christum redisse ex inferis."

See Aringhi, vol. ii. pp. 328-9 (in a complete list of animal symbols). Fighting-cocks (see the passage last quoted) seem to symbolize the combat



From a Cup (Aringhi, ii. 328.)

with secular or ser-
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epos, *el pauci*, &c.
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ii. s. 137.

Two cocks accor-
Bottari, *tav.* clixii
arch in the cemetery

CODEX CANO

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Still this code, though
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with secular or sensual temptations. The practice of training them for combat has probably always existed in the East, and certainly was in vogue at Athens (cf. Aristoph. *Av.*, *οἰστροὶ καὶ ἄλγεα*, *ἢ μάχη*, &c.). For a symbol drawn from such a pastime, compare St. Paul's use of the word *παύσις* (4 Cor. ix. 27). See Bottari, vol. ii. t. 137.

Two coats accompany the Good Shepherd in Bottari, tav. clxxxii. (From the tympanum of an arch in the cemetery of St. Agnes). [R. St. J. T.]

CODEx CANONUM ECCLESIAE

GRAECAE.

ROMANAE.

UNIVERSAE.

To treat of them in their chronological order, we must reverse their alphabetical, and proceed from the last to the first. Dionysius Exiguus, in dedicating his own collection (Migne's *Patrol.* liv. 139) to Stephen, bishop of Salona, speaks of two collections anterior to it; one in Greek of 165 canons, according to him, terminating with the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381; and another in Latin, long ago translated from the Greek, which he had in fact been asked to improve upon. The Greek collection was composed of 29 canons passed at Nicea; 25 at Ancyra (which he reckons as 24); 14 at Neocaesarea; 20 at Gangra; 25 at Antioch; 59 at Laodicea; and 6 at Constantinople (which he gives as 3). All had been framed in the 4th century; and as they begin with the first General Council and end with the second, the probability is that they were put together so as to form a collection before the date of the 4th Council, by the 1st canon of which they were confirmed, and in the acts of which they are more than once cited as still numbered in this collection. [CONCIL. CHALCED.] To it we may suppose to have been appended meanwhile—Justinus (*Patrol.* xv. p. 29) thinks the 4th Council, as there seems to be a collection of his still extant containing them—the 8 canons of Ephesus; and it was further enlarged by the canons of Chalcedon on being confirmed there. In this shape it was ordered to have the force of law by the Emperor Justinian in his 131st Novel. Whether it included more than 27 canons of Dionysius is, however, open to question; as before then, ends with the 27th, telling Stephen expressly, "in his Graecorum canonum finem esse declaramus." And so far is he from standing alone in this, that even John Scholasticus, a presbyter of Antioch, who became patriarch of Constantinople in the last year of Justinian, attributes no more than 27 canons to the Council of Chalcedon in his collection, by which he means of course the first 27. With these, therefore, this code terminated. The Ephesine canons indeed are not translated by Dionysius, nor in the old Latin version of which he speaks; but they are particularly named by Justinian; and John Scholasticus, though he reckons them at seven, has quoted the 8th, passing over the 7th in all probability for no other reason than its irrelevancy to the subject-matter of his collection. Still this code, though it was probably composed at Chalcedon, and became law for the empire under Justinian in this shape, seems never to have been received in this shape pre-

cisely by the Roman or the Greek Church. John Scholasticus, whose description of it, checked by the number of canons assigned to it by Dionysius, has been here followed in preference to the Greek version edited by Justellus, which is of later date (v. append. ad op. S. Leon. ap. Migne, *Patrol.* lvi. p. 18), professes it by 85 canons of the Apostles, as he calls them; interpolates it with 21 canons of Sardica; and takes to it 68 of St. Basil. Similarly, Dionysius Exiguus, prefacing it with 50 canons of the Apostles, omits the Ephesine, but appends, over and above the 21 Sardican, no less than 138 African canons; in other words, the entire code of the African Church elsewhere described. Out of these two collections were formed separately, (1) the code of the Roman, and (2) the code of the Greek Church.

1. Dionysius, as we have seen, speaks of an old Latin version anterior to his own; and all his remarks on it is its "confusion." It was first published by Voellus and Henry, son of Christopher, Justellus, A.D. 1661, vol. i. pp. 271-304 of their *Bibliotheca Juris Canonici Veteris*; and afterwards in a more perfect form by the Ballerini, in their learned disquisitions "De antiquis collectionibus et collectoribus canonum," appended to their edition of the works of St. Leo (Migne's *Patrol.* lvi. 747-816). It exhibits 24 Ancyran canons, 14 Neocaesarean, 21 Niceae (besides the creed), 21 Sardican, 20 Gangran, 25 Antiochian, 27 Chalcedonian, 4 Constantinopolitan; and then unnumbered, but as though belonging to the last, the 28th canon of Chalcedon, "De primatu ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae." This doubtless was its "confusion" in the eyes of Dionysius; and of course the canons of Constantinople should have preceded those of Chalcedon. But further, at the head of the bishops subscribing to the 28th canon of Chalcedon, immediately before the Roman legates, is Nectarius, who had been previously and rightly mentioned among the framers of the Constantinopolitan canons. Dionysius corrected this inaccuracy by omitting the 28th canon of Chalcedon altogether. The fact of its existence there proves, however, that this old version could not have been very much earlier than that of Dionysius himself, and also that it could never have been of any authority in the Roman Church.

That there was any regularly authorised collection in the Roman Church, in short, before Dionysius brought out his, seems improbable for the very reasons which the Ballerini bring forward in proof of one; namely, that till then the Sardican and Niceae canons, undistinguished from each other, and cited under the latter name, formed its exclusive code; for this rather shews—conformably with what passed between Pope Zosimus and the African church—that up to that time Rome was not conscious of having accepted any but the Niceae canons. At all events, no earlier collection of a public character including more than these, and used there, has been brought to light on their own shewing (ib. p. 63-88), as with the collections obtaining in Africa, Spain, Britain, and France we are not concerned. That the want of a similar collection at Rome had been felt, we may infer from the immediate welcome given there to that of Dionysius. Cassiodorus, his contemporary, and a Roman by birth, says in his praise that "he con-

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filled lucidly, and with great flow of eloquence, from Greek sources, those canons which the Roman church was then embracing, and using so largely" (*Divin. Lect. c. 23*): and Dionysius made them doubly acceptable there by supplementing them with a collection of the decrees of the Roman pontiffs from Siricius to Anastasius II., or from A.D. 385 to 498; which, in his dedicatory preface to Julian, "presbyter of the title of St. Anastasia," he says he had arranged on the same plan as his translation of the canons—a work that he understood had given his friend so much pleasure. Whether Dionysius omitted the canons of Ephesus, as not being canons in the ordinary sense of the word—which they are not [CONCILL. EPI.]—or because they were not in the old Latin version, as observed before, or because they were not in the particular Greek version used by him, is not, and probably will never be made clear. Again, why he added the Sardican canons, carefully distinguished from the Nicene, is another question of some interest. What he says is that he gave them as he found them published, in Latin. Had they not, then, been published in Greek likewise? Certainly, whether published in Greek as well as in Latin originally, or translated into Greek since, we know from what John Scholasticus says—of which presently—that there must have been at least one Greek collection of canons extant, at once containing and citing them as the canons of Sardica—not of Nicea—when he published his, so that it would have been useless for any Latin to have tried keeping up the delusion of their being Nicene canons any longer. But then supposing him to have been willing to do so, had it been possible, his own spontaneous adoption of the African canons would have been a still greater puzzle. For if the canons of Sardica distinctly countenance, by making provision for, appeals to Rome, the African canons contain the most positive declaration against them to be found in history. [AFRICAN COUNCILS.] By his adoption of the African canons, therefore, which he says existed in Latin, and, as there seems every reason to think, in Latin only then, from their not being included by John Scholasticus, he placed his own candour beyond dispute; thus enhancing the intrinsic merits of his collection. How he came by his materials for the second part, or appendix to it, consisting of the decrees of the Roman pontiffs from the end of the 4th to the end of the 5th century, he omits to explain. He merely says that he had inserted all he could find; which is as much as to say, surely, that there was no collection of them extant to his knowledge before his own. That there was one somewhere, notwithstanding, the Ballerini think highly probable (*l. c.* p. 200-6). However, they readily grant that in each case the excellence of his collections was so generally recognized as to make them adopted everywhere. One speedily became styled "*Codex Canonum*;" the other, "*Liber Decretorum*;" and both were presented, with some later additions to each, as some think of his own insertion or adoption, by Pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne, A.D. 787, with a dedication in verse at all events as from himself, ending in these words: "A lege nunquam discede, hæc observans statuta." It was printed at Mayence A.D. 1525, and afterwards at Paris, as "*Codex vetus ecclesie Romanæ*" (*Patrol. lxxvii.* 135-8, and lvi. 206-11);

a title which belonged to it long before then, as together with all other authentic collections in the West, it had been supplanted gradually by the fraudulent collection known as that of Isidore Mercator, or Pectorator, and first published in the latter half of the 9th century.

2. We may now turn to the code of the Greek church, founded, as has been said, on the collection of John Scholasticus ostensibly, though his was not the earliest work of the kind when it came out. Like Dionysius, he speaks of another, or rather of others, who had anticipated him, even in his plan of arranging the canons, not in their chronological order, but according to their subject-matter; the only difference between him and them being that they had made their collection consist of sixty titles; he of fifty; they had omitted the canons of St. Basil; he had supplied them. In other respects his collection included no more than theirs, nor theirs than his; though he considered his own arrangement more intelligible, and the more so as he had given a list at starting of the councils from which he had drawn, and of the number of canons passed by each. In his own language, for instance, the Apostles had published 85 canons through St. Clement; and there had been ten synods since their time, Nicene, Ancyra, Neocesarea, Sardica, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, whose canons together amounted to 224 (their respective numbers have been anticipated); to which he had ventured to append 68 of St. Basil. His position as Patriarch of Constantinople, doubtless, stamped his collection with authority from the first. But, like Dionysius, he rendered it still more acceptable for another reason, namely, that he supplemented it by a second work called his *Nomocanon*, from containing in addition the laws of the emperors. Thus the imperial decrees became mixed up with the code of the East, just as the papal decrees with that of the West.

The earlier of his collections received authoritative confirmation, as well as enlargement, in the 7th century, by the second of the Trullan canons, given in a former article. [CONC. CONSTANT.] And this code was further augmented by the 102 canons then passed, authoritatively received in the 1st canon of the 2d Nicene, or 7th Council. This Council added 22 canons of its own; and the two Councils of Constantinople, called the 1st and 2d under Photius, 17 and 3 more respectively; all which were incorporated by Photius into two works of his own, corresponding to those of his predecessor John, already described; one called his *Synagoge Canonum*, and the other his *Nomocanon* (*Sligge's Patrol. Gr. civ.* 441-1218). But there is also a third work, distinct from both, attributed to him by Cardinal Mai, being the identical text of the canons of each of the councils previously mentioned, in their chronological order (attributed by Beveridge, *Synod.* vol. ii.); followed by the canons of the different fathers, enumerated in the 2d Trullan canon (*Synod.* vol. ii.), and by the letter of St. Tarnasius to Pope Adrian I. against simoniacal ordinations; on which Balsamon, Zeparnas, and Aristenus afterwards commented, and called his *Synagoge Canonum* (*Patrol.* ib. p. 431). Such accordingly was, and, so far as it goes, is still the code of the Greek Church: the difference between it and that of the Roman Church may be

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CODEX.

COENAE.

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COENA II.

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appreciated by comparing their respective com- [E. S. F.]

CODEX. [LITURGICAL BOOKS.]

COENAE. [ΑΓΑΡΑΕ.]

COENA DOMINI. [MAUNDY THURSDAY.]

COENA PULIA. [GOOD FRIDAY.]

COENOBIMUM (κοινόβιον). The word "coenobium" is equivalent to "monasterium" in the *litter* sense of that word. Cassian distinguishes the word thus. "Monasterium," he says, may be the dwelling of a single monk, "coenobium" must be of several; the former word, he adds, expresses only the place, the latter the manner of living (*Coll.* xviii. 10). The neglect of this distinction has led to much inaccuracy in attempting to fix the date of the first "coenobia" or communities of monks under one roof and under one government. Thus Helyot (*Hist. des Ord.* Mon. Diss. Prelim. § 5) ascribes their origin to Antony, the famous anchorite of the Thebaid in the 3rd century. But the counter-opinion, which ascribes it to Pachomius of Tabenna a century later is more probable (cf. Tillem. *H. E.* vii. 167, 176, 676); for it seems to have been the want of some fixed rule to control the irregularities arising from the vast number of eremitae, with their cells either entirely isolated from one another or merely grouped together casually, which gave the first occasion to "coenobia." Martene indeed makes the community monastic first in time to the solitary life (*Comm. in Reg. S. B. c. 1*); but in this he appears to be misled by the common error of attaching to "monasterium" (μοναστήριον) in the oldest writers the meaning, which it assumed only in course of time (cf. Tillem. *H. E.* vii. 102). Cassian himself in the very passage cited by Martene in support of this theory, distinctly traces back the word to the solitary (*de novis virginitate*), the earliest of monks (*Coll.* xviii. 5). In allowing that the earliest mention of Lauras occurs a little before the middle of the 4th century, Helyot supplies a strong argument against himself (*Diss. Prel. § 5*). For the Lauras were an attempt at combining the detached hermitages into a sort of community, though without the order and regularity which constituted a "coenobium;" and thus appear to have been a stepping-stone towards the "coenobium" of Pachomius. In view of other considerations to the contrary, much importance cannot be attached to the passage which Helyot cites from the *Vita Antonii*, called by St. Athanasius, as it may probably be one of the many interpolations there; nor to the passage from Rufinus (*De Verb. Sen.* 31) which speak of Por being dismissed at the early age of 25 by Antony, as already fit to live alone, for there is nothing here about a community, only about Por being himself trained by the great eremite (cf. Tillem. *H. E.* vii. 109). In fact, the growth of coenobitism seems to have been very gradual. Large numbers of ascetics were collected near the Mons Nitrus (*Ruff. Hist. Mon.* 30 [v. CELTICAE]), and doubtless elsewhere also, even before Pachomius had founded his coenobium. But the interval is considerable between this very imperfect organization of monks thus herding lawlessly together (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 7), and the symmetrical arrangement of the Benedictine system. Tabenna forms the connecting link.

CHUIST. ANT.

Very probably the earliest coenobia were of women; for, though the word *παρθενών*, in the account of Antony having his sister in the charge of devout women (*Ath. Vita Ant.*) is by no means conclusive (but cf. Tillem. *H. E.* vii. 107), the female eremitae would naturally be the first to feel the need of combination for mutual help and security.

The origin of the coenobitic life is traced back to the time before the Christian era. Something similar is seen in the pages of Plato (*Leyf.* 780, 1), and the Pythagoreans are described by Anlus Gellius, as living together and having a community of goods (*Noctes Atticae*, i. 9).

Opinions have been divided among the admirers of asceticism as to the comparative merits of the solitary life and the coenobitic. Cassian looks up to the life of perfect solitude as the pinnacle of holiness, for which the coenobitic life is only a preparatory discipline (e. g. *Coll.* xix. 3). Theophylact interprets "those who bear fruit an hundredfold" in the parable as virgins and eremitae (*S. Marc.* iv. 20). Basil, on the contrary, and the sagacious Benedict, prefer the life of the coenobite as safer, more edifying, less alloyed by the taint of selfishness. (*Bas. Reg.* c. 7, *Bened. Reg.* c. 1.) So, too, Isidorus Hispanensis, one of the founders of monasticism in Spain (*De Off. Ecc.* ii. 15, ap. *Conc. Reg.* iii.), and Cuthbert of Lindisfarne (*Mab. Ann.* xvi. 72). Even Jerome, his monastic fervour notwithstanding, prefers life in the community to life in utter solitude; though at first he seems to have been a zealous upholder of the contrary opinion (*Hier. Epp. ad Rustic.* 125; cf. *ad Heliod.* 14). Doubtless experience had impressed on him the perils of solitude. Legislators found it expedient to curb the rage for eremitism. Justinian ordered monks to stay within the "coenobia" (*Novell. v. ap. Suic. Thea.* s. v. cf. *Conc. Carth.* c. 47; cf. *Conc. Anath.* c. 38). Similarly the great Karl discouraged hermits, while protecting coenobitic monks (e. g. *Conc. Francof.* 794 A. D. c. 12), and the 7th Council of Toledo censured roving and solitary monks (*Conc. Tolet.* vii. c. 5). Even in the East the same distrust prevailed of persons undertaking more than they could bear. Thus the Council in Trullo enjoined a sojourn of some time in a coenobium as the preliminary to life in the desert (*Conc. Trull.* 682 A. D. c. 41). Benedict aptly illustrates the difference from his point of view between these two forms of asceticism. The solitary, he says, leaves the line of battle to fight in a single combat (*Reg.* c. 1, cf. *Conc. Regg.* iii. cf. *Sulp. Sev. Dial.* i. 17).

"Coenobium" is used sometimes in mediaeval writers for the "basilica" or church of the monastery (*Mab. Ann. Q. S. B.* iv. 4). A Greek equivalent for "coenobite" is *συνωβίται*, derived from *συνωβίος* (*Bingh. Orig. Eccl.* vii. ii. 3, *Suicer. Thea.* s. v.). Genadius mentions a treatise by Evagrius Monachus, "De coenobitis et syndonitis" (*De Scr. Ecc.* ap. *Fabric. Bibl. Ecc.*). Jerome gives "Sauches," or "Sausses," as the Egyptian equivalent (*Ep.* 22, *ad Eustoch.*). In mediaeval Latin "coenobita" is sometimes coenobitalis, -ialis, -iota, or -ius. (*Du Cange, Gloss.* s. v.); "claustrum" (cloister) "conventus" are frequently used for "coenobium."

Besides the authorities cited, see Hospinian (*De Origine et Progressu Monachatus*, lib. iii. Tiguri 1588). See also ASCETICISM, BENEDECTINE RULE, and MONASTERY. [I. G. S.]

COINTA, martyr, Feb. 8. [QUINTA.] [C.]

COFFIN. [BURIAL.]

COLIDEI, = *Celi-De = Servi Dei* (explained also by such authorities as O'Reilly and Curry, as equivalent to *Sponsi Dei*, but, according to O'Donovan and Reeves, with less probability): in Scotch records, generally, *Keledei*, which seems the more accurate spelling: in Jocelyn (*V. S. Kenteg.*), *Colidei*; in Girald. Camb. and in the Armagh Registers, *Colidei*, as if *Deivola* or *Dei Cultores*, or (so Girald. Camb.) *Caelicolas*; and in Hector Boece, and from him in Buchanan, and thence in modern writers, corrupted into *Culdeei* or *Culdees* — at first, simply an Irish rendering of what was an ordinary Latin name for monks, and so used apparently in older Irish documents: but appropriated in Ireland about the latter part of (at least) the 8th century to a specially ascetic order of monks, established by Melruain (ob. A. D. 792) at Tamhlacht, now Tallaght, near Dublin, whose Rule still exists (R[1454] 114 *Celeo-nice*); and of whom it is also possible that some of their peculiar characteristics were borrowed from those of the canons established by Chrodegang of Metz about a quarter of a century earlier, inasmuch as the later Keledei of both Ireland and Scotland did in many points resemble secular canons. The name reappears in Ireland (elsewhere than at Tallaght) in the 10th and 11th centuries. But by this time, in some instances, as at Clonmacnois, the head of the *Celi-De* was married, and his office hereditary; although there were still instances to the contrary, as in the island in Loch Monaincha (co. Tipperary), the "Colidei" of which are distinctly called "coelibes" by the contemporary Giraldus Camb. at the end of the 12th century. At Armagh, also, and at Devenish in Lech Erne, the original "Colidei" are found, after Northmen ravages and at later periods, displaced by, but coexisting with, a regular cathedral chapter and a priory of regular canons respectively; while, in other places, they were merged altogether into the chapter. At Armagh, indeed, the Culdee body lasted until A. D. 1628. In Scotland, the name had a parallel but a more notable history. The order seems to have been introduced into that country shortly after A. D. 800. "Colidei," living a specially ascetic life, but as "singulares clericis," and "in singulis casulis," were traditionally the clergy of St. Kentegern's cathedral of Glasgow (Jocel. in *V. S. Kenteg.*); and a distinct connection is traceable between St. Kentegern and the Irish Church. But the name *Keledei* occurs historically, as a name for a clerical body of monks, used in Scotland by writers, contemporary (or nearly so), and in charters, from the 9th century; and it becomes thenceforward the name simply of a particular but numerous class of the older monastic bodies of the Irish type, all however north of the Forth, as distinguished 1, from Columbite Monasteries, and 2, from the special Augustinian, Benedictine, and other orders introduced from the

end of the 11th century. And inasmuch as most of these older foundations had become lax in discipline, and often consisted of married men who handed on their Culdeeships to their children,—yet at the same time still commonly clerical, although in some cases (viz. many Scotch monasteries of that date) held and transmitted by lay abbats,—the name came to signify, not (as at first) special asceticism, but precisely the reverse. Accordingly, A. D. 1124–1153, King David commenced the great change, which finally either superseled the Keledei by superadding to them a superior body of regular canons, as at St. Andrews and Dunkeld, or merged the Keledei themselves into the chapter, as at Brechin, Ross, Dunblane, Dornoch, Lismore (Argyll), and the Isles, or into a body of regular canons in no connection with a bishop's see, as at Abernethy, &c. The middle or end of the 13th century appears to have completed in Scotland the suppression of both name and class. The name *Colidei* occurs also in England at York as early as A. D. 936, as applied to the then officiating clergy of the Minster, who were displaced apparently (like their Scotch brethren) by the arrival of Norman archbishops, but continued under another name (viz. as the hospital of St. Leonard's) until the dissolution under Henry VIII.; the name *Colidei* being still employed in their chartulary, which was engrossed in the reign of Henry V. (Dugd. *Mon.* vi. ii. 607). Lastly, the same name is applied by Giraldus Camb. to certain ascetics in the Isle of Bardsey in Wales in the year 1188. Neither in Ireland nor in Scotland is there the slightest trace of foundation, in any regular authoritative document, for any supposed peculiarities of doctrine or of church government, derived by Culdees from some Eastern or other source, and handed down by them; nor for any other connection between them and the Columbite monasteries than that both were of Irish type. The abbey of Hyt itself was distinctly not Keledean, although at a very late period (A. D. 1164) a subordinate body of Keledei are found in the island. The details however of the great revolution in the organization of the Scotch Church, which involved as part of itself the transformation of the older monastic arrangements into the new, and (more noticeable still) the transfer of jurisdiction from presbyter abbats to diocesan bishops,—both processes implying in the majority of cases the suppression of Keledean foundations,—belong to a period some centuries later than that to which this article refers. As does also, much more, the history of the strange perversions of the facts of the case by combined ignorance and partisanship, which are hardly, it seems, all exploded everywhere even now.

[This account is abridged from Dr. Reeves's carefully exact monograph *On the Culdees*, Dublin, 1864; to which is subjoined an Appendix of Evidences, conclusively establishing the writer's main positions. There is a candid account of the subject also in Grub's *Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland*, vol. i., written however before the publication of Dr. Reeves's exhaustive essay; and a brief, and on the whole competent, summary of the case in ch. x. of E. W. Robertson's *Early Scotland*, written also under the like disadvantage. Earlier writers, as a rule, are not worth mentioning.] [A. W. H.]

COLLAT. the lives or of Benedict (*Regulas* before instance, the read, and he Isidore, *Regula* on the *Regula* called *collatitia*," because on the portion of Antiquarius (*Regula*, to expound brothers.

The Benedict in the church with the four contemplated same place a *Monach. Hist. Collatio*.)

COLLECT. missa, see below Church, for the from the pray *Principles*, &c. characteristics But the quest collect, what in this name, mu etymology or t

The structu invention of t but, and the some property object desired addition of ul (3) either an ing of the m character is to nes," says C saying little, to ave, to utter n and with calm necessity of gr Gal, the migh they "are nev drawing, never to listlessness; antithesis and a er is left to los use are un-loubt are founded on or responses, st eluded in the id determining the collect's "now in

Of these he s 440 to 461) an 496) were the fir is in which we h From the SACRA Gelasius, and Gr collect's of the I remote source of still. "The ide

• *Ancient Collectio*,
• *Bona, De Heb. L*,
• *P. D. S. I.* 144–5

And inasmuch as most had become lay in dis- of married men who to their children,—yet only clerical, although Scotch monasteries of nited by lay abbats,—not (as at first) special the reverse. Accord- David commenced nally either superseded ng to them a superior as at St. Andrews and eled themselves into chin, Ross, Dunblane, H), and the Isles, or us in no connection t Abernethy, &c. The th century appears to and the suppression of the name *Colloidi* occurs as early as A.D. 936, as icating clergy of the laced apparently (like the arrival of Norma and under another name St. Leonard's) until the VIII.; the name *Colidei* their chartulary, which of Henry V. (Dugd. ily, the same name is ur, to certain ascetics Wales in the year 1188. in Scotland is there oundation, in any realy for any supposed pen- of church government, some Eastern or other a by them; nor for the um in them and the Colum that both were of Irish ly itself was distinctly at a very late period inate body of Keledei . The details however s in the organization of hich involved as part of a of the older monastic ew, and (more noticeable isisdiction from presbyter ps,—both processes im- of cases the suppression s,—belong to a period man that to which this s also, much more, the perversions of the facts ignoance and partisan- it seems, all explained

aged from Dr. Reeve's graph *On the Cultures*, is subjoined an Appendix establishing the writer's a candid account of the *Hist. of the Ch. of Scot-* however essay; and a exhaustive before; and a competent, summary of E. W. Robertson's *Early* under the like disas- ters, as a rule, are not [A. W. H.]

COLLATION

COLLATION (*Collatio*). The reading from the lives or *Collations* of the Fathers, which St. Benedict (*Regula*, c. 42) instituted in his monasteries before compine. Such compilations as, for instance, the *Collations* of John Cassian are, and hence probably the name. Compare *hidore, Regula*, c. 8. Arlo Smaragdus, however (*on the Rule*, c. 42), says that this service was called *collatio* "quasi colloentio vel confabulatio," because the monks questioned each other on the portions read. To the same effect Honorius of Autun, *Gamma Animarum*, li. 63. Fructuosus (*Regula*, c. 3) desires the abbot or provost to expound the book read to the more simple brothers.

The Benedictine practice is to hold this service in the church, and this is probably in accordance with the founder's intention; for he evidently contemplated the collation being held in the same place as compine. (Martene, *De Ant. Monach.* lib. li. c. 11, p. 35; Ducange, s. v. *Collatio*.) [C.]

COLLECT (*Collecta*, *Collecta oratio*, *oratio*, *missa*, see below). The Collects of the Western Church, for they differ in some important respects from the prayer-forms of the Eastern (Freeman's *Principles*, &c., i. 372) have certain well-marked characteristics which are common to them all. But the question what is the differentia of a collect, what it is that makes a prayer receive this name, must probably be determined by the etymology or the history of the word.

The structure of collects consists of (1) an invocation of God the Father with some attributes, and the ascription in the relative form of some property or action; (2) next follows the object desired by the prayer, often with the addition of ulterior results derived from it, (3) either an ascription of glory or a pleading of the merits of Christ. Their general character is to "combine strength with sweetness," says Canon Bright, "to say much in saying little, to address the Most High in adoring awe, to utter man's needs with profound pathos and with calm intensity, to insist on the absolute necessity of grace, the Fatherly tenderness of God, the might of the all-prevailing name;" they "are never weak, never diluted, never drawing, never ill-arranged, never a provocation to listlessness; they exhibit an exquisite skill of antithesis and a rhythmical harmony which the ear is loth to lose." Many of the collects now in use are undoubtedly of very great antiquity, and are founded on prayer-forms, such as versicles or responses, still older; and this distinction between merely short petitions and what is included in the idea of collect is made by Bona in determining the date of the introduction of the collects "now in use" into the Western Church, b

Of these he says Leo the Great (pope from 440 to 461) and Gelasius (pope from 492 to 496) were the first composers, in the form that is in which we have them in the Western Church. From the SACRAMENTARIES attributed to Leo, Gelasius, and Gregory, are derived many of the collects of the English Prayer-Book. And the remote source of these collects is more ancient still: "The idea of the Western collect, is in

^a *Ancient Collects*, pp. 189-200.

^b Bona, *De Reb. Lit.* li. 5. 4. quoted by Freeman, l. 144.

^c P. R. S. l. 144-5.

COLLECT

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all respects derived from the consideration of the Eastern system. We seem to see compressed into the terse collects of Leo, Gelasius, or Gregory, the more diffuse spirit of the Eastern hymns, and thus they would be, so to speak, the very quintessence of the gospels on which the latter were founded." "The only innovation made by the Western composers, and that a very natural one, was to incorporate the collect, not with the ordinary service only but with the communion office itself." Indeed, in the ritual of the West the chief "means by which the ordinary office is continually linked on to the eucharistic is the weekly collect. In the East the vespers and lauds preceding a festival are largely coloured by a variety of hymns, many of them resembling prayers, and all referring to the gospel of the coming day. In the West, though originally there were several, we have now mostly only a single prayer, composed generally out of epistle and gospel taken together, with some reference to both. And this, though used at the vespers of the eve, and characteristic of that office, is also continued throughout the week." Our "first collect, then, is not merely a link between our common and our eucharistic offices, but reflecting as it does the spirit of the epistle and gospel it presents to us the appointed variation of the eucharistic office for the current week."

It remains now to speak of the etymology of the word, and it is a question more easy to state than to settle. The word may be derived either (1) from the circumstances of those who use the prayer, or (2) from something in the character of the prayer itself. (1.) In the former case the name is taken from the "Collecta," or people assembled for worship; and this origin of the word has the support of Krazier, who says that in "early times the only prayer called collect was that which was wont to be said for the people when assembled (collectus) in one church with the whole body of the clergy for the purpose of proceeding to another." The sacramentary of Gregory makes this quite clear, in which on the feast of the Purification two prayers are provided, one entitled "Ad Collectam ad S. Adrianum," where clergy and people were assembled to go from thence to S. Maria Maggiore; the other "oratio ad missam (as if the first were not an eucharistic prayer)," "but as time went on," he says, "all prayers said 'ad Missam' were called collects, because the priest repeated them 'super populum collectum sive congregatum.'" This theory is perhaps not so attractive as the two others which remain to be mentioned, but it has probability on its side, as "collecta" for "oratio ad collectam" is just such an abbreviation as usage would produce, while the more recent eucharistic association of the word would account for prayers alike in other respects being called, some of them prayers and others collects. Those who reject this origin must explain the phrase "oratio ad collectam" followed immediately by "oratio ad missam" on another hypothesis.

(11.) If the prayer derives its name 'collect' from its own character, it may be so called either because (1) it is a condensation of Scripture-

^d Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, l. p. 367.

^e Bright, *A. C.* 202, sq.

^f *De Liturg.* § 226.

sometimes on Monday or Tuesday (*feria secunda*, *tertia*), for the benefit and sustenance of the poor. These collections seem to have been distinct from OBLATIONS.

(2) The gathering together of the people for divine service, whether of mass or hours. Jerome (*Epist.* 27 [al. 108], § 19, p. 712) states that the sound of *Alleluia* called monks to say their offices (ad collectam). Pachomius (*Regula*, c. 17) speaks of the *collecta* in which oblation was made, that is, the mass; he also distinguishes (cc. 181, 186) between the "collecta domus," the service held in the several houses of a monastery, and the "collecta major," at which the whole body of monks was brought together to say their offices. In this rule, as in those of Isidore and Fructuosus, *collecta* has very probably the same sense as COLLATIO.

(3) A society or brotherhood. The 15th canon of the first council of Nantes is "De collectivis vel confratris quos consortia vocant." See also Hæmar, *Capitula ad Presbyt.* c. 14. (Ducang's *Glossary*, s. v.) [C.]

COLLECTIO. In the Gallican missals certain forms of prayer and praise are called *Collectio*. The principal of these are the *Collectio post Nona*, which follows the recitation of the names on the diptychs; the *Collectio ad Pacem*, which accompanies the giving of the Kiss of Peace; the *Collectio post Sanctus*, which immediately follows the "Holy, Holy, Holy," and the *Collectio post Eucharistiam*, after communion. (Martene, *De Brevibus Eccl. Antiq.* i. c. iv. art. 13.) [C.]

COLLECTION. [ALMS; COLLECTA.]

COLLEGIUM. Corporations or guilds, called *collegia*, of persons united in pursuit of a common object, were numerous in the empire in the early days of the Christian church. The imperial government of course took cognizance of them, and did not permit such combinations for every purpose. Associations for the purpose of maintaining religious rites were however for the most part not interfered with; but when the presence of Christianity in all parts of the empire attracted attention, its *collegia*, as the several churches seemed to be from the jurist's point of view, were declared illicit, and to belong to them a misdemeanour. (Gieseler, *Eccl. Hist.* i. pp. 20, 114; Cunningham's *Tracts*, Philadelphia, 1836.) [Compare BROTHERHOOD; CANONICI; CHAPTER.] [C.]

COLOBIUM (κολόβιον). A tunic with very short sleeves only, and fitted closely about the arm. A few words of the Pseudo-Alcuin (*de Div. Off.*) both describe the dress and reproduce, with a characteristic modification, an old Roman tradition concerning it. "Pro tunica brachisthina (i. e. the tunic of blue worn by the Jewish high-priest) nostri pontifices primo colobium stebantur. Est autem colobium vestis sine manica." The older tradition was that Sylvester, bishop of Rome, ordered that *deacons* should wear dalmatics in offices of holy ministry, in place of the colobia, which had previously been in use. From this circumstance of the colobium being regarded as the special vestment of a deacon it is sometimes called *lebiton* (i. e. leviton) or *lebitonarium*, a word which reappears in ecclesiastical Greek of the 5th and later centuries.

It is so used by I illadius of Hellenopolis, in the *Historia Lausiaca* so-called, cap. 38, describing the dress worn by the monks under Pachomius at Tabennesis in the Thebaid (Migne, *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 1157), a dress prescribed, according to the author, by an angel in vision:—"Noctugestent lebitones lineos, succincti." And again, cap. 47: "τὸ δὲ ἐνδύμα ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ λεβιτών, ὄνπερ τινες κολόβιον προσαγορεύουσι." The monastic colobium in Palestine, if not elsewhere, had upon it a purple "sign," probably a cross. So St. Dorotheus, archimandrite (Migne, *Patrol. Series Græca*, lxxxviii. 1631), describing the monastic dress of his day in Palestine, late in the 6th century, says:—"τὸ σχῆμα ὃ φοροῦμεν καλόβιον ἐστὶ, μὴ ἔχον χειρῖδις, καὶ ζώνη δερματίνη, καὶ ἀβάλατος, καὶ κουκούλιον . . ." Ἐχει δὲ τὸ κολόβιον σημεῖον τι πορφύρου (as a mark of service, he explains, under Christ our King). Examples of the Greek colobium may be seen in the ancient mosaics, reputed to be of the 4th century, in the church of St. George at Thessalonica. See Texier and Pollan, *Byzantine Architecture*, III. xxx.-xxxiii.; Mariotti, *Inst. Christ.* III. xviii.-xx. [W. B. M.]

COLOGNE, COUNCIL OF (Agrippinense, or Colonense Concilium). (1) Said to have been held A. D. 346, to condemn Euphratas, Bishop of Cologne (for denying our Lord's divinity); who was however at Sardica as no orthodox bishop the year after (*Pygi. d. un.* 3-6, n. 6; Mansi, II. 1371-1378). Baronius and Cave think the council spurious. Sirmond supposes Euphratas to have recanted; others that he was acquitted; others that there were two successive bishops of Cologne so named.

(2) Another council is reported to have been held A. D. 782, under Charlemagne; but this was apparently a political council; nothing is known of it ecclesiastically (Labbe and Cossart, *Concilia*, vi. 1827, from Eginhard.) [A. W. H.]

COLOUR. The assigning of special colours in the vestments of ministers, &c. to certain seasons does not belong to the first eight centuries of Christianity (Hefele, *Lehrbuche zur Archæologie etc.* II. 158), and is probably first found in the work of Innocent III. (†1216), *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, lib. i. c. 65. There are, however, certain peculiarities in the use of colour in ancient art which may be mentioned here.

(1) *White* was held to symbolize the pure bright light of truth (Clement's *Protrepticus*, ii. 10, p. 235). Hence the Lord is represented with a white robe as "the Truth," whether sitting in the midst of the Doctors, or teaching His disciples. See for instance the ancient mosaics of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (Ciampani, *l'et. Mon.* II. tab. xvi.), and of S. Agatha alla Suburra at Rome (P. I. tab. lxxvii.). It is because of its whiteness that Origen (*In Exodum*, Hom. vii.) finds the manna to represent the word of truth. Angels are generally represented on ancient monuments in white robes, which typify, says Dionysius the Areopagite (*De Hierarch. Coelest.* c. 15), their resemblance to God. Saints too are clothed in white; for instance, on the triumphal arch of the basilica of S. Paolo f. l. m. are represented saints clothed in white robes laying their crowns at the foot of the Divine Throne (Cian-

ry to the general was defended by the abbey of Luxeuil (20). John, abbat limited the number in his *Life*); and by the anonymous *Leslie*, by Beleta (*Conte*, iv. 14). The that, for mystical s should be either Martene, *De Antiq.*

ly one collect seems in each office; for cl. c. 22) says that it but at other assen- of the clergy present short prayer, an ex- the supposition kind was used. The e person of highest anction of the fifth t of Barcelona (A. D. ing, "episcopo prece- n [al. in ordines] of the Thebaid seem to each palm, or in sserted two or three a, *De Vocibus*, Ord. us of Braga (*Regula*, ne practice in Spain. c. 20) enjoined d with the lectures. njoins only that each e Lord's Prayer and what are elsewhere practice mentioned by of mingling collect psalms, and also con- n, was very probably e Benedictine order, distinctly in the Rule; rarely have departed co as that of inter- psalms, especially as Egyptian precedents: nts for the fact that dinctive psalters a col-

estimony (*De Sac.* h century there was a regard to the manner e monks threw them- r immediately after the; others said a short t adoration. Duris, with expanded hanks. Braga (*Regula*, c. 3), is, that all kneed from says the *Agria Elocos* lect. The collect were the principle mentione brother who preside e *Antiq. Eccl. Brevi.* 1773.) [E. C. Hill.]

the collecting of alms or (l. From St. Leo the we learn that such a s made on a Sunday,

pinii, *Vet. Mon.* i. 231). The same circumstance may be noted in the mosaics of the church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, and elsewhere.

White, sometimes striped with purple [CLAYUS], was the almost invariable colour of ministerial vestments for all ranks of the ministry in the early ages of Christianity (Marriott, *Vestiarium Christ.* p. xxii), as it is still for the alb, the amice, and the surplice.

White, the symbol of purity, was worn by the newly baptized during the eight days which followed their baptism.

It appears also from the evidence both of literature and art that the dead were shrouded in white linen. In a fragment of ancient glass figured by Buonarrotti (*Vetri*, tav. vii. fig. 1) the grave-clothes of Lazarus are of silver, while the rest of the figures are in gold; and in the Menologium of Basil the bodies of Adamus (Oct. 4) and Philaret (Dec. 2) are represented as wrapped in white. Prudentius (*Cathemerinon*, x. 57) and Sulpicius Severus (*Vita S. Martini*, c. 12) also allude to the white colour of grave-clothes.

(2) Red is the colour of ardent love. Hence the Lord in performing works of mercy is sometimes represented clad in a red tunic or pallium; and also in "sending fire upon earth" by the mission of the apostles (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. tabb. lxxvi. lxxvii.). Arculf (in Beale, *Hist. Angl.* v. 16) describes the "monument and sepulchre" of the Lord at Jerusalem as being white and reddish (rubicunda).

Angels are sometimes found on ancient monuments represented with red wings, whether as the symbol of love or of flame, according to one of the derivations of the word *seraph*. This is the case for instance in the vaults of St. Vitalis at Ravenna (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. 65).

(3) Green, the colour of living vegetation, seems to have been adopted as a symbol of life, and hence is employed to denote the full abounding life of the angels. See Dionysius the Areopagite, *De Hierarch. Coelest.* xv. § 7. Hence, angels and saints are not unfrequently clothed in green, especially St. John the Evangelist. The Virgin Mary is also sometimes clothed in this colour. And the Lord Himself is occasionally represented in a green robe as symbolizing the life which is in Him.

(4) Violet, the mixture of red and black, has been thought to symbolize the union of love and pain in repentance. It symbolizes, at all events, something of sorrow; hence some monuments, as the mosaic of St. Michael at Ravenna (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. p. 63, tav. xvii.) and that of St. Ambrose at Milan (Ferrari, *S. Ambrogio*, p. 156) represent the Man of Sorrows in a violet robe. The sorrowing mother of the Lord is also sometimes represented in violet, and St. John Baptist the preacher of repentance. Angels also wear violet when they call men to repentance, or share in the sorrows of the Lord.

Abbots of the order of St. Benedict wore violet up to modern times, when they adopted black. In ancient times virgins of recluse life wore violet veils (Jerome, *Epist.* 22, ad *Eustochium*).

Literature.—Portal, *Des Couleurs symboliques dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1837; Martigny, *Dictionnaire Antiq. chrét. e. v. Couleurs*. [C.]

COLUM. [STRAINER.]

COLUMBA. (1) Presbyter and confessor abbot of Iona († 598); is commemorated June 9 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

(2) Virgin, martyr upon Aurelian, Dec. 31 (*Mart.* Hieron., Beale, *Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi). [C.]

COLUMBANUS, abbat, founder of many monasteries, deposition at Bobbio, Nov. 2 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [C.]

COLUMBARIUM. This word can only find its place in a Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, in order that opportunity may be given to pronounce a decided opinion on the untenableness of the view propounded by Keyssler, and since revived by Mr. J. H. Parker and others, that this distinctively pagan arrangement, essentially belonging to the practice of burning the dead, which was held by the Christians in such abhorrence ("exerantur rogos et damnant ignium sepulturas," Minuc. Fel.), is ever found within the limits of, or in close connection with a Christian entombment. The misconception has arisen from the fact that the Christian excavators in carrying forward their subterranean galleries not unfrequently came into contact with the walls of a heathen columbarium. As soon as this unintentional interference with the sanctity of the tomb was discovered, the *fossores* proceeded to repair their error. The gallery was abruptly closed, and a wall was built at its end to shut it off from the columbarium. Padre Marchi describes his discovery of a gallery in the cemetery of St. Agnese closed in this way with a ruined wall, on the other side of which was a plundered columbarium (*Monum. Primit.* p. 61). This is probably the true explanation of the fact that a passage has been found connecting a large heathen tomb full of columbaria on the Via Appia, near the Porta San Sebastiano, with a catacomb. (Marchi, *Monum. Primit.* pp. 61 et.; Roestell, *Beschreib. der Stadt Rom*, pp. 389-390; Raoul-Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes*, p. 283). [E. V.]

COLYMBION (κολύμβιον). A vessel used for containing HOLY WATER at the entrance of a church. A representation of such a vessel is found in one of the mosaics of S. Vitale at Ravenna, and is here engraved. It is noteworthy, that the ASPERGILLUM which hangs from the arch above the basin is in shape not unlike those of modern times. (Neale's *Eastern Ch.* introd. p. 215.) [C.]

COMES. [LECTIONARY.]

COMMEMORATION (*Commemoratio*). The word commemoration in its liturgical use designates—

(1) The recitation of the names of those for whom intercession is made in the mass (DUP. TYC.).



(2) The intrants or events commemorated in the mass, as the Virgin Mary for Peace (Martyr). (3) According to the Breviary (*Rituale*) the festival falls on the latter is commemorated in certain portions of the greater festival.

COMMENDATION. (1) A third Council of Carthage, that if a place in the afterlife, without the *Calix Communis* terms to be ordained, should be summed up into *Calices*, *Commendationes*. Similarly the second and the fourth of the version of the 41st Council of Carthage which is identical with the *Calix* is used as a term in this case. (2) But the word designate the prayer on behalf of the *Calix* by S. Hieron., *Calix*, designating "the prayers over the *Calices*." (3) *Commendationes* (Bouange's *Gloss.* S. Hieron. *Thesaurus*).

COMMENDATION. (1) The first trace of the word is to be found in the 10th century, it would seem, had come with letters *κατακα* from the absence of such with his attempts by reiterated self shows that the p. It was, indeed, the yet in its infancy it was exposed, against the false teaching doors. It is probable this kind had been Jews, and that they as a people through prison. Other instances are to be found in the mention of Apollo by the disciple to Titus (1 *Timon*, though somewhat of the same in itself so wide universal, and names and for many whole, it may be that in single practice.

tyer and confessor commemorated June 9

Aurelian, Dec. 31 (Feb., Usuardi). [C.]

founder of many abbies, Nov. 2 (Mart. [C.]

his word can only find Christian Antiquities, may be given to prove the untenableness

Keyssler, and since never and others, that vengeance, essentially of burning the dead, persons in such abhorrent damnable ignominious never found within the nation with a Christian union has arisen from excavators in emery-galleries not in contact with the walls of

As soon as this union of the sanctity of the fossorial proceeded to gallery was abruptly cut at its end to shut

down. Padre Marchi de gallery in the cemetery this way with a ruined which was a plundered *primi*, p. 61). This is a statement of the fact that of connecting a large dumberia on the Via an Sebastiani, with a *primi*, pp. 61 et seq.; *Stadt Rom*, pp. 389-400; *Tableau des Catacombes*, [E. V.]

υιο). A vessel used



the names of those for made in the mass [Ur-

COMMENDATIO

(2) The introduction of the names of certain saints or events in the Divine Office, called also *memoria sanctorum* or *suffragia sanctorum*. Such commemorations are generally of the Cross, of the Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and for Peace (Maeri *Hierodicon*).

(3) According to the rubrics of the Roman Breviary (*Rubricae Generales*, ix.), when a greater festival falls on the day of a 'simple' festival, the latter is 'commemorated' by the introduction of certain portions of its proper service into the greater festival (*l. c.* ix. §§ 8-11). [C.]

COMMENDA. [DIOCESE: MONASTERY.]

COMMENDATIO (παράθεσις). 1. In the third Council of Carthage (c. 29) it is provided, that if a *commendatio* of the dead takes place in the afternoon, it must consist of prayers only, without the celebration of mass. In the *Code Canonum Eccl. Afric.* (c. 103) the set form to be ordinarily used in churches seem to be summed up under the heads, preces, praefationes, *commendationes*, manus impositiones. Similarly the second Council of Milevis (c. 12), and the fourth of Toledo (c. 13). In the Greek version of the 1st canon of the *Code Eccl. Afric.*, which is identical with the 29th of the third Council of Carthage, quoted above, the word *παράθεσις* is used as equivalent to "commendatio;" which in this case is no doubt to be interpreted "of the commendation of the dead to the mercy of God." See Zonaras on this canon (p. 429), and Balsamon (p. 650).

2. But the word *παράθεσις* is also used to designate the prayers made in the congregation on behalf of the catechumens. Alexius Aristenus (quoted by Sacer, s. v.) explains the word *παράθεσις*, designating a part of divine service, as "the prayers over the catechumens, whereby we commend them (παράθεμεθα) to the Lord." (Duacange's *Glossary*, s. v. 'Commendationes'; Sacer's *Theaurus*, s. v. *παράθεσις*.) [C.]

COMMENDATORY LETTERS. The earliest trace of the practice connected with these words is to be found in 2 Cor. iii. 1. St. Paul, it would seem, had been taunted by rivals who came with letters of commendation (ἐπιστολάς ἐπιστολάς) from the Church of Jerusalem, with the absence of such credentials in his own case, with his attempts to make up for the omission by reiterated self-commendation. The passage shows that the practice was already common. It was, indeed, the natural protection of a society yet in its infancy against the dangers to which it was exposed, against the tricks of impostors, the false teaching of heretics, the vices of evildoers. It is probable enough that letters of this kind had been in previous use among the Jews, and that they thus maintained their unity as a people through all the lands of the dispersion. Other instances of it in the Apostolic ages are to be found in the letter given to Apollas by the disciples at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 27), in the mention of Zenas and Apollas in the Epistle to Titus (iii. 13). The letter to Philimon, though more distinctly personal, has somewhat of the same character. The practice was in itself so wise and salutary that it became universal, and was applied under many names and for many different purposes. As a whole, it may be said, without exaggeration, that a single practice of the early Christian

COMMENDATORY LETTERS 407

Church tended so much as this to impress on it the stamp of unity and organization.

The bishop of any congregation, in any part of the empire, might commend a traveller, layman or cleric, to the good offices of any other. The precautions against imposture might sometimes, as in the well-known instance of Perigrinus (Lucian, *de Morte Peregrini*), perhaps also in that of the *παρ τραπεζῶν ψυδδῆλαφοι* of Gal. ii. 4, be insufficient, but as a rule it did its work, and served as a bond of union between all Christian Churches. Wherever the Christian traveller went, if he were provided with these letters, he found the "communicatio pacis," the "contessentio hospitalitatis" (Tertull. *de Praescript. Haeretic.* c. 20). Those outside the Church's pale, however arrogant might be their claims, could boast of no such proof of their oneness. They were cut off from what was in the most literal sense of the term the "communion of saints" (*Ibid.* c. 32). It was the crowning argument of Augustine (*1. pist.* xlv. 3) and Optatus (*De Schism. Donat.* ii. 3) against the Donatists that their letters would not be received in any churches but their own; that they were therefore a sect with no claim to catholicity, no element of permanence. It was, in like manner, but a necessary sequel to the deposition of Paul of Samosata by the so-called Second Council of Antioch, when the bishops who passed sentence on him wrote to Dionysius of Rome and Maximus of Alexandria (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30), requesting them not to address their letters to him, but to Domnus, whom they had appointed in his place. The letters of Cyrrina on the election of Cornelius (*Epist.* xlv.) and to Stephen (*Epist.* lxxvii.) are examples of the same kind. The most remarkable testimony, however, to the extent and the usefulness of the practice is found in the wish of Julian to reorganise heathen society on the same plan, and to provide, in this way, shelter and food for any non-Christian traveller who might be journeying to a strange city (Sozomen. *H. E.* v. 16).

It was natural, as the Church became wealthier and more worldly, as the restrictive side of the practice should become the more prominent; that it should be, what the passport system has been in the intercourse of modern Europe, a check on the free movement of clergy, or monks, or laymen. Thus it was made penal (and the penalty was excommunication) for any one to receive either cleric or layman who came to a city not his own without these letters (*1. can. Apost.* c. 12). Those who brought them were even then subject to a scrutiny, with the alternative of being received into full fellowship if it were satisfactory, or, if it were otherwise, of having to be content with some immediate relief (*Ibid.* c. 33).^a So the Council of Elvira (c. 25) seeks to maintain the episcopal prerogative in this matter, and will not allow *litterae confessoriae* (letters certifying that the bearer was one who had suffered in persecution) to

^a The canon ends with a warning, significant enough of the nature or frequency of the abuses to which the practice had given rise. (Εἰς κοινότητα ἀδελφῶν μὴ προσδέξασθε, πᾶσι γὰρ κατὰ συναγωγῆν γίνεται.)

^b A more received rendering of the word is that the letters were given as a "libellum pacis" to the "lapsed" or others, by a "confessor," who thus usurped the prerogative of the bishop.

take the place of the regular *litterae communicatoriae*. It would appear, from one clause in the canon, that the abuse had spread so far that the "confessor's" passport was handed from one to another without even the insertion of the name, as a cheque payable to bearer. The same practice is condemned by the first Council of Arles (c. 8). That of Elvira denounces also the writing of such letters (the "pacificae") by the wives of presbyters or bishops. The prevalence of this abuse may perhaps explain the zeal of that synod against the marriage of the clergy. The Council of Chalcedon (c. 13) renewed the prohibition of the Apostolic canon against allowing any strange cleric, even as reader, to officiate in another city without the *ουστατικὸν γράμμα* from his own bishop. That of Antioch (A.D. 341) forbids any strangers to be received without *ἐκ. εἰρημικὰ*, forbids presbyters to give the *ἐκ. κανονικὰ*, does not allow even Chorepiscopi to give more than the *εἰρημικὰ*. That of Arles (c. 7) places those who have received the *litterae communicatoriae* under the surveillance of the bishop of the city to which they go, with the provision that they are to be excommunicated if they begin "agere contra disciplinam," and adds, extending the precaution to political offences, or to the introduction of a democratic element into the government of the Church, "similiter de his qui republicanam agere volunt." The system spread its ramifications over all provinces (1 *C. Carth.* c. 7; *C. Apath.* c. 52). It was impossible for the presbyter who had incurred the displeasure of his bishop to find employment in any other diocese. Without any formal denunciation the absence of the commendatory letter made him a marked man. The unity of the Church became a terrible reality to him.

It will have been noticed that other terms besides the original *ουστατικὰ* (*commendatitiae*, or *commendatoriae*) appear as applied to these letters, and it may be well to register the use and significance of each.

1. The old term was still retained, as in the *C.* of Chalcedon, where the prominent purpose was to commend the bearer of the letter, whether cleric or layman, to the favour and good offices of another bishop.

2. The same letters were also known as *καρπορικὰ*, "in accordance with the rule of the Church." This is the word used in the letter from the Synod of Antioch, already quoted, by the Councils of Antioch (c. 8) and Laodicea (c. 41). The Latin equivalent seems to have been the *litterae formatae*,³ i.e. drawn up after a known and prescribed form, so as to be a safeguard against imposture. It was stated at the Council of Chalcedon by Attiens, Bishop of Constantinople, that it was agreed by such letter should be marked with the letters Π. Τ. Α. Π., in honour of the three Persons of the Trinity. In the West the signature or seal (*τίμος*) of the bishop was probably the guarantee of genuineness.

³ The word "formata" occurs in the Acts of the Synod of Milevis (c. 20).

⁴ The statement rests on the somewhat questionable authority of the pseudo-fathers; but the form is found in German documents of the 9th century. (Herzog, s. v. *litterae formatae*.)

ness. The first mention of the use of a sealing occurs, it is believed, in Augustine (*Epist.* 59; *al.* 217*).

3. From the use of the letters as admitting clergy or laymen to communion they were known as *κοινωνικὰ*, and are so described by Cyril of Alexandria (*Act. Ephes.* p. 282). The corresponding Latin, *communicatorie*, appears in the Council of Elvira (c. 25), Augustine (*Epist.* 43; *al.* 162).

4. The *ἐπιστολὰ εἰρημικὰ* appear to be distinguished from the *ουστατικὰ* as commending the bearer for eleemosynary aid. They are to be given to the poor and those who need help, clerics or laymen (*C. Chalc.* c. 11), especially, according to the Greek canonists (Zonaras *ad Can. II. C. Chalced.*), to those who had suffered oppression at the hands of civil magistrates. The word is used also by the Council of Antioch (c. 7, 8), already quoted as applied to letters which might be given by presbyters as well as bishops.

5. There were the *ἐπιστ. ἀπολογικὰ*, the "letters dismissory" of modern times. The word is of later use than the others, and occurs first in the Council in Trullo (c. 17), in a context which justifies the distinction drawn by Suicer (s. v. *ἀπολογικὴ*), that it was used in reference to a permanent settlement of the bearer, the *ουστατικὴ*, when the sojourn in another diocese was only temporary. [E. H. P.]

COMMERCE. It would be difficult to find in either the Old or the New Testament any passage in disparagement of trade, whether combined or not with a handicraft, in the Old Testament, if the calling of Bezaleel and Aholiab puts the highest honour on the skill of the artisan, the ordinary processes of trade are no less sanctified by connecting them with God Himself and His law in such passages as those of Lev. xix. 35-6; Deut. xxv. 13-15; Prov. xl. 1, xvi. 10, 23, xxxi. 24; Mich. vi. 11. Nor is it amiss to observe that the Jewish custom which prevails to this day, of bringing up every boy without exception to a business, trade or handicraft, appears to be an immemorial one, and may serve to explain both the calling by our Lord of fishermen-apostles, His own training as a handicraftsman (Mark vi. 3), and the tent-making of Paul, Aquila, and Priscilla (*Acts* xviii. 3). No incompatibility, therefore, between the exercise of a trade and the Christian calling, whether as a layman or as a member of the clergy, can be coeval with the Church, and all legislation to this effect must belong to what may be termed the secondary, not the primary, era of its development. It must, moreover, be observed that the places in which the Gospel seems to have preferably taken root were busy commercial cities, such as Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus; and it is a remarkable fact that the age in which Christianity first forced itself on the notice of the Pagan world, and was honoured with imperial persecution, the time of Nero, was also one of great commercial activity, as may be seen from the account, chiefly derived from Pliny, of the new trades and inventions introduced under Nero, contained in the "Anecdota de Nerone" annexed to Naudet's *Lucius*, vol. v. p. 181 and foll. (Paris, 1820).

* See the different meanings in Ducange, s. v. *Formatae*.

That trade un- upon as an occu- from the fact th- and Valentinian jewellers, dealer- caries, and other- practical offic- honour and oth- cleared of the- ingusmodi sig- i. 12). Traders- politan bankers) militia by a cons- t. xxv). This- under the Rom- ertly military s- referred to exp- militia (*armata* forbidden to all- politan bankers- village bankers- conversely were- 458) forbidden t- and a constitu- foral men of n- or hereditary w- nicious to towns- transactions in t- between plebeian- iiii. l. 3).

As respects t- crafts (it is alw- two in the low- them differed o- situation of the E- l. 5; A.D. 329)- belonging to th- brought back, if- they reside. Ar- official functions- able condition- have been a bo- *passim*). They t- from which they- presenting fit s- their obligations- the constitution- has not been s- beyond its origi- in an almost lo- status is express- enough, the swin- ing on a restles- Roman people, w- solditaries (t. x- devoted to iron-w- to be marked in- an hereditary cus- offices of every- engage in agricu- (l. 7). Yet being e- obligations (l. 6)- troops (bk. xii. t- is termed a *mil* t- one, since the ad- special care (bk- by deed, before th- other high offic- that he was nei- a curial, that by- and had no oblig- manufacture of a-

That trade under the later emperors was looked upon as an occupation of inferior dignity is visible from the fact that a constitution of Theodosius and Valentinian (A. D. 440) required all bankers, jewellers, dealers in silver or clothing, apothecaries, and other traffickers to be removed from provincial offices, "in order that every place of honour and official service (militia) should be cleared of the like contagion" (a contagione hujusmodi segregaretur; *Code*, bk. xii. t. lviii. l. 12). Traders generally (except the metropolitan bankers) were again excluded from the militia by a constitution of Justin (*Code*, bk. xii. t. lxxv.). This word in itself must no longer, as under the Republic, be deemed to imply necessarily military service, since the constitution last referred to expressly distinguishes the armed militia (*armata militia*), admission to which is forbidden to all traders alike, whilst the metropolitan bankers (*argentarii structores*) are by privilege permitted to enter any other. Soldiers coarsely were by a constitution of Leo (A. D. 453) forbidden to trade (bk. xii. t. xxxvi. l. 15); and a constitution of Honorius and Theodosius forbade men of noble birth, conspicuous dignity, or hereditary wealth, to exercise a trade "pertaining to towns, in order to facilitate mercantile transactions in the way of buying and selling, between plebeians and tradesmen" (bk. iv. t. liii. l. 3).

As respects the smaller trades and handicrafts (it is always difficult to distinguish the two in the lower social strata) the exercise of them differed often little from slavery. A constitution of the Emperor Constantine (bk. vi. t. i. l. 5; A. D. 329) speaks of freedmen-artificers belonging to the state, and desires them to be brought back, if enticed out of the city where they reside. Artificers were exempted from all official functions, which, considering the miserable condition of the *curiales*, must rather have been a boon to them (bk. x. t. lxxiv. and *passim*). They formed *collegia* (see *COLLEGIATA*), from which they could not withdraw without presenting fit substitutes ready to accept all their obligations (l. 15). The bakers—if indeed the constitution of Leo which refers to them has not been stretched by its present title beyond its original intent—seem to have been in an almost lower condition still, since their status is expressly treated as servile. Curiously enough, the swineherds of the capitals, as carrying on a restless labour for the benefit of the Roman people, were specially exempted from all *publica officia* (t. xvi. l. 1). A special title (ix.) is devoted to iron-workers (*fabricenses*), who were to be marked in the arm, and who formed also an hereditary caste, mutually responsible for the offences of every member (l. 5), and forbidden to engage in agriculture or any other occupation (l. 7). Yet being exempted from all civil and curial obligations (l. 6), and from giving quarters to troops (bk. xii. t. lxi. l. 4), their condition (which is termed a *militia*) seems to have been a coveted one, since the admission to it is regulated with especial care (bk. xi. t. ix. l. 4). It was to be by deed, before the moderator of the province or other high officer. The candidate had to show that he was neither the son nor grandson of a curial, that he owed no dues to the city, and had no obligations towards a citizen. The manufacture of arms was also by the 85th novel

limited to the official "armifectores," or "to those who are called *fabricenses*" (quere, *fabricenses*).

Whole branches of trade, as we now understand the term, did not exist. Instead of a trade in corn, the transport of corn to the capitals was a service attached to land (*onus rei publice*). Thus when Augustine was offered the estate of one Bonifacius, he declined it, because he would not have the Church of Christ a "navicularia," and so incur the risk, in the event of a ship being lost, of having to consent to the torture of the men on board, as part of the investigation (Aug. *Serm.* 355).

In the interior of the empire, trade was not only restricted by monopolies which under Justinian were carried to a cruel height (see Gibbon, c. xl.), and of which Dean Milman observes that the state monopoly "even of corn, wine, and oil was in force at the time of the first crusade," but by the reservation of various articles for imperial use. Thus the wearing of gold and silver tissue or embroidery was forbidden to private persons, nor could such tissue or embroidery be woven or worked except in the imperial gynæceæ (bk. xl. t. viii. ll. 1, 2, 4). The use of the dye of the "holy murex," or any imitation of its purple, was equally forbidden (*Id.* ll. 3, 4, 5). The employment of gems (among which pearls, emeralds, and jacinths were forbidden to be used in horse-trappings) was also regulated, as savouring of the imperial dignity (*Id.* t. xi.). The 85th novel forbade even all sale of arms to private persons.

Buying and selling seems to have been in great measure carried on at fairs and in markets, the holding of which was by imperial grant forfeitable by ten years' non-user (*Dig.* bk. l. t. xi. *De Auctu*, l. 1), and the dealing at which was invested with certain privileges (*Code*, bk. iv. t. lx.). Fairs, it may be observed, were often held on saints' days, though St. Basil in his *Liber Regularum* condemns the practice; thus there was a fair in Lucania on the birth-day of St. Cyprian, a 30-days' fair free of toll in Edessa at the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, &c. (Muratori, *Antiquitates Medii Aevi*, vol. ii. Diss. 30).

Notwithstanding the low estimation in which trade was held, it seems clear that until Justinian's time at least it was not held civilly incompatible with the clerical office. The *Philosophum unicum* of Hippolytus (beginning of the 3rd century) show us the future pope Callistus set up by Carpophorus as a banker, holding his bank in the "Piscina Publica," and receiving deposits from widows and brethren (ix. 12). A law of Constantine and Julian indeed, A. D. 357 (*Code*, bk. i. t. ii. l. 2, which exempted the clergy from "prestations" levied from merchants), sought to compel trader-clerics (amongst others) to devote their gains to charitable uses: "If by saving, or forethought, or honourable trading they have got money together, it should be ministered for the use of the poor and needy." The next passage indicates a custom still more strange to us—that of workshops and even taverns being kept for the benefit of the Church: "Or that which may have been acquired and collected from their workshops or taverns, let them deem it when collected the gain of religion;" and the privileges of the clergy are mostly extended to their men who are occupied in trade (*Id.*) Another law of

the same emperor, A.D. 361, which however does not seem to have been retained in his Code by Justinian (*Col. Theod.*, bk. xvi. t. li. l. 15), exempted clerics from "sordid offices," as well as from the imposition of the *colatio*, "if any very small trade they acquire to themselves poor food and clothing," but others, whose names are on the register of merchants, at the time when the *colatio* takes place, "must acknowledge the duties and payments of merchants." We see thus that trader-clerics were of all degrees, from the humblest trallickers to considerable merchants.

The 43rd Novel "De officiis sive tabulari Constantinopolitane urbis," &c., and the 59th, "De debita impedimentis in exquilis defactorum," indicate to us the extent of the trade which was carried on in the Eastern capital on behalf of the Church, and the singular character of a portion of it. In consideration of the cathedral church undertaking what in modern French parlance would be termed the "Pompes Funèbres" of the city, Constantine granted to it 980 *ergasteria* or workshops, of the various trade ("ex diversis corporibus") of the city, to be held free of all tax; Anastasius added 150 more (Preface to Nov. 59). The total number of these cathedral *ergasteria* or *officine*, as the 43rd novel terms them, seems from the preface to the latter to have practically sunk to 1100 (perhaps by failure of trade, see nov. 59, c. ii., which says that even of the reduced number "plurima cœderunt"), at which figure it is fixed by both novels, the earlier one being grounded on the complaints of the *collegiti*—say the guilds of the city—that the number of tax-free establishments was ruining them. But all other *officine* of the 14 wards ("regiones") of the city, whether belonging to any church, hospital, monastery, orphan-home, poor-house, or to any other person, were required to bear all public impositions. And in speaking of these *officine* the word *taverna* occurs, not only as above-shown in the title, but in the body of the law (c. l. § 3). Strange therefore as may seem to us the idea of a church or cathedral bakery or pothouse, it is clear that in the 6th century a very considerable amount of trade, including the liquor-traffic, was carried on on behalf of the Church and its charitable establishments in the capital of the Eastern empire.

If we turn from the Roman to the barbarian world, the barbarian codes till the time of Charlemagne scarcely contain an allusion to trade, except, perhaps, in reference to loans, pledges, or debts—see for instance the Wisigothic laws, bk. v. tt. 5, 6. Under the rule of the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Formulary of Cassiodorus indicates that the armourers were still considered as a *militia* ("militibus et et fabris armorum . . . præfecimus," pt. ii. c. 18, "de armorum factoribus"). Under the Lombards, a law of Notharis (A.D. 638 or 641) refers to the building trade in dealing with accidents among mansons, and uses a term (*magistri Comacini*) which shows that this class of workmen were then drawn mainly from the same locality (the neighbourhood of Como), which mainly furnishes them still to Northern Italy (c. 144, and foll.; and see c. 152, as to accidents among other workmen). Somewhat later again, the growth of trade and industry under the Lombards is indicated by a singular law of Luitprand (bk. lii. c. 4, A.D. 717),

enacting that if any man leave his wife for trade or for the exercise of an art, and do not return after three years, his wife may apply to the king for leave to re-marry. Foreign trade is referred to by the Wisigothic code (bk. xi. t. 3) in a law "on traders from beyond the sea," which enacts that if such traders have a matter between themselves, none of the king's household shall presume to hear them, but let them be heard according to their own laws only by their toll-takers ("apud telonarios suos").

The legislation of the Church bears much more on commercial matters than that of the barbarian kingdoms, and we have now to consider its history.

One form of trade, it may be observed, was always forbidden by the church, that of earning a livelihood by usury. [See USURY.] In other respects it was long before trade was deemed by the Church itself incompatible with clerical functions; though the fathers might inveigh against it as a form of worldliness; as when Cyprian in his work *De lapsis*, written about A.D. 251, speaks of those who "watch like fowls for gainful markets." (Comp. *Ep.* 15.) The growth of some general feeling on the subject is, however, to be traced in the 18th canon of the Council of Elitheris, A.D. 305, by which bishops, priests, and deacons are forbidden to depart from their places for the sake of trade, or to go round the provinces seeking lucrative markets. To obtain their livelihood they may indeed send a son, a freedman, an agent (*mercatorium*), a friend, or anyone else; and if they wish to trade, let them trade within the province—the main object of the canon being clearly to preserve to their flocks the benefits of their ministrations, not to put dishonour on trading itself.

A collection of decrees of very doubtful authority, attributed to the Nicene Council, which will be found in Labbe's and Mansi's *Councils*, vol. ii. p. 1029, and foll. under the title: "Sanctiones et decreta alia ex quatuor regularum ad Constantinum libris decripta," contains amongst its "statutes for priests" (c. 14) a provision that the priest shall not be a barber, a surgeon, or a worker in iron (*fermentarius*), the two former prohibitions turning probably on blood-letting in its most literal form, the latter on the providing instruments for blood-let. The 4th Council of Carthage, 397, forbids clerics to go to markets, except to buy, under pain of degradation (c. 48), but at the same time enacts that "a cleric, however learned in the word of God, shall seek his livelihood by means of a handicraft, *artificio*" (c. 51), that "a cleric shall provide for himself food and clothing by a handicraft or by agriculture, without detriment to his office" (c. 52), and that "all clerics who have strength to work should learn both handicrafts (*artificio*) and letters" (c. 53); provisions all nearly equivalent and which confirm the opinion that the canons of this and other Carthaginian Councils represent rather the whole collection of rules by which the African church was governed at their respective dates than specific enactments of those dates. This, appear, indeed, to indicate that, at all events in this quarter of the church, a distinction was being taken between trade and handicraft, and that the exercise of the former by

clerics was restricted.

By the time of 451 the laws became "empirical" more sharp speaks of clerical secular business, a prohibition which shape of trade, but considered, since expressly named canons force of law A.D. 531 (bk. l. l. 1) has been seen about clerical trading at church.

In the west, however, against clerical manager; a letter 452) to the bishop of his having heard many clerics there able business and to obtain from under device or desire of from the fulfillment sions which, in the the subject, we may generally. The Council enacts that "whoso him not be careful, degraded him be receive it back intended to sell at traffic, if the actual let him receive increase (c. 3)—a p of usury. The 3rd in like manner, for deacons upwards to traders, or to carry another's name (c. 15). Mansi's *Councils*, vol. i. p. 610, and foll. under the title: "Sanctiones et decreta alia ex quatuor regularum ad Constantinum libris decripta," contains amongst its "statutes for priests" (c. 14) a provision that the priest shall not be a barber, a surgeon, or a worker in iron (*fermentarius*), the two former prohibitions turning probably on blood-letting in its most literal form, the latter on the providing instruments for blood-let. The 4th Council of Carthage, 397, forbids clerics to go to markets, except to buy, under pain of degradation (c. 48), but at the same time enacts that "a cleric, however learned in the word of God, shall seek his livelihood by means of a handicraft, *artificio*" (c. 51), that "a cleric shall provide for himself food and clothing by a handicraft or by agriculture, without detriment to his office" (c. 52), and that "all clerics who have strength to work should learn both handicrafts (*artificio*) and letters" (c. 53); provisions all nearly equivalent and which confirm the opinion that the canons of this and other Carthaginian Councils represent rather the whole collection of rules by which the African church was governed at their respective dates than specific enactments of those dates. This, appear, indeed, to indicate that, at all events in this quarter of the church, a distinction was being taken between trade and handicraft, and that the exercise of the former by

That the enactment longer satisfied the church may be justified by the fact that, in the 10th century, the 3rd Council of Carthage contains a prohibition to be occupied "in a those for which they A canon of the Council of Auxerre, A.D. 578, in fixing measures, may a

The capitularies not always, invested church), deal respectively. The ecclesiastical enacts that measure just, "whether in a series, whether for ceasing" (c. 73, and added to the *Salic Law* of the 6th Council of Tours, A.D. 584, and to the 3rd Council of Tours, A.D. 597, and to the Capitulary of 794 is to fix the prices of v

re his wife for art, and do not if may apply to Foreign trade is sole (bk. xi. c. 3) beyond the sea," kings have a matter king's household but let them be as only by their os").

hears much more of the know to consider be observed, was, that of earning [stuy.] In other he was deemed by sole with clerics might through illness; as when illness, written about watch like fowler- p. Ep. 15.) The ing on the subject the 18th canon of n. 2065, by which are forbidden to be sake of trade, or seeking lucrative wellto do they may an agent (*me- celse*; and if they le within the pro- caning clearly be benefits of their shonour on trading

very doubtful au- ne Council, which lant's Councils, vol. title: "Sanctions regularum ad Con- contains amongst (c. 14) a provision a barber, a surgeon. (*mod-rius*), the two probably on blood- in, the latter on the bloodshed. The 4th bids clerics to go to order pain of degrada- time enacts that in the word of God, y means of a handi- that "a cleric shall and clothing by a dence, without detri- and that "all clerics ck should learn both and letters" (c. 53); which con- and canons of this and es represent rather rules by which the ad at their respective ments of those dates. indicate that, at all the church, a distinc- green trade and handi- of the former by

clerics was restrained, whilst the latter was enjoined.

By the time of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 453) the line between "secular" and "religious" employments appears to have become much more sharply marked. The 3rd canon speaks of clerics who for filthy lucre carry on secular business, and forbids them to do so,—a prohibition which would seem to include every shape of trade, but which cannot have been so considered, since the Council of Chalcedon is expressly named as one of the four to whose canons force of law is given by Justinian's Code, A.D. 529 (bk. i. l. i. c. 7, § 4), which yet, as has been seen above, expressly recognises both clerical trading and trading on behalf of the church.

In the west, however, it seems clear that the feeling against clerical trading became always stronger; a letter (ix.) of Pope Gelasius I. (A.D. 492-4) to the bishops of Lucania speaks (c. 15) of his having heard from Picenna that very many clerics there are occupied with dishonourable business and filthy lucre, and exhort them to abstain from unworthy gain, and from every device or desire of business of any kind, or else from the fulfilment of clerical functions—expressions which, in the light of altered feeling on the subject, we may also take to apply to trade generally. The Council of Tarragona (A.D. 516) enacts that "whosoever will be in the clergy, let him not be careful to buy too cheap or sell too dear, or let him be removed from the clergy" (c. 2). If a cleric lends a *soldus* in time of need, in order to receive it back in wine or wheat which it is intended to sell at a fixed time for the sake of traffic, if the actual thing be not needed by him, let him receive what he gave without any increase (c. 3)—a prohibition both of trade and of usury. The 3rd Council of Orleans, A.D. 538, in like manner, forbids clerics from the rank of deacons upwards to carry on business like public traders, or to carry on a forbidden business under another's name (c. 27). In spite of these enactments, we find in the letters of Gregory, the Great (A.D. 590-604) mention made of a ship-building bishop in Campania (see Labbé and Blass's Councils, vol. x. p. 559).

That the enactments of the African Councils no longer satisfied the temper even of the English church may be judged from the *Excerpta* of Egbert, archbishop of York (latter half of 8th century), the 3rd book of which (2nd series) contains a prohibition to priests and deacons to be occupied "in any worldly affairs," except those for which they are assigned (*intituti*, c. 8). A canon of the Council of Calchyth (that is, Chalcheth), A.D. 787, in favour of honesty in weights and measures, may also be quoted (c. 17).

The capitularies of Charlemagne (mostly, if not always, invested with the sanction of the church), deal repeatedly with the subject of trade. The ecclesiastical capitulary of 789 enacts that measures and weights be equal and just, "whether in cities or whether in monasteries, whether for giving or whether for receiving" (c. 71, and see the "Capitula minora" added to the Salic law, A.D. 803, c. viii.; Canon 15 of the 6th Council of Arles; and c. 45 of the 3rd Council of Tours, same year). The Frankfort Capitulary of 794 is one of several which attempt to fix the prices of victuals (c. 4; Capitulary of

Noyon, A.D. 808, c. 5). The pitch of actual cruelty is reached in the "Capitula de duabus," where every Jew is forbidden to have money in his house, to sell wine, victuals, or any other thing, under pain of confiscation of all his goods and imprisonment till he come into the imperial presence (c. 3). The utter absence of all notion of a possible right to freedom in trading is well expressed in one of the *Capitula* published by the imperial missi, A.D. 803: "That no man presume to sell or buy or measure otherwise than as the lord emperor has commanded" (c. 10).

Markets are not to be held on the Lord's Day (Excerpts from the Canons, added to the Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle of A.D. 813, c. 15, and see *General Collection*, bk. i. c. 139; 6th Council of Arles, A.D. 813, c. 16; 3rd Council of Tours, A.D. 813, c. 40), except where they have been held of old and lawfully (Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle of 809, c. 9); a Lombard Capitulary of 779 seems however to enact generally that "markets are nowhere to be held except where they have been held of old lawfully" (c. 52, taking no notice of the Sunday). Forfeiture for exactness' sake is forbidden (Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle of 809, c. 12). The Council of Friuli, A.D. 791, even forbids generally the carrying on of secular business to an immoderate extent.

Presbyters were by one capitulary forbidden to trade, or gather riches in anywise by filthy lucre (*Capitula presbyterorum*, A.D. 806). On the other hand the Council of Mayence, A.D. 813, more guardedly forbids clerics and monks to have unjust weights or measures, or to carry on an unjust trade; "nevertheless a just trade is not to be forbidden, on account of divers necessities—for we read that the holy apostles traded" (*negotiatos esse*),—the rule of St. Benedict being referred to as a further authority (c. 14, see *Ad-ditio 3ta*, c. 46). Trade was, however, forbidden to penitents, "because it is difficult that between the dealing of seller and buyer sin should not intervene" (*General Collection*, bk. vii. c. 62; perhaps of later date).

The exact meaning of some of the later texts above referred to is rendered somewhat doubtful through the gradual narrowing of the term *negotium* and its derivatives, from the sense of business in its widest meaning to the specific one of trade, as in its modern French offspring *le négoce*, *négoceant*. They sufficiently show, however, that whilst the avocations of the early apostles were still remembered, and the rule of St. Benedict had raised the dignity of labour itself, the growing Judaistic distinction between "secular" and "religious" acts and matters, so foreign to the spirit of a faith which is founded on the abrogation of all distinctions except those between good and evil, light and darkness, life and death, in which the recognition that in meats "there is nothing unclean of itself," but "all things indeed are pure" (Rom. xiv. 14, 20), that "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving" (1 Tim. iv. 4), was only the type of the breaking down of "the middle wall of partition" between Jews and Gentiles (Eph. ii. 14; Acts x. 10-15, 28), had by the 9th century begun to render the very idea of trade incompatible with the clerical calling, not so much as in early

It is so called, be-
pointed to be sung
the people, and was
verse of a psalm,
the priest gave the
in the communion of
Rom. iii. 18). "De-
terium cum Antiphona
nona nomen mutavit,
nus est cum Gloria
Horal. de Eccl. Obser.
Communio was looked
naking giving, to be said
varies with the day.
e Nat. Dom. is: "In
utero ante luciferum

Mozarabic missal sung
-ommunion has taken
o forms; one used in
the rest of the year,
corpore et sanguine te
Alit. All." (H. J. H.)

Y. The present article
e of what in England
ommunion in Office or Ser-
of that portion of it
tes to the distribution
ecrated elements in the

ων μυστηρίων κενώσια
ον ανάγειν ο κενώ-
α (Dionysius Areop.);
εύχαριστίας, μυστη-
μεταλαβείας. The verb
ately to describe particu-
(Basil., Chrysostom).
stantive descriptive of
στικῆς κενώσιν θείας
έχειν εύχαριστίας (Cone.
εταλαβείας, absolutely
a substantive, as *αγρί-
ν* (Philostorg), του Διο-
άματος μεταλαβάνω

atōs; they who partake
ments are said *com-
municant*. IV. Conc. Tolet. c. 18).
plied in the use of these
Isidore of Pelusium (Ep.
is conjunctionem cum les
i ipsius consortes ac parti-
cipias (in Ducauge, s. v.
ommunio dicitur spiritualis
e ad vitificandas animas a
gnitas." Other terms are
at *Sanguinis participatio*,
used to designate the act
) or the chalice into the
sacrament, the act of eating of
or the wine.

ence is also used actively,
to presenting the consecrated
following with the cup are
vine Domini ius, or *conspicere*
ommunicant populum; post
ant; "subdicendo regio-
at populum" (11. do Rom. I.
is used no doubt to signify
perfecting of the act of com-
c. 19).

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF HOLY COMMUNION.

The earliest extant description of Holy Communion is the well-known passage of Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I. c. 65), already quoted under CANON (p. 267). No description is here given of posture or gesture, whether of ministrants or recipients, or of any words accompanying administration; Justin tells us only that after the *εύχαριστία* "those whom we call deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and of the wine and water over which thanks have been given" (του εύχαριστηθέντος άρτου και οίνου και ύδατος), and carry away to those who are not present." He repeats substantially the same account in c. 67, using the words *λαβείας* and *μετάληψις* for distribution and reception.

From Tertullian we learn that in the African Church of the 2nd century the Eucharist was administered to all who were present; for he recommends (*De Oratione*, c. 14) those who hesitated to be present at the celebration on stationary days [STATIO] for fear of breaking their fast, to be present indeed, but to reserve the portion which they received. This applies to the Bread only; it was consecrated bread, which some were in the habit of putting to their lips before an ordinary meal (*Ad Uxorem*, li. 5). The Eucharist was received, not at the usual meal-time, as the Lord's command seemed to require (et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino), but in assemblies before dawn and from no other hands than those of the presidents (presidentium); it was given into the hands; for Tertullian laments the im-
purity of those idol-makers who—whether as clerics or laics touched the Lord's Body with hands so contaminated (*De Idol.* c. 7); and Christians felt an anxious dread lest any portion of the bread or the wine should fall to the ground (*De Corin.*, c. 3), for the Holy Communion was administered, ordinarily at least, under both kinds. Tertullian has also a probable allusion to the *Amen* of the recipient in response to the words of administration (*De Spectac.* c. 25).

From Cyrilian we learn (besides much as to the worthiness of communicants) that the deacon presented the cup after consecration to those who were present, probably in a certain order (*De Lapsis*, c. 25); the bread was received into the right hand (*Ep.* 58, c. 9, Hartel), and was not unfrequently carried home in a casket (*De Lapsis*, c. 26). Compare ARCA.

Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I. c. 1, p. 318 Potter), speaking of the necessity of men trying and examining themselves, illustrates his position by a reference to the Eucharist, "in distributing which according to custom some permit each several person in the congregation to take his portion." There is no reason for supposing (Probst, *Lit. der Drei Ersten Jahrhundte*) that these *vires* were schismatics; and the passage seems to imply that there were churches where the ministers, in distributing the elements, permitted all who were present to partake if they

* This is the translation usually given of *εύχαριστή-
θεως* (see Alzog's *Patrologie*, p. 71): but it may per-
haps be interpreted "the bread presented as a thank-
offering" (See EUCHARIST.)

would; and other churches where they judged who among the congregation were or were not worthy.

The directions of the second book of the *Apo-
stolical Constitutions* are as follows (c. 57, § 14):
"After the sacrifice has been made, let each
rank (*τάξις*) severally partake of the Lord's
Body and of the precious Blood, approaching in
rank with reverence and godly fear as to the
body of a king; and let the women draw near
with veiled heads, as befits the rank of women.
And let the doors be watched, lest any unbel-
ieving or uninitiated person enter." By
"ranks" we are no doubt to understand the
several orders of the clergy and ascetics, ac-
cording to dignity, then laymen, then women.

The testimony of Origen (*in Ezechiam*, Hom. xl.
c. 7, p. 172; xiii. 3, 176) shews that, after the
sermon the people drew nigh to the marriage-
supper of the Lamb; that not the priest alone,
but the faithful also who were present, re-
ceived the Sacrament; and that they were care-
ful that no particle of the consecrated elements
should fall to the ground, receiving the Bread
no doubt into their hands. His comment on
Psalm xxxiii. [xxxiv.] 9, perhaps alludes to the
use of *Γείσασθε και τέρτε* as an antiphon during
communion.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria from 248-
260 (in Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 9), mentions the prin-
cipal ceremonies of communion, when he speaks
of one who had long attended the Eucharistic
Service, joined in responding *Amen*, stood by the
Table, stretched forth his hand to receive the
Holy Food and received it, had partaken of
the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Cyril of Jerusalem describes the manner of
receiving in his time (c. A. D. 350) and country,
thus (*Catech. Myst. ij.* v. 20-22):

After the SANCTA SANCTIS, "ye hear the
voice of the chanter (του ψάλλοντος) with divine
melody inviting you to partake of the holy
mysteries, and saying, 'O taste and see how
gracious the Lord is.' Permit not the bodily
palate no, but faith unfeigned, to judge of
these things; for they who taste are hidden to
taste not of bread and wine, but of the cup
(ἀρνιότητος) of the Body and Blood of Christ.
When you approach, then, draw near not with
the wrists straight out nor with the fingers
spread, but making the left hand a throne for
the right, as for that which is to receive a king;
and hollowing the palm, receive the Body of
Christ, saying after reception the *Amen*. Then
after carefully hollowing thine eyes by the
touch of the Holy Body, partake of it (μεταλά-
βανε), giving heed lest any portion of it fall
aside and be lost; for whatsoever thou hast lost,
by so much hast thou suffered damage of thine
own members. . . Then, after communicating
(κοινωνήσαι) of the Body, draw near also to the
Cup (ποτήριον) of the Blood; not stretching
forth thy hands, but bending, and with an air
of adoration and reverence, saying the *Amen*,
sanctify thyself partaking also of the Blood of
Christ. Further, touching with thy hands the
moisture remaining on thy lips, sanctify both
thine eyes and thy forehead and the other
organs of the senses (αἰσθητήρια). Then, while
awaiting the prayer, give thanks unto God,
who hath thought thee worthy of so great
mysteries."

Holy Bread, says, Body of our Lord Christ is imparted to us of sins and life depend low, he prays," replacing the vessels the door of the sanctuary the actious presence place, is opened, the doorway elevates says: "Be it known desire to partake, the b from the hands of them, saying: 'The of the precious and ar Lord and Saviour us of his sins and life blessing, the priest and y Table, and rubrics ous observances with are carried to the ve will speak first of

the CANON follow the breaking or FRACTIO in the AGNUS DEI was form of Papal Mass, a the Ordines V. and VI, en to the Pope's seat, the Pontiff awaited his folded hands; he bit ate on the paten, and e chalice held by the chalice he partook of a gold or silver pipe

communicated, the arch-born of the altar (Ordo), and pours a little of e which had been used cup (scyphum) held by bishops approach to re- from the hands of the bysters in like manner ing to the Ord. R. H. r not to the Papal seat nunicate. The Ord. V. of communicating with presbyters also drawing from the bishop gives the and, and let them go to the altar and kiss it, and a manner after them let eate." The Ordo VI, that subdeacons are to their mouths, while the into their hands. ad ministered the Bread, ntered the Wine to the e poured the remainder of

mind that the cup contains a bread as well as the wine; and in churches the sacred elements been administered to the laity

Right" and "left" in liturgical to the right and left hand of the at anciently they referred to the standing with his face towards

the wine from the chalice into the cup (scyphum), from which the laity were to communicate by means of a tube, or pucillar [FISTULA]. The wine in this cup was regarded as completely consecrated by the infusion of the consecrated Wine from the chalice (see Mabillon, *Comm. Praevius in Ordines RR.* p. xciii.). The Pope delivered the bread to the principal persons present, the archdeacon following with the cup; meantime the choir sang the antiphon *Ad Communionem*. When the principal persons in the SENATORIUM had communicated, the bishops ministered the bread to the rest of the laity, and the deacons the cup; or sometimes, at the bidding of the Pontiff, presbyters administered both the bread and the cup (*Ordo R. I. c. 20, and II. c. 14*). As to the form of words accompanying administration; Gregory the Great used the following: "Corpus Dom. N. J. Christi conservet animam tuam" (Joann. Diac. *Vita Greg.* ii. 41). The *Missa Illyrica* (in Bona, *De Reb. Lit.* p. 554, ed. 1872) gives the following. For the priest himself when he receives: "Corpus homini Nostri Jesu Christi sit mihi remedium emperitum in vitam aeternam," and "Sanguis D. N. J. Christi custodiat me in vitam aeternam." On delivering the Body into the hands of priest or deacons, the form is "Pax tecum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo;"^a or "Verbum caro factus est, et habitavit in nobis:" on delivering the cup, in which a portion of the consecrated bread is immersed [COMMIXTION]: "Haec sacramento commixtio corporis et sanguinis D. N. J. C. prosit tibi ad vitam aeternam." For the subdeacons and inferior orders the form is: "Perceptio Corporis et Sanguinis D. N. J. C. sacrificet corpus et animam tuam in vitam aeternam. Amen." For the laity: "Corpus et sanguis D. N. J. C. prosit tibi in remissionem omnium peccatorum et ad vitam aeternam." About the time of Charles the Great, the following was a common formula: "Corpus D. N. J. C. custodiat te in vitam aeternam" (Krazer, *de Liturgiis*, p. 561).^b

In the Gallican Church, after the benediction of the communion of the priest, the faithful, men and women alike, drew near the altar and received the Eucharist into their hands.

During the time of communicating, a psalm or canticle was chanted. On this point Aurelian, Bishop of Orleans, gives the simple rule, "Psalmiculus omnes communicant" (*Regula*). Germans of Paris, his contemporary, calls the canticle or antiphon which was sung during communion *Tantum*, and says that it signified faith in the Holy Trinity; it was probably either the *Gloria Patri*, or something equivalent to the *Unus Pater, Unus Filius, Unus Spiritus Sanctus*, of the Eastern Church [SANCTA SANCTIS]. In the Mozarabic liturgy, after the priestly benediction and salutation, the choir chants the antiphon *Ad Accedentes*, during which the people were to draw near. After the antiphon, the priest takes from the paten the particle *Gloria* [see FRACTIO], saying inaudibly "Panem coelestem de

^a These words were no doubt used as appropriate to the Kiss of Peace given by the ministrant to the recipient, as was occasionally done even as late as the 12th century. (Mansi III, *De Myst. Missae*, vi. 9.)

^b A good collection of such formulae may be found in the work of Dominic Georgi, *de Liturgia Rom. Pontif.*

mensa Domini accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo,"^c and, holding it over the chalice, says prayers for worthy reception; then consumes the particle which he holds in his hand, and then the remaining particles on the paten. Immediately after he communicates the people. He then uncovers the chalice and, after the prayer "Ave in evum coelestis potus," and "Corpus et Sanguis D. N. J. Christi custodiat corpus et animam meam in vitam aeternam, Amen," drinks thereof, and says prayer for benefit from reception. The choir chants the COMMUNIO, or antiphon for communicating. No direction is given for the communion of the people further than that contained in the words "et statim populo communionem impertit." After the ablution of the chalice, *Alleluia* is chanted, post-communion follows, salutation and dismissal.

In the Ambrosian rite, after the Fraction and the Kiss of Peace, the priest thrice strikes his breast, saying, *Domine non sum dignus*; on taking the bread into his hand, he says, *Quid retribuam Domino?* and immediately before communicating, "Corpus D. N. J. C. custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen." On taking the cup into his hand, he again says the *Quid retribuam*, and before communicating, "Praesta, quaesumus, Domine, ad perceptio Corporis et Sanguinis D. N. J. C. ad vitam nos perducat aeternam;" then if any are to communicate he administers to them before PURIFICATION. The ancient form of administration we learn from the Pseudo-Ambrosius *de Sacramentis* (iv. 5); "dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi, et tu dicis, Amen, id est, verum," which is identical with the *σάμα Χριστοῦ* of Eastern ritual. The form for the cup was probably similar.

The prayers which accompany communion vary much in different copies of the Ambrosian missal, and are probably all of comparatively modern date.

All who were present communicated.—This is contemplated in all the early accounts of Holy Communion; hence the care taken to exclude from the mysteries all who were not fit to participate. The second canon of the Council of Antioch (A.D. 344; compare *Canon. Apost.* c. 9 [10]) orders that those who came into the church and heard the service, so far as the lectures of Scripture, but declined to partake in the prayers of the people or to communicate, should be cast out of the church until they should have confessed and repented of their fault. This would seem to imply that the practice of some of the worshippers leaving the church before the more solemn part of the liturgy (εὐχή) was commenced, was already known (though censured) in the 4th century; for if they had remained in the church, they could hardly have been described as μη κοινωνούντας εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ. Martin of Braga (A.D. 560) inserted this in his *Collectio Canonum* (c. 83) for the use of the Spanish Church. Gratian (*De Consecrat.* Dist. ii. c. 10) quotes a decree of Pope Anacletus, which

^c In the printed missals, which are much interpolated, the direction follows in the rubric, "et dicat sacerdos memora pro mortuis;" as to which Krazer (*de Lit.* p. 621) notes, "qui ritus, ut jam in-inuavimus Gotho-Hispanus non est; hinc et nulla in missal illius occurrit formula."

relic no doubt of the
mer occasions, the cele-
s standing, the rest,
, kneeling. Dr. Neale
24) mentions a capital
the 12th century, which
announ.

into the Hand.—There
as that already aduced,
ad was in ancient times
of communicants. Thus,

Hist. Eccl. v. 17) asks
massacre of Thessalonica,
to receive the Lord's
pping from the slaughter
ustine (c. *Litt. Petiliani*,
hop in whose hands his
place the Eucharist, and
hands from him in turn;
says that in the church
portion of the Eucharist
communicant carries it
own hand. Chrysostom
tich. c. 7) speaks of the
dness, considering what they
ative in Szozmen (*II. E.*
of Chrysostom's describes
ing the bread into her
ad as if to pray (*les é*
r passing on the particle
r maid-servant.

of the Trullian canon (an-
ctice which had sprung up
of gold or other precious
ception of the Eucharist.
a truth, that man is made
d, the canon proceeds: "in
partake of the immaculate
draw near, disposing his
a cross, and so receive the
living grace;" and priest-
r into such receptacles
excommunicated. John of
Fid. Orth. d. iv. 14) desires
their hands in the form of
y body of the Crucified. His
Hist. Eccl. iv. 24) describes
athbed (about 680) as re-
st into his hand. As he
at comment, it was no doubt
w time also.

of the 6th century women
receive the Eucharist on the
re compelled to receive it on
MISCALE. See *Con. Anti-*
anons 36 and 42. Caesarius
anon printed as St. Agus-
de Tenipore), exhorts the
their hearts as clean as the
brought to receive the Body
reek Fathers however say no
practice, and the censure of
oil would evidently apply as
other materials.

ustom of giving the Eucharist
lay persons continued in the
not be precisely determined.
t (*Dialogus*, iii. c. 3) asserts
Agapetus (535-536) placed the
mouth of a certain dumb and
from a case so peculiar nothing
except that the express men-

tion of the sacrament being placed in the mouth
of this person probably indicates that the general
practice was otherwise. At the time when the
Ordo R. VI. was drawn up (9th century?), the
ancient custom had ceased at Rome, for
the form of reception which was not per-
mitted to subdeacons was certainly not permitted
to the laity. A council held at Rouen (probably
in the year 880) strictly prohibited presbyters
from placing the Eucharist in the hand of any
lay person, male or female, commanding them
to place it in their mouths. This practice, which
probably originated in a desire to protect that
which is holy from profane or superstitious uses,
gradually became the almost universal rule of
the Church. So in 1549, because the people
"diversely abused" the Sacrament "to super-
stition and wickedness," it was thought con-
venient that the people commonly receive the
sacrament of Christ's Body in their mouths
at the priest's hand. (See the first Prayer-
Book of Edward VI. in Keeling's *Litt. Brit.*
p. 235.)

Responding Amen on Reception.—Besides the
instances already given of this practice, the
following may be cited: Jerome (*Ep.* 62, ad
Theop. Alex.) would not allow one to come to
the Eucharist, until he says Amen, when he
doubted of the charity of the ministrant. Au-
gustine (c. *Faustian Manich.* xii. 10) speaks of
the responding Amen on reception of the Blood
of Christ as a universal custom.

Place of Communicating.—The second synod of
Tours (A.D. 567), in the fourth canon (Brun's
Canons, ii. 226), prohibited lay persons from
standing in the space within the rails (cancelli)
reserved for the choir during the celebration of
the mysteries; but expressly allowed lay men
and women to enter the sanctuary (sancta
sanctorum) for the purpose of praying and com-
municating, as had been the custom in times
past. The existence of this custom is further
proved by the story told by Gregory of Tours
(c. *Miroir. S. Marini*, li. c. 14) of the paralytic
girl, who, being miraculously healed, approached
the altar to communicate without help.

Yet at nearly the same time the 1st Council
of Braga (A.D. 563) in Spain, in the canon (13)
headed "Ubi omnes communicant," ordered that
no lay person should approach within the sanc-
tuatory of the altar to communicate, but only
clerics, as is provided in the ancient canons.

We have already seen, that in the liturgy
of St. Chrysostom the priests and deacons com-
municated within the sanctuary, the lay people
outside; and some distinction of this kind prob-
ably became general from about the 6th century.
The distinction between the communion of the
clergy and that of the laity always tended in
fact to become broader, and as differences in-
creased not only in respect of precedence, but in
respect of the manner and place of communi-
cating, the degradation of a clerk to lay com-
munion became a more marked punishment
[DEGRADATION].

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION TO HOLY
COMMUNION.

1. *Communicants must be baptized persons, not
under censure.*—None could be admitted to Holy
Communion but baptized persons (ὁδοὶς ἀβαπ-
τιστος παραλαβῆναι, Theophylact on Matt. 14),
CHRIST, ANT.

lying under no censure [EXCOMMUNICATION].
The competency of ordinary members of any
church would be known as a matter of course to
the clergy administering the sacrament. Persons
from a distance were required to produce cer-
tificates from their own bishops (ἐπιτάγματα
κατωκάτω, litere communicatorie, fornicatæ;
see COMMENTARY LETTERS) that they were
in the peace of the Church, before they could
be admitted to Holy Communion (*Conc. Car-*
thag. i. c. 5; *Eliberit.* cc. 25, 58; *Arles*, i. c.
9; *Agde*, c. 52). Some have thought that the
expression *communio peregrini* designates the
state of those strangers who, being unprovided
with such letters, were admitted to be present
at divine service, but not to communicate (see
Bona, De Reb. Lit. ii. c. 19, §§ 3, 6; *Bingham*,
Antiq. XVII. iii. 7).

2. It seems also that, in some cases at least,
within the first eight centuries, *Private Con-*
fession was enjoined before communicating. In
the *Penitential* of Archbishop Theodore (about
A.D. 700) in the chapter *De Communione Eucha-*
risticæ (l. xii. 7) is the provision, "Confessio
autem Deo soli agatur licetbit, si necesse est;"
to which is added in some MSS. the note of a
transcriber of perhaps a century later. "et hoc
necessarium." The same provision is repeated in
the *Penitential* of Cummene, the work almost
certainly of the later Cummeneus, an Irish monk
who lived and wrote near Bobbio, in the early
part of the 8th century. The purport of the
rule seems to be, that confession to a priest was
the ordinary practice, but that it might be dis-
pensed with in case of necessity.

That confession to a priest was a usual, though
not a necessary, preliminary to Holy Commu-
nion is perhaps implied in the narrative of
Adamnan (*Vita S. Columbae*, i. 17, 20, 30, 41,
50) and of Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 25, 27). The
whole subject is discussed in *Usher's Religion*
of the Ancient Irish, c. 5; and in *Lanigan's*
History of the Irish Church, iv. 67. Compare
PENITENCE.

In the case of reconciliation of penitents after
excommunication and penance, the intervention of
the bishop—or of a priest in his absence—was of
course necessary (*Theodore's Penit.* l. xiii. 2, 3);
and clergy ordained by Scotch or British bishops
were not admitted to communion in the Anglian
church until they had "confessed" their desire
to be restored to unity (*Ib.* l. ix. 3).

On the Communion of Children see INFANT
COMMUNION.

3. *Fasting Reception of Holy Communion.*—So
long as Holy Communion accompanied or followed
an AGAPE, or common meal, it is evident that
it was not received fasting. But as, in course of
time, the tone of thought in the Church was
altered, and the rite itself received a different
colouring and different necessities, it came to be
regarded as essential that both the celebrant and
the recipients should be fasting at the time of
communion. Something of this feeling probably
underlies Tertullian's words, when he contrasts
the Lord's own practice with that of his own
time in the passage (*De Corona*, c. 3) quoted
above, and on stationary days (*De Orat.* c. 14),
he clearly contemplates the fast being continued
until reception. Cyprian too (*Ep.* 63, cc. 15
and 16, quoted above) insists on the greater
worthiness of the morning compared with the

evening communion. But the necessity of communicating fasting does not appear to be distinctly recognised before the 4th century. Then we find Basil (*Hom. ii. De Jejunio*, p. 13) laying it down that no one would venture to celebrate the mysteries otherwise than fasting; and Chrysostom (in 1 Cor. *Hom. 27*, p. 231) insisting on fasting as a necessary preliminary to worthy communion; and again (*Ad pop. Antioch. Serm. 9*, p. 103) exhorting even those who were not fasting to come to church, not indeed to communicate but to hear the sermon; and again (*Ep. 125*, p. 683) complaining that his calumniators accuse him of having admitted to communion persons who were not fasting, a charge which he denies with the strongest asseverations. We have already seen that Ambrose recommended the faithful to fast even until evening, when the communion was late. A remarkable passage of Augustine (*Ep. 118*, c. 6; p. 191, ed. Cologne, 1618) is conclusive as to the practice of his own time. "It is beyond dispute," he says, "that when the disciples first received the Body and Blood of the Lord, they did not receive fasting. Are we therefore to blame the whole Church because every one does receive fasting? No; for it pleased the Holy Spirit that, in honour of so mighty a sacrament, the Body of the Lord should pass the Christian's lips before other food; for it is on that account that that custom is observed throughout the whole world. . . . The Lord did not prescribe in what order it should be received, that He might reserve this privilege for the Apostles, through whom He was to regulate the churches; for if He had recommended that it should always be received after other food, I suppose that no one would have deviated from that practice." With respect to his correspondent's question, as to the custom to be followed on the Thursday in Holy Week with regard to morning or evening communion, or both, he admits that the practice of the Church did not condemn communion on that day after the evening meal.

This rule, however, was not quite invariable. In Augustine's lifetime—as appears from the epistle just quoted—the custom prevailed that on the Thursday in Holy Week, the anniversary of the institution, the faithful received Holy Communion in the evening and after eating. So the *Codex Canonum Eccl. Afric.* (canon 41; see III. *Conc. Carth.* c. 29) provides, "ut sacramenta altaris nominis a jejunio hominibus celebrantur, excepto uno die anniversario quo Coena Domini celebratur." A canon of Laodicea (c. 50) which is sometimes quoted as directed against this custom, simply refers to the habit into which some had fallen of breaking their Lent-fast on the Thursday in the last week, not specially to non-fasting communion; but the Council in *Trullo* (c. n. 29), in the year 680, did expressly forbid the celebration of the mysteries even on this Thursday by any but fasting men.

Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 22, p. 295) expressly states that the inhabitants of that part of Egypt which borders on Alexandria and of the Thebaïd had a celebration of the Eucharist on Saturday, as others had; but that, contrary to the general custom, they communicated after taking their evening meal without stint.

Regulations intended to check the practice of non-fasting communion were made in Gaul in the

6th century. The council of Auxerre (can. 19; *Brun's Can. ii.* 239) enjoined that no presbyter, deacon, or subdeacon should venture to take part in the office of the mass, or to stand in the church while mass was said, after taking food or wine. The reason for the latter clause was no doubt that clerics who were present at mass always in those days communicated. The 2nd Council of Micon in the year 585 (*Conc. Muticensense ii.* can. 9; in *Brun's Canones*, ii. 251) expressly forbade any presbyter full of food or under the influence of wine (crapulatus vino) to handle the sacrifice or celebrate mass; referring to the African canon already quoted. In Spain decrees on this subject were made by the 1st Council of Braga (can. 16), and the second (can. 10) in the years 563 and 572 respectively (*Brun's*, ii. 32 and 42). The first of these anathematizes those who, instead of celebrating mass fasting in the church at three in the afternoon of Maundy Thursday, celebrated on that day masses for the dead at nine in the morning without fasting, after the Priscillianist fashion. The second, by occasion of those who consecrated masses for the dead after having taken wine, condemns those who ventured to consecrate after having taken any food whatever. Walafrid Strabo (*de Off. Divinis*, c. 19), referring to the first of these, rightly infers that if non-fasting communion was not permitted on a day when the practice of the law and a certain degree of precedent might be pleaded, it was not permitted on other days. The abuse censured by the second council probably arose from the late hour at which masses for the dead were held and the presence of the priest at the funeral-east. The *Codex Eccl. Afric.* (can. 41 = III. *Carth.* c. 29) had already provided that services for the dead held in the afternoon should consist of prayers only, without sacrifice, if the clerics who performed the service were found to have taken food. Gratian (*under Presbyter*, dist. 91, quoted by Bona, *R. L. i.* c. 21, § 2) refers to a council of Nantes or Anglé, which enjoined priests to remain fasting until the hour fixed, in order that they might be able to take part in the funeral-mass.

In two cases only non-fasting communion is expressly permitted. The first is, when the necessity suddenly arises of administering the Viaticum to one in the article of death; in which case it is sanctioned, says Cardinal Bona (*R. L. i.* 21, 2), by the practice of the whole Church. The second is, when the celebrating priest, from sudden sickness, is unable to finish the office; in which case, if the elements have been consecrated, another priest, even though he be not fasting, may complete it. See the second canon of the 7th Council of Toledo (*Brun's Can. i.* 262) of the year 646, which at the same time enjoins most earnestly that neither shall a priest resign the unfinished service nor a non-fasting priest take it up without the most absolute necessity. And to prevent such cases, the 11th Council of Toledo (A.D. 675) ordered (can. 2, p. 315) that wherever it was possible the priest serving mass should be attended by another, fasting, who might take up the service in case of need.

TIME OF COMMUNION.

1. *Days.*—The well-known passage in the Acts of the Apostles (ii. 46) is commonly held to prove that the "breaking of bread" for Holy

Communion Church. It is day is meant broken soon after Day, the first probable the laying by for assigned to a rist. The 97) met on maion; the terrizes not week, shows daily (see 378 f.). Ju tinctly ment hiepe) as the day on which Christ rose for reason to du to the presen first day of Lord comman.

The days w Holy Communion of the week, t days appear a admistration of Tertullian 289) adds to the day of the week special observat communicate," on the Lord's i tion Day [i. e. this was not a (Expositio Fidei celebrations (Eid and Sunday w within his kno part of the East 4th century. A.D. 320 [al. 37 be offered in Le the Lord's Day; festival approach Day. In the generally a day of its being pret Communion.

When Christi gion of the err Eucharist soon h of Constantinople of Chrysostom, complains of the daily offering. 88, c. 9) that in sacrificed (immol ref he also pro that this was by saying, "In some an offering; in o Sabbath only and the Lord's Day o was observed in of the 4th century of the 4th centur 1st Council of To (canon 5) all clerics the time of the de the Roman Church (Ep. 71) refers to

tians communicated at the evening meal, as well as in assemblies before dawn. Cyprian (*ad Cæcilianum*, *Ep.* 63, cc. 13, 16) refers to some who in the morning sacrifice used water only in the chalice, lest the odour of wine should betray them to their heathen neighbours; and warns such not to save their conscience with the reflection that they complied with Christ's command in offering the mixed chalice when they came together for the evening meal (*ad cœcilianum*) at which the rite had been originally instituted. This no doubt implies some kind of communion both morning and evening; but that in the evening seems to have been rather a domestic than a public rite; for Cyprian expressly says that at (his) the whole congregation (plebs) could not be called together, so as to make the rite—what it ought to be—a visible token to all of their brotherhood in Christ. And he goes on to say, that though it was no doubt fitting that Christ should offer at eventide, as foreshadowing the evening of the world and being the antitype of the evening passover-sacrifice (*Exod.* xii. 6); yet that Christians celebrated in the morning the resurrection of the Lord. In short, he clearly regards the morning as the proper time for public and solemn communion.

When the Church received its freedom, set hours began to be appointed for Holy Communion. The third hour of the day (about nine o'clock), the hour when the Holy Spirit descended on the apostles, was fixed at an early date as the hour of morning sacrifice on Sundays and festivals. The *Liber Pontificalis* attributes to Pope Telesphorus (127-138) the decree, "ut nullus ante horam tertiam sacrificium offerre præsumeret;" and this statement is repeated by Amalarius (*de Eccl. Off.* iii. 42) and others. It is almost needless to say the decree is one of the well-known forgeries. The same regulation is attributed by the spurious *Costa Damasi* (see Bona, *de Reb. Lit.* i. 21, § 5) to Pope Damasus (366-384); but here too no weight can be attached to the authority. More satisfactory testimonies are the following. Sidonius Apollinaris, who died A.D. 489, says (*Ep.* v. 17) that priests held divine service at the third hour; and Gregory of Tours in the 6th century speaks (*Vita Nicetii*) of the third as the hour when the people came together to mass; Gregory the Great (*in Evang. Hom.* 37) speaks of one who came to offer the sacrifice at the third hour; and Theodulph of Orleans (*ob.* 821) orders (*Capit. ult.*, c. 45) that private masses should not be said on the Lord's Day with so much publicity as to attract the people from the high or public mass, which was canonically celebrated at the third hour. That on ordinary or ferial days mass was said at the sixth hour (twelve o'clock) as late as the 12th century we have the testimony of Honorius of Autun (*Gemma Animæ*, i. c. 113); but this practice seems to have been matter of custom rather than of canonical prescription. On the 4th day the liturgical hour was the ninth, probably because the ancient Church was unwilling to introduce the joyful eucharistic feast into the early hours of a fast-day, and because on such a day it was not thought too onerous to continue fasting until three o'clock in the afternoon (Martene, *de Rit. Antiq.* i. p. 108). Epiphanius (*Expositio Fidei*, c. 22) testifies to the fact that throughout the year on Wednesday and Friday the liturgy was

said at the ninth hour; excepting in the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, and on the Epiphany when it fell on Wednesday or Friday; on these days, as on the Lord's Day, there was no fasting, and the liturgy was said at an early hour in the morning (*ἀπὸ ἄρθου*).

The Council of Mentz, quoted by Ivo of Chartres (*pt.* 4, c. 35), desires all men on the Ember-days to come to church at the ninth hour to mass. The same reasons which caused the mass to be deferred at other fasting-seasons applied also to Lent; hence Ambrose, preaching in Lent, begs the faithful to defer eating until after the time of the heavenly banquet; if they had to wait until evening, the time was not so very long; on most days the oblation was at noon (on Psalm 118 [119], *Serm.* 8, *Opp.* iv. 656, ed. Basle, 1567); and Theodulph (*Capitulare*, c. 39) says that those who broke the Lenten fast who ventured to eat as soon as they heard the bell at the ninth hour, an hour at which he seems to imply that the "missarum solemnitas," as well as "vespertina officia," were celebrated.

These prescriptions as to the hours of mass, as well as of the ordinary offices, have long ceased to be observed: in the Roman Church at least mass may be said at any hour from dawn (aurora) to noon. But a trace of the ancient practice is found in the following rubric (*xv.* § 2) of the Roman missal:—"Missæ autem Conventualis et Solemnis sequent ordine dici debet. In Festis duplicibus et semiduplicibus, in Dominicis, et infra Oct., dicta in Choro hora tertia. In Festis simplicibus et in Feriis per annum dicta sexta. In Adventu, Quadragesima, Quatuor Temporibus, etiam infra Octavam Pentecostæ, et Vigilis quæ jejuantur, quamvis sint dies solemnæ, Missa de Tempore debet cantari post nonam."

The celebration of Holy Communion in the night-time, once—as we have seen—common in the Church, ceased at an early date, except on certain days of special observance. Of these the principal is that on the night of the Lord's Nativity. A Coptic tradition (mentioned by Bona, *R. L.* i. 21, 4) ascribes the institution of a nocturnal communion at Christmas and Epiphany to the Nicene Council; the fact may perhaps have been, that when the celebration of the Lord's Nativity was transferred from the sixth of January to the twenty-fifth of December (CHRISTMAS), the nightly communion was continued on both days. In the Gregorian Sacramentary (p. 5) besides the mass for the Vigil of the Nativity, said at the ninth hour, is one *In Vigilia Domini in nocte*, that is, to be said in the night between Christmas Eve and Christmas Day.

A nightly communion was usual in ancient times on the night of the "Sabbatum Sanctum" or Easter Eve. It is probable, to this custom that Tertullian alludes when (*ad Uxorem*, ii. 4) he says that a heathen husband would not permit a Christian wife to pass the night from home on the Paschal solemnities; Jerome (on *St. Matt.* xxv.) mentions that it was an apostolic tradition on Easter Eve not to dismiss the congregation before midnight; and Theodore Balsamon (on the Council in *Trullo*, can. 90) writes that persons of especial piety were accustomed to remain in the churches the whole of that Saturday, to communicate at midnight, and at

age o'clock. The *Ordo* people should and that the church to be rung a litany to follow. The *larius* (*de*) says that a the mass of Durandus o ancient rite the time wh 13th centu Easter Eve collects still merly said a

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COMMUNION, HOLY

one o'clock in the morning to begin Matins. The *Ordo Romanus Vulpatus* also orders that the people should not be dismissed before midnight, and that at dawn of day they should return to the churches; in monasteries it enjoins the bells to be rung as soon as a star was seen in the sky, a litany to be chanted, and then the mass to follow. The same custom is mentioned by Amalarius (*de Divin. Off.* iv. c. 20; cf. c. 40), who says that all continue fasting until night, when the mass of the Lord's Resurrection is celebrated. Durandus (*Rationale*, vi. c. 76) says that the ancient rite was observed in some churches at the time when he wrote, in the latter part of the 13th century. In modern times the mass of Easter Eve is said at midday, but the unchanged collects still testify to the fact that it was formerly said at night.

A nocturnal celebration anciently took place also in the night between the Vigil and the day of Pentecost; hence in the prayer *Communicantes* on that day we have the words, "diem sacratissimum Pentecostes praevenientes" (Gregori *Sacram.* p. 97; see Ménard, note 393). The *Ordo Romanus* provides that at the eighth hour of the eve the vigil service or mass should begin, and should be finished before the end of the ninth hour.

Four times in the year, on the Saturdays of the EMBER weeks, was a nightly mass, or rather one on the morning of the succeeding day, which was reckoned to belong to the Saturday; hence, as the *Micralogus* (c. 29) observes, the Sundays which follow the Ember-days have no proper offices in the ancient sacramentaries, but are called *Dominicae vacantes*; for the mass which was celebrated late on the Saturday served for the Sunday also. So the Council of Clermont (A.D. 1095) ordered (can. 24) that the fast, if possible, should be prolonged through the Saturday night, that the mass might be brought as near as possible to the Sunday morning.

In some cases, when we read of *missae vespertinae* (e.g. *Conc. Agath.* c. 30; *III. Au-el.* c. 29), we must bear in mind that the word *missa* does not in all cases imply the celebration of the mysteries of the altar, but was applied also to the hour-offices. Cf. MASS; MAUNDY THURSDAY; and p. 416.

FREQUENCY OF COMMUNION.

An ancient rule of the Church is expressed in the 21st canon of the Council of Eliberis (about A.D. 305), that if any one dwelling in a town should absent himself on three Sundays from church, he should be for a time suspended from communion. As at that time in a city having a bishop Holy Communion was administered at least every Sunday, and non-communicating attendance was unknown, we infer that weekly communion was the rule of the Church, to fail in which was to be unworthy of its privileges. Theodoros of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, testifies (about A.D. 688) that in his time this was still the rule of the East. In the West, a comparatively early period. Thus the Council of Agde [Agatheuse] in the year 506 laid down the rule (can. 18) that if a layman did not communicate at least at Christmas, Easter, and Whit-tide, he should no longer be reputed a Catholic. To the same effect are the 14th canon of

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the Council of Autun (A.D. 670), and the 38th of the *Excerpta* attributed to Egbert of York (A.D. 740). Bede (*Ep. ad Elbert.* p. 311, ed. 1722) desires his correspondent to insist strongly on the wholesome practice of daily communion, according to the custom of the churches of Italy, Gaul, Africa, Greece, and the whole East. But this, he says, in consequence of defective teaching, is so far from being the custom of English laymen, that even the more religious among them do not presume to communicate except at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter; though countless innocent boys and girls, young men and maidens, old men and old women, do not scruple to communicate every Lord's Day, and perhaps on the days of Apostles and Martyrs besides, as Egbert himself had witnessed, in the Roman and Apostolic Church.

The 3rd Council of Tours, in the year 813, laid down (can. 50) a rule nearly identical with that of Agde; that all laymen, not disqualified by heinous sin, should communicate at least three times in the year. The Council of Aix-la-Chapelle had previously (A.D. 788) re-acted (c. 70) the decree of the Council of Antioch (c. 2) which ordered all who came to church at the time of service but declined reception to be suspended from communion until they should amend; and it was probably the failure of this attempt to revive the primitive practice which led to the much looser rule of Aix-la-Chapelle.

If the Pseudo-Ambrosius (*de Sacram.* v. 25) is to be trusted, some Christians at least of the East in the 4th century communicated only once a year, and he complains that this practice had extended to his own community, recommending himself the practice of *daily* communion. [C.]

COMMUNION BOOKS. [LITURGICAL BOOKS.]

COMMUNION OF CHILDREN. [INFANT COMMUNION.]

COMMUNION OF THE SICK [SICK, VISITATION OF.]

COMMUNITY OF GOODS. [MONASTICISM.]

COMMISTIO or COMMIXTIO. In the Roman missal, after the breaking of the Host [FRACTION], the priest places a particle in the chalice, saying *secretis*: "Hæc commistio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis D. N. J. C. fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam." And this practice of placing a particle of the Host in the cup appears to be an ancient one, and to be considered as a kind of consecration [CONSECRATION]. It is found in the liturgy of St. James (Neale's *Tetralogia*, p. 177), where the priest, after breaking the bread, places the portion which he holds in his right hand in the chalice, saying, "The union (*unio*) of the all-holy Body and precious Blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The 4th Council of Toledo (A.D. 633), canon 18, orders the commixtion (conjunctionem panis et calicis) to take place between the Lord's Prayer and the Benediction. [C.]

COMPATRES AND COMMATRES. [SPONSORS.]

COMPENDIENSE CONCILIUM. [COMPTONE.]

COMPETENTES. [CATECHUMENS.]

COMPËGNE, COUNCILS OF. [COMPENDIENSE.] (1) A. D. 756, held in Pipin's palace, passed canons respecting marriage, degrees of consanguinity, &c. (Labh. Conc. vi. 1694). (2) A. D. 757 (Eginhard), or 758 (Ado), an assembly or "placitum" in the same place, but rather civil than ecclesiastical, its purpose being to receive the homage of Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, and of his subjects (ib. 1834). [A. W. H.]

COMPLETORIUM. (1) The last of the Canonical hours of prayer [HOURS OF PRAYER].

(2) An anthem in the Ambrosian rite, said at Lauds and Vespers. Sundays have two at Lauds, and four at Vespers; and week days one, varying with the day, at Lauds, and one, changing, at Vespers. The first at Lauds on Sunday is "Dominus in caelo, paravit selem suam: et regnum ejus omnium dominabitur. Kyr. Kyr. Kyr." They are all of the same type. On Festivals the number varies with the office. [H. J. H.]

COMPLINE. [HOURS OF PRAYER.]

COMPUTUS. [CALENDAR.]

CONCORDIA, nurse of St. Hippolytus, martyr at Rome, Aug. 13 (Mart. Bedae, Usuardi). [C.]

CONCORDIUS, presbyter, martyr at Spoleto under Antoninus, Jan. 1 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi). [C.]

CONCUBINAGE.—The relation between the sexes which was denoted by this word had, under the legal system with which the early Church was brought into contact, a twofold character. There was (1) the connexion, temporary, depending on caprice only, involving no obligations, concubinage in the modern sense, not distinguishable ethically from fornication. But there was also (2) a *concupinatus* recognised by Roman law, as in the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppæa*, which had a very different character. Here the cohabitation was permanent, and involved therefore reciprocal obligations, and, although it did not stand on the same level as a *conubium*, and did not entitle the issue of the union to inherit as legitimate, it was yet regarded, somewhat as amorganatic marriage is in Germany, as involving no moral degradation. In dealing with this last form, Christian feeling was divided between the fear of recognising what might seem a half-marriage only on the one hand, and the desire to sanction any union which fulfilled the primary condition of marriage on the other. The question was complicated by the fact that, for the most part, these unions were contracted with women who were slaves or foreigners, and therefore not *ingenuæ*, and that consequently to have placed them on a level with *conubia*, would have been to introduce a *mesalliance* into the succession of respectable or noble families. Cases where the man who kept the *concupina* had a wife living, though sanctioned by the lax morality of Roman society, admitted, of course, of no question, and were denounced as adultery (August. *Serm.* 224). Where the man was unmarried the case was different. The Apostolical Constitutions, on the one hand (viii. 32), authorised the admission to bap-

tism of such a slave-concupine belonging to an unbeliever, if she were faithful to the one man with whom she lived. If Marcia, the concubine, first of Quadratus, and afterwards of Commodus, who is known to have favoured the Christians, had ever been one of them, it must have been by virtue of some such rule. The case of a Christiana who had a concubine was somewhat more difficult, and the equity of the Church's judgment was disturbed by considerations of social expediency. If she was a slave he was to get rid of her, apparently without being bound to make any provision for her maintenance. If she were a free woman, he was either to marry or dismiss her (*Apost. Const.* viii. 32). So, too, at a later date, we find Leo the Great treating this dismissal of a mistress followed by a legal marriage, not as a "duplicito conjugii," but a "profectus honestatis" (*Epist.* 92; *ad Rustic.* c. 5). In other instances, however, we trace the influence of the wish to look upon every permanent union of man or woman as possessing the character of a marriage in the eyes of God, and therefore in the judgment of the Church. Thus Augustine, speaking of a concubine who promises a life-long fidelity, even should he cast her off, to the man with whom she lived, says that "merito dubitatur utrum ad percipiendum baptismum non debeat admitti" (*De Fide et Oper.* c. 19).^b The first Council of Toledo went even farther, and while it excluded from communion a married man who kept a concubine, admitted one who, being unmarried, continued faithful to the one woman with whom he thus lived (1 *C. Tolet.* c. 17). The special law forbidding a Jew to have a Christian wife or concubine (3 *C. Tolet.* c. 14), implying, as it does, the legitimacy of the latter relation, where both parties were Christians, shows, in like manner, that it was thought of as ethically, though not legally, on the same level as a *conubium*.

The use of the word *concupina* as a term of reproach for the wives of the clergy who were married, was, of course, a logical deduction from the laws which forbade that marriage, but the un-sparing use made of it, as by Peter Damiani and Hildebrand, belongs to a somewhat later date than that which comes within the limits of this book. [E. H. P.]

CONFESSIO. Originally the place where a saint or martyr who had "witnessed a good confession" for Christ was buried, and thence the altar raised over his grave, and subsequently the chapel or *basilica* erected on the hallowed spot. From its subterranean position such an altar was known as *katábasis* (Theophan. p. 362) or *descensus*. Of these subterranean confessions we have examples in Rome in the churches of St. Prisca, St. Martino ai Monti, St.

^a It may be questioned, however, which class of concubines, the illicit or the legalised, are here contemplated.

^b It is interesting to note, in this lenity of judgment, the influence of a tender recollection of one with whom Augustine, before his conversion, had lived in this relation, and who on parting from him made a declaration that she would live with no one else. (*Conf.* vi. 13.) She was apparently a Christian ("vovisti tibi," sc. *teo*) and Monica, though she wished her son to marry and settle respectably, does not seem to have condemned the union as sinful, and adopted Adeodatus, the issue of the connexion, into her warmest affections.

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CONFESSION

Lorenzo fuori le Mura, &c., and above all in the basilica of St. Peter's. Not unfrequently they were merely imitative, and not *confessiones* in the original sense, as at St. Maria Maggiore, and in the crypts of our early churches in England. *Confessio* was also used for the altar in the upper church, placed immediately above that built over the martyr's grave, sometimes covered with silver plates (Anastas. §§ 65-69, 79, 80, 198), and its *ciborium*, or canopy (*ib.* § 85).

Other synonymous terms were *conclia martyrum*, *memorie martyrum*, and *martyria*. *Conclia martyrum* is applied to the burial places of the martyrs in the catacombs, *o. d.*, "Hic (Damasus) martyrum . . . conclia veribus ornavit" (Anast. § 54; cf. Baron. ad ann. 259, no. 24). Jerome speaks of the graves the young Nepotian had been in the habit of decorating with flowers as *martyrum conclibuta* (*Ep. ad Helvet.* lii.; cf. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, 22, 8). The analogous Greek term was *συναγωγὴ τῶν μαρτύρων* (Concil. Gangr. Can. 20).

Morie martyrum is a term of constant occurrence in early Christian writings for the memorial chapel of a saint or martyr, also called *cella* (August. *de Civ. Dei*, xlii. 7, 10; *cont. Faust.* xx. c. 21; *Serm. de Diversis*, 101; *Optatus cont. Parmen.* ii. 32). The corresponding Greek term was *martyrion*, *μαρτύριον* (Euseb. *de Vid. Const.* iii. 48; *Soc.* iv. 18 [the martyrion of St. Thomas at Alesna]; *ib.* 23 [the martyrion of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome]). The church of St. Euphemia, where she lay buried, in which the Council of Chalcedon was held, is styled in the acts of that council *μαρτύριον Εὐφροσύνης* (cf. *Soc.* vi. 6); and that erected by Constantine over our Lord's sepulchre on Calvary, *μαρτύριον Ζωήπου ἀναστάσεως*, &c. (Euseb. *iv. de Vit. Const.* 40-49, &c. Cf. Concil. Laod. canon 8.) The word *βραχία*, τὰ πρόπλανα τῶν ἀποστόλων, is used by Cyprius, *apud* Euseb. *II. E.* ii. 25, for the tombs of St. Peter and Paul in the Roman cemeteries. [CELLA MEMORIAE.]

The Cod. Theod. (*De Sepulchro violato*, *lex vii*) contains an express sanction for the erection of a "martyrium" in memory of a saint, and the addition of such buildings as might be desired. [E. V.]

CONFESSION, LITURGICAL (*Confessio*, Ἀποκρίσις, ἀπολογία).

The acknowledgment of sin made publicly in certain services of the Church.

I. *The Confession preceding the celebration of the Eucharist.*—It is so natural to confess sin and unworthiness before engaging in so solemn an act as the consecration of the Eucharist, that we scarcely need to search for precedent; yet it has been supposed by some that the Christian presbyters borrowed the custom of confessing sin before the Eucharistic celebration from the Jewish priests, who before sacrificing confessed their sin in such terms as these: "Verily, O Lord, I have sinned, I have done amiss and dealt wickedly; I repeat and am ashamed and dealt dolings, nor will I ever return unto them." See *Marius de Penitent.* lib. ix. ii. c. 21, § 4; *Euchart de Synax. Judaica*, c. 20.

Whether the precedent of the Jewish sacrificing priest were followed or not, no doubt

CONFESSION, LITURGICAL 423

the same feeling which prompted the use of the Psalm *Judica* [26th] in the early part of the liturgy caused also the use of a public general confession by the priest and ministers before the altar.

In many Greek liturgies some acknowledgment of sin and unworthiness forms part of the office of the prothesis, said in the sacristy before entering the sanctuary: in the liturgy of St. James, for instance, the priest adopts the words of the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner," and of the prodigal, "I have sinned against Heaven and in Thy sight." The words of the prodigal are also adopted at greater length in the opening of the Mozarabic liturgy.

For the West, many forms of the liturgical confession, or *apologia*, of the priest about to celebrate are given by Menard (on the Gregorian *Sacramentary*, p. 242); and by Bonn (*de Reb. Lit.* ii. c. 1, § 1). Menard states that these were formerly used before the offertory, with which the *Missæ Fidelium* began; but in the *Missæ Ilyricæ* and some others, these *apologiae* are directed to be said immediately before the Introit, while the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the Gradual are chanted by the choir. But the ancient formularies of the Roman Church contain no trace of a confession in a set form to be made publicly at the beginning of mass. The ancient *Ordines Romani* only testify that the celebrant after paying his devotions before the altar in a low voice, with bowed head besought God's pardon for his own sins. It is an error, therefore, to attribute the introduction of this rite to Pope Pontianus or Pope Damasus. The very diversity of the form and manner in saying the confession in different churches shows that no form was prescribed by any central authority, but that the several churches followed independent usages.

The usual place for the liturgical confession before mass is the lowest step of the altar; but there was anciently considerable diversity of practice; for the confession was sometimes made (as in the East) in the sacristy, sometimes by the side of the altar, sometimes in the middle of the presbytery. A peculiar custom, probably derived from ancient times, was long maintained in the church of St. Martin at Tours, that the celebrant should make his confession at the tomb of St. Martin (Martene *de Ritibus Eccl.* lib. i. c. 4, art. 2).

II. *In the Matin office.*—Something of the nature of confession of sin appears to have formed part of the matin office from very early times. This custom is thought by some to have been inherited from the synagogue, which has, in the ancient "Eighteen Prayers," the form, "Have mercy upon us, O our Father, for we have transgressed; pardon us, for we have sinned." Look, we beseech Thee, on our afflictions; heal, O Lord, our infirmities." Very similarly, the Greek matin office has, "O most Holy Trinity, have mercy on us; purify us from our iniquities, and pardon our sins. Look down upon us, O Holy One; heal our infirmities." (Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, i. 64 ff.).

It is at least certain that in the 4th century the early matin office of many Eastern churches began with a confession; for St. Basil (*Ep.* 63, p. 843, ed. Paris 1618) describes the early matins of the church of Neo-Caesarea in the following manner. The people, he says, at early

dawn seek the house of prayer, and, after confession made with sighing and tears to God, rising at length from their prayer pass to the chanting of the Psalms. It appears then that a public liturgical confession commenced the matin office in the days of St. Basil, and he expressly states that this practice was consonant with that of other churches known to him.

In the Western matin office the confession is made in the form called CONFITEOR (q. v.) from its first word.

III. Confession of past sins formed also one of the preliminaries of baptism, as we learn from Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, c. 20. See BAPTISM.

IV. An instance of a profession of faith, commonly called a confession, is the following—

In all liturgies of the Alexandrine family, and in many other Oriental liturgies there is found, immediately before communion, a confession, or declaration of faith by the recipient, to the bread and wine are now really and truly the Body and Blood of Christ. For instance, in the Coptic St. Basil (Renandot, *Litt. Orient.* 1. 23), the priest, holding the elements, says, "The Holy Body and precious, pure, true Blood of Jesus Christ the Son of our God. Amen. This is in very truth the Body and Blood of Emmanuel our God. Amen." Compare the Coptic St. Gregory (Ren. i. 36); the Greek St. Basil (i. 83); St. Gregory (i. 122), and other passages. [C.]

CONFESSOR. [PENITENTIARY.]

CONFESSOR. (Ὁμολογητής.)

1. One who has confessed Christ by suffering death for Him. [MARTYR.] Thus, St. Ambrose (*ad Gratianum*, li. p. 63, ed. Basil, 1567) speaks of the *deaths of confessors*.

2. One who has borne for Christ suffering short of death. Pseudo-Cyprian (*de Duplici Martyrio*, c. 31) says that the Church "*martyres appellat eos qui violente morte decesserunt, confesso ex qui constanter in cruciatibus ac multis meritis professi sunt nomen Domini. Jesu.*" In this sense Celerinus (Cypriani *Epist.* 21, c. 4, ed. Hartel) speaks of Severianus and all the *confessors* who had passed from Carthage to Rome; and Sozomen (*H. E.* i. 10) speaks of the number of *confessors* (ὁμολογητῶν) who, after the cessation of persecution, adorned the churches, as Hosius of Cordova and Paphnutius of Egypt.

3. The word *confessor* is used in a more general sense for one who shews the spirit of Christ in his ordinary life, "qui pacifica et bona et justa secundum praeceptum Christi loquitur, Christum cottidie confitetur" (Cyprian, *Epist.* 13, c. 3). So Theodore Balsamon (on *Cn. Apostol.* 62, p. 265) says that the Church desires all its orthodox members to be confessors (ὁμολογητάς) of the faith. Hence, in later times it came to designate persons of distinguished holiness, who had passed to their rest without violence or torture. Pseudo-Egbert (*Excerptiones*, c. 28; a work not earlier than the 9th century) speaks of "sancti Patres, quos Confessores nuncupavimus, id est, episcopi, presbyteri qui in castitate servierunt Deo" (Ducange s. v. *Confessor*; Suicer s. v. ὁμολογητής).

4. In the Gregorian *Sacramentary*, Feria iv. post Palmas (p. 63, ed. Ménard), we have the following: "Oremus ad pro omnibus episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, acolythis, exorcistis, lectoribus, ostiariis, *confessoribus*, vir-

gibus, viduis, et pro omni populo sancto Del." The order of words shews that the confessors here are persons of inferior dignity, and Ménard (ad locum) supposes *charters* to be intended who confess God by singing His praise. See the first council of Toledo, cc. 6 and 9, where the word "confessor" seems to be used in a similar sense, the latter canon forbidding a professed religious woman to sing antiphons in her house with a *confessor* or servant in the absence of bishop or presbyter. (Ménard u. s.) [C.]

CONFIRMATION. The rite now known by this name presents a singular instance of the continued use of a symbolic act in the midst of almost every possible diversity of practice, belief, and even terminology. The one common element throughout has been the imposition of hands, as the sign of the bestowal of some spiritual gift. In all other respects it will be seen there have been indefinite variations.

The history of the Apostolic Church brings before us two special instances of the ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν (Acts viii. 12-17, xix. 5, 6). In both it follows upon baptism, is administered by apostles, as distinguished from presbyters or deacons, and is followed by special supernatural manifestations of spiritual gifts, perhaps by their permanent possession. It was not directly connected with any appointment to any office in the Church, though office might follow upon the exercise of the gift bestowed. It was therefore distinct from the laying on of hands by which such offices were conveyed (Acts vi. 6, xiii. 3), as it was from that which was the medium of a miraculous healing power applied to the diseases of the body (Mark xvi. 18, Acts ix. 12, 17). The act referred to in 1 Tim. iv. 14, and 2 Tim. i. 6, seems to hover between the bestowal of a *charisma* and the appointment to an office. The position in which the "laying on of hands" meets us in Heb. vi. 2, leaves it open to take it in its most generic, or in either of its specific senses, with, perhaps, a slight balance in favour of connecting it with the act which always, or in some cases, supervened on baptism. The absence of any mention of it in the baptisms recorded in Acts ii. 41, xvi. 15, 33, and elsewhere receives a natural explanation in the fact that there the baptizer was an apostle, and that it was accordingly taken for granted.

Beyond this the N. T. gives us no information. The "anointing" (χρίσμα) of 1 John ii. 27, the "anointing" of 2 Cor. i. 21, the "sealing" of 2 Cor. i. 22, Eph. i. 13, iv. 30, can hardly be thought of as referring to a ritual act, though such an act may at a very early period have been brought into use as a symbol of the thought which the words themselves expressed. Even then it remains doubtful whether the "seal" means baptism itself or some rite that followed it. A like uncertainty hangs over the use of the word "seal" in the story quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 23), from Clement of Alexandria, and in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. c. 14).

When we pass to the age of Tertullian the case is different. A distinct mention is made (1) of anointing, (2) of the laying on of hands, as following so close upon baptism as to seem almost part of the same rite rather than a distinct one, the latter act being accompanied by a special prayer for the gift of the Holy Spirit (Tertullian

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The rite now known singular instance of the act in the midst of variety of practice, however. The one common element of the bestowal of some spiritual gifts will be seen in variations.

The Catholic Church brings instances of the *impositio* (2-17, xix, 5, 6). In sum, is administered by presbyters or by special supernatural gifts, perhaps by their was not directly connected with any office in the right follow upon the seal. It was therefore an act of hands by which (Acts vi. 6, xiii. 5), was the medium of the applied to the diseases 18, Acts ix. 12, 17, Plin. lv. 14, and 2 Tim. between the bestowal of a seal to an office. The "sealing" of hands "meets" an open to take it in its or of its specific senses, balance in favour of which always, or in some baptismism. The absence of baptisms recorded in and elsewhere receives the fact that there was the seal that it was accord-

gives us no information.) of 1 John ii. 27, the "sealing" of 2), can hardly be thought an act, though such an period had been brought the thought which the seal. Even then it is the "seal" means baptism followed it. A like the use of the word noted by Eusebius (ii. E. Alexandria, and in the (ii. c. 14).

ment of Tertullian the seal is made (1) of imposition of hands, as following baptism as to seem almost other than a distinct one, accompanied by a special the Holy Spirit (Tertul-

de Bapt. c. 7; de Resurr. Carn. c. 8). Cyrillin, in like manner, recognises the practice, contending that it follows rightly upon a valid baptism, but is not enough, in the case of heretical, and therefore invalid, baptism, to admit those who received it to full communion with the church. He applies to it, as to baptism, the word "sacramentum," but obviously not in the technical sense of a later theology (*Epist.* 72, ad Stephan.). In these passages, it will be observed, no distinction is drawn between the baptizer and the layer-on of hands. Both acts are spoken of as if they were performed at the same time and by the same person. In practice, of course, the usage of the 3rd, possibly of the 2nd, century, which fixed on Easter as the great baptismal season, allowing it at other times only in cases of urgent need, would make this combination ordinarily a very practicable one. It was necessary, however, to provide for the exceptions, and this was done accordingly by the Council of Elvira (c. 77), which ordered that, in the case of those who had been baptized by a deacon, "sine episcopo vel presbytero," the bishop "per benedictionem perferere debet." Jerome, in like manner, but with a more rigid limitation of the act of imposition to the higher order, recognised it as a long-standing usage of the church. Bishops used to travel round their dioceses in order to lay their hands, "ad Invocationem Sancti Spiritus," on those who had been baptized only by a presbyter or deacon (*c. Lucifer.* c. 4). One or two facts may be noted at this stage of expansion, (1) that immediate supernatural results are no longer looked upon as the ordinary sequel to the act of imposition, but that it is still connected, as in the apostolic age, with the thought of spiritual gifts of some kind; (2) that while it is still in theory a rite which may be administered immediately after even infant baptism, its limitation to the episcopal order tended to interpose an interval of uncertain length between the two. A Spanish council in A.D. 569 (*C. Lucanus*) recognises the fact that there were some churches which the bishop could not possibly visit every year. Gradually, especially in Western Europe, the negligence or the secular engagements of the bishop prolonged this interval. The East, however, with its characteristic reverence for antiquity, refused to separate what the primitive Church had joined, and infant baptism, infant confirmation, infant communion, follow, in its practice, in immediate sequence. Even in the Roman Church the sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory unite the first two ordinances. It was not, even in the judgment of eminent ritualists of that Church, till the 13th century, that the two ordinances were permanently separated, and a period of from seven to twelve years allowed to intervene. Of what may be called the modern, Protestant idea of confirmation, as the ratification by the baptized child, when he has attained an age capable of deliberate choice, of the promises made for him by his sponsors, there is not the slightest trace in Christian antiquity.*

* It is singular that the canon, strictly interpreted, seems to sanction the performance of the act implied in the "pride" by a presbyter as well as by a bishop. But the absence of councils will seldom bear interpretation with the minuteness of a special pleading.

* The Apostolic Constitutions, it is true, speak of the sacred chrism as βαπτισμα τῆς ἐπιβολῆς (iii. 17); but it

A special aspect of confirmation presents itself in connection with the reception into the Church of those who had been baptized by heretics. With the exception, and that only for a time, of the African, that baptism, if formally complete, was recognised as valid. But the case was otherwise with the laying on of hands. Only in the Catholic Church could the gifts of the Spirit be thus imparted (*August. de Bapt. c. Donat* ii. 16), and so, even if the heretical sect had its bishops, and they administered the rite, it was treated as null and void. When those who had been members of such a community returned to their allegiance to the Church, confirmation, including the anointing as well as the laying on of hands, was at once theoretically indispensable, in its sacramental aspect, and became practically conspicuous as the formal act of admission (*2 C. Constant.* c. 7; *1 C. Aras.* c. 8; *Siricius, Epist.* i. 1; *Leo, Epist.* 37, c. 2). It follows, from all that has been said, that, according to the general practice, and yet more, the ideal, of the Church of the first six centuries, the office of confirming was pre-eminently an episcopal one. But it deserves to be noticed that it was not so exclusively. It did not depend for its validity upon episcopal administration. As baptism was valid, though administered by a layman, so the laying on of hands, in case of urgency, was valid, though administered by a priest. In the Apostolic Constitutions (vii. 22), at least one part of the rite, the anointing, is assigned to either priest or bishop, and the practice was retained by the whole Eastern Church. In the West, the exception was recognised as legitimate in cases of necessity, as *e. g.* in that of a possessed or dying person (*1 C. Aras.* c. 2; *Innocent, Epist.* 1 ad Decent.; *C. Epian.* c. 80). In these instances, however, for the most part, a special delegation of authority was either required or implied. The letters of Leo (*Ep.* 88 ad Gall.) and Gelasius (*Epist.* 9 ad *Episc. Lucan.*), forbidding the practice, "per impositiones manuum fidelibus baptizandis, vel conversis ex haeresi Paracletum Sanctum Spiritum tradere" (*Leo l. c.*) may be received as evidence that the practice was becoming more or less common, even without that authority, and that it was necessary, in the interest of the episcopal order, to restrain it.

Lastly, it may be noticed, that a trace of the old combination at one time and place of the two ceremonies, baptism and the imposition of hands, which were afterwards separated, may be found in the fact that the anointing, which was originally the connecting link between the two, was, at a later period, attached to each. Innocent, in the letter already quoted (*ad Decent.* c. 3), marks out the limits within which the priest might act. In the absence, or even in the presence of the bishop, he might anoint the baptized child with the holy chrism, provided always that the chrism itself had been consecrated by a bishop, but he was not to sign him on the forehead. That was reserved for the bishops, when, by imposition of hands, they bestowed the gift of the Spirit. [E. H. P.]

is questionable whether this means, as Hingham asserts (xii. 3), a confirmation on man's part of the compact made with God in baptism. The analogous use of the word *σφραγίς* (*Const. Apost.* vii. 22) would seem to imply that it was the seal, the confirmation of God's promise:

CONFITEOR. The form of general confession of sins made in the offices of the Church, so called from its first word. This is prescribed: (1) At the beginning of the mass when the priest says it standing at the steps of the altar, "profunde inclinatus."

(2) At the administration of the Holy Communion at other times.

(3) At the administration of Extreme Unction.

(4) Previous to the absolution "in articulo mortis."

(5) In the daily office at Compline; and at Prime when the office is not double.

Sacramental confession is also directed to begin with the opening words of the "Confiteor."

It is prefaced by the versicle "Deus in adjutorium," &c., and is said alternately by the priest and congregation, who each respond with a prayer for the forgiveness of the other, called "Misereatur," from its first word; in addition to which the priest pronounces a short formula of absolution, similarly called "Indulgentiam," over the people. This act is sometimes called in rubrics "giving the absolution."

Clear traces of it appear in the Penitential of Egbert of York, A.D. 750, who prescribes a form of words closely resembling the "Confiteor," as introductory to sacramental confession; and the "Benedictio super poenitentem" is only a slightly different version of the "Misereatur." A similar form is given by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz A.D. 742, who describes the order in which *Prime* was to be said, to the following effect. When the clerks come together to sing *Prime* in the church, the office itself being completed, let them give their confessions before the 50th [51st] Psalm, saying in turn, "Confiteor Domino et tibi, frater, quod peccavi in cogitatione et in locutione et in opere: propterea precor te, ora pro me." To which the response is given, "Misereatur tibi omnipotens Deus, indulgent tibi peccata tua, liberet te ab omni malo, conservet te in omni bono, et perducet te ad vitam aeternam;" to which the other answers, *Amen*. In *Micrologus de Eccl. Observ.* [probably about 1080] a form still more closely resembling the present is given, and the 3rd Council of Ravenna, A.D. 1314, orders that throughout the province of Ravenna the "Confiteor" shall be said in the form used at the present time. Since the publication of the missal of Pius V. there has been complete uniformity in this respect throughout the Roman obedience. For examples of early forms of confession see Bona, *de Reb. Lit.*; Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. &c. Compare CONFESSION. [H. J. H.]

CONFRACTORIUM. An anthem in the Ambrosian missal at the breaking of the Host. It usually has some reference to the Gospel of the day. [H. J. H.]

CONON, martyr at Iconium under Aurelian, May 29 (*Mart. Usuardi*); March 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES (*Consecratio, Dedicatio*; Gr. ἀφιέρωσις, Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 60; ἑγκαίνια, ib. iv. 43; cf. ἀντίθεσις, *Procop. de Aedif. Justiniani*, i. 3).

The essential idea of consecration is expressed in the following paragraphs:—"Consecratio Ecclesie est dedicatio ejusdem ad cultum divinum speciali ritu facta à legitimo ministro, ad

hoc ut populus fidelis opera religionis in eitis exercere possit" (*Ferraris' Pœnita Bibliotheca*, lii. 157). "When we sanctify or hallow churches, that which we do is to testify that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God Himself with them, that we sever them from common uses" (Hooker, *Ecc. P.* v. 16). "By the consecration of a church, the accents always mean the *dedicating* or *setting it apart for Divine service*" (Bingham, *Antiq.* viii. 9). Compare BENEDICTION.

It seems almost a necessity to men to have their places of common worship recognized and accustomed. That those places should not only acquire sacredness of association by use, but should previously have imparted to them a some sort a sacredness of object, seems also consonant with natural religion. The former more clearly, and yet the latter also, implicitly, is found in all ages, a feature of all religions, rude and civilized, the same with all classes, of diverse nations, however widely separated; as exemplified in graves, sacred stones, pillars, altars, temples, pagodas. It seems the dictate of natural piety that we should express thanks to God on the first use of anything. Greeks, Romans, Jews, had their consecrations of houses, cities, and walls, not by words only, but with symbolical actions and sacred rites. (See Deut. xx. 5; Psalm xxx. Title, *A Psalm and Song at the Dedication of the House of David*; Neh. xii. 27; Du Cange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, i. 3, "Urbis Eneacenia;" Lewis, *Historical Essay upon the Consecration of Churches*, London 1719, c. iii.)

From the expressions "before the Lord," "the presence of the Lord" (Gen. iv.), it has been reasonably inferred that "the patriarchs had places set apart for the worship of God, consecrated, as it were, to His service." (Blunt's *Script. Coine.* p. 8.) Something like a form of consecration is indicated in Gen. xxi. 33, xxviii. 16, 17, 18, where the Vulgate rendering "titulum" has given rise to the use of the term, as equivalent to 'church,' common in early Christian writers. The consecration of the tabernacle is narrated, Exod. xl., and given with further details in Josephus iii. 9. The dedication of the Temple of Solomon is contained in 1 Kings viii.; which furnishes Hooker (*Eccl. Pol.* v. 12-16) with several of his arguments for the consecration of Christian churches. The dedication of the second temple by Zerubbabel is told in Ezra vi. 16; the purification and rededication of the same by Judas Maccabeus, in 1 Macc. iv. 41-44, 54, 56, 57, 59. The dedication of Herod's beautiful temple is narrated by Josephus xv. 14. Less magnificent than these, but still recognized and allowed to possess a sacred character, were certain "high places" in the ante-Babylonish history of the Jews, known in later times as *περὶεραία*, and the numerous synagogues in Palestine and elsewhere.

Christianity rose out of Judaism, supplanting only what was peculiar to that system, and inheriting all that was of natural piety. The Divine Founder of Christianity set the example to all His followers in His constant attendance at the acknowledged places of worship, and especially in His going up to Jerusalem at the feast of the Dedication. The apostles used the consecrated temple as long as it was permitted

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them to do so, and everywhere else they found the synagogues or churches made ready to their hands, needing no new consecration. Traces in the N. T. of a fixed place of worship as a feature of an organized church are presented by Prof. Blunt (*Parish Priest*, sect. ix. p. 281), who quotes Acts i. 13; St. Luke xxii. 12; St. John ix. 19, 20; Acts ii. 2; Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. xi. 22, xvi. 10.

That the primitive Christians, i. e. before the time of Constantine, not only had churches to worship in, but regarded them as distinct in character from other buildings, has indeed been doubted or denied, but is allowed by even Hosiandian (*de Origine et Progressu Consecrationum et Dedicacionum Templorum*, Tiguri, 1603, fol.) and Augusti (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archæologie*, xi. 317, &c.), and has been sufficiently settled in the affirmative by Petrus Clavicepsus, A. D. 1147 (quoted in Hooker, *E. P.*, v. 12, 5). Bona, Tillemont, Mede, Lewis, Chancellor Harington (*The Object, Importance, and Antiquity of the Rite of Consecration of Churches*, Birmington, 1847), and Professor Blunt. We dismiss spurious testimonies and dubious allegations; e. g. the affirmation of Radulphus adduced by Gavanti (*Theaur.*, tom. i. p. lv. tit. xvi.), that "dedication is of apostolic authority;" the Clementines (*Ep. ad Jacobum*) "Build churches in suitable places, which you ought to consecrate by divine prayers;" the decretals, quoted from Ilaus, Cletus, Evaristus, Hyginus, &c. by Gratian and Guar (*Enchir.* p. 807); the assumption in Duranti and Cardinal Bona, as quoted in Bingham (*Antiq.* viii. 9, 2); and others given by Martene (*El. Eccl. Ant.* li. 13). Yet we may collect from the very earliest times a succession of allusions and statements which warrant us in the conclusion that places and buildings, of whatever humble sort they might be, were always recognized and set apart for common worship, the *fact* of their consecration appearing first, and then the *accomplishments* and *rites* of it.

The very titles by which these buildings were known indicated this; e. g. *Kypiden*, i. e. *oikia*, *Dominica*, &c., discussed in Augusti (*Denkw.* xi. 320, &c.). St. Ambrose, in his letter to his sister Marcellina (*Ep.* 22), calls the rite of dedication of churches a most ancient and universal custom. St. Gregory Nazianzen in an oration (43) on the consecration of a new church, says, "that it was an old law, and very excellently constituted, to do honour to churches by the feasts of their dedication." And Daniel (*Cod. Liturg.* l. 355) confirms the conclusion of Binterim (*Denkw.* iv. l. 27) that this ceremony is deeply rooted in the earliest age of the Church. Meise, and others after him, argue this existence of churches from passages in Clemens Romanus (*ad Cor.* i. 41; see Blunt's *Parish Priest*, lect. ix.); Ignatius (*Ep. ad Magnes.* 7); Justin Martyr (*Apol.* l. 67); Tertullian (*De Idolol.* 7); Cyprian (*de Op. et Eleem.* 12); Lucian (*Chilo.* p. 1126); and many others. The Coenaculum at Jerusalem, to which, as to a known place, the disciples, after the ascension of the Lord, returned for common prayer, is said to have been adapted and dedicated to Christian service long before the time of Constantine. "The upper room," says Beale (tom. ix. *de Locis Sanctis*), "was enclosed afterwards with a

beautiful church, founded by the holy apostles, because in that place they had received the Holy Ghost." To this, as being already an acknowledged use, St. Cyril of Jerusalem refers (*Cat. lect.* xvi. 4): "Here, in Jerusalem, in the upper church of the apostles . . . the Holy Ghost came down from heaven. And, in truth, it is most fitting that . . . we should speak concerning the Holy Ghost in the upper church" (cf. Niceph. ii. 3).

"There exist," says Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* viii. 1), "the imperial edicts by which the churches were to be pulled down to the ground." These must have been actual edifices. [CHURCH.] They came the persecution of Diocletian, when "the houses of prayer were pulled down from the top to the bottom, and their foundations overturned" (*ib.* viii. 2). "After these things a spectacle earnestly prayed for and much desired by us all appeared, viz. the solemnization of the festival of the dedication of churches throughout every city, and the consecration of newly-built oratories. . . . Indeed, the ceremonies of the bishops were most entire, the presbyters' performance of service most exact, the rites of the Church decent and majestic. On the one hand was a place for the singers of psalms, and for the rest of the auditors of the expressions sent from God; on the other was a place for those who performed the divine and mystical services. There were also delivered the mystical symbols of our Saviour's passion. And now people of all ages and sexes, men and women, with the utmost vigour of their minds, with joyful hearts and souls, by prayer and thanksgiving, worshipped God, the Author of all good. All the prelates then present made public orations, every one as well as he was able, endeavouring to set forward the praises of those assembled" (*ib.* x. 3). In x. 5 Eusebius gives the decrees of Licinius and Constantius for restoring the churches to the Christians, as buildings not private, to which there had been an established title. Even the Magdeburg Centurators, who are wont to disparage the importance of the ceremony of consecration, writing on the 4th century, admit that it had been in existence earlier: "Usitate omnino magis quam superioribus sæculis templorum fuerant dedicationes, seu consecrationes, et quidem festivæ." The church of Tyre was one of those destroyed in the persecution of Diocletian, and rebuilt at the revival described above. From the panegyric spoken by Eusebius on the occasion to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, we gather that the earlier church, a very noble one, had been consecrated before at its first erection, and that churches built on old foundations were consecrated again.

We owe to the courtly pages of Eusebius full accounts of the consecration of the churches built by Constantine at Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Antioch. He undertook to build a church over the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (*Vit. Const.* iii. 25), called the "Martyrium," of which the beauty and several parts are described (*ib.* iii. 29). When all was ready, A. D. 335, he wrote a letter of invitation to the numerous bishops then assembled in council at Tyre, urging them that they should first compose their internal differences, because concord of priests belittled such a ceremony (*Vit. Const.* iv. 43;

Sozom. *Ecol. Hist.* i. 26). From all parts of the East, accordingly, eminent bishops assembled, followed by an innumerable company of people out of all the provinces. "But the ministers of God," proceeds Eusebius, "adorned the festival partly with their prayers, and partly with their discourses. For some of them with praises celebrated the benignity of the religious emperor towards the universal Saviour, and in their orations set forth the magnificence of the Martyrium; others entertained their hearers with theological discourses upon the divine *dogmata*, fitted to the present solemnity; others interpreted the lessons of the divine volumes, and disclosed the mystic meanings. But such as were unable to arrive at these things appeared the Deity with unbloody sacrifices and mystic immolations, humbly offering up their prayers to God. . . . At which place we ourselves also honoured the solemnity with various discourses uttered in public; sometimes making descriptions in writing of the stateliness and magnificence of the royal fabric; at others, explaining the meaning of the prophetic visions in a manner befitting the present symbols and figures. There was the feast of dedication celebrated with the greatest joy imaginable." One discourse by Eusebius (*de Laudibus Constantini*) is given in full (iv. 45), where it is observed that Constantine's churches were much larger and handsomer than those before. The consecration took place on Sept. 13th, a Saturday.

Theodoret (*Ecol. Hist.* i. 31) says that many churches of Constantine were dedicated by the assembled bishops at the same time.

To the dedication of the magnificent basilica at Antioch, called *Dominicum Aureum*, A.D. 341, begun by Constantine and finished by his son Constantius, there came ninety-seven bishops, on the invitation of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had usurped the see of Constantinople (Soer. ii. 8; Sozom. iii. 5).

A synod of bishops (Soer. ii. 39) assembled at the dedication of St. Sophia in Constantinople, A.D. 360, thirty-four years after the foundation of the church by Constantine. Eudoxius had lately been inaugurated as archbishop. He "made sacred prayers" (Du Cange, *Constantinop. Christ.* iii. 2). "It was consecrated with prayers and votive offerings" (Niceph. viii. 26). Ciampini (*de Aedif. Constantinii*, pp. 165 sqq.) gives a summary of the dedication of this celebrated church from the Alexandrian Chronicle. It is also referred to by the author of the *Life of St. Athanasius* in Photius (Du Cange, u. s.). As Constantine's church had been destroyed by earthquake, so was this of his son's burnt with fire, A.D. 404, and wholly destroyed in the sedition of A.D. 532.

Further light is thrown on the rite of consecration by a story of Athanasius. In his *Apology* to the emperor Constantine, A.D. 335, he defends himself from the serious charge of using an undedicated church. He allows the truth of the fact. He said they had certainly kept no day of dedication, which would have been unlawful to keep without orders from the emperor. The building was not yet complete. He grounds his apology on the great concourse of people in Lent, the grievous want of church room elsewhere, the pressure of all to hear

Athanasius, the increased mass of the crowd on Easter Day (when the undedicated church was used), the precedents of the Jews after the captivity, and of buildings so used in Alexandria, Treves, Aquileia, the reasonableness of worshipping in a building already called "the Lord's house" from the very time of laying the foundations (*Apol. ad Const.* 17-21). "There was no dedication, but only an assembly for the sake of prayer. You, at least, I am sure, as a lover of God, will approve of the people's zeal, and will pardon me for being unwilling to hinder the prayers of so great a multitude." "May you," he adds, "most religious Augustus, live through the course of many years to come, and celebrate the dedication of the church. The place is ready, having been already sanctified by the prayers which have been offered in it, and requires only the presence of your piety." (*ib.* 24, 25.)

The first dedication of a new church by Justinian is briefly described by Du Cange (*Constant. Chr.* iii. 5), who says, "The procession started from St. Anastasia, the patriarch Menas sitting in the chariot of the emperor, and the emperor himself going among the common people." The "dedications apparatus et celebratus" is given in Collins (*Orig. Constant.*), who says that Justinian went in solemn procession from the palace to the Augustaeum (a sort of large forum, or *πρωαίλιον*, before the church of St. Sophia), together with the patriarch, to the church built by himself, and broke out into these words: "Glory to God, who has counted me worthy to fulfil so great a work. I have surpassed thee, O Solomon." A series of earthquakes destroyed the dome, altar, ambo, &c., and the same emperor, whose passion for building was the ruling feature of his life, celebrated the second consecration twenty-four years later, of which an account is given by Du Cange (*ib.* iii. 6) after Theophanes. "Nightly vigils preceded in the church of St. Plato; thence the procession advanced with prayers, the emperor himself being present; the patriarch Eusebius, borne in a chariot, and dressed in apostolical habit, holding the holy gospels in his hands; all the people chanting 'Lift up your heads,' &c. Then came the *θυρανομία* and the *φωτοβόμος*, i. e. that part of the ceremony of the *Encaenia*, where in the circuit of the building the lights are lighted on the walls, and twelve crosses are anointed with chrism by the bishop. Paul the Silentary, in his poem on the occasion, adds, "After thou hast celebrated the festival, as was proper, forthwith the whole people, the senate, and the middle and better classes, demanded an extension of the days of celebration. Thou grantedst it: they flocked in: again they demanded: again thou grantedst it, which things being often repeated, thou celebratedst the festivity magnificently." Probably for seven days.

Of other churches in Constantinople, Du Cange (*ib.* iv. 5) relates the dedication of the Church of the Apostles. This church, after its demolition, was rebuilt by Justinian. The dedication is described as celebrated by the deposition in it of the relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, which had been in the earlier church. Theophanes says, that the bishop Menas, with the holy relics, sitting in the royal chariot, gilt and

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 the same particulars.

The last-named writer (*de Aedif. Justin. I. v.*)
 mentions the sacred buildings at Ephesus, Con-
 stantinople, Jerusalem, which Justinian dedi-
 cated (*ἁγίακη*).

We gather from Bede (*Ecccl. Hist. i. 6*) that
 while Diocletian was persecuting in the East,
 Maximian was doing the same in the West,
 for ten years, by burning the churches, &c.,
 and that after the cessation of the persecution
 the Britons renewed the churches which had
 been razed to the ground, and founded and
 finished basilicas to the holy martyrs (*ib. i. 8*).
 Later on, we read that Gregory instructed
 Augustine and his companions not to destroy
 the idol temples, but to destroy the idols in
 them, and then to prepare holy water, and
 sprinkle it, to build altars and deposit relics, and
 to make suitable provision for rendering the day
 of dedication attractive (*ib. i. 30*); that Augus-
 tine "consecrated a church in the name of the
 Saviour, our God and Lord Jesus Christ," and
 Laurentius "consecrated the church of the
 blessed apostles Peter and Paul" (*ib. i. 43*); that
 the body of Augustine (after a very early cus-
 tom) was laid near this church, as it was not
 yet dedicated, but as soon as it was dedicated it
 was brought in and laid in the north porch (*ib.*
ii. 3); that, on Chad's visit to Northumbria,
 after being in East Anglia, the son of the king
 gave him land to build a monastery or church;
 to purify the spot he craved leave to spend the
 forty days of Lent (except the Lord's day) in
 prayer and fasting, as he said it was always
 the custom he had learned, first to consecrate
 the locality by prayer and fasting to the Lord.
 Then he built a monastery, and set it on foot
 according to the rites of the Lindisfarrians,
 with whom he was educated (*ib. iii. 23*); that
 the Abbot Ceolfrid sent to the king of the Picts,
 A.D. 710, architects to build for him a stone
 church after the manner of the Romans, he
 having promised to dedicate it in honour of
 the blessed chief of the apostles (*ib. v. 21*). Bede
 tells a story of Bishop John of Beverley, how,
 after having dedicated a church for the Earl
 Pech, he sent to his countess, who was bed-
 ridden, some of the holy water which he had
 consecrated for the dedication of the church by
 some of the brethren, charging him to give her
 the same water wherever he learnt her pain
 was the greatest. The woman recovered (*ib. v.*
4). A detailed account is given of the consecra-
 tion of the church of Ripon by St. Wilfred
 (A.D. 665) in his life. The 47th chapter of
 the *Penitential* of Archbishop Theodore, speaking
 of a building in which heathens had been buried,
 but now proposed for a church, adds: "If it
 seems fit for consecration, let the bodies be
 removed, and it shall be sanctified, if not con-
 secrated before." In the same chapter mention
 is made of that part of the office of consecra-
 tion in which it is said, "Locus a Deo iste
 factus est."

2. *Canons and decrees which relate to the consecration of churches.*—The 4th canon of the
 General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Brun-
 s's *Canons*, i. 26), provides that "no one shall any-

where build or establish a monastery, or house of
 prayer, without the consent of the local bishop."
 The canons of Felix IV. and Gregory I. (*de Consacr.*
dist. i. c. 17) are referred to by Gavanti
 (*Theaurus Sacr. Rit.* tom. i. p. iv. tit. xvi. p.
 529). The 23rd canon of an Irish Council under
 Patrick, A.D. 450 (Brun-
 s's *Can. ii. 303*), directs
 "that a prosbyter, though he build a church,
 shall not offer the oblation in it before he brings
 his bishop to consecrate it, because this was
 regular and decent." Of Columbanus, however,
 though not a bishop, Walafrid Strabo writes
 (*Mor. ii. 13, 6*), "He ordered water to be
 brought, blessed it, sprinkled the temple with it,
 and while they went round singing, dedicated
 the church. Then he called on the Name of the
 Lord, anointed the altar, placed in it the relics
 of St. Aurelia, vested it, and said mass." The
 1st Council of Orange, A.D. 441, can. 10 (Brun-
 s's *Canons*, ii. 123), forbids a bishop to consecrate a
 church out of his own diocese, even if it has been
 built by himself. So the 2nd Council of Arles
 (about 451), can. 37. The 3rd Council of Or-
 leans, A.D. 538, can. 15 (Brun-
 s's *Can. ii. 196*),
 makes the same provision about altars. The
 3rd canon of the 2nd Council of Saragossa, A.D.
 592 (Brun-
 s's *Can. ii. 65*), enacts that "if Arian
 bishops, who are converted, shall consecrate
 churches before they have received the ben-
 ediction, such shall be consecrated anew by a
 Catholic bishop." The Theodosian Code pre-
 scribes how existing buildings should be claimed
 and dedicated for the service of the Christian
 religion: "conlocatione venerandi religionis
 christianae signi exphari praecipimus" (lib. xvi.
 tit. 10). The same rite was prescribed by Justinian
 at the beginning of any erection of a church
 (*Novell. cxxxii.*, quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* viii.
 9, 5). See more instances in Augusti (*Denkw.*
 xi. 355). Avitus, bishop of Vienne in the 6th
 century, promises his brother Apollinaris to be
 present at the consecration of a church, and
 commands the gifts that were designed for the
 poor at the dedication feast. The 2nd Council
 of Nice, A.D. 787, can. 7, orders that no bishop
 should consecrate any church or altar, on pain
 of deposition, unless relics were placed under it,
 "ut qui ecclesiasticas traditiones transgressus
 est." The famous Council of Cealchythe (*i. e.*
 Chelshen), presided over by Archbishop Wil-
 fred, A.D. 816, can. 2, decrees, "when a church
 is built, let it be consecrated by a bishop of its
 own diocese: let the water be blessed, and
 sprinkled by himself, and all things fulfilled
 in order, according to the service book. Then let
 the Eucharist, which is consecrated by the bishop
 after the same form, be deposited with the other
 relics in a chest, and kept in the same church.
 And if he cannot bring other relics, at least he
 can do this chief thing, because it is the Body
 and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And we
 charge every bishop that he have it pointed on
 the wall of the oratory, or on a table, as also
 on the altars, to what saints both of them are
 dedicated." The 141st of the *Excerpts* of Arch-
 bishop Egbert, circ. A.D. 750, provides when a
 church will need reconsecration. The Council of
 Worms, A.D. 868, forbids bishops to exact any fee
 or present for the consecration of a church, and
 also forbids them to consecrate any church
 except there be a writing under the hand of the
 founder confirming the foundation, and signifying

what endowment he has given for the ministers and for the lights.

A decree is quoted from Gelasius, A.D. 492 (cf. Soer, *Ecol. Hist.* li. 8), to the effect that no bishop consecrate a church without the leave of the Apostolical see. Gregory the Great wrote official letters, whence we may gather the form in which, as bishop of Rome, he was accustomed to issue his license to his suffragans for dedication of a church or chapel, *e.g.*, that "they take good heed that no dead body were buried in the place" (*Epist.* i. 52; v. 22; xli. 10); "if a bishop consecrated an oratory in another diocese, what he had done was null and void" (*Epist.* xi. 2). He would not have a new church consecrated unless it were endowed with sufficient revenue for maintaining divine service and the clergy (see *Corp. Jur. Can.* i. 457-481). Martene allows that Gelasius and Gregory were both intending to prescribe for Italy alone.

3. *Ritual of Consecration.*—It was customary, as we have seen, to deliver sermons at the time of consecration. There is one extant by St. Ambrose, preached at the dedication of a church built by Vitalianus and Majanus, A.D. 380; the sermon is entitled "De Dedicazione Basilicæ," from the text in St. Luke, "He loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue." Gaudentius, bishop of Fresse in Italy, early in the 5th century, has left sermons "Die dedicacionis basilicæ sanctorum quadraginta martyrum" (*Max. Bibl. Patrum*, tom. v.; Migne's *Patrol.* xx.). St. Augustine's works (tom. v.) contain sermons of the same class, *Serm.* 256, *de tem. ore*, nl. 336-338, and in *App. Serm.* 229-231, considered to be those of Caesarius.

Of other rites and ceremonies we find occasional notices. Thus of the vigil kept the night preceding the dedication, St. Ambrose writes (*Ep.* 22) to his sister Marcellina and Gregory of Tours, *de Gloria Confessorum*; of the translation and deposition of relics, we read in the same epistle of St. Ambrose, "When I wished to dedicate the basilica, they began to interrupt me as it were with one mouth, saying, You should dedicate the basilica, as in the case of a Roman one. I answered, I will do so, if I find relics of martyrs." The same custom is mentioned by St. Basil, *Epist.* 49 (iii. 142), by St. Paulinus, *Epist. ad Severum* (*Max. Bibl. Patrum*, tom. vi. 193, &c.), by St. Greg. M. lib. i. c. 10. See in Martene. The relics were often not the bodies themselves, but what had been simply in contact with them [BRANDEUM]. The custom was at first peculiar to Rome, and was then extended and made obligatory by the 2nd Nicene Council. Ancient forms, given by Martene, prescribe that "the Body of the Lord be deposited." On dedication, Hooker (*E. P.* v. 13) and Bingham (*Antiq.* viii. 9, 8) both quote St. Augustine (*de Civit. Dei*, viii. 27; xxii. 10; *contra Faust.* xx. 21; *contra Maxim.* i.; *de Vera Relig.* c. 55) as showing how, and with what interest and limitation, the original custom of dedicating churches to the Lord only was afterwards extended to their dedication under the name, or as memorials of saints and martyrs, or by the title of virtues, especially of wisdom, as was the case in the chief cities of the empire. Augustine in writing against Maximinus grounds an argument for the deity of the Holy Ghost upon this distinction: "that He must be God, because

temples were built and dedicated to Him, which it would be sacrilege to do to any other creature." The custom of lighting twelve candles is alluded to in the Pseudo-Augustine, *Serm.* 338 (al. 39, *in Dedic. Ecclesiæ*). "This lesson occurs suitably, when the candelabra are blessed, that he who works is as a light placed on a candlestick." The very ancient rite of inscribing either the whole alphabets both Greek and Latin, or some letters of them, or one alphabet, is spoken of by Gregory in his *Liber Sacramentorum*: "Then let the bishop begin from the left-hand corner at the east, writing on the pavement with his pastoral staff A. B. C., to the right corner of the west; again beginning from the corner at the east he writes A. B. C. and so on to the left corner of the church." Gregory says that some bishops added the Hebrew alphabet. The inscription was called the A. B. C. darium. See more on the custom in Martene (ii. 13, who gives A.D. 980 as the inferior date for it), and in Maskell, *Monach. Lit.* i. 173 n.

It is difficult, however, from the few and scattered notices in primitive writers, to construct the probable course of the ritual of consecration in early times. We may say with Bingham, "that the manner and ceremony of doing this was not always exactly one and the same, therefore we are chiefly to regard the substance of the thing, which was the separation of any building from common use to a religious service. Whatever ceremony this was performed with, the first act of initiating and appropriating it to a divine use was its consecration; and therefore, in allusion to this, the first beginning of anything is many times called its dedication. Whether churches had any other ceremony besides this in their dedication for the first three ages is not certain, though it is highly probable they might have a solemn thanksgiving and prayer for a sanctified use of them also, over and besides the usual liturgy of the Church, because this was in use among the Jews" (*Antiq.* viii. 9, 1). So also Lewis (*Historical Essay*) remarks upon the difficulty of discovering the use of this rite in its particular parts, because the custom of those early times was obscure, yet "he hopes to shew some remains of the footsteps of this ceremony" (p. 29), and gathers them together (p. 105), as traced in the several instances above given.

Of the various forms printed from MSS., the *Ord. Romanus* for the building and consecration of a church, &c., said to be of the 8th century, is given in the *Max. Bibl. Patrum* (tom. xiii. p. 715, &c.). Goar (*Evch. Græcorum*) gives the customary order in laying the foundation of a church, and the prayer to be said on the occasion, which some call the cross-fixing; and the order for fixing the cross after the church is finished, by the patriarch, under which head there are certain prayers attributed to Callixtus on the dedication of a temple, and a very prolix τὰς καὶ ἀπολυθία ἐπὶ καθιερώσει ναοῦ (p. 606, &c., and p. 846). Martene (*Ecol. R. L.* li. 13, p. 244 &c.) has printed eleven forms, of which the oldest are (1) from the Book of Gellone in Italy about A.D. 800, (2) from the pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, A.D. 750, (3) from the Anglian pontifical in the monastery of Jumièges, A.D. 800, (4) from the pontifical of St. Dunstan of Canterbury, (5) from a codex of St. Mary's, Rhims, A.D. 900, (6)

from a 900. M. the Ord. eratione has son jimmary (Cod. L. Pontific. from other ancient sufficient (which L. mass pro tions of these w scarcely 4. Au have the tion of John x. 56-59; equarby "to hon dedication the annu tions, th through initiated the coos Sepulchre STASIS). 30). Fel the selem to be cel Great con by Augus custom of hading ce 30). The Sophia st Dec. 22 (L (ii. 250, clesiae, has festival nu The *Sym* be said to churches (consecratio 13; Bingham Alcin, de consecrated may be inv may be re Thomas Ac arl. 3) says the Church ctive is of resurrection Remigius of Treatise on rite. Cf. th in Maskell subject is e *Rationale D* Sigisnium 12th centur 5. *Conse* viii. 9, 10) seems to ha century; he 306, can. 14 that "altars

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from a pontifical of the Church of Noyon, A.D. 900. Maskell prints from the *Sarum Pontifical* the Ordo "De Ecclesie dedicatione, seu consecratione" (*Monumen. Rit.* i. 162-203), and has some remarks on the subject in his preliminary dissertation, pp. cclxv-cclxxv. Daniel (*Cod. Liturg.* i. 355-384), prints the rite "Ex Pontificali Romano," with notes of collation from other rituals. He holds that in the most ancient times it was not the mass only that was sufficient at the consecration of new churches (which Binterim had argued), but that it was the mass proper for dedication, together with additions of certain forms of benediction. Both these writers allow that the ritual of present use scarcely reaches the 8th century.

4. *Anniversaries* of consecrations of churches have their natural origin in the feast of dedication of the temple, attended by our Lord (St. John x. 22, 23) in conformity with 1 Macc. iv. 56-59; St. Gregory Nazian. (*Orat.* 43, *eis τὴν ἑορτήν* init.) speaks of it as an ancient custom "to honour churches by the feasts of their dedication; and that not for once only, but upon the annual return of the day of their consecrations, that good things become not forgotten through lapse of time." It is doctful who imitated the custom. Some make it date from the consecration of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, on Sept. 13 [ANASTASIS]. (See Sozom. *II. E. i.* 26; Niceph. viii. 50.) Felix IV., A.D. 526, put out a decree "that the solemnities of the dedications of churches are to be celebrated every year." Gregory the Great confirmed the practice, and it was adopted by Augustine in Britain, together with the custom of building booths round the church, and holding common festivities (Bede, *Ecol. Hist.* i. 30). The memory of the dedication of St. Sophia at Constantinople was kept up every Dec. 22 (Du Cange, *Const. Chr.* iii. 6). Gavanti (ii. 250, &c.), *de Commun. Dedications Ecclesie*, has rules and remarks on this class of festival and its concurrence with others.

The *Symbology* of the rite of consecration may be said to appear in the earliest titles given to churches (see above), and in the essential idea of consecration as expressed by Hooker, *E. P.* v. 12, 13; Bingham, *Antiq.* viii. 9, 8; Lewis, p. 98. Alcuin, *de Coena Domini*, says, "Churches are consecrated that the coming of angels into them may be restrained from mean thoughts." St. Thomas Aquin. (*Summa*, part iii. Quæst. 85, art. 3) says, "A church is consecrated because the Church is the spouse of Christ; and when the octave is celebrated for denoting the glorious resurrection of the Church which is to come." Remigius of Auxerre, in the 10th century, has a *Treatise* on the mystical signification of the whole rite. Cf. the reference to this and other writers in Maskell (*Monum. Rit.* i. 162, 3). The same subject is elaborately drawn out by Durandus, *Rationale Div. Off.*: St. Bruno Astensis, *Epic.* Sigisismus (*Mix. Bibl. Patr.* xx. 1725), of the 12th century, &c.

5. *Consecration of Altars*.—Bingham (*Ant.* viii. 9, 10) says that the consecration of altars seems to have begun first of all in the 6th century; he quotes the Council of Agde, A.D. 506, can. 14 (Brun's *Can.* ii. 145), as enacting that "altars are to be consecrated not only by

the chrisin, but with the sacerdotal benediction," and the Council of Epone, A.D. 517, can. 26 (*ib.* ii. 170), that "none but stone altars are to be consecrated with the unction of the chrisin." Gregory of Tours, in the 6th century, in his *De Gloria Confessorum*, c. xx. (Aligne, *Patrol.* 71, p. 842), describes the dedication of an oratory at Tours, a very beautiful cell, heretofore used as a salt cellar: "The altar was placed in its future position; the night was spent in vigil at the basilica; in the morning they went to the cell and consecrated the altar, then returned to the basilica, and thence took the relics. There were present a very large choir of priests and deacons, and a distinguished body of honourable citizens, with a large assembly of people. On arrival at the door a miracle of splendour took place," which Gregory describes.

LITERATURE.—Besides the several works and special treatises mentioned in the course of this article, reference may be made to Cardinal Bona, *de Reb. Liturg.* i. 19, 20 (Antwerp 1677, 4to); Fabricius (John), *de Templis Christianorum* (Helmstadii 1704, fol.); Augusti's *List of the Literature of Holy Places* (xi. 317). Schmid, *Liturgik, Kultus der Christ-Katholische Kirche* (vol. iii.), *Liber domus Pontif. Rom.* (Migne's *Patrol.* vol. 105), cap. v. p. 89, &c., "Index Generalis Materiarum" in *Mar. Bibl. Patr.* (tom. 1.) under the head "Ecclesia, 16, De Materiali Ecclesia, seu Templo, ejusque dedicatione," where some dedication sermons and mystical expositions and vindications of the rite of consecration may be found of the 12th and 13th centuries. [H. B.—v.]

6. *Summary*.—It will be seen in the instances given above that there are two distinct periods in the history of the consecration of churches. In the early ages, certainly as late as the time of Constantine, a church was inaugurated by solemn ceremonial, and dedicated to the service of God with prayer. Then, as churches built over the tombs of martyrs came to be regarded as endowed with peculiar sanctity, the possession of the relics of some saint came to be looked upon as absolutely essential to the sacredness of the building, and the deposition of such relics in or below the altar henceforward formed the central portion of the consecration-rite. All the essentials of such a rite are found in the description of the consecration of an oratory, quoted above from Gregory of Tours. [Compare ALTAR.]

To the second phase belong all the ancient rituals of consecration now extant, whether in East or West. We may take, as a summary of the rites above referred to, the service for the consecration of churches given in Egbert's *Pontifical* (pp. 26-58, ed. Surtees Soc.), which differs in no essential point from that of the Gregorin sacramentary.

The relics were to be watched the night before in some church already consecrated. In the morning the bishop and clergy came in procession to the church to be consecrated; candles are lighted, the clerks in procession pass round the church outside. The door of the church is opened with appropriate chants and ceremony. Prayer is said in the midst of the church, and the procession, with litany, solemnly approaches the altar with prostration. Then follows the A. B. C.arium (see above). Holy water is

extending it to the church where meals are given; by another law, by excluding public from benefiting by it and Justinian afterwards (Novel. 17). Some constitutions may curia (*E. civ. ed.*), Cantibus and Nany the important let follows it; and in rights of sanctuary pitularies of the 8th

church might never be under special circum- is: much more there- being solemnly conse- ded alienation are Ancyran, A.D. 315 and three following, may be still earlier. gulations to the same (it. 2) and 7th Novel, seems to be con- s being in trust for ounds: at all events, hurch consecrated sites harlemogue was more alaries (A.D. 802, c. 34, e semel Deo dedicata manent perpetuo me- fieri secularia habi- subsequently, till the "Regulae Juris." c of the Decretals, in o dicitum non est ad nsferendum" (No. 51). es used in building a have shared its con- afterwards be removed urely secular, though vents in this respect stronger than the De- e remarkable words on if in taking possession dedicated to his service, nce of it was condi- circumstances which ermanent: "Now have is house, that my name . But if ye turn away and my commandments on . . . this house which name will I cast out of it to be a proverb and ions" (2 Chron. vii. 16, ghten these words alth- effects of consecration." eux's Manual, *Tract. de* exvii.-xxxix. A larger ur. Canon. vol. ii. *Tract.* [V. S. Fl.]

(EUCCHARISTIC). (*Χρησ- ερωσις, ἀγαμέμις*) For consecration and bene- ON. The general con- of Eucharistic consecra- gy, and the question is

considered here only in its relation to the liturgy.

1. The principal formulæ of consecration are given under CANON OF THE LITURGY. It will be seen in that article that the most noteworthy difference between the formulæ of consecration used in the Eastern and the Western churches respectively consists in this, that in the Eastern Church the Holy Spirit is invoked, after the recitation of the words of institution, to descend upon the elements, and make them the Body and Blood of Christ [EPICLESIS]; and this invocation is commonly thought to imply, that consecration would be imperfect without it. This seems also to be distinctly implied in the well-known passage of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Mystag.* v. c. 7), which speaks of the hallowing and changing influence of the Holy Spirit [CANON OF THE LITURGY, p. 269]. On the other hand, in the Western churches, the invocation of the Holy Spirit at this part of the liturgy is generally wanting, and the whole consecrating virtue is attributed by Western ritualists to the recitation of the words of institution, accompanied by the fitting gestures. In the Mozarabic liturgy, however, the variable prayer which follows the *Secreta* frequently contains an invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements; and such an invocation is almost certainly an ancient rite which the Latin Church has lost, not an innovation of the Orientals. Ample information on the points of difference in this respect between East and West may be found in Bona (*de Reb. Lit.* ii. c. 13, §§ 4, 5), Renaudot (*Lit. Orient.* l. 196), Tontée (note on Cyril, *Cat. Myst.* v. 7), Le Bru (*Cérém. de la Messe*, tom. iii.), and Neale (*Eastern Ch. Introd.* pp. 492 ff.).

2. In the *Ordo Romanus III.* c. 16, the following rubrical directions are given. "After the Pope has communicated of the cup, which is held by the archdeacon, the latter pours a portion of the remaining wine into the larger chalice from which the people is to communicate; for wine not consecrated but mingled with the Lord's Blood is completely sanctified (*sanctificatur per omnem modum*). The reason of this custom probably was that in a very large congregation it was difficult to consecrate exactly the quantity of wine required. A small quantity was therefore consecrated in the first instance, and amplified according to the number of communicants by pouring in fresh wine. The whole of the wine in the cup was held to be completely consecrated by mingling with that which had been originally consecrated. The same practice is enjoined in the *Ceremoniale* of St. Benignus at Dijon, in the Cistercian Statutes, in the Statutes of the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, and in Lyndwood's *Constitut. Provinc.* See Mabillon (*Comm. Prævious in Ord. Rom.* pp. lxiii. xli.).

3. The placing a particle of the consecrated bread in the chalice is sometimes called "consecration." In the *Missa Illyrica* (Bona, *de Reb. Lit.* p. 553) the petition occurs, "Fiat commistio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis D. N. I. C. omnibus accipientibus nobis in vitam æternam;" and the 17th canon of the 1st Council of Orange directs, "Cum calyx et calix offerendus est, et admixtionem eucharistiae consecrandæ." Compare COMMISTIO.

4. On certain days it is an ancient custom not

to consecrate the sacral elements. See PRÆ-SANCTIFIED, LITURGY OF.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOPS [BISHOP: ORDINATION.]

CONSENT TO MARRIAGE. The marriage-law of all countries turns upon one or other of two principles. Either marriage is viewed as a union between persons, or as the disposal of a property. In the former case, the consent of the parties themselves is the main element in it; in the latter, that of some other person or persons. Still, in legislations founded upon the former principle, the element of consent by others comes in as a salutary check upon rash self-disposal by the young; in those founded upon the latter, the recognition of a right of self-sale in the adult may equally check the too authoritative interference of others.

The Jewish law is in its inception essentially personal. Christ needed but to refer to the first chapter of the Jewish Scriptures in order to bring out the full spirituality of the marriage relation (Matt. xix. 4; Mark x. 6). In Genesis, the woman is at once brought before us as the one "helpmeet" for the man. At the outset of the Adamic history, there is no question of selling or buying, no exercise of any third will between the two. God simply brings the woman to the man, who at once recognises her as bone of his bones, and flesh of his flesh (c. ii. vv. 20, 22, 23). As the history proceeds, however, other elements develop themselves. Slavery makes its appearance, and the slave-owner is exhibited as giving the slave in marriage (Gen. xvi. 3; xxx. 4).

Throughout the patriarchal history (Gen. xxiv. xxix., xxxiv.; Ex. ii. 21), under the Law (Ex. xxi. 4, 7, 8; xxii. 17; Deut. xxii. 16), in the time of the Judges (Josh. xv. 16, 17; Judg. i. 12; xv. 1, 2; xxi. 1, 7, 8; Ruth iv. 10), under the Monarchy (1 Sam. xvii. 25; xviii. 19, 21, 27; 2 Sam. xiii. 13; 1 Kings ii. 17), after the Captivity (Nehem. xiii. 25), in our Lord's time (Matt. xxiv. 38; Luke xvii. 27), in the Apostolic Church (1 Cor. vii. 38), the right of the father to give his daughter in marriage, of the king to give one who was under his control, is either assumed or asserted.

It is nevertheless certain, as may be seen in Selden's treatise *de Uxoræ Ebraicâ*, and as has been stated above under the head BETROTHAL, that among the Jews the power of self-disposal in marriage was singularly wide for either sex, the man being held of full age, and capable of marrying at his will i. the last day of his 15th year, the woman in the second half of her 12th, whilst if betrothed under that age by their fathers, girls could repudiate the engagement at ten. Yet, strange to say, the forms used in Jewish practice belong to the material, and not to the spiritual view of marriage. The prominence given to the ARRHA or earnest [see ARRHA], and the necessity for its being given to the woman herself either in money or money's worth, show clearly that the grand spirituality of marriage, as exhibited in the second chapter of Genesis, had been lost sight of, that it had come to be viewed essentially as an act of wife-buying, and yet the fact that the woman, from earliest puberty, was reckoned as having the sole right of self-sale, preserved an amount of freedom in

the contract which would otherwise seem to belong only to that view of it which the practice contradicts.

The Roman law exhibits to us a precisely opposite development; it starts from the material view to grow more and more into the spiritual one. Originally the father's *potestas*, scarcely to be distinguished from absolute ownership, overshadows all the domestic relations, extending equally to the wife and to the children of both sexes. Eventually, so far as marriage is concerned, the *potestas* resolves itself simply into a right of consent. And consent is made the very essence of marriage. "Nuptias non concubitus, sed consensus facit," are the words of Ulpian (*Dig.* bk. l. t. xvii. l. 30). The validity of marriages contracted by mere consent was admitted in a constitution of Theodosius and Valentinian, A.D. 449, (*Code*, bk. v. t. xvii. l. 8).

This consent, moreover, must be at once that of the parties themselves, and of those in whose *potestas* they are (Paulus, *Dig.* bk. xxiii. t. ii. l. 2). As to slaves, indeed, unlike the Jewish law, the Roman law never recognized such a thing as their marriage, and the unions between men and women slaves, which might be permitted and even respected by their masters, were of no more legal value than the coupling of domestic animals, although, as may be seen hereafter, they might be recognised by the superior morality of the church. Where, indeed, a master gave away, or allowed another to give away, his slave girl in marriage to a freeman, or constituted a *dos* upon her, Justinian ruled (as will be further shewn hereafter under the head CONTRACT) that this should amount to an enfranchisement (*Code*, bk. vii. t. vi. l. 9; 22nd Nov. c. 11). But this of itself shows that marriage and slavery were held to be incompatible.

The principle of the freedom of marriage, and of its resting mainly on the consent of the parties, stands generally recognised in Justinian's Code, and is indeed further carried out in it. "None," says a constitution of Diocletian and Maximian, "can be compelled either to marry, or to be reconciled after divorce" (*Code*, bk. v. t. iv. l. 14; and see l. 12, as to the *filii familias*).

On the other hand, several enactments of Justinian's Code shew that the law looked rather upon marriage, from the woman's point of view, as the choice of a husband for her, and therefore held that in the determination of that choice, the counsel or even the judgment of third persons might be called in (*Code*, bk. v. t. iv. l. 20).

The influx of the barbarian nations into the empire may be said to have in great measure restored, under other names, those stricter views of paternal authority which had belonged to Rome's earlier ages, at least as respects women. In the Edict of Theoric we find a provision that "a father shall not be compelled against his will to give his family in marriage to any" (c. 93). In the Lombard laws the *mundium* recalls the Roman *potestas*, but under a purely pecuniary form, and instead of being confined to the ascending line, seems to have belonged to the nearest male relation. Thus by a law of Rotharis (638 or 643), if after two years' be-

trothal the man does not claim his bride, "the father or brother or he who has her *mundium*" may prosecute the surety (if he pays her *meta* or jointure, after which "they may give her to another husband, being a freeman" (c. 178). A widow had power, if she choose, to go to another husband, being a freeman (c. 182). And the woman's consent, whether girl or widow, has always great weight in the eyes of the law. Thus it takes account of the cases of a man marrying a girl or widow betrothed to another, "yet with her consent" (c. 190), and in like manner of his ravishing either with her consent—the term apparently meaning here, carrying away without marriage (c. 191). Where indeed a slave married a freewoman with her consent, her parents might kill her, or sell her out of the province (c. 222). The laws of Leutprand, A.D. 713, enact penalties against those who betroth to themselves, or marry, girls under twelve, but a father or brother may give or betroth his daughter or sister at any age (bk. ii. c. 6). And it seems to be admitted that a girl of twelve may "go to a husband" without the will of her parents (bk. vi. c. 61, and see c. 66; A.D. 724). The *mundium*, it may be observed, appears also in the law of the Alamans, latter half of 8th century.

Under the law of the Saxons, a man who wished to marry had to give 300 *solidi* to the girl's parents (t. iv. l. 1), but if he did so against the parent's will, she consenting, twice that amount (l. 2). If he wished to marry a widow, he must offer the price of her purchase to her guardian (apparently a Latinized expression for the *mundard*, or *mund-cald*, holder of the *mundium*), her relatives consenting thereto (t. vii. l. 3). If her guardian refused the money, he must turn to her next of kin, and by their consent he might have her, but he must have 300 *solidi* ready to give to the guardian (l. 4). Here a power of consent in the kinsmen generally, over and above the specific powers of the holder of the *mundium*, is clearly admitted.

The Burgundian law (originally of the beginning of the 6th century) recognizes also some freedom of choice in the woman, especially if a widow. Where a girl of her own accord has sought a man, he has to pay only three times the "price of marriage" (nuptial pretium) instead of six times, which he would have to pay if he had carried her off against her will (t. xii. cc. 1, 3; see also t. cxc.). A widow wishing to remarry within the year of her husband's death, is said to have "free power" to do so (t. xlii. c. 2; law of A.D. 517). But in a later law, a power of consent in parents seems to be indicated (t. 35).

The Visigothic law, which has always been held to bear peculiar marks of clerical inspiration, is especially restrictive of the woman's self disposal. A law of Theodesind, allowing for the first time intermarriage between Goths and Romans, enacts that a freeman may marry a freewoman with the solemn consent of the ascendant ("prosapiae"), and the permission of the court (c. 11. t. i. c. 1). If a man has betrothed to himself a girl "with the will of her father or the other near relatives to whom by law this power is given," the girl may not marry another against the will of her rela-

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CONSENT TO MARRIAGE

... fives, but both she and her husband shall be
... handed over to the power of the man who had
... betrothed her "with the will of her relatives."
... The same course is to be followed if the father
... has settled for the marriage of his daughter, and
... agreed upon the price, and if the father dies
... before the marriage, the girl is to be given to
... him to whom she has been promised by her
... father "or her mother" (t. 2), the last words
... implying seemingly a power of consent through-
... out in the mother.

The consent of the parties is not, however,
... altogether overlooked, especially after betrothal,
... when neither can change his or her will if the
... other will not consent (c. 3; law of Chindas-
... wirth). Where girls of full age are betrothed
... to male infants, if either party appears to object,
... the betrothal cannot stand good. Two years (as
... in the Roman law) is the period beyond which
... the fulfilment of the betrothal contract cannot
... be enforced, unless by the honest and proper
... consent of parents or relatives, or of the be-
... trothed if of full age (c. 4). And a girl's
... actual marriage without her parents' consent
... holds good, though she forfeits her share in their
... succession (t. ii. c. 8; and see also t. iv. c. 7).
... And the law admits that a woman may be in a
... position to dispose of herself—in *suo arbitrio*
... (t. iv. c. 2).

The Salic law hardly shows with sufficient
... clearness the early Frankish view as to consent
... to marriage. Towards the latter half of the
... 6th century, however, a general constitution of
... King Clothar, recorded by Labbe and Mansi,
... apparently as possessing ecclesiastical authority
... (*Concils*, vol. ix. p. 761) enacts that "none by
... our authority shall presume to seek in marriage
... a widow or a girl without their own will."
... Two centuries later the Capitulary of Compiègne
... (A.D. 757) enacts in a particular case that "if any
... man have given his step-daughter, being a Frank,
... against her will and that of her mother and
... relatives a freeman, slave, or cleric, and she
... will not have him and leaves him, her relatives
... have power to give her another husband" (c. 4).
... The implication contained in the above text, that
... marriage of a freewoman with a slave might by
... the woman's own consent hold good, will be
... remarked.

Substantially, with an exception to be pre-
... sently noticed, the Church did little else than
... follow the municipal law on the subject of con-
... sent, eventually adopting the Roman civil law as
... the basis of her own. If we except a canon of
... doubtful authority, to be found in Gratian (12th
... century), attributed either to the 4th or 5th
... Council of Arles (A.D. 524 or 554), and enacting
... that widows, before professing continence, may
... marry whom they will,—that virgins may do the
... same,—and that none should be forced to accept
... a husband without the will of their parents,—
... the earliest Church enactments seem to belong
... to our own British Isles. An Irish synod of un-
... certain date, presided over by St. Patrick, speaks
... thus: "What the father wills, that let the girl
... do, for the head of the woman is the man. But
... the will of the girl is to be inquired of the
... father" (c. 27). In the so-called *Excerpta* of
... Egbert, archbishop of York, in the 8th century,
... it is written: "Parents ought to give women to
... be united to men in marriage, unless the woman
... absolutely refuse, in which case she may enter a

CONSENT TO MARRIAGE 435

... convent" (bk. ii. c. 20); not a very wide stretch
... of female freedom. Further on, a singular provi-
... sion allows the husband whose wife has deserted
... him, and refused for five years to make peace
... with him, to marry another woman, "with the
... bishop's consent" (c. 26).

The Council of Friuli (A.D. 791) forbade the
... marriage of infants, requiring purity of age and
... mutual consent. The Carolingian capitularies,
... which have a sort of mixed clerical and civil
... authority, enact amongst other things that none
... shall marry a widow "without the consent of
... her priest" (bk. vi. l. 408); a provision which
... recalls one already noticed from the Visigothic
... law, that marriage shall not be lawful unless
... the wife be sought for at the hands of those who
... appear to have power over the woman, and under
... whose protection she is (bk. vii. l. 463); an enact-
... ment which is either the original or a slightly
... varied *replica* of a supposed letter by Pope Eva-
... ristus (A.D. 112-21), the spuriousness of which
... has been shown under the head BENEDICTION.
... It is however also enacted that women are not
... to be compelled to marry, under penalty of treble
... ban, and public penance; or, in default of means,
... of prison or banishment (l. 470). Lastly, it may
... be mentioned that the edict of Charlemagne in
... 814 required inquiry to be made, amongst other
... things, as to men who had wives "against the
... will of their parents."

On one point, indeed, we may trace from an
... early period a marked divergence between the
... practice of the Church and the Roman law. On
... the subject of slave-marrriages, the Apostolical
... Constitutions breathe the spirit of the Jewish
... law, not of the Roman. Not only are slave-
... marriages recognized, but it is treated as an
... offence in a Christian master if he does not
... "give" a wife to his man-slave (bk. viii. c. 32;
... compare Exod. xxi. 4). Again, in a work which
... perhaps does not greatly differ in date from the
... later portions of the Apostolical Constitutions,
... St. Basil's first Canonical Epistle, addressed to
... Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium, the writer,
... treating evidently of slave-marrriages, says: "A
... woman who has given herself to a man against
... her master's will has committed adultery" (c. 40).
... And again more generally: "Marrriages without
... the will of those who have authority (*ἀνευ τῶν*
... *κρατούντων*) are adulteries; and therefore during
... the life of the father or master (*θεσπίου*) they
... cannot be free from impeachment until the assent
... of such" [termed here *κύριοι*, lords] "be ob-
... tained; for then does the marriage acquire firm-
... ness" (c. 42). Harsh as is the tone of these
... passages towards the victims of slavery, it is
... clear that for Basil the relation of the slave to
... the master is not the heathen one of the thing
... to its owner, but one exactly analogous to that
... of the child to its father. Father and master
... have indeed alike the quasi-sovereign power of a
... *κύριος*; the marriage of those under their
... authority is void without their assent, but it is
... firm (*βέβαιος*) with it.

Somewhat less than two centuries later (A.D.
... 541), the 24th canon of the Council of Orléans
... requires slaves who flee for sanctuary to churches
... in order to marry to be returned to their masters
... and separated, unless their parents and masters
... will let them marry. This is again a harsh-
... toned enactment, but one which really indicates
... a rise in the slave's condition. Hitherto the

master's consent has been the sole condition of validity for the slave's marriage; Basil himself assimilated his authority over the slave to that of a father. Now the existence of a parental authority is recognized in the slave himself towards his own offspring, and the slave-parent's consent is placed on a level with that of the master.

Towards the end of the 6th century, again (A.D. 581), a canon (10) of the 1st Council of Micon expressly enacts that if two slaves intermarry with their master's consent, after the enfranchisement of either the marriage is not dissolved, though the other be not redeemable; a step in advance of anything to be found in the records of American slavery in modern times. And in the Carolingian era, the marriage of slaves with the master's consent obtains civil as well as ecclesiastical validity. A capitulary annexed to the Lombard laws enacts "That the marriages of slaves be not dissolved, if they have had different masters, . . . but so nevertheless that the marriage itself be legal, and by the will of their masters" (c. 129). The 30th canon of the 2nd Council of Châlons, A.D. 813, is precisely to the same effect.

On the whole it may be said that, except so far as relates to the marriage of slaves, the rule of the Church in respect of the consents necessary to the validity of marriage became hardly settled during the period which occupies us. The necessity for the free consent of the parties themselves was never entirely lost sight of; but in outlying regions, and under the pressure of barbarian feelings in certain races, the authority of the father over a daughter was almost acknowledged as absolute; whilst elsewhere a claim of the family at large to interfere was at least tacitly admitted. Towards the end of the period, indeed, in two instances the priest or bishop himself was made a consenting party. In no instance however is marriage when actually contracted (except as between slaves) treated as void or voidable for want of the consent of a third person. As to consents to BETHROTHAL, see that word. See also generally CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE.

[J. M. L.]

CONSIGNATORIUM. To bless by the use of the sign of the cross, as in confirmation, is termed *consignare*; hence the word *consignatorium* is occasionally used to designate the place set apart for that rite. John the Deacon of Naples (*Chronicon Episc. Neap.*) says that Bishop John (about 616) erected a beautiful building, called *consignatorium ablatorum*, so arranged that the newly baptized should pass in on one side, be presented to the bishop who sat in the midst, and then pass out by the other side. This arrangement was probably somewhat peculiar; the Pseudo-Alcuin at least (*De Div. Off. c. 19*), describing the ceremonies of Easter-Eve, says that the newly baptized were confirmed in the sacrorium. (Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. 'Consignatorium.')

[C.]

CONSISTENTES. [PENITENCE.]

CONSTANTIA, martyr at Nuceria under Nero, Sept. 19 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CONSTANTINE, bishop, deposition at Gap in France, April 12 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi). [C.]

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, Emperor.

Constantine and his mother Helena, *ἡσυχαστῶν*, are commemorated May 21 (*C. Byzant.*); June 18 (*C. Armen.*); August 28 = March 24 (*C. Ethiop.*). Constantine is separately commemorated on Nov. 10 in the *Georgiana Calendar*. [C.]

CONSTANTINOPLÉ, COUNCILS OF.

(1) A.D. 335 (Mansi, ii. 1167-70) held by the Eusebians under Eusebius of Nicomedia, at which St. Athanasius was exiled to Treves, Marcellus of Ancyra, with several other bishops deposed, and Arius ordered to be received into communion by the Alexandrine Church. According to Rufinus (*Hist. l. 12*), it was convened by order of the emperor, viz., Constantine the Great, and according to Eusebius the historian (*cont. Mar. l. 4*), it was exclusively gathered together from the upper provinces of Asia Minor, from Thrace, and the parts beyond it; in other words, the neighbourhood of the capital. It seems to have met in February, and not separated till the end of July, so that its proceedings spread over nearly six months.

(2) A.D. 339, or according to Pagi, 340, by order of the Emperor Constantius, to depose Paul, the newly elected bishop there, whose orthodoxy displeased him, and translate Eusebius, his favourite, from Nicomedia to the imperial see (Mansi, ii. 1275).

(3) A.D. 360 (Mansi, iii. 325-36), composed of deputies from the council of Seleucia, just over, with some bishops summoned from Bithynia, to meet them, about fifty in all (Soc. ii. 41 and seq.). Most of the former were partisans of the metropolitan of Caesarea, whose name was Acacius, and Semi-Arians. A creed was published by them, being the 9th, says Socrates, that had come out since that of Nicea. It was, in fact, what had been rehearsed at Rimini, with the further declaration that neither substance nor hypostasis were permissible terms in speaking of God. The Son was pronounced to be like the Father according to the Scriptures, and Aetius, who maintained the contrary opinion, was condemned. A synodical epistle to George, bishop of Alexandria, whose presbyter he was, conveyed the sentence passed upon him and his followers. Several bishops were deposed at the same time; among whom were Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, Eleusius of Cyzicum, Basilius of Ancyra, and last, but not least, St. Cyril of Jerusalem—all for various causes. Ten bishops, who declined subscribing to these depositions, were to consider themselves deposed till they subscribed. Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths, who had hitherto professed the Nicene faith, was one of those present, and joined in their creed. Eulolius managed to slip from Antioch into the vacancy created by the deposition of Macedonius. On the other hand, Eustathius of Sebaste was not allowed even a hearing, as having been previously deposed at the synod of Caesarea, in Asia Minor, under his own father, Eulalius.

(4) The 2nd general, . . . in May, A.D. 381, to re-assemble the following year, for reasons explained by the bishops in their synodical letter of that date (Mansi, iii. 581, note). Owing to this circumstance, and to the fact that its acts have been lost, its proceedings are not easy to unravel. Socrates begins his account of it by saying that the Emperor Theodosius convened a

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to in the *Geographia*
[C.]

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r Theodosius convened a

council of bishops of the same faith as himself, in order that the faith settled at Nicaea might prevail, and a bishop be appointed to the see of Constantinople (v. 8). That the bishops met at his bidding is testified by themselves in their short address to him subsequently, to confirm what they had decreed (*Mansl. ib. 557*), to say nothing of other proofs, for which see Beveridge (*Synod. ii. 89*). Whether they re-assembled at his bidding we are not told. Of their number there has never been any dispute, this council having in fact gone by the name of that of "the 150 (or) fathers" ever since. There were 36 bishops of the Macedonian party likewise invited, but they quit'ed Constantinople in a body when they found that it was the faith of the Nicene fathers to which they would be called upon to subscribe. Of those present, Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, St. Meletius of Antioch, who presided at first, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, St. Amphilocheus of Iconium, with the two Gregories of Nazianzum and Nyssa, were the most considerable, Nectarius and Flavian being added to their number before they separated. Dionysius Exiguus (*Mansi, iii. 568-72*) has preserved the names of all who subscribed. Seven canons and a creed would appear at first sight to have been submitted to the emperor by the assembled fathers for confirmation at the close of their labours. John Scholasticus, however, the Greek collector of canons in the 6th century, contemporary with Dionysius Exiguus, reckons only six (*ap. Justell. Byz. Jur. Canon. ii. 502*). Dionysius himself only three; but then he has appended the 4th to the 2nd. The creed follows in his version as in the Greek. Isidore Mercator makes six canons out of his three, and numbers the creed as a 7th. Another Latin version given in Mansi makes five canons out of his three, and omits the creed. The Arabic paraphrase (*ib.*) makes four in all, without the creed; but, in addition to his three, setting down as a fourth canon 6 of the Greek version. Whether any canons have been lost seems to admit of some doubt. Socrates, as is well known, speaks of the establishment of patriarchs as one of the things done by this council; and the Arabic paraphrase, under a separate heading, "concerning the order of the prelates, and their rank and place," explains this as follows: "Honour besides, and the primacy, was granted in this council to the bishop of Rome, and he was made first, the bishop of Constantinople second, the bishop of Alexandria third, the bishop of Antioch fourth, and the bishop of Jerusalem fifth"—which is the more remarkable as neither it nor Socrates omit the canon ordaining special prerogatives for new Rome. As Beveridge well remarks, it is one difficulty connected with these canons (*Synod. ii. 98*), that in all probability they were not all passed at the same council. This, and a good deal more bearing upon the history of the council, will come out as we examine them. Canon 1 confirms the doctrine of the 318 Nicene Fathers, condemning in particular the errors of the Eunomians or Anomeans—in other words, the extreme Arians—the Eudoxians or Arians pure, and the Semi-Arians or Pneumatomachi—fighters against the Holy Spirit—with the followers of Sabellius, Marcellus, Photinus, and Apollinaris. Of these the Semi-Arians engage the most attention by

far here, from the further error into which they had fallen of late respecting the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. All, in short, that was ruled by this council on doctrine was directed against them exclusively. But, as such, they were more properly termed Macedonians than Semi-Arians, from Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, deposed at the synod held there A.D. 360, for various crimes, and afterwards founder of the sect called "Pneumatomachi." For obvious reasons they are not designated here from the name of their founder. What their errors were we shall see presently. Canon 2 confines each bishop to his own diocese, in particular the bishop of Alexandria is restricted to Egypt, the bishops of the East to the East alone, the privileges of the Church of Antioch, in conformity with the Nicene canons, being maintained: the bishops of Asia, that is, Asia Minor, to the South-West, Pontus and Thrace, similarly to their respective limits. By the word "diocese" is meant, as Beveridge shows (p. 8-3), a tract embracing several provinces. The events which had led to this enactment require some notice. Immediately on the death of Valens (*Clinton's Fasti R. A. D. 379, col. 4*), St. Gregory Nazianzen appeared at Constantinople, whither he was invited by the orthodox party refusing obedience to Demophilus, the Arian bishop in possession. He was consecrated by St. Meletius of Antioch, who thus went out of his diocese to ordain him. Peter, bishop of Alexandria—then reckoned the second see in the world after Rome—not to be outdone, nominated Maximus the cynic, as he was called from his philosophical antecedents, to the post, and deputed three bishops from Egypt to carry out his consecration on the spot. Maximus had previously seemed to take part with Gregory, and Theodosius rejected him, when he appeared as his rival (*Clinton, ib. and Vales, ad Soz. vii. 9*). This conflict of the two sees, however, terminated in the resignation of Gregory, soon after the meeting of the council, though he was declared bishop there, and all that related to Maximus annulled in a special canon—the 4th.

Most probably, the 3rd canon, ordaining that in future the see of Constantinople should take honorary precedence (*τῆ προεβία τῆς τιμῆς*) next after Rome, was intended to prevent the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria from ever attempting to take such liberties with it again.

Another event had occurred meanwhile (*Clinton, ib. col. 4*), which may be supposed to account for the salvo to the privileges of the Church of Antioch, expressed in the 2nd canon. St. Meletius of Antioch had died "during the session between May and July." The funeral oration pronounced over him by St. Gregory at Nyssa is still extant, but it contains no historical allusions. There had been a compact entered into between his party and that of St. Paulinus at Antioch two years before—where they were rival bishops—that both parties, whenever either of the bishops died, should unite under the survivor of them. In spite of this understanding, Flavian, who had been one of the chief promoters of it among the supporters of St. Meletius, was unanimously appointed bishop in his stead by the council (*Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 277 and 364*). This act not merely re-opened the schism at Antioch, but produced heart-burnings elsewhere, the Western and Egyptian bishops pronouncing

more strongly than ever, in favour of St. Paulinus, and the disapprobation shown for Flavian by St. Gregory, tending to alienate numbers of his own friends from him amongst the Easterns. It was, in fact, one of the principal causes of his retirement. The appointment of his successor, Nectarius, at the instance of the emperor, was probably the last act of the council of this year—and a strong act it was, as Nectarius had to be baptised before he could be consecrated (Soz. vii. 6). Dionysius Exiguus, as has been said, gives his canons of this council with the 4th. As Beveridge, too, remarks (ib. p. 98), traces of a new series commence with the 5th. It runs as follows:—"Concerning the tome of the Westerns, we, too, have received those who professed their belief, at Antioch, in one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." What was this tome of the Westerns? Beveridge considers it to have been the synodical epistle received from Pope Damasus by the Easterns at their second meeting, A.D. 382, to which they wrote their own in reply. De Marca, Cave, and others prefer to consider it a synodical letter of Pope Damasus, addressed to the synod of Antioch A.D. 378 or 9. Baronius, another of his to St. Paulinus of Antioch some years before. May it not be that the first tome of the kind was the letter sent by St. Athanasius in the name of his synod at Alexandria, A.D. 362, to the Church of Antioch, which he calls "a tome" himself, to which St. Paulinus is expressly said to have subscribed, and in which the indivisibility of the Holy Ghost from the substance both of the Father and the Son is as distinctly set forth as it ever was afterwards (Mansi, iii. 353-4). Through Eusebius of Vercelli, to whom it was addressed, and by whom it was in due time subscribed, it would find its way into the West and to Rome, as the rallying point of the orthodox, and a bond of union, under existing circumstances, between the sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, whose acceptance of its doctrine can scarce have become known to each other before Macedonius, the ex-patriarch at Constantinople, commenced assailing the Divinity of the third person in the Godhead. On this, it would immediately give rise to, and be the foundation of, a series of "tomes" or epistles of the same kind between them, in which Constantinople, being in Arian hands, would take no part, nor Alexandria much, owing to the banishment of its orthodox prelate, Peter, from A.D. 373 to 378, under Valens. St. Meletius had also been driven from Antioch a year earlier; but then we are told expressly by Sozomen (vi. 7), his orthodox successor, St. Paulinus was allowed to remain; and there could be no account for the correspondence that went on between him and Pope Damasus unintermittedly while St. Meletius was away, and of which the prominent topic was the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. Now, as Mansi points out (iii. 463-8), the synods of Antioch and Rome are confusedly given about this time. There are traces of a synod of Antioch, as well as of another at Rome, A.D. 372; but the acts of both have not hitherto been distinguished from those of two later synods at Rome, A.D. 377, and at Antioch, the year or two years following, under St. Meletius, on the return of the exiles. And one thing may well be thought to have been agreed upon at the first of these synods of Antioch, and possibly Rome too,

which was afterwards confirmed in the 2nd, and is evidently referred to by the Constantinopolitan fathers in their synodical letter, namely, the creed in its enlarged form. And for this reason—St. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, was another of the orthodox bishops who was not disturbed in his see; and his see, whether subject to Antioch or not, then, must have brought him into frequent communication with even if he had not been a personal friend of St. Paulinus, or was not present at the synod held there A.D. 372. Now, in c. 119 of his work called *Anchatus*, of which he fixes the date himself in the next c., viz., A.D. 373, what was rehearsed afterwards at the council of Chalcedon as the creed of the 150 fathers, that is, of this council of Constantinople, is set down word for word, so far as its new clauses are concerned, and called that of Nicea by him. Admit this form to have been agreed upon at the synod of Antioch, in conjunction, c. not, with that of Rome, A.D. 372, and his own use of it the year following, as the authorised creed of the Church, is explained at once, nor is there any reason why St. Gregory Nyssen, if he composed it at all—as stated by Nicephorus alone (xii. 13)—should not have composed it there. But Valens coming to Antioch in April (Clinton, A.D. 372, col. 2), to persecute the orthodox, the probability would be that this synod was hastily broken up, and remained in abeyance till A.D. 378 or 9, when its proceedings were resumed under St. Meletius, and confirmed by 163 bishops, and with its proceedings this creed. All at the same time they subscribed to the Western tome or letter of Pope Damasus. Hence, both the language of the 5th Constantinopolitan canon above mentioned, and of the fathers who framed it, in their synodical letter, where they say that "this, their faith, which they had professed there summarily, might be learnt more fully by their Western brethren, on their being so good as to refer to 'the tome' that emanated from the synod of Antioch, and that set forth by the oecumenical council of Constantinople the year before, in which documents they had professed their faith at greater length." Now, what they had set forth themselves was their adherence to the Nicene faith and reprobation of the heresies enumerated in their first canon; what they had received from Antioch and accepted must have been the creed which has since gone by their name, but was certainly not their composition; and whatever else was confirmed there, A.D. 378, including the Western tome, which of the letters of Pope Damasus is here specified comes out as plainly. His letter to St. Paulinus was written A.D. 372, when there was nobody left at Antioch but St. Paulinus to write to. The letter addressed in his own name and that of the 90 bishops of the East, was "the tome" received by the synod at Antioch A.D. 378-9 (Mansi, ib. p. 459-62); to which they replied the same year (ib. p. 511-15). Both letters being on the same subject—as were those of 372 and 378-9—it was easy to confuse them. Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium, held a synod and wrote on the same subject about the same time (ib. p. 503-8).

We are now in a position to deal with the synodical letter of the reassembled council

of Constantinople, which were generally settled, most Constantinopolitan Theoretists, and Baron. A.D. indeed, Asch. SS. Epiphanius meanwhile to they received inviting them was to content list, we can on they say in re canon, which quence. The r not peril and going away s come to Const been written Aquilla the y dosius—eviden cations of Fla disapprovingly made un prepone. The mo departs into and Priscian a ceedings, which with what has faith, and endi tianus and Flavi in their respec recognised by t the same reason framing of the The same date come o, restric proceedings ag appeals to the prescribing the admitting heret him not to bel almost identical (Ev. ad 1). O adled to what h A.D. 373, havi Antioch, in conf of St. Athanasius less confirmed. A probably by the 382, than promu of the year pre been the creed of 3 and 6) as lat of the city the portion of it g been this, as Soc. iii. 25), or a there is a fami creed of the (Hu by St. Cyril will (Heurtley's *De hyptheses alone notice should l council of Fohes coic, namely, be patriarchal, and a general council, with that of Nic fathers of the 4th*

med in the 2nd, and the Constantinopolitan letter, namely, the Anathema for this reason. Salamis in Cyprus, six bishops who was and his see, whether it, then, must have communication with a personal friend of present at the synod in c. 119 of his work fixes the date him—A.D. 374, what was the council of Chalcedon, that is, of this is set down for sees are concerned, and m. Admit this form of the synod of Antioch, which that of Rome, A.D. the year following, as a Church, is explained reason why St. Gregory at all—as stated by (D)—should not have Valens coming to A.D. 372, col. 2, to the probability would mostly broken up, and A.D. 373 or 9, when held under St. Meletius, bishops, and with its pro- at the same time that the Western time or Hence, both the Constantinopolitan canon above others who framed it, in where they say that which they had professed be learn: more fully en, on their being so tome' that emanated a, and that set forth by of Constantinople the cuments they had pro- "center length." Now, themselves was their faith and reprobation ed in their first canon; from Antioch and ac- creed which has since was certainly not their ver else was confirmed the Western tone. Pope Damasus is here tainly. His letter to St. d. 372, when there was at St. Paulinus to write in his own name and s with him, "to the East," was "the tone" at Antioch, A.D. 378-9 to which they replied (11-15). Both letters act—was the synod as easy to confuse them. Icomium, held a synod subject about the same

sition to deal with the reassembled council

of Constantinople A.D. 382, and their proceedings generally. Finding there were still ecclesiastical matters of urgent importance to be settled, most of the bishops who had met at (Constantinople A.D. 381, returned thither, as Theodoret relates, the following summer (Mansi ed. Baron. A.D. 382, n. 3). One of their number, indeed, Aschellus, bishop of Thessalonica, and St. Epiphanius and Jerome with him, had gone meanwhile to Rome. Being at Constantinople, they received a synodical letter from the West, inviting them to Rome, where a large gathering was in contemplation. This letter having been lost, we can only guess at its contents from what they say in reply to it, coupled with their other canon, which was evidently framed in consequence. The affairs of the East being in imminent peril and confusion, they beg to be excused going away so far from their sees. They had come to Constantinople on account of what had been written by the West after the synod of Aquileia the year before to the Emperor Theodosius—evidently the letter in which the condemnations of Flavian and Nestorius are mentioned disapprovingly (Mansi, *ib.* p. 611-2)—but had made no preparations for going further from home. The most they could do would be to send deputies into the West. Cyrillus, Eusebius, and Priscian are named, to explain their proceedings, which they then epitomise, commencing with what has been anticipated above about their faith, and ending with the statement that Nestorius and Flavian had been appointed canonically to their respective sees, while St. Cyril was recognised by them as bishop of Jerusalem for the same reason. Thus this letter explains the framing of their 5th canon, and attests its date. The same date is assigned by Beveridge to canon 6, restricting the manner of instituting proceedings against bishops, and reprobating appeals to the secular power. But canon 7, prescribing the dispositions to be observed in admitting heretics into communion, is shown by him not to belong to this council at all. It is almost identical with the 95th Trullan canon (*Rev. ed.* 1). Of the creed, little more need be added to what has been said. It was in existence A.D. 373, having been probably framed at Antioch, in conformity with the synodical letter of St. Athanasius, A.D. 372, where it was doubtless confirmed A.D. 378-9, and received more probably by the 5th canon of this council A.D. 382, than promulgated separately by the council of the year preceding. Possibly this may have been the creed called by Cassian (*De Incarn.* vi. 3 and 6) as late as A.D. 430, "peculiarly the creed of the city and Church of Antioch." From the portion of it given by him it is as likely to have been this, as that of A.D. 363 (for which see Soc. iii. 25), or any other between them. That there is a family likeness between it and the creed of the Church of Jerusalem commented on by St. Cyril will be seen on comparing them (*Hartley's De Fide et S.* p. 9-13). On this hypothesis alone we can understand why no notice should have been taken of it at the council of Fohesus, A.D. 431, and in the African code, namely, because it had originated with a provincial, and only been as yet received by a general council. It was promulgated as identical with that of Nicaea for the first time by the fathers of the 4th council.

No more remains but to observe that the dogmatic professions of the council of 381 were confirmed by Theodosius in a constitution dated July 30 of the same year, and addressed to Antonius, proconsul of Asia, by which the churches are ordered to be handed over to the bishops in communion with Nectarius and others who composed it, the Eunomians, Arians, and Antians having been deprived of their churches by a constitution issued ten days earlier (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. tit. 1, l. 3, and tit. 5, l. 8). And it was received by Pope Damasus, and has been regarded in the West ever since, so far, as ecclesiastical. Its first four canons, in the same way, have been always admitted into Western collections. But what passed at the supplemental council of 382 never seems to have been confirmed or received equally. It was in declining to come to this last council that St. Gregory Nazianzen said, in his epistle to Procopius (xxx. Migne), "that he had come to the resolution of avoiding every meeting of bishops, for that he had never seen any synod end well, or assuage rather than aggravate disorders." His celebrated oration (*c.* xlii.), known as his "farewell" to the council of 381, is inspired by a very different spirit.

Lastly, there was a third meeting of bishops held at Constantinople, by command of Theodosius, A.D. 381, under Nectarius, to devise remedies for the confusion created by so many sees passing out of the hands of the heterodox into those of the orthodox party (*Soc. v. 10*). The Arian, Eunomian, and Macedonian bishops were required to attend there with confessors of their faith, which the emperor, after examining carefully, rejected in favour of Nicaea. The Novatians alone, receiving this, were placed by him upon equal terms with the orthodox. Of the heterodox professions, that of Eunomius is extant, and not without interest. It may be seen in Cave (*Hist. Lit.* i. 210). It is said to have been on this occasion that Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium, on entering the palace, made the usual obeisance to Theodosius, but took no notice of Arcadius, his son, standing at his side. When the emperor reproved him for this, "You see, sire," said the bishop, "how impatient you are that your own son should be slighted; much more will God punish those who refuse due honour to his only begotten Son" (*Theod. v. 16*).

(6) A.D. 394—reckoning that of 383 as the 5th. Among those present were Nectarius of Constantinople, Theophilus of Alexandria, Flavian of Antioch, &c. What called them together, in all probability, was the dedication of a new church in honour of SS. Peter and Paul: which done, they sat in judgment on a controversy between two rival bishops of Bostra, Bagadius, and Agapius; against the former of whom it was pleaded that he had been deposed by two bishops, since dead. The council decreed that, in future, not even three, much less two, bishops should have the power of deposing another, but that, in conformity with the apostolic canons (and this express reference to them in such an assemblage is most noteworthy), it should be held to belong to a larger synod, and the bishops of the province (Mansi, iii. 851-4).

(7) A.D. 399, of 22 bishops under St. Chrysostom, to enquire into seven capital charges brought against Antoninus, bishop of Ephesus.

As he died before the witnesses could be examined, St. Chrysostom, at the request of the Ephesian clergy, went over thither, and, at the head of 70 bishops, appointed Heraclides a deacon in his place, and deposed a bishops that had been simultaneously ordained by him. Their proceedings are of some interest, and contain a reference to the canons of the African Church (Mansi, iii. 991-93). Strictly speaking, this last was a synod of Ephesus.

(8) A.D. 404, to sit in judgment on St. Chrysostom, who had been banished from exile by the emperor and retaken possession of his see, from which he had been deposed by "the Synod of the Oak." Theophilus of Alexandria was not present on this occasion, having had to fly Constantinople on the return of his rival. Still he was not unrepresented, and St. Chrysostom had by this time provoked another enemy (Clinton, A.D. 404, col. 4) in the Empress Eudokia, whose statue he had denounced from the games and rebels permitted to be held round it in offensive proximity to his church. At this synod he seems to have given attendance (vi. 18) when the question of his former deposition was argued. Thirty-six bishops had condemned him; but sixty-five bishops, he rejoined, had, by communicating with him, voted in his favour (Vales, ad l.). It is not implied in these words, as some seem to have supposed, that a synod was actually sitting in his favour now, any more than during the Synod of the Oak, the deputies from which found him surrounded, but not synodically; by forty bishops, in his own palace. The 4th or 12th canon of the Council of Antioch was alleged by his opponents: his defence was that it was framed by the Arians (Reading, *ib.*). As quoted by his opponents, indeed, it was differently worded from what either the 4th or 12th are now; so that possibly there may have been an Arian version of these canons, against which his objection held good. The synod, however, decided against him, and his banishment to Comana, on the Black Sea, says Socrates—to Cucusus, in Armenia, say others—followed, where he died.

(9) A.D. 426, on the last day of February, when Sisinnius was consecrated bishop there, in the room of Atticus. Afterwards, the errors of the Massilians, or Euchites, were condemned, at the instance of the Bishops of Iconium and Sida, as we learn from the 7th action of the Council of Ephesus. A severe sentence was passed on any charged with holding them after this denunciation (Mansi, iv. 541-2).

(10) A.D. 428, on the death of Sisinnius, when the well-known Nestorius was consecrated (Mansi, iv. 543-4).

(11) A.D. 431, October 25, four months after Nestorius had been deposed, to consecrate Maximian in his place (Mansi, v. 1045). This done, Maximian presided, and joined in a synodical letter, enclosing that of the Council of Ephesus, with its first six canons, as they are called, to the bishops of ancient Epirus, whom attempts had been made to detach from orthodoxy (*ib.* 257). Letters were written likewise by him and by the emperor to Pope Celestine, St. Cyril, and other bishops, to acquaint them with his elevation, at which all expressed themselves well pleased (*ib.* 257-92). Another synod appears to have been held by him the year following, for

restoring peace between his own Church and that of Antioch (*ib.* 1049-50).

(12) A.D. 443, probably (Mansi, vi. 493-8, comp. Cave, l. 479) to consider the case of Athanasius, bishop of Perrhe, on the Euphrates, afterwards deposed at Antioch under Donatus. Here he seems to have got letters in his favour from Proclus (comp. *Comp. Hierop.* A. D. 445).

(13) A.D. 448, November 8, under Flavian, to enquire into a dispute between Florentius, metropolitan of Sarilla, and two of his suffragans; but while sitting, it was called upon by Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, one of its members, and who had, as a layman, denounced Nestorius, to summon Eutyches, archimandrite of a convent of three hundred monks, and as resolute an opponent of Nestorius as himself, on a charge that he felt obliged to press against him. The charge was that he recognised but one nature in Christ. Messengers were despatched to invite Eutyches to persevere what Eusebius had alleged against him. Meanwhile, two letters of St. Cyril—his second to Nestorius, recited and approved at the Council of Ephesus, and his letter to John of Antioch, on their reconciliation—were read out, and pronounced orthodox by all. A reply was brought subsequently from Eutyches, that he refused to quit his monastery. A 2nd and 3rd citation followed in succession. Then he promised attendance within a week. While waiting for him, the council listened to some minutes of a conversation between him and the two presbyters charged with his 2nd citation, when they said he expressly denied two natures in Christ. At last he appeared, made profession of his faith, and was condemned—thirty-two bishops and twenty-three archimandrites subscribing to his deposition from the priest-hood and monastic dignity. Proceedings occupied altogether seven sessions—the last of which was held November 22. Its acts were recited in a subsequent council of the year following at Constantinople; at Ephesus, also, the year following, under Dioscorus; and again, in the 1st session of the Council of Chalcedon, where they may be read still (Mansi, vi. 495-6, and then 649-754).

(14) A.D. 448, April 8, of thirty bishops under Theodosius, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, held by order of the emperor, to re-consider the sentence passed on Eutyches by the council under Flavian, on a representation from the former that its acts had been falsified. This, however, was proved untrue. Another session was held April 27, on a second petition from Eutyches, to have the statement of Magnus—the official or silentiary, who had accompanied him to the council under Flavian—taken down, which was done. This officer declared to having seen the instrument containing his deposition, before the session was held at which it was resolved on. The acts of this council are likewise preserved in the first session of that of Chalcedon (Mansi, v. 503-4, and then 753-828).

(15) A.D. 450, at which Anatolius was ordained bishop; and then, some months afterwards, at the head of his suffragans and clergy, made profession of his faith and subscribed to the celebrated letter of St. Leo to his predecessor Flavian, in the presence of four legates from Rome, charged to obtain proofs of his orthodoxy (Mansi, vi. 509-14, with ep. lix. of St. Leo, *ib.* 83-5).

(16) A. the Emperor take cognizance from Alexandria, who, on the stalled bishop of Chalcedon, done to re-titled Aelutius & 809-70.

(17) A. bishops su-stant, in of Chalcedon simoniacal in Galatia

(18) A. Bishop of Ephesus, and a letter Rome, to a conciliar, 24, comp. was addressed Peter the P. introduced us" into the thert of issued from fact there 24.

(19) A.D. the Council removing it from the see as bishop he transmitted was allowed

(20) A.D. stasius I, confirmed, deposed; and who had p (Mansi, viii. 581) A.D.

(21) A.D. stasius I, in Antioch of polis, took Chalcedon a doctrine, or clause "Wh agion. But took place met a year to the Coun which this 206).

(22) A.D. peror Justin of Nicaea, C don: of St. Macedonius the sacred d opponents of its synodical addressed to ll, praying the 5th act 536, as are bishops of Gratus was with letters

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hich Anatolius was ordained some months afterwards, at agans and clergy, male pre- and subscribed to the cele- t. Leo to his predecessor sence of four legates from tain proofs of his orthodoxy with ep. lix. of St. Leo,

CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF

(16) A. D. 457, under Anatolius by order of the Emperor Leo, whom he had just crowned, to take cognisance of the petitions that had arrived from Alexandria for and against Timothy Aelurus, who, on the murder of St. Proterius, had been installed bishop there by the opponents of the Council of Chalcedon, and to consider what could be done to restore peace. The council anathematized Aelurus and his party (Mansi, vii, 521-2 & 869-70)

(17) A. D. 459, under Gennadius. Eighty-one bishops subscribed to its synodical letter still extant, in which the 2nd canon of the Council of Chalcedon is cited with approval against some simoniacal ordinations recently brought to light in Galatia (Mansi, vii, 911-20).

(18) A. D. 478, under Acacius, in which Peter, Bishop of Antioch, surnamed the Fuller, Paul of Ephesus, and John of Apamen, were condemned; and a letter addressed to Simplicius, bishop of Rome, to acquaint him with, and request him to concur in, their condemnation (Mansi, vii, 1017-22, comp. Vales. *Oberr.* in *Evag.* l. 2). A letter was addressed at the same time by Acacius to Peter the Fuller himself, rebuking him for having introduced the clause "Who was crucified for us" into the Trisagion or hymn to the Trinity. Hitherto this letter has been printed as if it had issued from a synod five years later, when in fact there was no such synod (Mansi, *ib.* 1119-24).

(19) A. D. 492, under Euphemius; in favour of the Council of Chalcedon; but as he declined removing the name of his predecessor Acacius from the sacred diptychs, he was not recognised as bishop by popes Felix and Gelasius, to whom he transmitted its acts, though his orthodoxy was allowed (Mansi, vii, 1175-80).

(20) A. D. 496, by order of the Emperor Anastasius I, in which the Henoticon of Zeno was confirmed, Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople deposed; and Macedonius, the second of that name who had presided there, substituted for him (Mansi, viii, 186-7).

(21) A. D. 498, by order of the emperor Anastasius I, in which Flavian, the second bishop of Antioch of that name, and Philoxenus of Hierapolis, took the lead: condemning the Council of Chalcedon and all who opposed the Monophysite doctrine, or would not accept the interpolated clause "Who was crucified for us" in the Trisagion. But it seems probable that this council took place a year later; and that another had met a year earlier, under Macedonius, less hostile to the Council of Chalcedon than this, and of which this was the reaction (Mansi, viii, 197-200).

(22) A. D. 518, July 20, by order of the emperor Justin, at which the names of the Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon: of St. Leo of Rome, with Euphemius and Macedonius of Constantinople, were restored in the sacred diptychs; and Severus and all other opponents of the 4th council anathematized. Its synodical letter signed by forty bishops and addressed to the Constantinopolitan bishop, John II, praying his assent to its acts, is preserved in the 5th action of the council under Mennas, A. D. 536, as are his letters informing the Eastern bishops of what had been done there. Count Gratius was despatched to Rome by the emperor with letters from himself and the patriarch to pope

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Hormisdas, hoping that peace might under these circumstances be restored between them. The answers of Hormisdas, his instructions to the legates despatched by him to Constantinople, their accounts of their reception there, the profession signed by the patriarch, and the subsequent correspondence between him and the pope, may all be read amongst the epistles of the latter (Mansi, viii, 435-65). The Easterns had to anathematise Acacius of Constantinople by name, and to erase his, and the names of all others, Euphemius and Macedonius included, who had not erased his previously, from the sacred diptychs, before the pope would readmit them to his communion (*ib.* 573-8).

(23) A. D. 531, under Epiphanius, who was then patriarch, to enquire into the consecration of Stephen, Metropolitan of Larissa, within the diocese of Thrace, which, contrary to the 28th canon of Chalcedon, had been made without consulting him. Stephen, having been deposed by him on these grounds, appealed to Rome; but the acts of the synod held there to consider his appeal are defective, so that it is not known with what success (Mansi, viii, 739-40).

(24) A. D. 536. According to some, three synods were held there this year: 1. in which pope Agapetus presided and deposed Anthimus, patriarch of Constantinople; but this, as Mansi shews (viii, 871-2), the emperor Justinian had already done, besides confirming the election of Mennas in his stead, at the instance of the clergy and people of the city. Agapetus, who had come thither on a mission from Theodotus, king of the Goths, having previously refused his communion, had unquestionably procured his ejection; and he afterwards consecrated Mennas, as Theophilus of Alexandria had St. John Chrysostom, at the request of the emperor. 2. in which a number of Eastern bishops met to draw up a petition to the pope requesting him to call upon Anthimus, subsequently to his deposition but previously to his going back to Trebizond from which he had been translated, for a retraction of his denial of two natures in Christ; but this can hardly be called a council; and the death of the pope stopped any definitive action on his part (*ib.*). 3. under Mennas, after the death of the pope, consisting of five actions, the first of which took place, May 2, in a church dedicated to St. Mary near the great church, Mennas presiding, and having on his right, among others, five Italian bishops, who had come to Constantinople from the late pope, and remained there with him on his arrival. The first thing brought before the council was a petition from various monastic bodies in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Mount Sinai to the emperor, begging that the sentence, stayed only by the death of the pope, against Anthimus, might be carried out; a general account of what had passed between them and the pope followed, their petition to him was produced by the Italian bishops present and recited; after it another petition to him from some Eastern bishops on the same subject; and his own letter to Peter, bishop of Jerusalem in reply. Desirous of following out his decision, the council sent deputies to acquaint Anthimus with its proceedings, and bid him appear there within three days. The second and third actions passed in sending him similar summonses, but all his hiding-places

message from the emperor he would not undertake to do more than examine the chapters by himself, and transmit his opinion on them, not to the council, but to him. This probably was contained in his *Constitutum* (Mansi, v. p. 61 and seq.); the date assigned to which indicates that it came out between the 5th and 6th collations. Some bishops of Africa and Illyria excused themselves equally to the deputation sent to invite their attendance. At the 3rd collation the fathers commenced the real business for which they had been convened with a preface well worth remembering for its soundness and moderation. They pledged themselves to the exact doctrine and discipline laid down in the four general councils, each and all, preceding their own; one and the same confession of faith had sufficed for them in spite of all the heresies they had met to condemn, and should suffice now. All things in harmony with it should be received; and all things at variance with it rejected. Having thus pledged themselves to the 4th council among the rest, the fathers proceeded to the examination of the three chapters in their 4th collation. This was on May 12: extracts having accordingly been read out from various works of Theodore, both he and they were judged worthy of condemnation. The next day, or the 5th collation, passages for or against Theodore, for St. Cyril and others, were produced and weighed; and authorities, particularly St. Augustine, cited in favour of condemning heretics although dead. Enquiry having been made when the name of Theodore ceased to be commemorated in the sacred diptychs of his church, it was discovered that the name of St. Cyril had long been substituted there for his. At the close of the sitting, extracts from the writings of Theodoret against St. Cyril were recited; on which the fathers remarked that the 4th council had acted wisely in not receiving him till he had anathematised Nestorius. Six days intervened before the 6th collation took place, May 19. During this interval Vigilius issued his "Constitutum," dated May 14, in the form of a synodical letter addressed to the emperor (Mansi, ix. 61-106), answering and condemning a number of the positions of Theodore, but pleading for Theodoret and Ibas, as having been acquitted by the 4th council. However, the council at its 6th collation found the letter of Ibas in question contrary to the Chalcedonian definition, and anathematised it accordingly, the principal speaker against it being Theodore, bishop of Cappadocia; but its author escaped. At the 7th collation, May 26 or 30, for the reading is doubtful, a communication was read from the emperor in deprecation of the "Constitutum" addressed to him by the Pope, May 14, and on which there had been a good many messages between them in vain since. First, no less than six documents were recited proving Vigilius to have expressly condemned the three chapters as many times: 1, a letter from him to the emperor; 2, to the empress, in both which the words "unam operationem" were declared at the 6th council by the legates of Agatha to have been a later insertion of the Monothelite party (Baluz. ap. Mansi, ix. 163-72); 3, to his deacons, Rusticus and Sebastian, condemning them for the false stories they had spread about him; 4, to the bishop of Kiev, in

Russia; 5, to the bishop of Arles; and 6, a deposition signed by Theodore, bishop of Caesarea, and a lay dignitary, to the effect that Vigilius had sworn to the emperor in their presence to do all he could for the condemnation of the three chapters, and never say a word in their favour. Next, an enquiry, by order of the emperor, respecting a picture or statue of Theodoret said to have been carried about at Cyrrus in procession, was reported. And, lastly, the imperial mandate, which ordained that the name of Vigilius should be removed from the sacred diptychs for his tergiversations on the subject of the three chapters, "Non enim patiemur, nec ab eo, nec ab alio quocunque," says the emperor, "inviolatum communionem suscipere, qui non istam impietatem condemnat . . . ne eo modo inveniamur Nestorii et Theodori impietati communicantes" (Mansi, *ib.* 366-7). Unity with the apostolic see would not, he adds, be thereby dissolved, inasmuch as neither Vigilius nor any other individual could, by his own change for the worse, mar the peace of the Church. To all which the council agreed. Finally, reviewing at its 8th collation, June 2, in a singularly well-written compendium all that it had done previously, and vindicating the course about to be pursued, it formally condemned the three chapters, and with them the author of the first of them—Theodore—promulgating its definitive sentence in 14 anathemas, almost identical with those of the emperor (Mansi, *ib.* 557-64), and in which the heresies and heresiarchs thus condemned are specified: Origen among the number in the eleventh, though not in the corresponding one of the emperor. He had been previously condemned in the council under Menas, A.D. 538, as we have seen. Of these anathemas the Greek version is still extant; of almost every other record of its proceedings the Latin version alone remains. Vigilius, after taking some time to consider, announced his assent to them in two formal documents: the first a decretal epistle, dated Dec. 8 of the same year, and addressed to the Constantinopolitan patriarch (Mansi, *ib.* 413-32, with the notes of De Marec), in which, as he says, after the manner of St. Augustine, he retracts all that he had ever written differently; and the second, another *Constitutum* of great length, dated Feb. 23 of the year following (Clinton, A.D. 554, c. 4), but without any heading or subscription in its present form (Mansi, *ib.* 457-88). He died on his way home, and Pelagius, the Roman envoy who had been instrumental in condemning Origen, had thus, on becoming pope, to vindicate the condemnation of the three chapters by this council in the West, where they had been defended all but unanimously, and were upheld obstinately by more than three parts of Italy still. The 2nd Pelagius, twenty-five years later, in his third letter to the bishops of Istria, said to have been written by St. Gregory the Great, then his deacon (Mansi, *ib.* 433-54, and see Migne's *et.*), apologised as follows for the conduct of his predecessors and his own therein. Referring to the occasion on which St. Peter was reproved by St. Paul (Gal. ii. 11), he asks, "Nunquid Petro apostolorum principi sibi dissimilia docenti, debuit ad hæc verba responderi? "Hæc quæ dicis, nudare non possumus, quia aliud ante predicasti? Si igitur in trium capitulorum

negotio, aliud eum veritas quaeretur, aliud autem inventa veritate, dictum est: cur mutatio sententiae huic sedi in crimine obicitur, quae a cuncta ecclesia humiliter in ejus auctore veneratur? Non enim mutatio sententiae, sed inconstantia sensus in culpa est." St. Gregory, when pope, settled the matter by affirming that he venerated the 5th council equally with the four preceding (Mansi, *ib.* 454). No canons seem to have been passed in it; but though two elaborate dissertations have been written on it (Garnad *Liberat.*, and H. de Noris, *Op. P. ii.*), many points connected with it are still doubtful; and the documents published by Mansi (ix. 151-651) as belonging to it, greatly need re-arranging.

(28) A.D. 565, at which the emperor Justinian endeavoured to get the errors of Julian of Halicarnassus, a well-known Monophysite, who maintained the incorruptibility of the Body of Christ antecedently to his resurrection, approved, by banishing those who opposed them (Mansi, ix. 765-8).

(29) A.D. 587, at which a foul charge brought against Gregory, patriarch of Antioch, by a banker of his diocese, was examined. He was honourably acquitted and his accuser punished (Evag. vi. 7). Mansi thinks this must have been the synod summoned as a general one by the Constantinopolitan patriarch John, in virtue of his assumed title of oecumenical patriarch, and for which he was so severely taken to task by pope Pelagius II.—but for this no direct proof is adduced either by him or Pagi (ix. 971-3). It is supplied, however, in a letter of St. Gregory the Great to that patriarch (*ib.* 1217-18), and a further letter of his some time later, when Cyrinus was patriarch, whose plan of holding another synod for the same purpose he would seem to have anticipated (*ib.* x. 159). Mansi (*ib.* p. 481-2) conceives this synod to have been held A.D. 598.

(30) A.D. 626, under Sergius, to consider the question raised by Paul, a Monophysite of Phasis, in Lazien, and Cyrus, its metropolitan—afterwards translated to Alexandria—before the emperor Heraclius, whether one or two wills and operations were to be ascribed to Christ. Sergius, on the authority of a discourse ascribed by him to his well-known predecessor Menas, and other testimonies which he abstains from naming, pronounced in favour of one operation and one will; thereby founding the heresy called Monothelism (Mansi, x. 585-8). Clinton (ii. 171) doubts whether the question did not originate with Athanasius, patriarch of the Jacobites in Syria, on his promotion to the see of Antioch by Heraclius four years later. The discourse which Sergius ascribed to Menas was proved a forgery to the 6th council at its third session.

(31) A.D. 639, under Sergius, and continued—unless there were two distinct councils this year—under Pyrrhus, his successor, at which the "Ecthesis" or exposition of faith by the emperor Heraclius, favourable to Monothelism, was confirmed (Mansi, x. 673-4). Parts of its acts, with the ecthesis in full, were recited in the third sitting of the Lateran under Martin I. A.D. 649 (*ib.* 991-1004).

(32) A.D. 665, by order of the emperor Constantine II., at which St. Maximus, the great opponent of the Monothelites, was condemned (Mansi, xi. 73-4).

(33) A.D. 636, under Peter, patriarch of Constantinople, and attended by Macedonius of Antioch and the vicar of the patriarch of Alexandria, at which St. Maximus was condemned a second time with his disciples (Mansi, xi. 73-6).

(34) The 6th general, held in the banqueting hall of the palace, called Trullus in its domed roof (Du Fresne, *Constant. Christ.* ii. 4, § 19-20), and lasting from November 7, A.D. 680, to September 16 of the ensuing year.

It was convened by the emperor Constantine Pogonatus, as stated in his epistle to Pope Donus, in consequence of a request made to him by the patriarchs of Constantinople to permit their removing from the sacred diptychs the name of Pope Vitalian, lately deceased, while they were for retaining that of Honorius (Mansi, xi. 199-200). In short, they wished to commemorate none of the popes after Honorius till some disputes that had arisen between their own sees and his had been settled, and some newly-coined words explained. The allusion is probably to the *αἰα θεαδρική ἐνέργεια* attributed to Christ by the Monothelite patriarch and synod of Alexandria, A.D. 633 (*ib.* 565), when Honorius was pope. Donus dying before this letter could reach Rome, it was complied with at once by his successor Agatho, who sent three bishops, on behalf of his synod, and two presbyters, and one deacon named John—who subsequently became pope as John V., in his own name—to Constantinople, "to bring about the union of the holy Churches of God," as it is said in his life (*ib.* 165). On hearing from the "oecumenical pope," as he styles him, to that effect, the Emperor issued his summons to George, patriarch of Constantinople—whom he styles oecumenical patriarch—and through him to the patriarch of Antioch, to get ready to come to the council with their respective bishops and metropolitans (*ib.* 201). Macarius, metropolitan of Milan, who had formed part of the Roman synod under Agatho, sent a synodical letter and profession of faith on behalf of his own synod (*ib.* 201-8), and Theodore, bishop of Ravenna, who had formed part of the same synod, a presbyter, to represent him personally. The number of bishops actually present, according to Cave, was 289, though the extant subscriptions are under 180. Thirteen officers of the court were there likewise by command of the emperor, who attended in person, and were ranged round him—on his left were the representatives of the pope and his synod, of the archbishop of Ravenna, and of the patriarch of Jerusalem, then Basil, bishop of Gortyna, in Crete, and the remaining bishops "subject to Rome"—his right being occupied by the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, a presbyter representing the patriarch of Alexandria, the bishop of Ephesus, and "the remaining bishops subject to Constantinople." The business of the council was concluded in 18 actions or sessions, as follows:—

1. The legates of Agatho having complained of the novel teaching of four patriarchs of Constantinople—Sergius, Paul, Pyrrhus, and Peter—of Cyprus, of Alexandria, and Theodore, bishop of Pharan, that had for 46 years or more troubled the whole Church, in attributing one will and operation to the Incarnate Word, Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, and two suffragans

of the see condemned the dogma, brief new terms they had recited the holy fathers particularly the Alexandria, Honorius, upon the chair of the grant to fetch the from the hill was said of on this occasion lost previous to produce a two volumes recited by St. writing on that that some of him.

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of the see of Constantinople favourable to this dogma, briefly replied that they had put out no new terms but only believed and taught what they had received from general councils and from the holy fathers on the point in question, particularly the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, named by their opponents, and Isaacus, formerly pope of elder Rome. Whereupon the chartophylax, or keeper of the archives of the great Church, was ordered by the emperor to fetch the books of the oecumenical councils from the library of the patriarch. As nothing was said of the acts of the 1st and 2nd councils on this occasion, we must infer they had been lost previously. The chartophylax was told to produce what he had got; and immediately two volumes of the acts of the 3rd council were recited by Stephen, a presbyter of Antioch in waiting on Macarius, who forthwith contended that some of St. Cyril's expressions made for him.

2. Two volumes of the acts of the 4th council were read, when the legates of Agatho pointed out that two operations were attributed to Christ by St. Leo.

3. Two volumes of the acts of the 5th council were read, when the legates protested that two letters of Pope Vigilius, contained in the second volume, had been interpolated, and that a discourse attributed in the first to Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, was spurious. This last having been proved on the spot from internal evidence, its recital was stopped, the emperor directing further enquiry to be made respecting the letters of the pope.

4. Two letters from Agatho were recited— one to the emperor, in his own name, the other to the council, in his own name and that of a synod of 125 bishops, with Wilfrid, bishop of York, among them, for Britain, assembled under him at Rome, previously to the departure of his legates. The burden of both is the same, namely, that what had been defined as of faith by the five general councils preceding, it was the summit of his ambition to keep inviolate—without change, diminution, or addition, either in word or thought (Mansi, *ib.* 235). Mr. Renouf, indeed, in his second pamphlet on "Pope Honorius" (p. 46-7), has pointed out several passages in the Latin version of these letters on the prerogatives of the Church of Rome, which are not found in the Greek. Either, therefore, they have been interpolated in one, or suppressed in the other. The decree of the Council of Florence supplies a parallel of the same kind. But that Agatho wrote these letters in Greek, and that the Latin version of the entire acts of this council that we have cannot possibly be the one made by order of the next pope, soon after the council dispersed, are two points which Mr. R. seems to have assumed without proving.

5. Two papers were exhibited by Macarius, and recited: of which the first was headed "Testimonies from the holy Fathers confirmatory of there being one will in Christ, which is also that of the Father and the Holy Ghost."

6. A third paper from Macarius, to the same effect as the other two, having been read, the sealing of all three was commanded by the emperor, and entrusted to his own officials and those belonging to the sees of Rome and Con-

stantinople. On the legates affirming that the quotations contained in them had not been fairly made, authentic copies of the works cited were ordered to be brought from the patriarchal library to compare with them.

7. A paper headed "Testimonies from the holy Fathers demonstrating two wills and operations in Christ," was produced by the legates, and read. Appended to it were passages from the writings of heretics, in which but one will and operation was taught. This paper was ordered to be sent, like those of Macarius, by the emperor.

8. The passages adduced by Agatho from the Fathers, and by his synod, in favour of two wills and operations, having been examined and confirmed, were pronounced conclusive by all present except Macarius; and the petition to have the name of Vitalian erased from the diptychs was withdrawn by George, the existing patriarch of Constantinople, amid great applause. Macarius being then called upon to make his profession, proved himself a Monothelite; and was convicted of having quoted unfairly from the Fathers in his papers to support his views.

9. Examination of the papers of Macarius having been completed, he and his presbyter Stephen were formally deposed as heretics by the council.

10. The paper exhibited by the legates was taken in hand: and after a most interesting comparison, passage by passage, between it and the authentic works in the patriarchal library, was declared thoroughly correct in its citations; a profession of faith was received from the bishop of Nicomedia and some others, in which Monothelism was abjured.

11. A long and remarkable profession of faith, contained in a synodical letter of Sophronius, late patriarch of Jerusalem, and the first to oppose Monothelism, was recited: and after it, at the request of the legates, some more writings of Macarius, since come to hand, that proved full of heresy.

12. Several more documents belonging to Macarius having been received from the emperor through one of his officers, which he professed not to have read himself, some were looked through and pronounced irrelevant, but three letters were recited at length: one from Sergius patriarch of Constantinople to Cyrus, then bishop of Phasis; another from him to Pope Honorius; the third being the answer of Honorius to him. Again the patriarchal archives were searched, and the two first of these letters compared with the authentic copies of them found there; while the original letter of Honorius in Latin having been brought from thence was compared by John bishop of Porto, the only delegate from the Roman synod then present, with the copy just read, and the genuineness of all three placed beyond doubt. A suggestion brought from the emperor that Macarius should be restored in the event of his recanting, was preemptorily declined by the council.

13. Both the letters of Sergius before mentioned and that of Honorius to him were declared hereticox; and he and his successors, Pyrrhus, Peter, and Paul, Cyrus of Alexandria, and Theodore, bishop of Pharan—on all of whom Agatho had passed sentence previously—with Honorius, whom Agatho had passed over, were

definitively cast out of the Church—the only sentence of the kind ever decreed against any pope. The letter of Sophronius, on the other hand, was pronounced orthodox. Finally, search having been made for all other works of the same kind in the archives, all that could be found were brought out and recited. The list included two letters from Cyrus to Sergius, the latest of them having been written from Alexandria, with a copy of the terms of agreement come to between him and the Theodosians, a Monophysite sect, enclosed in it; works by Theodore, bishop of Pharan, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, patriarchs of Constantinople; a second letter of Honorius to Sergius; and a dogmatic letter of Pyrrhus to Pope John IV., discovered in a volume of dogmatic letters by the Charophylax, George. All these were pronounced heretical, and burnt as such. Letters of Thomas, John, and Constantine, patriarchs of Constantinople, were read likewise, but their orthodoxy was allowed.

14. Returning to the letters of Pope Vigilius that had been called in question, it was ascertained by curious enquiry that each of the volumes of the 5th council had been tampered with: in one case by inserting the paper attributed to Memmius, in the other by interpolating the letters of Vigilius, in support of heresy. The council ordered both falsifications to be cancelled, besides anathematising them and their authors. A sermon of St. Athanasius was produced by the bishops of Cyprus, in which the doctrine of two wills in Christ was clearly laid down. At this sitting Theophanes, the new patriarch of Antioch, is first named among these priests.

15. Polychronius, a presbyter, undertaking to raise a dead man to life in support of his heretical views, and failing, was condemned as an impostor, and deposed.

16. Constantine, another presbyter, affecting to have devised some formula calculated to reconcile Monothelism with orthodoxy, was proved in agreement with Macarius, and similarly condemned. In conclusion, all who had been condemned were anathematised, one after the other by name, amidst cheers for the orthodox.

17. The previous acts of the council were read over; and its definition of faith published for the first time.

18. The definition having been once more published, was signed by all present; and received the assent of the emperor on the spot amid the usual acclamations and reprobations. It consisted of three parts:—I. An introduction proclaiming entire agreement on the part of the council with the five previous councils, and acceptance of the two creeds promulgated by them as one. II. Recital of the two creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople in their pristine forms. III. Its own definition, enumerating all previously condemned for Monothelism once more by name; and mentioning with approbation the declaration of pope Agatho and his synod against them, and in favour of the true doctrine, which it proceeded to unfold in course; then reiterating the decree passed by previous councils against the framers and upholders of a faith or creed other than the two forms already specified; and including finally in the same condemnation the

inventors and disseminators of any novel terms subversive of its own rulings.

Proceedings terminated in a remarkable address to the emperor on behalf of all present, which was read out, showing that the doctrine of the Trinity had been defined by the two first councils; and that of the Incarnation in the four next, of which this was the last; and a still more remarkable request was appended to it,—that he would forward the definition signed by himself to the five patriarchal sees of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; which we are told expressly was done (Mansi, *ib.* 681-4). In conclusion, a letter was despatched to the pope in the name of the council, informing him that he would receive a copy of its acts through his legates, and begging that he would confirm them in his reply. The emperor on his part exhorted all to receive them in a special edict; and as he had promised, addressed a letter in his own name to the Roman synod, dated Dec. 23, A.D. 681.—Agatho dying, according to Cave, Dec. 1—and another to Leo II., soon after his accession, the year following, bespeaking their acceptance. This the new pope granted without hesitation in the fullest manner, even to the condemnation of Honorius as having betrayed the faith; all which he repeated to the bishops of Spain in sending them a Latin translation of the acts of this council (Mansi, *ib.* 1049-53). Solely from hence the genuineness of both epistles has been denied (comp. Mr. Kenouf's *Pope Honorius*; Professor Botalla's reply to it; and Mr. R.'s rejoinder), and even the integrity of the acts of the council themselves in their present state are now questioned (Pagi ad Baron., A.D. 681, n. 9-12). Two versions of them are given by Mansi (xi. 189-922); in both the arrangement of the concluding documents is chronologically defective. It is admitted on all hands that no emends were pos. ed. Several anecdotes of this council found their way into the West. Bele tells us, for instance (*De Temp. Rat.* A.D. 688), that such was the honour accorded there to the legates of Agatho that one of them, the bishop of Porto, celebrated the Eucharist in Latin on Low-Sunday, in the church of St. Sophia, before the emperor and patriarch. Cardinal Humbert asserts it was then explained to the emperor that unleavened bread was enjoined by the Latin rite (ap. Canis. *Theol.* p. 318). But the two striking incidents of this council were: 1. The arrangement of the "bishops subject to Rome," and those "subject to Constantinople" on opposite sides; and, 2. The anathemas passed on pope and patriarch alike. Coming events are said to cast their shadows before them.

(35) A.D. 691, as Pagi shows (ad Baron. A.D. 692 n. 3-7) from the emended reading of the date given in its 3rd canon and rightly interpreted, in or not earlier than September. The fathers composing it, in their address to the emperor Justinian II. or Rhinotmetus, as he was afterwards surnamed from what befel him, say that they had met at his bidding to pass some canons that had long been needed, owing to the omission of the 5th and 6th councils, contrary to the precedent of the four first to pass any, whence this council has been commonly styled the quini-sexth, or a supplement to both. It is indeed best known as the Trullan, from the hall

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of the palace in which it was held, although the 6th council had met there no less. The number of bishops subscribing to its canons was 213, of whom 43 had been present at the 6th council (Mansi xi. 927); and at their head, instead of after them as at the 6th council, the emperor, who signs however differently from the rest, as accepting and assenting to merely what had been defined by them. A blank is left immediately after his name for that of the pope, showing clearly that the pope was not represented there; and blanks are subsequently left for the bishops of Thessalonica, Heraclea, Sardinia, Ravenna, and Corinth, who might, had they been present, have been supposed acting for him: Basil, indeed, bishop of Gortyna in Crete, is set down as subscribing on behalf of the whole synod of the Roman church; but then he is similarly set down among the subscriptions to the 6th council, not having been one of the three deputies sent thither from Rome (ib. pp. 642 and 70), and afterwards in the letter addressed to Agatho by the council, only signing for himself and his own synod (ib. p. 690). Hence there seems little ground for supposing him to have represented Rome there in any sense, though Pagi and others are willing to believe he may have been acting as apocrisarius at the time of the council (ad Baron. ib. n. 9-13). Certainly, Anastasius, in his life of Sergius I., who was then Pope, says that the legates of the apostolic see were present, and deluded into subscribing; but there is nothing else in the subscriptions to confirm this; and of the acts nothing further has been preserved. Great controversy prevails as to the extent to which this council has been received in the West: Oecumenical it has never been accounted there, in spite of its own claim to be so: and when its 102 canons were sent in six tomes to Sergius, himself a native of Antioch, for subscription, he said he would die sooner than assent to the erroneous innovations which they contained. John VII., the next pope but one, was requested by the emperor to confirm all that he could, and reject the rest; but he sent back the tomes untouched—Lupus (*Diss. de Syn. Trul.*, op. Tom. iii. 168-73), whom Pagi (A.D. 710, n. 2) follows is of opinion that Constantine was the first pope to confirm any of them; but this is inferred solely from the honourable reception given to him at Constantinople by Justinian, which may have been dictated by other motives. What Adrian I. says in his epistle to St. Tarasius, read out at the 7th council, is explicit enough: "I too receive the same six holy councils with all the rules constitutionally and divinely promulgated by them; among which is contained" what turns out to be the 82nd of these canons, for he quotes it at full length. And the first canon of the 7th council confirmed by him is substantially to the same effect.

But the exact truth is probably told by Anastasius, the librarian, in the preface to his translation of the acts of the 7th council dedicated to John VIII., whom he credits with having accepted all the apostolical canons under the same reserve. "At the 7th council," he says, "the principal see so far admits the rules laid by the Greeks to have been framed at the 6th council, as to reject in the same breath whichever of them should prove to be opposed to former canons, or the decrees of its own holy pontiffs,

or to good manners." All of them, indeed, he contents had been unknown to the Latins entirely till then, never having been translated; neither were they to be found even in the archives of the other patriarchal sees, where Greek was spoken, none of whose occupants had been present to concur or assist in their promulgation, although the Greeks attributed their promulgation to those fathers who formed the 3th council, a statement for which he avers they were unable to bring any decisive proof. This shows how little he liked these canons himself: nor can it be denied that some of them were dictated by a spirit hostile to the West. The 3rd and 13th, for instance, deliberately propose to alter what had been the law and practice of the Roman church for upwards of 300 years respecting those who became presbyters, deacons, or sub-deacons, as married men: and make the rule substituted for it in each case binding upon all. The 55th on the authority of one of the apostolical canons not received by Rome, interdicts the custom of fasting on Saturdays which had prevailed in the Roman church from time immemorial. And the 56th lays down a rule to be kept by all churches in observing the Lenten fast. Canons 32, 33, and 99 are specially levelled against the Armenians. Of the rest, canon 1 confirms the doctrine of the 6th general council preceding, and insists in the strongest terms upon its unalterableness. Canon 2 renews all the canons confirmed by them, with the Sardican and African in addition, besides the canons of SS. Dionysius and Peter of Alexandria; of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nysen; the canonical answers of Timothy with the canons of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria and the canonical letters of St. Cyril: the canon of Scripture with St. Gregory Nazianzen, and another by St. Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium in Lycæonia, with a circular of Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, against simoniacal ordinations. In conclusion, it receives all the apostolical canons, eighty-five in number, though at that time but fifty were received in the Roman church, as we learn from Anastasius, but rejects the apostolical constitutions as having been interpolated, and containing many spurious things. By this canon accordingly the sole of the Eastern church was authoritatively settled, apart of course from the 102 canons now added to it, which were formally received themselves, as we have seen, by the 2nd Council of Nicea, and reckoned ever afterwards as the canons of the 6th council. As such they are quoted by Photius in his *Synagma canonum*, and his *Nomocanon* (Migne's *Pat. Gr.* civ. 431-1218), and continue to be quoted still (*Orthod. x and Non-Jurors*, by Rev. G. Williams, p. 74). Their general character is thoroughly oriental, but without disparagement to their practical value (Mansi, xi. 921-1024, and xii. 47-50; Bever, II. 126-34).

(28) A.D. 712, in the short-lived reign of Philipppicus or Bardanes, and under the Monothelite patriarch of his appointment, John VI.; at which the 6th council was repudiated and condemned. The copy of its acts, belonging to the palace was likewise burnt by his order, as we learn from the deacon who transcribed them; and the picture of it that hung there, removed. On the death of the tyrant indeed John addressed

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a letter to Pope Constantine to apologise for what had been done; but its tone is not assuring. He testifies, however, to the authentic tones of the 6th council being safe still in his archives (Mansi, xii. 187-208); and Pagi can see some excuse for his conduct (ad Baron. A.D. 712, n. 2-4).

(37) A.D. 715, Aug. 11, at which the translation of St. Germanus from the see of Cyricus to that of Constantinople was authorised. He had been a party to the Monothelite synod under John three years before; but immediately after his translation he held a synod—most probably this one continued—in which he condemned Monothelism (Mansi, xii. 255-8).

(38) A.D. 730, or rather a meeting in the imperial palace, at which the Emperor Leo III., better known as the Isaurian, called upon St. Germanus the aged patriarch to declare for the demolition of images, which he had just ordered himself in a second edict against them. The patriarch replied by resigning his pall (Mansi, xii. 269-70, and Pagi, ad Baron., A.D. 730, n. 1-4).

(39) A.D. 754, from Feb. 10 to Aug. 8, held by order of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus, and styling itself Oecumenical, or the 7th council, though its claim to both titles has since been set aside in favour of the second council of Nicaea, in which its decrees were reversed. Unfortunately, there is no record of its acts extant, but what is to be found in the 6th session of that council, where they were cited only to be condemned. As many as 338 bishops attended it, but the chief see represented there was that of Ephesus. Their proceedings are given in six tomes, as follows: 1. They deduce the origin of all creature-worship from the devil, to abolish which God sent His Son in the flesh; 2. Christianity being established, the devil, they say, was undone to bring about a combustion between it and idolatry; but the emperors had opposed themselves to his designs. Already six councils had met, and the present one following in their steps declared all pictorial representations unlawful and subversive of the faith which they professed; 3. Two natures being united in Christ, no one picture or statue could represent Christ as He is, besides His only proper representation is in the Eucharistic sacrifice of His own institution; 4. There was no prayer in use for consecrating images, nor were representations of the saints to be tolerated any more than of Christ, for Holy Scripture was distinctly against both; 5. The fathers, beginning with St. Epiphanius, having been cited at some length to the same purpose, the council decreed unanimously that all likenesses of whatsoever colour and material were to be taken away, and utterly disused in Christian churches; 6. All clergy setting up or exhibiting reverence to images in church or at home were to be deposed; monks and laymen anathematised. Vessels and vestments belonging to the sanctuary were never to be turned to any purpose in connexion with them. A series of anathemas was directed against all who upheld them in any sense, or contravened the decrees of this council. St. Germanus, George of Cyprus, and St. John of Damascus, or Mansur, as he was called by the Saracens, were specially denounced as image-worshippers. The usual acclamations to

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the emperor followed. Before the council separate, Constantine the new patriarch was presented to it and approved. It was then sitting in the church of St. Mary, ad Blachernas, within the city; its earlier sittings had been held in a palace of the emperor, called Hieracon, on the opposite shore (Mansi, xii. 575-8, and xiii. 203-356; Cave, i. 646-7). [E. S. F.]

CONSTANTINOPLÉ. (1) The birth (*γενέθλια*) of Constantinople is placed by the *Cal. Byzant.* on May 11. The dedication (*εγκαινία*) is said to have been performed by the Holy Fathers of the 1st Council of Nicaea in the year 325.

(2) The Council of Constantinople is commemorated in the *Armenian Calendar* on Feb. 16. [C.]

CONTRAKION (*Κοντράκιον*). A short ode or hymn which occurs in the Greek offices. The name has been variously derived. The explanation most generally received is that it signifies a short hymn, from the word *κοντός*, 1-*tle*; because it contains in a short space the praises of some saint or festival (Goar, not. 31 in *off. Laud.*). It has also been derived from *κοντός*, a dart or javelin; so that *Contraktion* would mean an ejaculatory prayer, or a short pointed hymn after the model of an antiphon. Some, again, have considered the word to be a corruption of *Conticium*. Romanus, a deacon of Emesa, who flourished about 500 A.D., is said to be the author of *Contraktia*. They frequently occur in the canons and other parts of the office, and vary with the day. [CANON OF ODES.] In the list of the officials of the church of Constantinople we have *ὁ ἄρχων τῶν κοντράκιων*, named among the offices appropriate to priests (*τα ὀφείλια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι προσήκοντα*).

The word "Contraktion" is also used of the volume containing the liturgies of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and of the presanctified alone, in distinction to the complete missal. In this sense the word is usually derived from *κοντός*, a dart, i.e. the wooden roll round which the MS. was rolled, "*κοντὰς est parvus contus . . . Inde et κοντράκιον, Scapus chartarum, vel volumen ad κοντράκιον*" (Salmas. *Execr. Plin.*). Goar, however, preters the derivation from *κόδικον*, "quasi brevis codex." In the ordination of a priest, after the ceremonies of ordination are completed, the newly-ordained priest is directed to take his place among the other presbyters (*γεννηθῆσθαι τὸ κοντράκιον* (i.e. his book of the liturgy). [H. J. E.]

CONTRA VOTUM. A formula frequent in epitaphs, expressing the regret of survivors at a loss suffered against their wishes and prayers. It is of pagan origin, and does not appear to have been adopted by Christians before the 6th century. The earliest example of the formula given by De Rossi is of the commencement of that century, and runs as follows: "PARENTIS POSVERUNT ΤΕΤΕΛΥΜ CONTRA VOTUM ET DOLO SVO." It is not confined, as has sometimes been supposed, to epitaphs placed by parents for their children; husbands use it of wives and wives of husbands, brothers and sisters of each other; and in fact it is very generally used to express the longing felt by the survivor for the departed. It is most common in Northern Italy. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* 175.) [C.]

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pression may be considered in two different senses, according as it refers to the agreement for marriage in the abstract, or, according to later continental usage, to its written evidence answering to our marriage settlement. We shall consider it separately under these two heads.

1. The law of the church on the subject of the contract of marriage is, as on many other points, compounded of the Jewish and Roman laws, under the influence of New Testament teaching. It is derived mainly, in its general features, from the latter system of legislation, especially in regard to the marriage of the laity; from the former mainly in regard to that of the clergy.

The validity of the marriage contract generally depends, it may be said, on two points, (1) the inherent capacity of the parties to enter into the contract; (2) the limitations which may be placed upon the exercise of that capacity.

1. Strictly speaking, the inherent capacity of the parties for marriage turns only upon three points, (a) sufficient age; (b) sufficient reason; (c) sufficient freedom of will. On the first point, it may be observed that the old Roman, like the old Jewish law, attached the capacity for marriage by age to the physical fact of puberty (*Inst. bk. i. t. x. § 1*); and the same principle is practically followed in all systems of legislation which take notice of age at all in this matter, although it is generally found convenient in the long run to fix an age of legal puberty, without reference to the specific fact. Thus already in the *Digest* it is provided that the marriage contract is only valid on the part of the wife when she has completed her 12th year, even though she be already married and living with her husband (*bk. xliii. t. i. § 4*). And Justinian himself in his *Institutes* professes to have fixed, on grounds of decency, the age of puberty for the male at 14 (*bk. i. t. xxii.*); both which periods have very generally been adopted in modern legislation.

Strange as it may seem, the earlier Roman legislation seems to have even fixed an age beyond which a woman could not marry, since we find Justinian in the *Code* abolishing all prohibitions of the *Lex Julia vel Papia* against marriages between men and women above or below 60 and 50 (*Code, bk. v. t. iv. l. 27*; and see *bk. vi. t. lviil. l. 12*). Nothing of this kind is to be found in later systems of legislation, although disparity of age in marriage, as we shall presently see, has sometimes been sought to be suppressed.

It may here be observed that physical incapacity in persons of full age has never been held to produce actual inability to enter into the marriage contract, but simply to render the marriage voidable when the fact is ascertained (see *Code, bk. v. t. xvii. l. 10*; *Nov. 22, c. 6*; *Nov. 117, c. 12*). Nor is the fact one of importance in reference to the marriage relation, except where divorce is put under restrictions (see *Dig. bk. xxiv. t. i. ll. 60, 61, 62*).

(2.) As respects the second point: Defect of reason, it may be said, in reference to the marriage contract, acts inversely to defect of age. Thus, under the Roman law, followed generally by modern legislation, madness was fatal to the validity of the contract, but did not dissolve it when afterwards supervening (*Dig. bk. xxii. t. ii. l. 16, § 2*; and see *Jul. Paul. Recept. Sent. bk. xi. t. xix. § 4*).

(c.) The freedom of will of the parties, on the other hand, can only be testified by their consent to the marriage [as to which see *COHENS*]; but it may also be indirectly secured by limitations of a protective character placed on the exercise of the capacity to contract marriage, which will be considered presently. It may be sufficient here to observe that according to the jurists of the *Digest* a man might marry a woman by letters or by proxy if she were brought to his house, but this privilege did not belong to the woman (*bk. xliii. t. ii. l. 5*; and see *Jul. Paul. Recept. Sent. bk. ii. t. xix. § 5*).

There was, moreover, one large class of persons in whom there was held to be no freedom of will, and, consequently, no capacity to contract marriage. It is important to insist on this point, since Gibbon in the second chapter of his great work speaks of the Romans as having "in their numerous families, and particularly in their country estates . . . encouraged the marriage of their slaves." A false statement was probably never put forth by a historian, unless for marriage we read, in plain English, breeding. Marriage is simply impossible where the persons of slaves of both sexes are subject, absolutely without limit, to the lusts, natural or unnatural, of a master (see, for instance, *Horace, Sat. i. 2, 116*). The slave, his master's thing, can have no will but his master's; in respect of the civil law properly so-called, i. e. the law made for citizens, he does not exist; (*Ulpian, l. ij. bk. l. t. xvii. l. 32*), or as the same jurist in his grand language elsewhere expresses it, his condition is almost equivalent to death itself (*ibid. l. 209*). Thus, according to the logic of the Roman law, connections between slaves obtain not so much as a mention by either the jurists of the *Digest*, or the Emperors in the constitutions of the *Code*. Connections between slaves and serfs, i. e. the so-called *adscriptitii glæe*, are indeed mentioned (*Code, bk. xi. t. xviii. c. 21*), but without the name of marriage, and only to determine the condition of the offspring, which is fixed by that of the mother. *Rustici*, a class of peasants who seem to have been of higher status than the *adscriptitii*, could contract marriage *inter se*, and the 157th Novel is directed against the landowners of Mesopotamia and Osrohoene, who sought to forbid their peasants to marry out of their own estates, and if they did so, were in the habit of breaking up their marriages and families.

Wherever, therefore, we find slaves' marriages mentioned, we must seek another origin for the recognition of them than in the Roman law. That origin seems unquestionably to be in the Jewish law. Although only "Hebrew" servants are mentioned in the passage of *Exodus* on this subject (*c. xxi. vv. 3, 4, 5, 6*), it is clear that the Pentateuch recognized the marriage of persons in a servile condition. And with the sweeping away by the Christian dispensation of all distinction between Jew and Gentile it is but natural to suppose that the right of marriage would be extended from the Hebrew slave to the whole slave class. Such right, indeed, was not absolute, as will have been observed, but flowed from the master's will, and was subject to his rights. The master gave a wife to his slave; the wife and her children remained his, even when the slave himself obtained his freedom.

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The Barbarian Codes do not materially vary from the Roman as respects the marriage contract, so far as respects the conditions of age and reason. It is clear, however, that, in Italy, especially under the Lombards, and under the Visigoths of Spain, habits of early marriage prevailed which had to be checked by law. A law of King Luitprand, A.D. 724, enacts that girls shall only be marriageable at the expiration of their 12th year (bk. vi. c. 59). An earlier law of the same king, A.D. 717, has been already referred to under the head BETROTHAL (bk. ii. c. 6). Although 18 was fixed as the age of majority for male infants, yet they might before this age contract either betrothal or marriage, and had full power of settling property (bk. vi. c. 64; A.D. 724). A Lombard capitulary of Charlemagne's (A.D. 779) prohibits generally the marrying of a boy or girl under the age of puberty, where there is disparity of age, but allows them to marry when of equal age and consenting (c. 145). The same prohibition is contained in the Capitulary of Tessino (Pertz), A.D. 801, also added to the Lombard law.

The Visigothic law seems less equal towards the sexes. A law of King Chindaswinth (bk. iii. t. 4) forbids on the one hand women of full age from marrying males under age, but on the other enacts that girls under age are only to marry husbands of full age. It is not however clear whether the age referred to is that of puberty or general majority.

As respects the marriage of slaves, we find a formula on the subject among those collected by Mabillon (No. 44). They appear clearly to have been recognized both by the state and the church in the reign of Charlemagne, as will be presently shewn.

2. If we turn now to what we may term the extrinsic conditions of the capacity for marriage, in other words to the limitations placed upon the exercise of that capacity, we find these to have been very various. Some are purely or mainly moral ones; the leading one of this class, that of the amount of consanguinity which the law of different nations has held to be a bar to the validity of the nuptial contract, will be found treated of under the heads COUSINS-GERMAN, MARRIAGE. Another—singular, because exactly opposite feelings on the subject have prevailed in different countries—is to be found in the prohibition by the later Roman law of marriages between ravishers and their victims, under severe penalties, both for the parties themselves, and the parents who consented to it (Justinian, *Cod.* b. ix. t. xiii. § 1, *Nov.* 143, 150).

A directly contrary rule prevailed under Theodoric in the Ostrogothic kingdom. The 59th chapter of his Edict compels the ravisher of a free-born woman, if of suitable fortune and noble birth, as well as single, to marry her, and to endow her with 1-5th of his property. The Lombard law does not seem to provide expressly for the case; but the "Lex Romana" of the Roman population in Italy must have followed it in its departure from the legislation of the emperors, where, after enacting death as the penalty of rape, it provides that if no accusation be brought for five years, "the marriage will afterwards be valid and its issue legitimate" (bk. ix. t. xviii.). Death was also the punishment of rape among the Franks; but Marculf's

formulae show that marriages between ravisher and ravished were allowed (bk. ii. f. 16). A Lombard capitulary of Charlemagne's, however, A.D. 779, forbids a ravished bride to marry her ravisher, even if her betrothed refuses to take her back (c. 124). The law of the Alamans (t. lii) is to the same effect. The Saxon law on the contrary (t. x.) requires the ravisher to "buy" the woman for 300 solidi.

It seems doubtful whether a canon of the Council of Ilberis in 305, bearing that "virgins who have not kept their virginity, if they have married and kept as husbands their violators," are to be admitted to communion after a year without penance, applies really to what we should term violation, or to seduction only. But at any rate the Visigothic law is severest of all the barbaric codes against marriages between ravishers and ravished. Whilst enacting that the ravisher with all his property is to be handed over as a slave to the woman to whom he has done violence, and to receive 200 lashes publicly, it imposes the penalty of death on *both* if they intermarry, unless they should flee to the altar, when they are to be separated and given to the parents of the woman (bk. iii. t. iii. ll. 1, 2). Closely allied to these enactments is one of the Burgundian law, forbidding marriages between widows and their paramours (t. xlv.). It may perhaps be inferred from the above that the tenderness of the barbarian races had originally been to favour such marriages, but that the influence of the opposite Roman feeling, kept up no doubt traditionally by the clergy, generally prevailed in the long run in the barbarian codes.

There were indeed certain moral enormities which in some legislations were made a bar to all subsequent marriage. By the Visigothic law, a freeman guilty of rape on a married woman, after receiving a hundred lashes, was to become slave to his victim, and never to marry again (bk. ii. t. iv. l. 14). But it is the Carolingian capitularies which apply most largely this kind of prohibition. By a capitulary of King Pepin at Vermerie, A.D. 753, if a man committed adultery with his step-daughter, with his step-mother, or with his wife's sister or cousin, neither could ever marry again (cc. 2, 10, 11, 12); nor a wife who had been dismissed by her husband for conspiring against his life (c. 5). The Capitulary of Compiègne, A.D. 757, extends the prohibition to a brother committing adultery with his sister-in-law, a father seducing his son's betrothed, and to their respective paramours (cc. 11, 13); to a man living in adultery with a mother and daughter, or with two sisters, but to the women, in such case, only if they were aware of the incestuous connexion (cc. 17, 18). A capitulary of the 7th book of the general collection forbids also a woman who has had connexion with two brothers ever to marry again (c. 381; and see bk. v. c. 168).

Another limitation on the marriage contract, which must be considered rather of a political nature, and which prevails more or less still in the military code of almost every modern nation, was that on the marriage of soldiers. Under the early Roman polity, marriage was absolutely forbidden to soldiers; but the Emperor Claudius allowed them the *ius connubii*, and it seems certain that there were married soldiers under Galba and Domitian (*Mur. Thes. Inscr.* i. p. 306; *Gort.*

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CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE

Inscr. Antiq. iii. p. 144). Severus seems how- ever to have been the first to allow soldiers to live with their wives (Herald. iii. 229). The Phillips, on the other hand, seem to have restricted the *jus connubii* for soldiers to a first marriage (*Mur. Thes. Inscr.* l. 362). Under Justinian's Code, the marriage of soldiers and other persons in the *militia*, from the *collegatus miles* to the *protector*, was made free without solemnities of any sort, so long as the wife was free-born (*Constitution of Theodosius and Valentinian, Code*, bk. v. t. iv. l. 21). There having been no regular armies among the barbarian races, nothing answering to the prohibition is to be found in their codes.

We pass now to those restrictions on marriage which must be considered to be mainly of a protective character, and intended to secure the real freedom, as well as the wisdom of choice. To these, in the highest view of the subject, belong those which turn upon the consent of parents [see CONSENT]; although indeed this restriction seems generally to have had its historic origin in a much lower sphere of feeling,—that of the social dependence and slavery or quasi-slavery of children to their parents. Next come the interdictions placed by the Roman law on the marriage of guardians or curators, or their issue, with their female wards. This occupies a large space in the *Corpus Juris*; see *Dig.* bk. xxiii. t. ii. l. 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67; *Code*, bk. v. t. vi.

Lastly come the interdictions on the marriage of officials within their jurisdictions, which, as Papinian remarks, are analogous in principle to those on the marriage of guardians with their wards (*Dig.* bk. xxiii. t. ii. l. 63). No official could marry (though he might betroth to himself) a wife born or domiciled within the province in which he held office, unless he had been betrothed to her before; and if he betrothed a woman, she could, after his giving up office, terminate the engagement, on returning the earnest-money; but he could give his daughters in marriage within the province (l. 38). The marriage of an official contracted against this interdiction seems to have been considered by Papinian absolutely void (l. 63).

Under the Code, a well-known constitution of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, A.D. 380, known by its title as "Si rector Provincie" (referred to *supra* under ARRBAE), whilst depriving of all binding force betrothals between persons holding authority in any province, their kinsmen and dependents, and women of the province, allows the marriage nevertheless to be afterwards carried out with the consent of the betrothed woman (bk. v. t. ii.). And a previous constitution of Gratian had provided that if the marriage were contracted against the law with the woman's consent, and after her husband laid down his office she remained of the same mind, the marriage became legal, and the issue legitimate (t. iv. l. 6). By another constitution, known as "Si quancumque praeditus potestate," a fine of 10 lbs. of gold was enacted against officials who should seek to coerce women into marriages, even though these should not be carried out (law of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, A.D. 380; *ib.* t. vii.).

We do not find anything answering to these provisions in the Barbarian Codes, but only in the work called the *Lex Romana* supposed to

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have represented the personal law of the Romans under the Lombard kings. Here, in barbarous Latin, some of the provisions of the Code are reproduced, whilst others are widely departed from. For instance, in place of the protective provisions against the marriage of guardians with their wards, we have coarser ones providing against the seduction of wards by their guardians, under penalty of exile and confiscation (bk. ix. t. v.).

Another class of restrictions on marriage may be termed social ones, as depending chiefly on disparity of social condition. The most prominent disparity of condition in the whole ancient world, as it remains still in much of the modern world, was that between freeman and slave. According to the Roman law, there could be absolutely no marriage between the two, but only what was termed a *contubernium* (Jul. Paul. *Recept. Sent.* bk. ii. t. 19, § 3). Yet the sense of human equality was so strong, that a *senatus-consultum* had to be issued under the Emperor Claudius against the marriage of freewomen with slaves; reducing the former to slavery itself, if the act were done without the knowledge of the master, —to the condition of freedwomen if with his consent (Tacitus, *Ann.* bk. xii. c. 53; A.D. 53). Although this law does not appear in the *Corpus Juris*—perhaps because it might seem indirectly to recognize slaves' marriages—it is clear that neither under the Digest nor under the Code could there be any marriage between free and slave. "With slave-girls there can be no *connubium*," says a constitution of Constantine (bk. v. t. v. l. 3); "for from this *contubernium* slaves are born." It affords indeed a strange picture of the more than servile condition of the Roman municipal functionaries, even at this period of the Empire, that the avowed object of the constitution which opens with this annunciation of a principle, is to prevent deceptions, through the passions of slave girls, finding a refuge in the bosom of the most powerful families. The secret marriage of a decurion with a slave was to be punished by sending the woman to the mines, the decurion himself to exile on some island, whilst his property passed, as if he were dead, to his family, or in default of such to the city of which he was a curial; local officials who were privy to the offence, or left it unpunished, were in like manner to be sent to the mines. If it took place in the country, by permission of the girl's master, the estate where it occurred, with all slaves and live and dead stock, was to be confiscated; if in a city the master forfeited the half of all his goods. That deceptions, however, were not the only persons likely to marry slaves is evident from a constitution of Valentinian and Marcian, A.D. 428 (*ib.* l. 7), which enumerates "the slave-girl, the daughter of a slave-girl," first amongst those persons whom senators may not marry.

If any man married a slave, believing her to be free, the marriage was void *ab initio* (22nd Nov. c. 10). But if a master married his slave-girl to a freeman, or constituted a *dos* upon her, which was considered to be the privilege of the free, a constitution of Justinian's enacted that this should not only enfranchise her, but confer on her the rights of Roman citizenship (*Code*, bk. vii. t. vi. l. 1). In the 22nd Novel (c. 11) the same emperor went further still and enacted,

that when a master either himself gave away his slave-girl in marriage, whether with or without dotal instruments, or knowingly allowed another to give her away, as a freewoman, to a man ignorant of her condition, this should amount to a tacit enfranchisement, and the marriage should be valid; and again (c. 12), *a fortiori*, that if a master had long deserted either a male or female slave in a state of bodily weakness (*benignitas*), or shown no care to preserve his rights over them, they, as derelicts, resuming possession of themselves, were no longer to be troubled by him, so that the marriages of such as free men or women would be lawful. Finally, the 78th Novel provided that where a man had had children by his slave-girl, and constituted a *dos* upon her (which had the effect of marriage), this of itself had the effect of manumitting the issue born in slavery, and rendering them *liberi*, and no longer merely *filii*, to the father (c. 4).

Closely analogous to the condition of the slave was that of the *adscripitius glebæ*. The marriage of a freeman with an *adscripitia* does not however seem to have been void, but the children retained their mother's condition. On the other hand, the marriage of a freewoman with an *adscripitus* was declared to be absolutely void; they were to be separated, and the man punished (*Code*, bk. xi. t. xviii. l. 24; 22d Nov. c. 17; but see 54th Nov. preface). Nor do we find the same mitigations of the law in favour of an *adscripitia* as of a slave (*supra*). As respects the next highest class, that of the *rustici*, we find that whilst marriages between them and free persons seem to have been recognized, the issue of such marriages was divided in point of condition, the first, third, fifth child, &c., following that of the mother ("quod impar est, habebit venter," 16th Novel).

The Barbarian Codes deal more frequently with the subject of these marriages, and in some of them we trace distinctly the threefold condition of freeman, serf or villain, and slave, the second becoming more and more superior to the third. The intermarriage of man or woman belonging to either of the first two classes involves, under the Lombard laws (A.D. 638) of Rotharis (c. 218), and Liutprand (A.D. 721) (bk. iv. c. 6), penalties of greater or less severity. In the *Lex Romana*, supposed to represent the personal law of the Roman population in Italy in Lombard times, we find a provision, that if a freewoman marries her own slave, she shall be put to death and the slave burnt alive (bk. ix. t. vi.).

Similar provisions are found in the Almannic law (circa A.D. 750) (c. 2, and foll.), in the Bavarian (Append. *de popul. leg.* c. 9) and the Frisian (t. xviii.), while the Visigothic is yet more cruelly severe, condemning all such unions, according to their varying circumstances, to the penalties of loss of freedom, scourging, death by burning (bk. iii. t. ii. c. 2).

Finally, a law of King Gaba is addressed to what seems to have been a peculiar form of semi-slavery in the service of the Church. Its title is, "That those who are enfranchised, retaining service to the Church, should not dare approach the marriage of free persons." It enacts that a church-slave absolutely freed may marry a freewoman; but if still bound to the *obsequium*, he is to receive three stripes and be separated from his wife; otherwise both are to be in slavery with

their issue, the property of the freewoman going to her heirs. And the same rule is enacted as to such women marrying freemen (bk. iv. c. 7).

Notwithstanding the largeness of many of the above enactments, it must be inferred from them that marriages between free and slaves were increasing in frequency. Indirectly, moreover, those which provide that a freewoman choosing to remain with her slave-husband becomes a slave herself, seem to imply, like the *senatus-consultum* under Claudius before quoted, which was not admitted into the Code, a recognition of marriages between slaves, since the mere living with a slave would not (except under the Visigothic law) affect the condition of the freewoman. There is moreover evidence that, even in the latter class of cases, custom was often milder than the law. Marcull's *Formularies*, which are considered to have been put together about A.D. 660, contain "charta de agnatione, si servus linguam trahit," by which a mistress grants the freedom of a freewoman's children by her slave (t. 29; and see Appendix, f. 18). The ultimate relaxations of the law itself under the Carlovingians will be best treated of in connexion with the ecclesiastical history of the subject.

Vast as was the gap between free and slave in the ancient world, that between the free born and the freed was still considerable,—especially as between male slaves enfranchised and their former mistresses, or the female relatives of a former master. According to the jurist Paul, a freedman aspiring to marriage with his *patrona*, or the wife or daughter of his *patronus*, was, according to the dignity of the person, to be punished either by being sent to the mines, or put upon public works (Jul. Paul. *de opt. Sentent.* bk. ii. t. xix. § 6); unless indeed the condition of the *patronus* was so low as to make such a marriage suitable for her (*Dig.* bk. xiii. t. ll. l. 13). On the other hand, the *Lex Saxonica* allowed all freeborn males, except senators and their children (in which case the marriage was void), to marry freedwomen (ib. l. 23), from which class seem however to have been excepted those of brothel-keepers, probably as presumably being prostitutes themselves (Ulpian's *Fragment.* t. xiii. § 27). The marriage of a master with his freedwoman was by no means looked upon in the same light as that of a mistress with her freedman; and the *patronus* was restrained from marrying his freedwoman without her will (ib. l. 28).

The social restrictions on marriage were, in this as in other respects, relaxed by the later emperors. The marriage to a freewoman of a man who afterwards became a senator was declared by Justinian to remain valid, as well as that of a private person's daughter to a freedman, when her father was raised to the senate (*Code*, bk. v. t. iv. l. 26). He removed the disability to marriage which seems to have been considered to exist between a man and a girl whom he had brought up (*Admiana*) and whom he had enfranchised (l. 26). And by the 78th Novel he allowed persons "of whatever dignity" to marry freedwomen, provided "nuptial documents" were drawn up (c. 3).

There were moreover certain conditions of life which were assimilated by their ignominy to the servile one. A free-born man could not marry a procuress, a woman taken in adultery, one con-

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denied by public judgment, or a stage-player; or, according to Manricianus, one condemned by the senate (*Ulpian's Fragmenti*, t. xiii.). A senator was subject to the same restrictions (*Dig.* bk. xliii. t. ii. l. 44, § 8; and see l. 43, § 10, 12); the *Lex Julia et Papia* imposing, moreover, a special prohibition on the marriage of either senators or their issue with stage-players or the children of such (l. 44). Under Valentinian and Marcian, A.D. 454, the "low and abject" women who were forbidden to marry senators were declared to be slaves and their daughters, freewomen and their daughters, players and their daughters, tavern-keepers and their daughters, the daughters of *lenones* and gladiators, and t. v. l. 7). If indeed a senator's daughter should prostitute herself, go on the stage, or be con- demned by public judgment, her dignity being lost, she might marry a freedman with impunity (*Dig.* bk. xliii. t. ii. l. 47).

Thanks, no doubt, to Theodora's influence, much greater indulgence was shewn under Justinian to actresses. Such women, if they had led their calling and led a respectable life, were enabled to intermarry with persons of any rank, and their children were relieved from disabilities (bk. v. t. iv. l. 27, § 1). By another constitution (l. 29), women who had been forced to mount the stage, or who wished to abandon it, were rendered capable of marrying persons of the highest rank, without the imperial permission.

The jurists of the *Digest* had however gone beyond all specific restrictions on marriage. Modestinus had laid down that "in marriages one should not only consider what is lawful, but what is honourable." And generally there seems to have grown up a feeling against unequal marriages, such as is indicated in a before-quoted constitution of Valentinian and Marcian (*Code*, bk. v. t. v. l. 7; A.D. 454), which provides that "a woman is not to be deemed vile or abject who, although poor, is of free descent," and declares lawful the marriage of such persons, however poor, with senators or persons of the highest rank. And as it seemed to have been inferred, from a constitution of Theodosius and Valentinian, A.D. 418, which abolished the necessity for all formalities between persons of equal condition (*Code*, bk. v. t. iv. l. 22), that without formal instruments such marriages between persons of unequal condition were not valid, Justinian abolished all restrictions on unequal marriages, provided the wife were free and of free descent, and there was no suspicion of incest or of aught nefarious (l. 23, § 7).

We do not find much in the barbarian codes on this branch of the subject. The Roman law against the intermarriage of freedmen or their issue with the posterity of their patrons re- appears in the Visigothic code (bk. v. t. vii. c. 17), the penalty being reinstatement. Among the Visigoths there seems to have been an old law forbidding the intermarriage of Goths and Romans, which was repealed by Rueswinth (*Lex Wisig.* bk. iii. t. i.), who allowed any free- man to marry any freewoman," with the solemn consent of her family, and the permission of the court." The same law must have prevailed in Italy under the Lombards, though we miss it from the Lombard code, since the *Lex Romana*

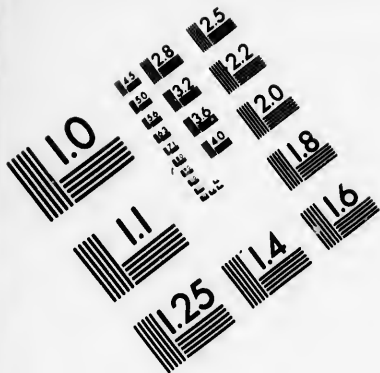
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forbids intermarriage between Romans and Barbarians under pain of death (bk. iii. t. xiv.). This restriction is however one rather of a political nature.

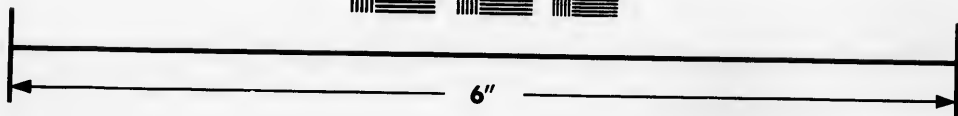
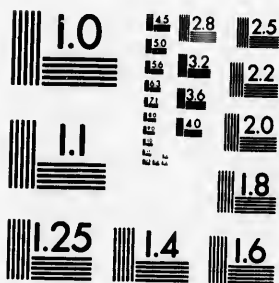
Lastly, certain restrictions on the marriage contract are of a religious character, and will be best referred to when we consider the rules of the Church itself upon the subject, which we shall now proceed to do.

That marriage generally was a civil contract, subject to the laws of the state, seems to have been the received doctrine of the early Church; whilst at the same time it claimed also power to regulate it in the name of the Gospel, as is shewn, for instance, in the strictness of our Lord and His apostles against divorce, although freely allowed both by the Jewish and the Roman law. Hence Pagan betrothals and marriages were, as Seiden observes, held valid by the Christians (*Uxor Ebraica*, bk. ii. c. 24). The validity of non-Christian marriages seems to be implied in such passages as 1 Cor. vii. 12-16, referring to the cases of a convert husband and an unconverted wife, a convert wife and an unconverted husband; in the latter of which cases at least the form of marriage must be supposed to have been one unanctified by the Church; whilst both would seem to include the hypothesis of a conversion of either party after such a marriage. It must moreover be observed that, with one exception, the forms of marriage in use in the Roman world were purely civil ones. The only religious marriage was that by *confarreatio*, which remarkably enough was indissoluble, except perhaps by *disfarreatio*, a practice of which the reality is doubted. But it is clear from Tacitus (*Ann.* bk. iv. c. 16) that by the time of Tiberius, i. e. the beginning of the Christian era, the use of the ceremony had become very rare. When therefore the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews wrote that "marriage is honourable in all" (c. xiii. 4), and his Epistle was admitted as authoritative in the Gentile as well as the Jewish churches, the inference is that the honour he speaks of was felt to rest as well on the ordinary civil contract of the Gentile as on any form in use among the Jews. Again, the Apostolical Constitutions (with an exception as to the clergy to be hereafter noticed) speak simply of "lawful" and "unlawful" marriage. Thus, in a sort of summary of the faith contained in the 6th book (c. 11), it is said: "Every union which is against the law we abhor as iniquitous and unholy." Again: "Marriage should be lawful; for such a marriage is blameless" (ib. c. 14); the expression "lawful connexion" (*νόμιμος μίξις*) occurring repeatedly in later constitutions (bk. vi. cc. 27, 29). The only consideration which may cast a doubt upon the application of the idea of "law" in such passages as the above, as referring to the municipal law, arises from the circumstance, to be presently adverted to, that the same expressions are used in reference to unions which were not recognized by the Roman law. But the most valuable testimony to the feeling of the early Church on this subject as late as the 2nd and 3rd centuries, is supplied by Tertullian (A.D. 150-220), a writer whose Christian zeal ran always in the direction of ultra- strictness. In his treatise on idolatry, distinguish- ing between those solemnities which a





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Christian man may lawfully attend and those which he may not, he enumerates marriage among such as are free from "any breath of idolatry;" "pure by themselves." "The conjugal union," he says, does not flow "from the worship of any idol." "God no more forbids the solemnizing of marriages than the giving of a name" (c. 16).

As a rule, then, the Church has followed the municipal law in reference to the validity of the contract of marriage, and has thus not had occasion to dwell much in its legislation on the legal incidents of the contract. The validity of heathen marriage is implied in the judgments and decisions of various popes and councils (some perhaps antedated) as to pre-baptismal marriages, which, in spite of one or two weighty authorities to the contrary, were held binding, and on the express ground that the issue of such marriages were lawful (*liberi*). See the 2nd letter of Pope Innocent I., A.D. 402-17, to Victricius, c. 6; his 22nd letter, to the Macedonian bishops, c. 2; the 3rd Council of Rome, A.D. 531; and the letters of Leo to Anastasius and to the bishops of Illyricum. The alleged decree of Pope Fabian, A.D. 238-52, in Gratian, embodying the Roman law on the effect of madness on marriage, is a purely superfluous forgery. Egbert, archbishop of York, indeed, in the *Excerptions* attributed to him, seems to place the age of puberty somewhat later than the Roman law, since he says that a girl of 14 has power over her own body, a boy of 15 over his (bk. ii. c. 27). A canon of the Council of Friuli, A.D. 791 (c. 9), contains the like prohibition as a previous capitulary before referred to against marriages with children.

It has already been observed, under the head "CONSENT," that on one point indeed a marked divergence is to be traced between the practice of the Church and the Roman law. Slave-marriages are recognized, at least in the later portions of the Apostolical Constitutions. And masters who refused to sanction them were to be excommunicated (viii. 23). A free man, on the other hand, is to dismiss, not to marry, a slave-concubine with whom he may have lived. (*Ibid.*)

Consistent with the Apostolical Constitutions, the first canonical epistle of St. Basil (A.D. 326-379), to Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, treats slave-marriages as adulterous when contracted without the master's will, but as "firm" when contracted with his consent; assimilating them to the marriages of minors, and using the same word (*ἑπίστα*) to express the authority both of the father and of the master. A work of doubtful character, which claims authorship from the Nicene fathers, the *Sanctiones et decreta alia*, which in the collection of councils by Labbé and Mansi will be found appended to the canons of the Council of Nicea (vol. ii. p. 1029, and foll.), but which are evidently of much later date, declares that "marriage with slaves, male or female, is not allowed to Christians, unless after emancipation; which being done, let them contract by the law of marriage and freely, a *dos* being assigned, according to the constitution of the country which they inhabit" (bk. i. c. 4). One of the alleged canons of the Nicene council from the Arabic, on the other hand, implies the practice of intermarriage with slaves even

amongst the clergy, in condemning as bigamous those priests or deacons who having dismissed their wives, or even without dismissing them, marry others, whether free or slave (can. 66, or 71 of the Eutullian version). But these canons are also evidently of much later date than that ascribed to them, though very likely representing the practice of the Arabian church. If we mention here two alleged decrees of Pope Julius I. A.D. 336-52, the one against separating slaves once married, the other allowing a master to marry his enfranchised slave-girl (Gratian, ec. 4, 10), it is only on account of their professed date.

There are indeed not wanting indications of a narrower spirit among the leaders of the Church. A letter of Pope Leo the Great (167), A.D. 458 or 9, addressed to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, seems to imply the nullity of slaves' marriages, and reproduces, on Old-Testament grounds, the strictest views of the Roman law against unequal marriage. "Every woman united to a man is not a wife, since neither is every son his father's heir. The bonds of marriage are lawful between the free and between equals; the Lord establishing this long before the commencement of the Roman law existed. Therefore a wife is one thing, a concubine another; as also a bondmaid is one thing, a freewoman another" (quoting Gen. xxi. 10). [CONCUBINES.] Suspicion is indeed cast upon this text by its use of the word *ingenuus*, free-born, as simply synonymous with *liber*, free, a mistake which never occurs in the *Code* or *Novels*, though nearly a century later in date, and (though it may be said that a pope was not bound to be strictly accurate in his law-language) it is not impossible that it may be a forgery of the Carolingian era, invented to support a capitulary to the same effect, to be presently noticed.

The 24th canon of the 4th Council of Orleans, A.D. 541, enacts that slaves fleeing to the precincts ("septa") of churches in order to marry are not to be allowed, nor are clerics to defend such unions, but they are to be returned to their masters and separated, unless their parents and masters will let them marry;—a remarkable enactment, as showing a recognition of parental authority in a slave.

Another canon of the same Council, forbidding marriages between Jews and Christian slave-girls, seems to imply the intrinsic validity of marriages between free and slave (c. 31). Another is remarkable as repeating, with the severe penalty of excommunication, the enactments of the Roman law against the marriage of officials within their provinces (c. 22).

A case in which a slave-marriage is recognised occurs in a letter of Pope Pelagius (A.D. 555-96) to the sub-deacon Melleus. (Labbé and Mansi's *Coun. il.*, vol. ix. p. 737.)

On the other hand, Gregory the Great implies the invalidity of a marriage between slave and free in a letter to Fortunatus, bishop of Naples (bk. vi. ep. 1), in favour of a woman whom her husband had dismissed as being of servile condition; but who, being now proved free, was without delay to be received back by him. The same pope however in another letter—to Meletana and Thomas, slaves whom he enfranchised with the privileges of Roman citizenship—implies the practice of slave-marriages, since he speaks

ACT OF MARRIAGE

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of the "betrothal gifts" (sponsalia) which the priest Gaudiosus had given in writing (conscription) to "thy mother" (bk. v. ep. 12).

The 1st Council of Micon, A.D. 581, declares indissoluble the intermarriage of two slaves with their master's consent, after the enfranchisement of either (c. 10). The 30th canon of the English council held under Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, towards the end of the 7th century, bears that "the free (or free-born) must marry with the free." Pope Stephen (A.D. 754) in his replies to various consultations at Biensz, follows Leo as to the dismissal of the ancillas and marrying a free woman. It seems difficult to ascribe a specific origin to a prescription found among some "excerpta de libris Romanorum et Francorum," appended to a collection of fresh canons, probably of the beginning of the 8th century, which bears that "if any one chooses to have his slave-girl in marriage, and has power over her property, if afterwards he would sell her, he cannot do so; he is himself to be condemned, and the woman handed over to the priest." (c. 60). Perhaps however we have only here a far-off echo of Exod. xxi. 8, or Deut. xxi. 14.

The subject indeed both of slave-marriages and of intermarriage between slave and free seems to have been greatly considered under the Carolingians; and both the civil and ecclesiastical law (which indeed at this period blend almost undistinguishably together) settle down into the recognition of such marriages and intermarriages as binding under certain conditions. As respects the former, King Pepin's capitulary of Vermerie, A.D. 753, enacts that if a slave husband and wife have been separated by sale, "they are to be exhorted so to remain, if we cannot reunite them" (c. 19); a text at least strongly feeling to the indissolubility of such unions. A more singular one provides that if a slave have his slave-girl for concubine, he may dismiss her and accept "his compeer, his master's slave-girl (compare *summa ancillam domini sui accipere*); but it is better that he keep his own slave-girl" (c. 7). In both texts we see already visibly the hand of the Church endeavouring to restrain the abuses of slavery. It is moreover enacted that if a *carolingian*—apparently a slave freed by charter—on receiving his freedom dismisses his slave partner to take another woman, he must leave the latter (c. 29). Fifty years later, the validity of slave marriages is again implied in some "Capitulum nunc canonicum" data of the year 803, published by Pertz, and to be presently referred to. And ten years later still, a capitulary added in some *Collectio* to the Lombard law (c. 5), as well as the 30th canon of the 2nd Council of Châlons (both of A.D. 813), enact the indissolubleness of slaves' marriages, even when belonging to different masters, provided their marriage be legal, and by the will of their masters. Lastly, to the Carolingian period should also perhaps be referred the two alleged decrees in Gratian of Pope Julius I. (*supra*). It is almost needless to dwell on the momentous influence of the change of view indicated by the above enactments on the condition of the slave. Evidently, from the moment a slave could lawfully marry, he was no longer a thing, but a person. It might almost be said that from this period slavery properly so called ceases to exist no longer within the Carolingian world: serfdom, or a condition of dependence,

it might be absolute, of one man on another, has replaced it.

As respects inter-marriages between slave and free, King Pepin's capitulary of Vermerie, A.D. 753, enacts that where a free-man knowingly marries a slave-girl, he shall always after live with her (c. 13). The king does not even treat such marriages as absolutely void, when contracted in ignorance, allowing the free person to leave his or her slave-partner and marry another only if such slave cannot be redeemed (c. 6). The contemporary Council of Vermerie recognized the validity of marriage between a freewoman and a slave, when contracted knowingly on her part, on the ground that there should be one law to the man and to the woman, and that "we have all one Father in the heavens." The capitulary of Compiègne, 757, enacts that if a freewoman marries a slave, knowing him to be such, he shall have her whilst he lives (c. 8). On the other hand, "if a Frankish man has taken a woman and hopes that she is free," and afterwards finds that she is not, he may dismiss her and take another; and so of a woman (c. 5, otherwise 7).

The validity of such unions is also implied in an enactment, placing marriage with a freeman, a slave, or a cleric, on exactly the same footing (c. 4). Similarly, a Bavarian council at Diligheim, 772, enacted that where a slave married a woman of noble birth who was ignorant of his condition, she should leave him and be free (c. 10). The same rule was enacted in the case of a freeborn Bavarian woman marrying a serf of the Church ("de popularibus legibus," c. 9).

Among the specially religious restrictions which were sought to be placed on the marriage contract in the early ages of the Church, the one which would first claim our attention is that on the marriage of Christians with Gentiles, or eventually also with Jews and heretics. This however will not be specially treated of here. The next is that connected with the monkish profession, which must be distinguished from the early vow of virginity in the female sex, and from the institution of the Church-virgins. The vow of virginity, which for many centuries now has been considered an essential prerequisite of the monastic profession, was not so by any means in the early heroic days of monachism. St. Basil in the 4th century, after dwelling upon the profession of virginity by women, says expressly: "As to professions of men, we know nothing of them, except that if any have joined themselves to the monastic order, they appear, without word spoken, to have thereby adopted celibacy" (2nd *Can. Ep. c. 19*). In the 5th century however, Pope Leo the Great treats the marriage of monks as a punishable offence, but not apparently as void in itself. Writing to Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne, about A.D. 458 or 459, he places on the same footing the entering by monks into the *militia* (a term probably equivalent at this time to the service of the state, whether military or civil) and their marriage. These who, leaving the monastic profession, turn to the *militia* or to marriage, are to purge themselves by the satisfaction of public penance; for although the *militia* may be innocent and marriage honourable, to have abandoned the better choice is a transgression (*Ep. 167, c. 14*). The con-

temporary Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, in like manner excommunicated alike the monk and the virgin devoted to God who enter into marriage, but allows the local bishop to shew indulgence (c. 10). And the ecclesiastical validity of a monk's marriage at the beginning of the 6th century is implied in the 21st canon of the 2nd Council of Orleans, A.D. 511, which enacts that a monk who marries shall be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office. Later still in the East (A.D. 535), the 6th *Novel* only forbids marriage to monks who have received the clerical ordination, reducing them to the rank of private persons (c. 8). In the West, however, the 2nd Council of Tours, A.D. 567, not only distinctly prohibited the marriage of monks under penalty of excommunication, but invoked the aid of "the judge" to separate them from their wives, under penalty of excommunication for himself if he refused it (c. 15); an evident attempt to enforce by spiritual terrors what the state still refused to erect into law.

This is indeed the period when monks, at first mere laymen, were beginning to be viewed, in the West at least, as partaking of the clerical character. The Council of Arles in 554 had decreed that monasteries both of men and women should be subjected to episcopal jurisdiction. So far as this view prevailed (for we must not forget that the monks themselves long struggled against it), the prohibition of the marriage of monks will have been considered as implied in that of the marriage of clerics generally, though such marriages are sometimes specifically referred to. Towards the end of the century, the 6th General Council, the 3rd of Constantinople, in *Nulla*, A.D. 682, enacted that a monk who should marry was to be punished as a fornicator (c. 44). In the West, in the first part of the 8th century, Gregory the 2nd, A.D. 714-750, in his letter to Bishop Boniface, going further than any of his predecessors, would not allow those who as children have been shut up by their parents in monasteries after puberty to leave such monasteries and marry (*Ep.* 13, c. 7). The marriage of monks was again condemned by Pope Zacharias, A.D. 741-51, in his 7th letter, addressed to Pepin as mayor of the palace (c. 26). About the same period the canons "de remediis peccatorum" of Egbert, archbishop of York, place the monk on the same footing as to marriage with the priest or deacon; requiring one of such who takes a wife to be "deposed" in *consentia populi*; i. e. apparently, with the full knowledge of the people (c. 7). It may be added that the Council of Constantinople in 814 in like manner excommunicated a monk who should marry, and required him against his will to be clothed in the monastic robe and shut up in the monastery (c. 35). All such prohibitions indeed bear witness to the existence of the practices which they denounce; and indeed a letter of Pope Hadrian II. (A.D. 772-85) to Charlemagne contains a complaint against the marriage of monks—apparently in Lombardy—and asks the emperor to punish them.

It is somewhat difficult for a long time to distinguish in reference to this subject, so far as women are concerned, the woman under vow of virginity or celibacy (as to whom see *DEVOTA*), and the nun (see heading *NUN*). In France, a general constitution of King Clothar I. A.D. 560,

forbids (c. 8) all persons to marry "sanctimonialis." Another of King Clothar II. A.D. 614, forbids any even "by our precept" to marry religious girls and widows, or nuns who have vowed themselves to God, as well those who dwell in their own houses as those who are placed in monasteries. That such marriages, however occurred in Italy still, is apparent from a letter of Pope Gregory I. the Great (A.D. 590-603) to Bishop Julianus (bk. iii. ep. 24). Distinguishing between "velled virgins" and nuns, he says that as respects women who have gone from monasteries to lay life and married, "Those who have exceeded against such women" (i. e. their husbands), "and are now suspended from communion, if penitent, may be readmitted." It is difficult in many instances to define how far the meaning of the terms "sacrae" or "sacrae virgines" is to be extended or restricted. By the 8th century, indeed, the church-virgin and the private *devota* seem for all practical purposes to have merged in the nun. Indeed the *Excerpta* of Egbert, archbishop of York, treat a private vow of celibacy by man or woman as "foolish and impossible," and its breach by marriage as only to be punished by three winters' fasting (bk. ii. c. 19). The 1st Council of Rome in 721, "against illicit marriages," expressly anathematizes one who marries "monacham quam Dei ancillam appellamus" (c. 3). The before-quoted *Excerpta* of Egbert contain the like anathema, using the expression "monilem, quae Dei sponsa vocatur" (bk. ii. c. 18); the parties are to be separated, and condemned to perpetual penance. Among the "answers" of Pope Stephen II. from Bierry to "various consultations" (A.D. 754) is one, that it is "not lawful for a virgin who has consecrated herself to God, likewise for a monk, to marry;" either is to be excommunicated; but the bishop "may shew humanity and mercy" (c. 7). The Synod of Metz, in 753, in "marriages with a woman consecrated to God" incests (c. 1); as does also the Council of Aachen (i. e. Chelsea), A.D. 787, using the term "sanctimonialis" (c. 15). See also similar prohibitions against the marriage of nuns by the Bavarian Council of Dingelfind, A.D. 772 (c. 4); and by the Council of Friuli, A.D. 791 (c. 11), which requires girls and widows who have vowed virginity or continence, and have been "emanipated to God," if afterwards they marry, to be subjected "by secular judgment to fit bodily chastisement" before undergoing their spiritual punishment.

The prohibition against the marriage of monks and religious women by degrees found its way into the civil law of several of the barbarian kingdoms besides France. Among the laws of King Luitprand of Lombardy, A.D. 721, or later, we find one of this kind as to women, in which their position when they have assumed the religious habit is assimilated to that of girls betrothed under the civil law, whose marriage entails a penalty of 500 *solidi* (bk. v. c. 1). In the Visigothic code, a law of Recarede inflicts "on incestuous marriages and adulteries, or on sacred virgins and widows and penitents defiled with lay vesture or marriage" the penalties of exile, separation, and forfeiture of property (bk. iii. t. v. c. 2).

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ecclesiastical law almost wholly co.esc. King
Pepin's capitulary of Soissons in 744 forbids mar-
riage with holy women together with incestuous
marriages and bigamy (c. 9). In the 6th book
of the Capitularies we find one (c. 411) almost in
the same terms with the law of Recarede above
quoted, declaring that marriage with a virgin de-
voted to God, a person under the religious habit,
or professing the continence of widowhood, is not
a true marriage, and requiring the parties to
be separated by either the priest or the judge,
without even any accusation being lodged with
him, the penalty being still perpetual exile.
(Comp. also Capit. 414, 424, bk. vii. c. 338.)
In the East, on the contrary, about the end of
the 8th century, it is noted as one of the features
of Constantine Copronymus' tyranny, that he
compelled monks to marry.

We shall now deal, though we do not propose
to do so at full length in this place, with the
contract of marriage as respects the clergy prop-
erly so called. It need hardly be observed that,
so far as such contract might be recognized as
valid, all the restraints upon it in the case of
laymen would apply also to clerics. Sometimes
indeed these had to be specifically enacted. Thus
the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, provided that
no cleric should take a heretic, Jew, or pagan, to
wife, unless he should promise to convert her,
under pain of canonical punishment (c. 14). But
the Church had also restraints of its own in the
later instance. We have said that, as respects
the clergy, the practice of the Church in respect
to marriage was mainly founded on the Jewish
law. The marriage of priests was by the Penta-
teuch surrounded with peculiar restrictions. The
priest was not to marry a harlot or "profane"
woman, or one divorced, or a widow, but a virgin
only (Lev. xxi. 7, 13, 14). [According to Selden,
indeed, the prohibition to take a widow or person
who had lost her virginity only applied to the
high-priest; but he was also held debarred from
marriage with proselytes or freedwomen; *Uxor
Hebraica*, bk. i. c. 7.] The Pastoral Epistles, in
requiring bishops or deacons to be "husbands of
one wife" (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; Tit. i. 6), instead
of being considered as substituting a new rule
for existing Jewish prescriptions, seem only to
have been viewed as adding to these a further
one against DIGAMY. What will have to be said
on this latter head need not here be anticipated.
As a rule, however, we may say that wherever it
is laid down that the bishop or deacon shall be
the husband of one wife, it is also provided that
such wife shall answer to the Levitical prescrip-
tions. E. g. The *Apostolical Constitutions*, bk. ii.
c. 2, require the bishop not only to be the hus-
band of one woman once married, but to have,
or to have had, a "respectable (*σεμνη*) and
faithful wife"; in the 6th bk. c. 17 (a later
constitution), both requires all the clergy to be
monogamists, and forbids them all to marry
either a harlot (the term seems rather too strong
as a translation of the Greek *ετραπα*, albeit ren-
dered *meretricis* in the Latin versions), a slave, a
widow, or a divorced woman, "as the law also
saith"; although the Pentateuch does not forbid
the priest's marriage with a slave, and the restric-
tion is one evidently borrowed from the
Roman law. Lastly, the *Apostolical Canons* ex-
clude from admission to the clergy those who
have married "a widow, or divorced person, or

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harlot, or slave, or one of those on the stage"
(c. 14, otherwise reckoned 17 or 18); this last
restriction being also adopted from the Roman
law, as has been shewn already.

In respect of the marriage of the clergy indeed,
the restraint which occupies most space in the
church legislation of the period which occupies
us is that on digamons or quasi-digamons mar-
riages, which will be considered under the head of
DIGAMY. Meanwhile however there was grow-
ing up a feeling against all marriage of the clergy,
whilst in orders, tending to their absolute celib-
acy, the history of which has been treated or
under that head. [See *CELIBACY*.] The notices
which occur of other restraints upon clerical mar-
riages are comparatively few and unimportant.

The "Sanctions and Decrees" attributed to
the Nicene fathers—which, though extant in
Latin, seem evidently to embody Greek practice,
though no doubt of a much later date than the
one ascribed to them—require, with something
of a plethora of words, the priest not to be
one who has married a slave-girl, an adulteress
or immodest woman (c. 14). The Council of
Tarragona, A. D. 516, requires readers and *ostiani*
who wish to marry or live with adulterous women
either to withdraw or to be held excluded from
the clergy (c. 9). A letter of Gregory the Great
(A. D. 590-603) to John, bishop of Palermo, implies
the invalidity of a deacon's marriage with a woman
who did not come to him a virgin (bk. xi. ep. 62).
An alleged canon of the same Pope forbids the or-
dination, amongst others, of one who had married
a harlot (c. 4). Yet the 4th Council of Toledo,
A. D. 633, seems to imply that such marriages
might be legalized by episcopal permission, since
it excommunicates those clerks who, "without
consulting their bishop, have married a widow,
a divorced woman, or a harlot" (c. 44). And
an "allocation of the priests to the people on
unlawful marriages," appended to the records of
the Council of Leptines in 743, provides that a
future priest is not to marry a divorced woman,
harlot, or widow.

To pass now from the ecclesiastical to the
civil law, it must be observed that by the time
of Justinian the Roman law professes only to
follow the "sacred canons" as respects the mar-
riage of the clergy, and gives force of law to the
prohibitions contained in them. The children of
clerics by women "to whom they cannot be
united according to sacerdotal censures" are de-
clared incapable of inheriting or receiving dona-
tions from their fathers (*Code*, bk. i. 7, iii. l. 45;
A. D. 530). The 6th novel requires the bishop to
be either a chaste unmarried man, or the hus-
band of a woman who came to him a virgin,
"not a widow, nor divorced, nor a concubine"
(the last term apparently corresponding to the
ετραπα of the Apost. Constitutions, and indicat-
ing a milder interpretation than that of the
Latin translators); but requires the bishop not
to live with his wife, and without inquiring into the
position of those who have been already long
married, forbids in future the episcopal ordi-
nation of married men. Taken in conjunction
with this enactment, the 123rd novel may be
considered as finally establishing as a rule of
civil law that principle of episcopal celibacy,
which still obtains in the Greek church. The
same rules are substantially applied to the rest
of the clergy (c. v.). The 123rd Novel forbids

the ordaining of a bishop who either does not live chastely, or has not had a "wife, his only and first, neither a widow, nor divorced from her husband, nor otherwise forbidden by the laws or the sacred canons" (c. 1). Other clerics may be ordained having a legitimate wife of the same description (c. xiii). And the reader contracting a second marriage, or marrying any other than such a wife as above described, was not to rise to any higher office (c. xiv). It hardly appears, however, that up to this period the contract of marriage itself was made void if entered into against the prohibitions of the law; unless the declaring their children bastards (*sparii*) may be taken to imply this (*Code*, bk. i. 7; iii. l. 45). Among the barbarian codes, the only one which appears to prohibit clerical marriage is that of the Visigoths, drawn up under clerical influence. A law of Recarede forbids the marriage or adultery of a priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, with a "widow vowed to God, a penitent, or any secular virgin or woman," under pain of separation and punishment according to the canon, the woman to receive 100 lashes (bk. ii. 7; iv. c. 18). Nor is it amiss to remark that in spite of various attempts by councils to enforce the absolute celibacy of the clergy, the validity of clerical marriage is recognized by the civil law under Charlemagne himself. In a capitulary, "De regulis clericorum" (bk. vii. c. 652), it is enacted that clerics "should also endeavour to preserve perpetually the chastity of an unpolluted body, or certainly to be united in the bond of a single marriage."

If we have now to say a few words on the subject of the contract of marriage in the sense in which the expression is still used in France ("contrat de mariage" = marriage settlement), of the written evidence of the contract itself as between the parties.

The marriage contract among the Romans was habitually certified in writing on waxen tablets, termed *nuptiales tabulae*, which, however, might also be used after marriage; e. g., on the birth of a child. The *tabulae* were signed both by the parties and by witnesses (*Tac. Ann.* bk. vi. c. 27; *Juv. Sat.* ii. v. 119; ix. vv. 75, 76), and the breaking of them was held to be at least a symbol of the dissolution of marriage, if it had not the actual effect of dissolving it; see Tacitus as to the bigamous marriage between Messalina and Silius (*Ann.* bk. xi. c. 30; and *Juv. u. s.*). Under the *Code* however, by a constitution of the Emperor Probus, the drawing up of such *tabulae* was enacted not to be necessary to establish the validity of the marriage, or the father's *potestas* over his offspring (bk. v. t. iv. l. 9). They were perhaps not necessarily, though usually, identical with the "dotal tablets" (*tabulae dotalis*), "dotal instruments" (*instrumenta dotalia*), or "dotal documents" (*documenta dotalia*), specifically so-called (the expressions *nupti instrumenta*, *dotalia instrumenta*, seem to be used quite synonymously in the 70th Novel), but must have been comprised with them at least under the general terms *instrumenta* or *documenta*; as to which it is provided, by a constitution of Diocletian and Maximin (*Code*, bk. v. 7; iv. 7, iv. l. 13), that where there is no marriage, "instruments" made to prove marriage are invalid, but that where there are none, a marriage lawfully contracted is not void; nor

could the want of signature to such by the father invalidate his consent (b. l. 2; law of Severus and Antonine). Nuptial instruments were by Justinian made necessary in the case of the marriage of *scenicae* or stage-players (l. 29). Under the 74th novel, indeed, all persons exercising honourable offices, businesses and professions, short of the highest functions in the state, were required, if they wished to marry without nuptial instruments, to appear in some "house of prayer and declare their intentions before the *defensor Ecclesiae*," who in the presence of three or four of the clerks of the church was to draw up an attestation of the marriage, with names and dates, and this was then to be subscribed by the parties, the *defensor Ecclesiae* and the three others, or as many more as the parties wished, and if not required by them, to be laid up, so signed, by the *defensor* in the archives of the church, i. e. where the holy vases were kept; and without this the parties were not held to have come together *nuptiis affectu*.

But this was only necessary where there was no document fixing a *dos* or agricultural donation; nor was it required as to agriculturists, persons of mean condition, or common soldiers. It will be obvious that we have in the above the original of our marriage certificates. (See further DOWNY, MARRIAGE.) [J. M. L.]

CONVERSI. One of the many designations of monks. Just as, through a popular feeling of reverence for asceticism, the word "religio" came in the 3rd and 4th centuries to mean not Christianity but the life monastic, so "conversi," though applied also to those who embraced Christianity, or who took upon themselves any special obligations, as of celibacy or of ordination (*De Cange, s. v.*), was ordinarily restricted to monks (*Bened. Reg.* c. 1; *Fructuosi Rep.* c. 13; *Greg. M. Dial.* ii. 18; *Salv. Evcl. Cathol.* iv.; *Isidore De Conversis*, of *Bened. Anon. Conc. Reg.* iii.). But the "conversi" were properly those who became monks as adults, not those who were trained in a monastery from their tender years (*Conc. Aurel.* i. c. 2). About the 11th century, according to Mabillon, "conversi" came to mean the lay brothers, the "oblats" or "donati," the "frères convers," who from piety or for gain, or, probably, most often from mixed motives, attached themselves to monasteries, as "associates" (to use a modern phrase) and attended to the business of the monastery outside its wall. (*Mab. Ann.* iii. 8; *Martene ad S. Bened. Reg.* c. 3; *Mab. Act. SS. O. S. B. Saec.* iii. l. 21). The "Conversi Barbatii" are classed with monks rather than with the laity (*Petr. Ven. Statut.* 24). [I. G. S.]

COPE. (*Cappa* or *Cupa*; Fr. *Chape*.) From being used as an out-door dress for defence against rain, the cope was also called *Picula*, whence It. *Piciale*; and from the cowl or hood with which it was furnished it was known as *Cuculla*. Such, probably, was the "cuculla villosa" spoken of by St. Benedict in his *Regula* (*Migne, Patrol.* lxxvi. 777). "Vestimenta fratribus secundum locorum qualitatem . . . dentur. Mediocribus locis sufficere credimus monachis per singulos cucullam et tunicam; cucullam in hieme villosam, in aestate puram aut vetustam, et scapulare propter operam . . . Sufficit monacho duas tunicas et duas cucullas habere, propter

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Regula of St.
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COPIATAE

In the Theodosian Code these business and profits for dead. The city—cathedral de others from xally, it is ref they have son Another name f diggers—and i mentioned as l or bier at funer Theodosian Cod orders, e.g. lib. Leg. I, "Cleric appellatur," & The foundation Constantine, bef tering the dead which every Chr as occasion requ first constituted in the city of Co mo, and from their rise in oth their place, howe certain privilege not have been a important Churc

The office of whole care of fur see that all perso interment. Espe form this last of charge to their certain lands we nance; but in oth that they were s own funds of th own labour and ragement were ge custom or tribu Martigny).

to such by the (p. l. 2; law of public instruments necessary in the case of age-players (l. 29), all persons exercising businesses and professional functions in the wished to marry to appear in some are their intentions who in the pre- works of the church a of the marriage, is was then to be a *defensor Ecclesie* many more as the required by them, to a *defensor* in the r, where the holy out this the parties together *spirituali* necessary where *in dos* or anti- required as to agri- condition, or common that we have in the marriage certificates. AGE.) [J. M. L.]

many designations a popular feeling of the word "religio" turies to mean not astic, so "conversi," ose who embraced on themselves any tary or of ordinate narily restricted to cunctis *Reg. c. 13, r. Eccl. Cath. iv.; d. Anian. Conc. Reg.* were properly those r, not those who were a their tender years at the 11th century, "ress" came to mean "i" or "donati," the a piety or for gain, rom mixed motives, asteries, as "associ- (nase) and attended to ery outside its wall. and S. Bened. *Reg. c. ace. III. i. 21*). The classed with monks (Petr. Ven. *Statut. [L. G. S.]*

; Fr. *Châpce*). From r dress for defence also called *Pluralis*, om the cowl or hood in it was known as the "cuculla vil- edict in his *Regis* " Vestimenta fratrit- litatum . . . dentur. credimus monachis unquam aut vetustum, . . . Sufficit monacho allas habere, propter

noctes et propter lavare ipsas res." So Smaragdus (1820) says expressly in his Commentary on the *Regula* of St. Benedict, apud Migne, *Patrol. cil.* "Cucullam dicit ille quod nos modo dicimus cappam." And to the same effect Theodemarus, writing from Italy to Charlemagne, and speaking of the dress worn by the monks of Monte Cassino (Ducange, in *voc. Capa*): "Illum indumentum, quod a Gallis monachis cuculla dicitur, nos capam vocamus." Like other garments originally designed for practical use rather than for ornament, the copes worn on occasions of state or by the higher clergy received greater enrichments from time to time, whether in regard of the materials or of accessory ornaments, particularly the "morse," or clasp by which they were fastened in front. From what we know to have been the shape of the cope in all later times we may infer that in the earlier period, up to 800 A.D., with which we are here primarily concerned, the cappa was shaped like a modern cloak, open in front, and attached only at the back. For full details concerning the later copes of ecclesiastical use, see Bock, *Lit. Gew.* ii. 287; Beck, *Church of our Int. ers.* ii. 23; Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, p. 224; Pugin, *Glossary*, in *roc.* [W. B. M.]

COPIATAE. The name given by Constantine to the Theodosian Code, to certain Church officers whose business it was to take care of funerals and provide for the decent interment of the dead. The etymology of the name is doubtful—Gothofred derives it from *κοπάειν* to rest—others from *κομῆρες*, mourning; more generally, it is referred to *κόπος*, labour; whence they have sometimes been called *laborantes*. Another name for them is FOSSARI, or grave-diggers—and in Justinian's novels, they are mentioned as *lecticarii*—as carrying the corpse or bier at funerals. They are reckoned in the Theodosian Code among the inferior clerical orders, *ep. lib. 13. tit. 1. de Lu-trali Collat. Leg. 1.* "Clericos excipit tantum, qui Copiatæ appellantur," &c.

The foundation of this Order is attributed to Constantine, before whose time the care of interring the dead was only a charitable office, for which every Christian made himself responsible as occasion required. The order of Copiatæ, as first constituted by the emperor for this service in the city of Constantinople amounted to 1100 men, and from this example they probably took their rise in other populous cities. In Constantinople, however, they formed a collegium, with certain privileges and exemptions, which may not have been extended to the order in the less important Churches.

The office of the Copiatæ was to take the whole care of funerals upon themselves, and to see that all persons had a decent and honourable interment. Especially they were obliged to perform this last office to the poorer sort, without charge to their relations. At Constantinople certain lands were set apart for their maintenance; but in other Churches it is more probable that they were supported partly out of the common funds of the Church, and partly by their own labour and traffic, which for their encouragement were generally exempted from paying custom or tribute (Bingham, B. iii. c. 8; Riddle; Marigny). [D. B.]

COQUS, in the monastery. [HEBDOMADARIUS.]

CORBONA ECCLESIAE. [ALMS.]

CORDOVA, COUNCIL OF, A.D. 348, under Hosius, to accept the determinations of the Council of Sardica (*Labb. Conc. ii. 98*). [A. W. H.]

CORN, ALLOWANCE OF. This particular provision for the maintenance of the clergy deserves a special notice, from its connection with the early stages of the recognition of Christianity by the empire. Constantine, in his zeal for his new creed, ordered the magistrates of each province to supply an annual allowance of corn (*ἐρῆσια σιτηρέσια*), not only to the clergy, but to the widows and virgins of the Church (Theodoret, i. 11). When Julian succeeded, he transferred the grant to the ministers of the heathen cultus which he revived (Sozom. v. 5; Philostorg. vii. 4). Jovian restored it, but on the lower scale of one-third of the amount fixed under Constantine. The payment continued, and was declared permanent by Justinian (*Cod. i. tit. ii. de SS. Eccles.*). [E. H. P.]

CORN, EARS OF. Corn is not so often used in early Christian art as might be supposed. [LOAVES.] The thoughts of early iconographers seem to have gone always to the Bread of Life with sacramental allusion, as Bottari, *tav. cxliiii.*, vol. *vi. et alibi*. In Bottari, vol. i. *tav. xlviii.*, the corn and reaper are represented in a compartment of a vault in the cemetery of Pontianus. Agair, in vol. ii. *tav. lv.*, the harvest corn is offered to the vine and cornucopia of fruit (Callixtine catacomb).

The more evidently religious use of the ears of corn is in various representations of the Fall of Man. On the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (supp. A.D. 358), Bottari, vol. i. *tav. xv.*, Adam and Eve are carved; the former bearing the corn, in token of his labour on the earth, and the latter a lamb, indicating woman's work spinning. The connection of this with Jack Cade's proverbial line, "When Adam delved and Eve span," seems probable. See again vol. ii. *tav. lxxxix*. Martigny gives a copy (s. v. "Dieu,") of a bas-relief in Bottari, vol. iii. *tav. xxxvii.*, from the cemetery of St. Agnes, where two human forms, apparently both male, are standing before a sitting figure, whom Martigny supposes to represent the First Person of the Trinity. It may represent the offering of Cain and Abel; at all events the corn-ears and lamb are either being received or presented by the standing figures. See also Bottari, *tav. lxxxix. lxxxvii. lxxxix*. As these figures are of no more than mature (sometimes youthful) appearance, the Second Person may be supposed to be intended by them.

[R. St. J. T.]

CORNELIUS. (1) The centurion, bishop of Caesarea, is commemorated Feb. 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vet. Usuardi*); Dec. 10 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(2) Pope, martyr at Rome under Decius, Sept. 14 (*Mart. Bedae, Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CORNU. [ALTAR.]

CORONA, martyr in Syria, with VICTOR, under Antoninus, May 14 (*Mart. Hieron., Bedae, Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CORONA. [TONSURE.]

CORONA LUCIS. A lamp or chandelier. In the early ages of Christianity it was by no means unusual for sovereigns and other royal personages, following an instinct of natural piety of which we have examples in *prae* Christian times (cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. c. 4) to dedicate their crowns to the use of the Church. The gifts thus devoted were known as *Donaria*, and were suspended by chains attached to their upper rim, above an altar or shrine, or in some conspicuous part of the church. Other chains were attached to the lower rim, supporting a lamp, from which usually depended a jewelled cross. The crowned cross thus suspended above the altar was felt to be an appropriate symbol of the triumph of Christianity, and its use became almost universal. We have several allusions to it in the writings of St. Paulinus of Nola in the fifth century, *c. f.*

"Crown corona lucido cingit globo."

Ep. 32 ad Severum.

"Parva corona subest vultus circumdata gemmis,
Hæc quæque crux Domini tanquam diademate cincta
Eulicat."

Nat. xi. v. 679 sq.

"In cruce consertiam socla compage coronati."
Ib. v. 692.

Beda (*de Locis Sanctis*, cap. 2) in his description of Calvary, specifies a large silver cross hanging above the Holy Grave, with a brass circlet and lamps "aenea rota cum lampadibus" attached to it. In this manner the crowns of Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, and of her second husband Agilulf, at the beginning of the 7th century, were dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the cathedral of Monza, as stated in the inscription borne by the latter before its destruction, and there is little reasonable doubt that the celebrated iron crown of Lombardy, preserved in the same cathedral, was at one time employed for the same purpose (Frisi, *Memor. della Chiesa Monzese*, Dissert. ii. p. 67; Pacciandi, *de Cult. Joann. Bapt.* Dissert. vi. cap. 10, p. 266). At a much earlier period, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Nicetas, Constantine the Great had dedicated his crown to the service of the Church. In the time of these writers, a crown of remarkable beauty "præ cæteris et operis elegantia, et lapillorum pretio conspicua" (Ducange, *Constantinop. Christ.* iii. § 43), hanging with others above the Holy Table, was pointed out as having been offered to God by the first Christian emperor.* With one of these votive crowns, the lamp and chains being removed, in the time of Const. Porphy., the new emperor of the East received his inauguration (Ducange, *Const. nt. Christ. u. s.*). According to the not very trustworthy catalogue preserved in Anastasius (*S. Silest.* xxxiv. § 36) the Lateran basilica and that of St. Peter's were also enriched by Constantine with large chandeliers of pure gold. Clovis also, at the suggestion of St. Remigius early in the 6th century, sent to St. Peter's "coronam auream cum gemmis, quæ Regnum appellari solet" (Hincmar, *Vit. S. Remig.*; Anastas. *S. Hormisd.* liv. § 85). The very remarkable series of crowns discovered near Toledo (see below, CROWNS) were, as the inscriptions borne by some of them testify, a solemn offering

* Tradition ventured to assert that he had received it by the hands of an angel as a present from Heaven.

to some Spanish church, at the hands of the king and queen and royal family. No lamps were attached to them when they were discovered, but these appendages, as encumbrances of small value, may have been removed when the regalia were buried to conceal them from the Saracen spoiler.

This custom for sovereigns to dedicate their actual crowns to the Church's use led to the construction of imitative crowns, formed for votive purposes alone. Of this usage we find repeated notices in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which bears the name of Anastasius Bibliothecarius; as well as in ancient chronicles and documents. They are usually described as having been suspended over the altar, and very frequently mention is made of jewelled crosses appended to them. Small votive crowns of this nature are seen suspended over the altar in several ancient representations. One compartment of the celebrated *pelleto* of the church of Sant' Ambrogio of Milan, which depicts the trance of St. Ambrose in which he celebrated mass at Tours, represents one such jewelled crown hanging over the altar at which



Penello Crown from the "Pelleto," S. C. Ambrogio, Milan.



Penello Crown from Bas-relief, Cathedral of Monza.

the saint is officiating (Ferrario, *Memorie di Sant' Ambrogio*). A bas-relief, now in the S. transept of Monza cathedral, representing a coronation, exhibits several crowns suspended over the altar. Another bas-relief in the tympanum of the west portal of the same cathedral, on which

are carved the church, pended, and crown. Ma similar repræsentate at Ro
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Leo III, xviii
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43; St. Zachar
§ 348; St. Leo
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Pensive Crown from the "Palatio," St. Ambrogio, Milan.

seen suspended over cent representations. celebrated *palatio* of Ambrosio in which he s, represents one such ver the altar at which



...relief, Cathedral of Monza.

(Ferrario, *Memorie di* relief, now in the S. tran-), representing a coron- owns suspended over the ief in the tympanum of same cathedral, as which

are carved the various gifts of Theodelinda to the church, shows us four crowns, three suspended, and the fourth being the celebrated Iron crown. Macer in his *Herolexicon* refers to a similar representation in the church of San Clemente at Rome, to the left of the entrance.

Among the mosaic decorations of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, we find above the upper tier of windows a succession of pictures of the conchs of apses, in each of which a crown appears hanging by chains over the altar. These suspended crowns are exactly similar to those held by the female saints as votive offerings in the mosaic frieze below.



Mosaic, St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

The convenience of the form of these donative crowns for the suspension of lamps doubtless gave rise to the custom of constructing large chandeliers after the same model. In these pensive luminaries the shape and chrncter of the royal circle was preserved, but frequently in much larger proportions. Notices of the presentation of light-bearing circles of this nature occur repeatedly in Anastasius and other ancient authorities. Besides the more ordinary name of *corona*, the primary royal origin of these luminaries was indicated by the designation *regnum*, which is of constant occurrence (cf. Anast. *Leo III.* xviii. § 393, "fecit regnum aureum cum gemmis pretiosissimis;" *Leo IV.* cv. § 540, "fecit . . . regnum ex auro purissimo unum pendens super altare majus, cum catenulis similiter aureis, sculptilem habens in medio crucem auream habentem gemmas quatuordecim, ex quibus quinque in eadem cruce fixos, et alias qua illudem pendente novem").

Many of these *coronae* mentioned by Anastasius are described as having been adorned with dolphins (Anast. *S. Silvester* xxiv. § 36, "coronae quatuor cum delphinis;" *ib.* § 38, "coronam auream cum delphinis quinquaginta," § 43; *St. Zachar.* xciii. § 219; *St. Adrian.* xviii. § 348; *St. Leo.* lv. cv. § 531). Others were decorated with diminutive towers, and (as we see in the relief in the transept of Monza) with fleur-de-lis (Greg. *M. Ep.* lib. i. ep. 66, "Coronae cum delphinis duo, et de aliis coronis illius;" Anast. *St. Hilar.* xviii. § 70, "turrem argenteam cum delphinis.") Leo, cardinal of Ostia, in his *Chronicon Cassinense* thus describes a *corona* executed for that lover of art the abbot Desiderius: "He had a pharus mnde, that is a silver crown weighing 100 lbs. and 20 spans in circumference. On it were 12 towers, and 36 lamps hung from it." Bells were also sometimes suspended from the lower rim.

Other names by which these chandeliers were known in early writers are *Pharus*, *Pharocantha-*

rus, *Spanoclystum* = *ἐπανωλειστόν*, *Gabbatha*, and *Ruba*.

The name *Pharus*, though sometimes, as we have seen, used for a *corona*, was more properly a standing candelabrum supporting lamps or candles, which from their number of spreading branches were, according to DuCange, sometimes called *arbores*, trees. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* lib. xxiv. c. 3, speaks of "lychnuchi—arborum modo multa ferentium lucentes," and Paulus Silentiarius (*Descript. S. Soph.* part 2) thus describes candelabra in that basilica—

κείνα γὰρ ἢ κηροῦσιν ἑστραφεῖσσιεν ὀμοία
δένδρεα τῆς καλλίστης.

The most magnificent example of an ancient *corona*, though long after our date, is that still to be seen suspended in the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, over the crypt in which the body of Charlemagne was deposited. This *corona* was the offering of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, by whom the tomb was opened in 1165. A very valuable treatise on this *corona*, embracing full details of the form, arrangements, and history of *coronae* generally, has been published by Dr. Fr. Boek (*Der Kronleuchter Kaisers Friedr. Barbarossa zu Aachen*, Leipzig, Weigel, 1864). The *Atelages d'Archéologie* of Cahier and Ma tin, Par. 1853, vol. iii. may be referred to, article *Couonne de lumière*, for representations of suspensory crowns from MSS, and painted glass. See also Ciampini, vol. ii. c. xii. p. 89 sq. Migne, *Encyclopédie Théol. Diocésaine d'Orléans*, v. *Coronnes*. Justi Fontanini *Dissertation de Corona Ferrea* (Rom. 1719, pp. 91-97). Macer, *Herolexicon*.

CORONATI DIES. [FESTIVAL.]

CORONATI QUATUOR (LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF). The above title is given to four martyrs, Severus, Severinus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, who suffered martyrdom at Rome in the reign of Diocletian. The tradition respecting them is to the effect that they refused to sacrifice to idols, and were then at the command of the emperor benten to death before the statue of Aesculapius with scourges loaded with lead (ictibus plumbatarum). The bodies lying lain where they died for five days, were then deposited by pious Christians in a sandpit on the Via Laviniana, three miles from the city, near the bodies of five who had suffered martyrdom on the same day two years before, Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphonianus,* Castorius, and Simplicius. See, e.g. the Martyrology of Ado, November 8 (*Patrol.* cxliii. 392), who gives the legend more fully than others.

It is stated by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Vitae Pontificum, Honorius*; *Patrol.* cxxviii. 619) that Pope Honorius I.^b (ob. 638 A.D.) built a church in Rome in their honour ("eodem tem-

* In the case of this name considerable diversity of spelling exists:—Symphonianus, *Greg. acc.*; Simphonianus. *Cl. Rhem.*; Simphorianus, *Cl. Baldui* and *Radradi*; Sympronius, *Mart. Hieron.*; Symprouianus, *Cuaridus*; and Sympronianus, *Ado*.

^b Before this time, however, the Coronati Quatuor had given their name to one of the *tituli* of the city of Rome; for in the subscription to sundry decrees of Gregory the Great the last signature is "Forjanianus [pseudonym] tituli SS. iv. Cor." (*Gregorii Decreta*; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 1319; formerly *Exp.* lib. iv. Indict. 13. c. 44.) See also Derange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *titulus*.

pore fecit ecclesiam beatorum martyrum iv. Cor., quam et delatavit et donum obtulit"). To this church the remains of the martyrs were subsequently transferred by Pope Leo IV. (ob. 855 A.D.), who had been its officiating priest (*op. cit.*, Leo IV., *b.* 1305), and who, finding it in a very ruinous condition on his accession to the pontificate, restored it with much splendour, and bestowed upon it many gifts (*ib.* 1315). This church was situated on the ridge of the Coelian hill, between the Coliseum and the Lateran; and on its site the present church of the *Santi Quattro Coronati* was built by Pope Paschal II.

As to the appointment of the festival of these martyrs on November 8, which is said to be due to Pope Melchisedes (ob. 314 A.D.), a curious difficulty has arisen. Thus in the notice of the festival in the editions of the Gregorian Sacramentary (for the words would appear to be wanting in MS. authority), the remark is made that it being found impossible to ascertain the natal day of the four martyrs ("quorum dies natalis per incuriam neglectus minime reperiri poterat"), it was appointed that in their church the natal day of the five other saints, near to whose bodies theirs had been buried, should be celebrated, that both might have their memory recorded together (*Patrol.* lxxviii. 147).

Others, however, make this forgetfulness to be of the names of the martyrs. Thus the *Martyrologium Romanum*, after speaking of Claudius, &c., proceeds: "Et ipso die iv. Coronatorum Severi, Severiani, Carpophori, Victorini, quorum festivitate statuit Melchisedes papa sub nominibus quinque martyrum celebrari, quia nomina eorum non reperiebantur, sed intercurrentibus annis eisdem sancto viro revelata sunt" (*Patrol.* cxxiii. 173). See also the Martyrology of Usuardus (*ib.* cxxiv. 669).

If however the institution of the festival be rightly assigned to Melchisedes, who was pontiff during the reign of Diocletian, it is strange how this ignorance could have existed, seeing that many Christians must have been living who had known them personally. In Alcuin (*De Dir. Off.* 31; *Patrol.* ci. 2230) this strange idea assumes still another form, in that the forgetfulness now includes both the day and the names: ("quorum nomina et dies natalis per incuriam neglectus." The look of the Latin however points strongly to the conclusion that the words *nomina* et are a later addition).

No trace however of this forgetfulness is to be found in the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*, where the notice is merely "vi. Id. Nov. Romae natalis Sanctorum Simplicii . . . et Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum Severi . . ." (*Patrol.* xxx. 481).

A difficulty of another sort is that Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*l. c.*) seems to distinguish the Coronati Quatuor from Severus, &c.; for after describing how Leo IV. restored their church at Rome, he adds "et ad laudem Dei eorum sacratissima corpora cum Claudio . . . , necnon Severo . . . quatuor fratribus collocavit." Doubtless however the last words are spurious. It will be observed also that Anastasius speaks of the Coronati as brothers, the only ancient authority, so far as we have observed, who does so.

Another curious point is that, in the Martyrology of Netker for July 7, the five saints, whom we have seen associated with the Coronati Quatuor, seem to be commemorated on that day:

"Romae, passio beatorum martyrum Nicostrati primicerii, Claudii commentariensis, Castorilive Castuli, Victorini, Symphoriani vel sicut in libro Sacramentorum continetur Semproniani; quorum natalem sexta die Iduum Novembris eatenus nos celebrari credidimus, donec venerabilis pater Abo alios et alios pro eis nobis honorandos insinnavit: de quibus in suo loco vita comite commodius disseretur" (*Patrol.* cxxi. 1115). We cannot tell however how this last promise was redeemed, for the Martyrology of Netker is wanting after Oct. 26. The Martyrology of Usuardus also connects with July 7 the names of the five above-mentioned saints (*Patrol.* cxxiv. 233, where see the note).

In the Martyrology of Rabanus Maurus all notice for Nov. 7 and 8 is wanting. In that of Wandelbert (*Patrol.* cxxi. 617), Nov. 8 is thus marked:—

"Sensus ornantes tunc merito atque cruce,
Claudii Castori Simplicii Symphoriani,
Et Nicostrate part fulgicis luce coracae;"

(*id.* Semproniane), where it will be seen that there is no allusion to the Coronati themselves, unless indeed there be an implied reference in the last word of the third line.

In the Martyrology of Bede the Coronati are mentioned, but under the names of the five saints; thus, "vi. Id. Nov. natale iv. Coronatorum, Claudi, N. Symphoriani, Castoris, Simplicii" (*Patrol.* xciv. 1087).

We find the festival marked in the Leonine Calendar, "v. (vel vi.) Id. Nov. natale SS. iv. Coronatorum" (*ib.* lxxiv. 880); and the former day (Nov. 7) in the calendar of Buerchius (*ib.* 879) as "Clementis, Semproniani, Claudii, Nicostrati, in comitatum." We find the names again varied in the Gelasian Sacramentary (*ib.* 1179), which cites four of the names of the five saints: "In natal. SS. iv. Coronatorum, Costiani, Claudii, Castori, Semproniani."

We have already referred to the presence of this festival in the Gregorian Sacramentary; see also the Antiphony (*Patrol.* lxxviii. 707). The collect in the Sacramentary runs thus: "Praesta quesumus omnipotens Deus ut qui gloriosos martyres Claudium, Nicostratum . . . fortes in sua confessione cognovimus, piis apud te in nostra intercessione sentiamus;" where it will be noticed that only the names of the five saints, and not of the Coronati, are given.

The Mozarabic Missal mentions the festival (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 898); but has no special office for it, employing for this day as well as for others a *missa plurimorum martyrum*. This would appear to point to the fact of the festival being a late addition to the Missal.

It may be added that several ancient calendars mark Nov. 8 as the festival of the four Coronati; but except the first, which is English, they are all Italian (*Patrol.* lxxii. 624, lxxx. 420, ci. 826, cxxxviii. 1188, 1192, 1202, 1208, &c.). Doubtless therefore the festival is to be viewed as essentially one of the Italian church, and as one which never gained any special notoriety beyond the bounds of that church. There are *Acts* of the *Coronati Quatuor*, not apparently of any special value, which were published in Mombritius' *Sacuarium*, vol. i. ff. 162, sqq.

In addition to authorities cited in this article, special reference should be made to

Ménard's note (*in loc.*).

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CORONATION

Menard's notes to the Gregorian Sacramentary (in loc.) [l. 8.]

CORONATION. The Coronation of kings and emperors, the most august ceremony of Christian national life, affords a striking example of the manner in which Christianity breathed a new spirit into already existing ceremonies, and elevated them to a higher and purer atmosphere. Under her inspiration a new life animated the old form: heathen necessities gradually dropt off; fresh and appropriate observances were developed; and the whole ceremonial assumed a character in harmony with the changed faith of those who were its subjects.

It has been remarked by Dean Stanley (Memorials of West. Abbey, p. 42) that the rite of coronation, as it appears in the later part of the period to which our investigation is limited, represents two opposite aspects of European monarchy. It was (1) a symbol of the ancient usage of the choice of the leaders by popular election, and of the emperor by the Imperial Guard, derived from the practice of the Gaulish and Teutonic nations, and (2) a solemn consecration of the new sovereign to his office by unction with holy oil, and the placing of a crown or diadem on his head by one of the chief ministers of religion, after the example of the ancient Jewish Church.

These two parts of the ceremonial, though united in the same ritual, have a different origin, and it will be convenient to treat them separately.

(1) Among the Teutonic and Gothic tribes the custom prevailed of elevating the chief or king on whom the popular election had fallen on a large shield or buckler, borne by the leading men of the tribe. Standing on this he was exposed to the view of the soldiers and people, who by their acclamations testified their joy at his accession, and accepted him as their sovereign and head. The "chairing," or carrying round through the assembled crowd, "gyratio," usually three times repeated, followed. Tacitus describes this ceremonial in the case of Brinno, chief of the Batavian tribe of Canninefates "impositus scuto, more gentis, et sustinentium humeris vibratus, dux deligitur" (Hist. iv. 15). The German soldiers of the Imperial Guard introduced this custom to the Romans, and we find the later emperors inaugurated in this manner. Thus Gordian the younger A.D. 238 was "lifted up" as emperor by the Praetorian Guards: "retractans, elevatus est et imperatorem se appellari permisit" (Capitolianus in Gordian; Herodian, lib. viii. c. 21). Julian, when before the death of Constantine the enthusiasm of his troops forced him at Paris unwillingly to assume the imperial dignity (April A.D. 360), submitted to the same ceremonial, "impositus scuto pedestri et sublatius emineus Augustus renuntiatur" (Ann. Marcell. lib. xx. c. 4); ἐπι τινοσ ἀσπίδος μετὰ τοσ ἀρσενεσ ἀρεσιόν τε Σεβαστόν Ἀυτοκράτορα (Zosimus, lib. iii. 9. 4). Valentinian was desired to name a colleague A.D. 364, κατ' ἀρχήν τήν ἀναγορεύειν ἐπὶ τῆσ ἀσπίδοσ (Philostorg. viii. 8), to which Nicephorus significantly adds, ὡσ ἔθος. The poet Claudian, writing of the inauguration of the young Honorius as Augustus A.D. 393, refers to the same custom—

"Sed mox cum solita miles to voce levasset,"

CORONATION

So completely was this custom identified with the inauguration of a sovereign that the verb ἐπαίρειν came into use as the regular term for the recognition of a new emperor. Thus we find Euseb. Epitome temp. of Marcan A.D. 450, αὐτῶ τῶ ἐπὶ ἐπήρθη Μαρκανδὸσ Ἀβγουστος, and of Maximus A.D. 455 (cf. Suidas s. v. voce ἐπαίρειν). Zonaras, writing of Hypatius set up by a sedition as a rival to Justinian, says ἐπὶ ἀσπίδοσ μετὰ τοσ ἄρσενεσ ἀναγορεύουσι βασιλέα (Zonar. xiv. 6). It took its place as a recognised portion of the ritual of a coronation in the Eastern Empire; e.g. the coronation of Justin the younger in St. Sophia's as described by Corippus, de Laudibus Justin! Augusti Minoris (lib. ii. 137-178). A shield was held up by four young men. On this the emperor stood erect, like the letter I, with which his name and that of his two immediate predecessors commenced.

"Quatuor ingentem elype sublimibus orbem
 Attollunt lecti juvenes, nonimbuque levatus,
 Ipse ministrorum supra stetit, at sua reclusis
 Littora, quae signis stabili non fecit unquam
 Nominibus sacra tribus."

We also find it in the elaborate rituals drawn up by Joannes Cantacuzenus (c. 1330; Hist. i. c. 41, printed by Martene ii. 204; and Habertus Pontific. Graec. p. 604 sq.) and Georgius Codinus, Cypriotes (d. 1460; de Officio et Officialibus Aulac Constantin. c. 17). The only change is that the emperor no longer stands on the slippery surface of the buckler, but adopts the much securer position of sitting, "sessitans." The risk of a dangerous and indecorous fall during the ceremony of "gyratio," is proved by the example of Gunbald, king of Burgundy (A.D. 500), who on his third circuit "cum tertio gyraent" fell, and was with difficulty held up by the people (Grego. Turonens. Hist. lib. vii. c. 10). According to George Codinus, who may be taken as a probable evidence of the ritual prevailing several centuries before his time in the unchanging East, this "levatio" took place outside the Church of St. Sophia, into which the new emperor was borne to receive the sacred rites of unction and crowning at the hands of the patriarch. It was the rule that the shield should be supported in front by the emperor (when the choice of a successor was made in his lifetime), the father of the newly created monarch if alive, and the patriarch, the other highest dignitaries of the State supporting it behind.

The origin of this custom being Teutonic, it was naturally continued by the sovereigns of the Frankish race. The long-haired Pharamond was thus inaugurated A.D. 420: "levaverunt super se regem crinitum" (Gesta Regum Francorum apud Dom. Bouquet, ii. 543). Clovis received his recognition as king by the same token, "clipeo impositum super se Regem constitutum" A.D. 509 (Gregor. Taron. lib. ii. c. 40). Sigebert, son of Clotaire I. A.D. 575, when "more gentis, impositus clipeo rex constitutus" (Adonis Chronica; Gregor. Tur. Hist. Fron. iv. c. 52), was stabled by the nssnsins of Queen Fredegonde. A century later, A.D. 744, we read of Hildebrand, grandson of Luitprand king of the Lombards, "in regem levaverunt" (Paulus Diaconus, vi. 55), of Pippin (A.D. 751 "rex elevatus est" Ann. d. Gualf. &c.). And to close the series, Otto "sublimatus est" at Milan A.D. 961. [Cf. Grimm, Rechts-Alterthümer, p. 234.]

The ceremonial is depicted in an illumination of the 10th century engraved by Montfaucon (*Monumens*, tom. I. p. xvi.) representing the proclamation of David as king. He stands on a round shield borne aloft by four young men.

From a passage in Constant. Porphy. (*de Administrat. Imper.* c. 38) this custom appears to have prevailed among the Turks. It is not found in the early Spanish annals, but it was certainly in use in the kingdom of Arragon at a later period (Ambros. Morales, lib. xiii. c. 11), and traces of it are found in that of Castile, in *Legibus Pa. titarum*, leg. iii. tit. xxii. part. iii. There is no evidence of its ever having been adopted in England.

Among the Frankish and Lombard nations an additional ceremony was the delivery of a spear to the newly-made monarch. We find this in the case of Hildebrand A. D. 744 (Paul. Diacon. vi. 55); Childeric A. D. 456 (Chiffetius in Anastas. civil. p. 98); Childelbert II. A. D. 585 (Greg. Turon. vii. 33; Aimoinus, ii. 69). Martene (*de Rit.* ii. 212) writes of the Frankish kings "tradita in manum hasta pro sceptro, excelsa in solio honorifice imponunt."

(2) The second aspect in which a coronation was viewed was the religious one. As soon as the Bible became known, the practice of the Jewish nation to consecrate their kings to their high office by the hands of the chief minister of religion became an authority from which there was no appeal. Of the two ceremonies specially characterizing the Jewish rite, anointment and the imposition of a crown, the former alone was strange to the Western nations. From a very early period, as we shall see, the crown or diadem was known as the symbol of royalty. The only change was that of the person by whose hands it was placed on the monarch's head. *Urvton* appears to have been entirely unknown as a part of the ritual, and to have come into use with the conversion of the emperors to the Christian faith.

(a) To speak first of the imposition of the



Diadem, from Clamplis.

crown or diadem. For the sake of clearness, while referring to dictionaries of classical antiquities for fuller details, it may be desirable to remind our readers that the crown, *corona*, *στέφανος*, was a head circlet, wreath, or garland of leaves, flowers, twigs, grass, &c., and, as luxury increased, of the precious metals, chiefly gold; while the diadem, *διάδημα*, "tænia" or "inscia" (Q. Curtius, iii. 3), as its name implies, was originally nothing more than a linen band or silken ribbon, tied round the temples, with the loose ends hanging down behind. This ribbon Eastern magnificence afterwards adorned with pearls and precious stones. The nature of the diadem may be illus-

* Discours préliminaire, de l'inauguration des premiers rois de France."

trated from some historical facts. Thus Alexander took off his diadem to bind up the wound of Lysimachus (Justin, lib. xv. c. 9). Pompey's enemies made it a charge against him that he had bound up an ulcer on his leg with a white cloth like a diadem, it mattering not on what part of the body the royal insignia was placed



Diadem, from Clamplis.

(Amm. Marcell. xvii.). Monima, the wife of Mithridates, attempted to hang herself with her diadem (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, c. 18).

Though the words *corona* and *diadema* have not infrequently been used interchangeably, the distinction between them is very precise. "However" (writes Selden, *Titles of Honour*, c. 8, § 2), "these names have been from ancient times confounded, yet the diadem strictly was a very different thing from what a crown now is or was; and it was no other than than only a fillet of silk, linen, or some such thing. Nor appears it that any other kind of crown was used for a royal ensign, except only in some kingdoms of Asia, but this kind of fillet, until the beginning of Christianity in the Roman empire." The "diadema," not the "corona" was the emblem and sign of royalty. It is styled by Lucian *Βασιλευς γυρῶσιμα* Piv. 35; cf. Xenoph. *Cy. op.* viii. 3. 13); and *καπερθενα διάδημα* is of frequent use to indicate the assumption of royal dignity (Polyb. v. 57. 4; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 10. 1); as in Latin "diadema" is identified by Tacitus with the "insigne regium" (*Annal.* xv. 29). The diadem was of Eastern origin, and was introduced to the Romans through their Oriental campaigns and intercourse with Asiatic nations. When first seen at Rome it caused great offence. Though they submitted to the reality of sovereign power, their susceptible minds could not endure its outward symbols. The golden "corona" had raised no alarm. Caligula and Domitian wore it at the public games without objection, and it appears on their coins. Augustus, Claudius, Trajan, and many others are represented with rayed or "stellate" crowns, imitating the majesty of the sun. Julius Caesar, rightly interpreting public opinion, refused the tempting offer of a laurel wreath (*διάδημα στεφάνος δάφνης περιστελεγμένον*) and had it laid up in the Capitol (Plutarch, *J. Cæs.* 61; Sueton. i. § 79). Caligula when about to assume the diadem was warned by friendly counsellors of the danger of thus exceeding "principum et regum fastigium" (Sueton. iv. c. 22). Titus provoked suspicion of affecting the throne of the East by wearing the diadem, though according to the established ritual, when consecrating the Apis ox at Memphis (Sueton. xi. c. 5). The effe-

* "At ud est corona, alitid diadema. Corona simplex est circulus aureus quo utuntur reges in minoribus solemnitatibus. Diadema est quasi duplex corona quum ipsa coronae quasi alius circulus gemmis superpositus superadditur."—Peter of Bioti, *Sermo*, xix. vol. II. p. 11.

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CHRIST, ANT.

misate Elagabalus advanced a step further and wore it in private, "diadema gemmato usus est domi" (Lampadius); and Aurelian, who had been familiar with its use in his Eastern campaign, and the attire of his captive Zenobia (Trebell. Poll. c. xxix.), first ventured to present himself to the public gaze with his temples adorned with this badge of sovereignty, and his person glittering with magnificent attire A.D. 270: "Iste primus apud Romanos diadema capiti laezult, gemmisque et aurata omni veste, quod adhuc fere incognitum Romanis moribus visetur, usus est" (Aurel. Vict. *Epiton.* c. xxxv.). The diadem once introduced was never dropped, and became a recognized mark of imperial dignity; but it seems to have been chiefly worn on state occasions. Constantine was the first to adopt it as a portion of his ordinary attire—"caput exornans perpetuo diademat" (Aurel. Vict. *Epit.* c. l.), and his successors continued the usage. As soon as the emperors had become Christian, it naturally followed that their inauguration to sovereignty should be accompanied by sacred rites, and receive the blessing of the chief minister of religion, who speedily became also the recognized agent in setting apart the sovereign to his regal office by the ceremonies of the imposition of the crown, and at a later period, ofunction, borrowed from the rites of the Jewish Church. Originally the crown was put on by those who had the power of giving it. The Imperial Guard who chose the emperor crowned him. When Julian had been suddenly chosen by his troops as their emperor at Paris (April A.D. 360), and had been raised on the shield by the soldiers, it was they who forcibly put the token of power on his unwilling head: *ἐπέθεσαν οὖν βίβη τὸ διαδήμα τῇ κεφαλῇ* (Zosim. *Hist.* lib. ii. 4). The circumstances in this coronation deserve mention from their picturesque quality. There being no real diadem at hand, the troops demanded that he should use his wife's head-ribbon. Julian refused, deeming a woman's ornament unworthy of the imperial dignity. Still more peremptorily did he reject the horse's headband they then proposed. At last one of his standard-bearers took off the gold torque from his neck, and with that Julian was crowned (Amm. Marcell. xx. 4). This mean crown "villis corona" was laid aside at Vienna for a more ambitious diadem, glittering with jewels—"ambitiosio diadematatebatur lapidum fulgore distincto" (Amm. Marcell. xxi. 1; Zonaras, xiii. 10). His successor Jovian was also proclaimed king, crowned and vested in the royal robe by the army who chose him A.D. 363, *τὴν ἀουρὴν καὶ τὸν καλὸν τὸ διαδήμα περιθέμενον* (Zosim. lib. 30; Theodoret, iv. 1; Theophan. p. 36); and Valentinian A.D. 364, "principali habitu circumdatus et coronatus Augustusque nuncupatus" (Amm. Marc. xxvi. 2). When Valentinian associated his son Gratian with him in the empire, he invested him with the purple and crown (Amm. Marcell. xxvii. 7). In none of these cases is there any reference to a bishop or minister of religion as performing the ceremony of coronation; nor can we say with any certainty when this custom arose. The first hint at such a custom that we meet with is in the dream of Theodosius before his admission to a share of the imperial dignity, c. 379 (?), in which he saw Melchius, bishop of Antioch, putting on him a crown and the royal robe (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 6).

It has been erroneously asserted by Martene (*de Ritibus*, ii. 201-247, ed. Bassano 1788) and Meuard (*Notes to the Sacramentary of St. Gregory*, p. 397 sq.), and repeated by Catalani and many subsequent writers, including Maskell, that Theodosius II. (A.D. 439) is the first whom we know to have been crowned by a bishop. Theophanes (p. 59) informs us that Theodosius the younger sent crowns, *στεφάνους βασιλικούς*, to Valentinian II. at Rome, c. 383, but nothing is anywhere said of his own coronation. The passage quoted by Martene from Theodorus Lector, (lib. ii. c. 65,) but of Leo I., A.D. 457, by Amatoius the patriarch: *στεφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατριάρχου*. In this case the new emperor, a rude Thracian soldier, had been a military tribune and chief steward of the household of Aspar, the Arian patrician, by whose influence he was raised to the throne. It is not improbable that episcopal benediction might be regarded as a valuable support to a feeble title, and that Leo felt a special satisfaction in having the imperial crown imposed on his brows by the head of the Byzantine hierarchy. But previous allusions to coronation at the hands of a bishop would lead us to question the accuracy of Gibbon's assertion (chap. xxxvi.) that "this appears to be the first origin of a ceremony which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted," and it would certainly be very unsafe to assert that it was the first time that this ceremony was performed by episcopal hands. The next recorded instance of episcopal coronation is that of Justin I. This emperor was crowned twice: first by John II., patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 518 (Theophan. *Chronograph.* p. 182; cf. the patriarch's letter to Pope Hormisdas, apud Baronii *Annales*, anno 519, no. ix.: "Ideo coronam (*altior*) coram gratine super eum coelitus declinavit, ut altiternum in sacrum ejus caput misericordia funderetur; omnique annuntiationis ejus tempore eum magna voce Deum omnium principem glorificaverunt quoniam talen verticem meis manibus tali corona decoravit"); and secondly, "pietatis ergo," by Pope John II. on his visit to Constantinople, A.D. 525 (Anastas. Bibliothec. p. 95, ed. Blanchini, Rom. 1718; Ammonius, lib. ii. c. 1). His successor Justinian received the diadem primarily from his uncle's hands (Zonaras lib. xiv. c. 5), in compliance with a practice subsequently prevailing in the Eastern empire, by which the symbol of royalty was originally bestowed by the emperor himself on those whom he wished to succeed him; the ceremony being probably repeated by the bishop or patriarch. Thus Verina crowned her brother Basiliscus, A.D. 474. Tiberius II. his wife Anastasia, A.D. 578 (Theophanes, *Chron.*). But the sanction of religion had become essential to the recognition of a new sovereign by his subjects, and Justinian was inaugurated by the imposition of the hands of the patriarch Epiphanius (Cyril. Scythopol. *Vita S. Sabae Archimandritae*). From this time coronation at the hands of the patriarch was an established rule. Justin II., A.D. 565, was crowned by John Scholasticus; Tiberius II. by Eutychius, Sept. 26, 578, ten days before Justin's death and by his order. His successor Maurice and his wife were crowned by John the Faster, A.D. 582, on the day of their marriage (Theophyl. Simocatta, lib. i. c. 10), and their son Theodosius,

acts. Thus Alexander up the wound (c. 3). Pompey almost him that he log with a white ring not on what insignia was placed



ma, the wife of M herself with her (18). diadema have not unchangedly, the dis- precise. "H of *Annals*, c. 8, § 2), antient times only was a very diffe- nse is or was; and a fillet of silk, linen, appears it that any for a royal ensign, is of Asia, but this ing of Christianity "diadema," not the and sign of royalty, *καὶ τὸν ἄνωρον* The. (3. 13); and *περι-* to indicate the *Πολιβ.* v. 57. 4; Je- in Latin "diadema" ae "inisi, ne regiam" sun was of Eastern the Romans through and intercourse with er, their susceptible toward symbols. The no alarm. Caligula public games without on their coins. Au- and many others are "stellate" crowns, sun. Julius Caesar, opinion, refused the at Antony's hands, arel wreath (*διδύμα* *γυμνῶν*) and had it aturach, *J. Cæs.* 61; hea about to assume friendly counsellors eding "principem et iv. c. 22). Titus pro- ge the throne of the n, though according hen consecrating the a. xi. c. 5). The effe-

yema. Corona simplex est is minoribus solemp- plex corona quom ipa- antis superpositus asper- xix. vol. iii. p. 11.

when four years old (Theophan. p. 179). He, with his wife Bathia, was crowned by Sergius, Oct. 7, 610, and in the third year of his reign his son Heraclius and his daughter Euphrosina were also crowned. It is unnecessary to give later examples. In the time of Justinian's successor Justin II. the ceremonial of coronation seems to have received the form and religious sanction it maintained, on the whole, till the fall of the empire. The ritual is elaborately described by Corippus. The ceremony took place at break of day. After his elevation on the shield (see above), the emperor was carried into St. Sophia's, where he received the patriarch's benediction, and the imperial diadem was imposed by his hands. He was then recognized as emperor by acclamation first of the "patres" and then of the "clientes." Wearing his diadem he took his seat on the throne, and after making the sign of the cross he made an harangue to his assembled subjects:—

"Postquam cuncta videt ritu perfecta priorum,
Pantificum summis plenaque aetate venustus,
Adstantem benedixit eum, caelique potentem
Exorans dominum sacro diademate iussit
Augustum sancte caput, summoque coronam
Imponeas apicem. Feliciter ac tunc" dixit."

Corippus de Laud. Justin. ll. 9, v. 179 sq.

With the addition of the important ceremony of unction, and a considerable elaboration of ritual, the coronation office, as given by Joannes Cantacuzenus, afterwards emperor (c. 1330), and a century later, by Georgius Codinus (d. 1453), corresponds with that described by Corippus in all essential particulars.

Of the Occidental use we know little or nothing. We may reasonably suppose that there was no essential difference between it and the Eastern ritual. But the Western empire had ceased before the earliest record of any religious ceremony accompanying the rite in the East, and when it revived in the person of the emperor Charles the Great, coronation at the hands of a bishop had long been a recognized custom among the Frankish nations. Martene (ii. 212) acknowledges that the coronation of Pippin, the father of Charles, is the earliest example he can discover. Pippin was crowned twice—first by St. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, papal legate, at Soissons, A.D. 752; secondly, together with his sons Charles and Carloman and his wife Bertha, by Pope Stephen at St. Denis, Sunday, July 28, 754 (Pagius, *Brev. Gest. Rom. Pont.*). Charles the Great was also crowned episcopally more than once. In addition to his boyish coronation he was solemnly crowned in St. Peter's at Rome by Pope Leo. This coronation took place on Christmas Day, A.D. 800. It forms one of the great epochs in history, as by this the Frankish king was recognized by the Vicar of Christ as the representative of the emperors of Rome and inheritor of their rights and privileges.

The ceremony is thus described by Const. Manasses in *Chron. Synops.* :—

ἐν τῷ αἰεθλοῦ Κάρουλου ὁ Λέων
ἀναγορεύει κρατῶν τῆς παλαιστῆρας Ῥώμης
καὶ στέφανος περιπέθειν ὡς οἱ Ῥωμαίων νόμοι.

It has been repeatedly asserted that, previous to his coronation at Rome, Charles had been crowned with the so-called iron crown at Monza; but the fact is not recorded in any early authorities, and it is probably a story of later growth.

His infant son Pippin was crowned king of Italy by Adrian I. on Easter Day, 801, the day after his birth.^c

One of the very earliest instances on record of a royal coronation by an ecclesiastic in Western Europe is that of Aidan, king of Scotland, by St. Columba in Iona, A.D. 574.^d It may perhaps be reasonably questioned whether this picturesque narrative is to be received as historical. But it is accepted by some of the latest and best authorities (e.g. Montalembert and Burton); and the kernel of the story is probably authentic. According to the tale, an angel was sent to command Columba to consecrate Aidan. He reminded the saint that "he had in his hands the crystal-covered book of the Ordination of Kings;" which, be it remarked, presupposes the existence of such a ceremony. St. Columba hesitated, preferring for sovereign Aidan's brother Iogan. The angelic messenger appeared again and again, becoming more and more peremptory, until on the third visit he struck the refractory saint with a scourge, leaving a weal which remained on his side all the rest of his life. On this Columba consented, and Aidan was made king by him on the celebrated Stone of Destiny, taken afterwards from Iona to Dunstaffnage, and thence to Scone, whence it was transferred by Edward I., as a symbol of conquest, to Westminster. The words of Adamnan are simply, "in regem ordinavit impensissime manum super caput ejus ordinans benedixit." No mention is made either of the crown or unction (Adamnanus, *de S. Columb. Scots Confessor*, l. iii. c. 5; Montalembert, *Monks of the West*; T. Hill Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, l. 319). Almost contemporaneous with this are the records of the same rite in Spain. Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, A.D. 572, according to Isidore, *Hist. Gothorum*, vii. 124, was the first of those sovereigns to assume the crown, sceptre, and royal robe: "Nam ante eum et habitus et consensus communis ut genti illi et regibus erat." Of Recared also, Leovigild's successor, A.D. 586, we read, "regno est coronatus" (ib.).

(b) Another essential portion of the coronation of a Christian monarch was unction at the hands of a bishop or other chief minister. This rite clothed the person of the king with inviolable sanctity. It was considered to partake of the nature of a sacrament (August. *de Petitione*, lib. ii. c. 112), and to be indelible; to convey spiritual jurisdiction, as the delivery of the crown conferred temporal power; and it gave the chief significance to the formula "Rex Dei gratia," which according to Selden (*Titles of Honour*, p. 92) could not from

^c The notion, once so widely received, that the Western emperors were crowned in three different places, with crowns of three different materials—gold at Rome denoting excellence, silver at Aix-la-Chapelle denoting purity, and iron at Monza or Milan denoting strength—is a mere myth of an editor of the *Papstliche Rom-anne*, discovered and culled by Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Julius II.), *Hist. Aust.* lib. iv., and refuted by Muratori, *de Cor. For.* p. 9.

^d It is stated in the introduction to the Roxburgh Club edition of the "Liber Regalis" 1871, that "the earliest coronation of a Christian prince within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland is generally supposed to be that of Dermot or Diarmid, supreme monarch of Ireland, by his relative, Columba," circa 560; but this is merely an inference from the close relation between the two parties, not an ascertained historical fact.

its sacred character. Thus upon unctio sacra foris unctur sicut retru" (*Evangel.* non mera person. iii. tit. 2). An chief and divine (the kings among inaugurated to of the Judges Jotham's parabolic king over them been in use at the Jewish people St. Augustine was a rite peculiarly never adopted by sibi ungelantur regno ubi Christus unde venturus sibi omnino in (*Esarai. in Pa*

The earliest many of unctio in Christian ecc. of the Spanish kings in the Acts of the Wamba on his coronation by Quirico, archiepiscopus genibus orielis pontificis (Julius Toletanus) quoted by Selden. But the rite was in language used established since Toledo. Wamba's record. This is the 12th Council of Wamba's successor per sacrosanctatem" (Labbe, *Con*

Passing by the *Brit.* § 21), "un- &c." as more or uncertain reference of himself, "by Saxons," in the A.D. 690, we can nation contains archbishop of York Maskell says, "ancient English in the world" (ritual, together includes the anoint. "Benedictio. Verget oleum cum antiphona 'Domine in virtutibus orationem' The 12th canon A.D. 787, "de continens a vulgari" the words, "Nec ret iudici regni nobis generatus," was crowned at legum, the language in which this i

its sacred character, be applied to any other lay person. Thus Gregory the Great writes, "quia ipsa unctio sacramentum est, is qui promovetur foris ungitur si intus virtute sacramenti roboretur" (*Epist. lib. i. lxxviii*, c. x.). " Rex unctus non mera persona laica sed mixta" (Lyndwood, lib. iii. tit. 2). Anointing, it is well known, was the chief and divinely appointed ceremony by which the kings among the chosen people of God were inaugurated to their office. As early as the time of the Judges the idea was familiar; for in Jetham's parable the trees propose to anoint a king over them. This shews that it must have been in use among other nations with whom the Jewish people had intercourse, and that St. Augustine goes too far in asserting that it was a rite peculiar to the people of God, and was never adopted by heathen nations. "Nec in aliquo aliud ungebatur reges et sacerdotibus nisi in illo regno ubi Christus prophetabatur et ungebatur et unde venturus erat Christi nomen. Nusquam aliud omnino in nulla gente, in nullo regno" (*Enchirid. in Pa. lib. § 10*).

The earliest authentic instances of the ceremony of unction forming an essential element in the Spanish coronations appear in the annals of the Spanish kingdoms. The rite is mentioned in the Acts of the 6th Council of Toledo, A.D. 636. Wamba on his coronation (A.D. 673) was anointed by Quirgo, archbishop of Toledo: "Deinde curvatis genibus oleum benedictionis per sacri Quirici pontificis manus vertici ejus infunditur" (Julius Toletanus, § 4; cf. *Rodericus Santius*, quoted by Selden, *Titles of Honour*, p. 155). But the rite was evidently anterior to this. The language used evidences that the unction was an established custom, and that it took place at Toledo. Wamba's is simply the first unction on record. This is confirmed by the Acts of the 12th Council of Toledo, which state of Hervigius, Wamba's successor, A.D. 680, that he "regnandi per sacrosanctam unctionem suscepit potestatem" (*Labbe, Conc. vi. 1225*, canon i.).

Passing by the language of Gildas (*de Excid. Brit. § 21*), "ungebatur reges et non per Deum, &c.," as more oratorical than historical, and the uncertain reference to unction in Ina's designation of himself, "by God's grace, king of the West Saxons," in the opening sentence of his laws A.D. 690, we come down to the form of coronation contained in the *Pontifical* of Egbert, archbishop of York A.D. 732-767, of which Mr. Maskell says, "it is probably not only the most ancient English use, but the most ancient extant in the world" (*Monum. Rit. iii. 74-81*). The ritual, together with other ceremonies, expressly includes the anointing of the king's head with oil. "Benedictio super regem noviter electum. Sic vertet oleum cum cornu super caput ipsius cum antiphona 'unxerunt Salomonem' et Psalmo 'Domine in virtute tua.' Unus ex pontificibus dicit orationem et alii unguant."

The 12th canon of the Council of Cealcyth A.D. 787, "de ordinatione et honore regum," contains a valuable incidental mention of unction as an essential element of the kingly office, in the words, "Nec Christus Dominus esse valet nec totius regni qui ex legitimo non fuerit cubio generatus." Of Egferth, son of Offa, who was crowned at this council as his father's colleague, the language of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in which this is the earliest coronation men-

tioned, "hallowed to king" (*to cymnig gelaþad*) can only be interpreted of unction, and so William of Malmesbury has understood it, "in regem unctum." Eardwulf, king of Northumberland, is recorded to have been consecrated (*gheblest*) and elevated to his throne (*to his cinstole ahojen*) by Archbishop Einbold and three bishops (*Anglo-Sax. Chron. A. D. 795*). And finally of Alfred, the same chronicle says, A.D. 874, that when Pope Leo IV. heard of the death of Ethelwulf he consecrated him king (*bletsode Alfred to cinre*). The rhyming Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, quoted by Selden (*Titles of Honour*, p. 150), in describing this coronation uses the remarkable phrase "he oiled (*elcde*) him to be king;"—

"Erst he adde at Rome ybe, and vor is gret wisdomo
The pope Leon him blesede, tho he thuder come,
And the king is crowne of this lond, yt in this lond
yt is."

And ciede him to be king, ere he were king yt is,
And he was king of Englonde, of all that there come
That verst thus yclede was of the Pope of Rome.
And suthe othe after his deth, the arch-bisshop echon,
So that biore him thur' as the non."

From England the custom of unction seems to have passed into France, where Pippin's anointing by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, at Soissons A.D. 752, is acknowledged by Martene (*de Rit. Eccl. ii. 212*; cf. Selden, u. s. p. 113) to have been the first regal unction the testimony for which is worthy of credit.* According to Chiffletius, p. 30 (apud Maskell u. s.), the rite was more than once repeated: "Pippinus omnium Francie regum primus, imitatus Judaeorum reges, ut se sacra unctione venerabiliorum augustioremq; faceret, semel atque iterum ungi voluit." This second unction is probably that mentioned by Baronius, July 28, A.D. 754, when Pippin received anointing from Stephen II. together with his sons Charles and Charlemann.

The custom of unction was firmly established in the West by the close of the 8th century. When Charles the Great was crowned in Rome by Leo I. he was anointed with oil from head to foot;—

και μὴν ἀλλὰ χρυσόμενος και νόμοις Ἰουδαίων,
ἐκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ποδῶν ἔλαιον τούτων χρίει.
Const. MANASS. in Chron. Synops.

The East followed the West in the adoption of unction. It has been carried back to the time of Justin and Justinian, i. e. to the middle of the 6th century (Onuphrius, *de Comit. Imp. erator. c. 2*); but Goar (*Enchiridion*, p. 928) affirms that "the emperors of the East were not anointed before that Charles the Great was crowned in the West" (cf. Selden, u. s. p. 140).

In the earliest ritual anointing on the head alone sufficed. That of the whole person, adopted in the case of Charles the Great, was quite exceptional. The unction is thus limited in the *Pontifical* of Egbert. In the Greek ritual, given by Codinus, the head was anointed in the shape of the cross (*σταυροειδῶς*). The mediæval English rite is peculiar in anointing the head, breast, and

* The ridiculous fable of the *sancta ampulla*, conveyed from heaven by an angel with oil for the coronation rites of Clovis, A.D. 481, was not heard of till four hundred years after the date of the supposed event, and then in connexion with his baptism and confirmation. (Hincmar, *Vita S. Rem. ap. Surium*, Jan. 13.)

arms, denoting glory, sanctity, and strength. The kings of France were anointed in nine places—the head, breast, between the shoulders, the shoulders themselves, the arms, and the hands. But this was a later development of the rite. The head alone was anointed in three places, the right ear, the forehead round to the left ear, and the crown of the head, when Charles the Bald was crowned by Ilincmar, A.D. 809 (Hincmar, *Opera*, i. 745).

(c) The delivery of the sceptre and staff, which appears in the English ritual of the *Pontificale* of Egbert, is evidently derived from the custom prevailing among the Lombards, Franks, and other early nations, to which we have already referred, of delivering a spear to the newly elected sovereign.

(d) The profession of faith, which in later times formed part of the ritual of an imperial coronation, preceding the episcopal benediction, is not mentioned in the more ancient authorities. The instances given by Martene (*de Rituibus*) in proof of its early date are quite inconclusive. Jovian's declaration of Christian faith on his election as emperor by the soldiers of his army, was evidently entirely voluntary (Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 1). The demand made of Anastasius (A.D. 491) by the patriarch of Constantinople, Euphemius, that as the price of the episcopal sanction to his election to the imperial dignity, he would sign a document declaring his adhesion to the orthodox faith, was quite exceptional (Evagr. *H. E.* iii. 32; Theod. *Lect.* iii.), while the profession of orthodoxy required by Cyriac of Phocas A.D. 602, and unhesitatingly given by that base and sanguinary usurper to purchase the patriarch's recognition, can scarcely be pressed into a precedent. In the Gothic kingdom of Spain an oath that he would defend the Catholic faith, and preserve the realm from the contamination of Jewish unbelievers, was very early exacted of the sovereign. Such a pledge is declared essential in the Acts of the 6th Council of Toledo, A.D. 636 (act iii. Labbé, *Concil.* v. p. 1743), and in the later councils held at the same place. It is expressly declared of Wamba A.D. 673 that before the ceremony of anointment and after the assumption of the royal attire, "regio jam cultu conspicuus ante altare divinum consistens ex more fidem populis reddidit" (Jul. Tolet. § 4). The oath of King Egic is given in the Acts of the 15th Council of Toledo A.D. 688. No such oath or profession of faith appears in the form of coronation in the *Pontificale* of Egbert. We are unable to state when it was introduced into the ritual of the Eastern empire. But according to Georgius Codinus (cap. xvii. §§ 1-7), the newly recognized emperor had to give a written profession of faith before his coronation, to be publicly read in St. Sophia's.

(e) Leontius (*Vita Sancti Joan. Alex. Episc.* c. 17) mentions a remarkable custom prevailing in the coronations of the Eastern empire in the 6th century as an admonition of the transitoriness of all earthly greatness. After his coronation the architects of the imperial monuments approached the emperor and presented specimens of four or five marbles of different colours, with the inquiry which he would choose for the construction of his own monument. The analogous ceremony described by Peter Damianus (*Litt. lib. l. 17*),

though belonging to a later period, may be mentioned here. The emperor having taken his seat on his throne, with his diadem on his head and his sceptre in his hand, and his nobles standing around, was approached by a man carrying a box full of dead men's bones and dust in one hand, and in the other a wisp of flax which—as in the papal enthronization—was lighted and burnt before his eyes.

(f) This article may be fittingly closed by an epitome of the ritual prescribed in the *Pontificale* of Egbert, A.D. 732-737, already repeatedly referred to as the earliest extant form of coronation.

The title of this coronation service is "Missa pro regibus in die Benedictionis ejus." It commences with the Antiphon "Justus es Domine, &c." (Ps. cxl. 1:17), and the Psalm "Beati immaculati (Ps. cxl. 1). Then succeeds a Lesson from Leviticus, "Hæc dicit Dominus" (Lev. xvi. 6-9); the gradual, "Salvum sic, &c.," and the verse, "Auribus percipe" and "Alleluia," the Psalm "Magnus Dominus" (Ps. xviii.), or "Domine in virtute" (Ps. xxi.), and a sequence from St. Matthew, "In illo tempore" (Matt. xxii. 15). Then follows the "Benedi. in super regem noviter electum," and three collects, "Te invocamus Domine sancte," "Deus qui populus tuus" (both of which are found in the *Liber Regalis*), and "In diebus ejus oriatur omnibus æquitas." The unction follows, according to the form already given. After the collect, "Deus electorum fortitudo," succeeds the delivery of the sceptre. The rubric is, "Hic omnes pontifices cum principibus dant ei sceptrum in manu." Fifteen *Proces* follow. After this there is the delivery of the staff ("Hic datur ei baculum in manu sua"), with the prayer, "Omnipotens dei tibi Deus de rege orati," &c., and imposition of the crown (the rubric is, "Hic omnes pontifices sumant galero et ponant super caput ipsius"), with the prayer, "Benedic Domine fortitudinem regis principis, &c." This is succeeded by the recognition of the people, and the kiss. The rubric runs, "Et dicit omnis populus tribus vicibus cum episcopis et presbyteris *Vivat rex N. in sempiternum*. Tune confirmabitur cum benedictione omnis populus" (Leofric Missal, "omni populo in solio regni") "et osculandum principem in sempiternum dicit, Amen, Amen, Amen." The seventh "oratio" is said over the king, and the mass follows, with appropriate *Offertory*, *Preface*, &c. The whole terminates with the three royal precepts, to preserve the peace of the Church, to restrain all rapacity and injustice, and to maintain justice and mercy in all judicial proceedings.

Authorities.—Maskell, *Monumenta Rituala Ecclesie Anglicanæ*, iii. 1-142. Martene, *De Antiqua Ecclesie Rituibus*, ii. 201-237. Seiden, *Titles of Honour*, part i. ch. vii. Habertus, *Pontific. Græc.* pp. 627 sq. Catalani, *Comment. in Pontific. Roman.* i. 369-418. Meunier, *Traité du Sacre et Couronnement des Rois et Reines de France*. Goar, *Litologium*, pp. 924-930. Ménard, *Notes to Sacramentary of Gregory*, p. 387. Arthur Taylor, *Glory of Royalty*. Montfaucon, *Monumens de l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. xvi. sq. *Discours préliminaire de l'inauguration des premiers Rois de France*. Codinus *Curpalatia, De Officiis et Officialibus Curie et Ecclesie Constantinopolitane*, c. xvii. Grimm, *Lechtsalte thürer*, p. 234 sq.

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Monumenta Rituali
 1-142. Martene, *De*
 i, ii. 201-237. Selden,
 i. ch. vii. Habertus,
 q. Catalani, *Comment.*
 9-418. Mehin, *Traité*
des Rois et Reines de
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 of Gregory, p. 397.
Regality. Montfaucon,
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CORPORAL

CORPORAL. (*Corporale, Pallia Corporalis, Pallia Domini*). The cloth on which the elements are consecrated in the Eucharist.

It is probable from the nature of the case that from the most ancient times the table on which the Lord's Supper was celebrated was covered with a cloth. [See ALTAR-CLOTHS.] In process of time, the cloth which ordinarily covered the table was itself covered, when the sacred elements were to be consecrated, by another cloth called a *Corporal*. The *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 105, ed. Muratori) asserts that Pope Sylvester († 335) decreed that the sacrifice of the altar should be consecrated not on silk or on any kind of dyed cloth, but only on pure white linen, as the Lord's Body was buried in linen. The decrees of popes of that age lie, as is well known, under a good deal of suspicion; but at a somewhat later date Isidore of Pelusium (*Epist.* i. 123) lays down precisely the same rule as that attributed to Sylvester. Germanus of Paris (*Expositio Brevis*, p. 93, Migne) also lays down that the corporal must be of linen, for the same reason as that alleged by the preceding authorities, and adds that it should be woven throughout, like the seamless coat of the Lord. Bregino (*De Disp. Eccl.* c. 118) quotes a council of Rheims to the following effect. The corporal on which the immolation is made must be of the finest and purest linen, without admixture of any other material whatever. It must not remain on the altar except in time of mass, but must either be placed in the sacramentary or shut up with the chalice and paten in a place kept delicately clean. When it is washed, it must first be rinsed in the church itself, and in a vessel kept for the purpose by a priest, deacon, or subdeacon.

The corporal appears anciently to have covered the whole surface of the altar. Hence, according to the *Ordo Romanus II.* c. 9, it required the services of two deacons to spread and refold it. So the *Ordo Rom. I.* c. 11. It was necessary, in fact, that it should be sufficiently large to admit of the bread for a great number of communicants being placed upon it, and to allow a portion to be turned up so as to cover the elements. But when, about the 11th century, it ceased to be usual for the people to communicate, and the bread came to be made in the wafer form, the corporal was made smaller, and a separate cloth or covering was placed over the chalice (Innocent III. *De Myst. Miss.* c. ii. 56). This was often stiffened with rich material. Many churches, however, especially those of the Cistercians, retained the more ancient use of the corporal even in modern times, as we are informed by De Maulon in his *Iter Liturg.* pp. 57, 60, 200, 208. (Krazer, *De Liturgis*, pp. 175 ff.)

For the corporals of the Eastern Church, see **ASTIMENSUM**. [C.]

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT. Corporal punishment in almost every form was evidently allowed by the *lex talionis* of the Pentateuch: "eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (Exod. xxi. 24, 25). It was also allowed to be used by the master upon his slave to an almost unlimited extent; if indeed he smote his servant or his maid with a

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rod, and they died under his hand, he was to be punished, but not if they "continued a day or two" (*ib.* 20, 21); the slave, however, obtaining his freedom if his master blinded him of an eye, or knocked a tooth out (vv. 26, 27). The judicial bastinado (*i. e.* for a freeman) was not to exceed 40 stripes, lest "thy brother should seem vile unto thee" (Deut. xxv. 3). That the use of personal chastisement remained prevalent, is evident from the whole of the Old Testament, and especially from the Book of Proverbs; though it is somewhat difficult to see by whose hand the "rod" or "stripes" which Solomon so zealously eulogises as the due reward of fools could well be applied. Not less zealously, it is well known, does he inculcate the use of them for the instruction of children.

It seems hardly necessary to point out how much milder is the tone of the New Testament in these respects. Fathers were not to "provoke their children to wrath" (Eph. vi. 4, and see Col. iii. 21); masters were to "forbear threatening" with their slaves (Eph. vi. 9). At the same time the judicial use of corporal punishment is frequently mentioned, and only indirectly censured when in violation of an established privilege. By the old Roman law indeed a citizen could only be beaten with a vine-branch, not with rods (*fustes*) or with the scourge (*flagellum*), which privilege was extended by Caius Gracchus to the Latins; hence St. Paul's twice-recorded protest (Acts xvi. 37; xxii. 25) against being "beaten" or "scourged," being "a Roman." It is certain however that in the Roman army a terrible punishment existed, called *fustuarium*, beginning with a stroke of the centurion's vine-branch (the symbol of his authority), and seldom ending but with death. And as the status of the freeman became gradually lowered, it is clear that the use of the rod became more prevalent, till we find the jurists of the period extending from Severus to the Gordians, such as Callistratus and Macer (end of the 2nd to nearly middle of the 3rd century), speaking of the *fustes* as the punishment of the free, in cases where the slave would be flogged with the flagellum, or termed the application of the former a mere "admonition," but that of the latter a castigation (*Dig.* bk. xlviii. t. xix. ll. 10, 7).

A constitution of Severus and Antonine forbade the chastising with the *fustes* either decemvirs or their sons (*Code*, bk. ii. tit. xii. l. 5, A. D. 199); The ignominy, however, arose from the sentence, if for an offence deserving by law such punishment, not from the mere act; *e. g.* if inflicted by way of torture, before sentence, it did not dishonour (*Dig.* bk. iii. t. ii. l. 22; *Code*, bk. ii. t. xii. l. 14; law of Gordian, A. D. 239); though the torturing of decemvirs under any circumstances was eventually forbidden (bk. x. t. xxxi. l. 33; Const. of Glatian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, A. D. 381). But a man was infamous after being whipped and told by the *prætor*, "Thou hast calumniated" (bk. ii. l. 18, A. D. 241). An extract from the jurist Callistratus in the *Digest* (bk. l. t. ii. l. 12) brings out in a striking way the conflict between the old civic pride of Rome and the debasement of municipal government during her decay. Traders, he says, though liable to be flogged by the aediles, are not to be set aside as vile. They are not forbidden to solicit the decurionate or other

honours in the city of their birthplace. But it does not seem to him honourable to admit to the decurion order persons who have been subject to such chastisement, especially in those cities which have an abundance of honourable men, for it is the peculiarity of those who should fulfil municipal offices which necessarily invites such persons. If wealthy, to municipal honours. And the 45th Novel, whilst subjecting Jews, Samaritans, and heretics, to all the charges of the decurionate, deprived them of its privileges, "as that of not being scourged."

It will thus be seen that during the five centuries which separate Justinian from St. Paul, the idea of corporal punishment under its most usual forms as a social degradation subsisted, yet the liability to it had been greatly extended. The equality before the law which might have been reached through the extension of Roman citizenship itself had been by no means attained, but the character of that citizenship itself had become debased, and the exemption from corporal punishment which still fluttered, like a last ray of the *lucis*, on the shoulders of the civic officers, had been already blown off for some. There were decurions who had been flogged, and decurions who could be flogged. Such exemption was indeed growing to be a privilege attached to the mere possession of wealth. Thus delation if proved false, or where the delator did not persevere, should he be of mean fortune, which he did not care to lose, was to be punished with the sharpest flogging (*gravissimis verberibus*, *Code*, bk. x. t. xl. l. 7; law of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, end of 4th century).

Among the offences which entailed corporal punishment, besides the one last mentioned, may be named false witness (*Code*, bk. iv. t. xx. l. 13, constitution of Zeno, end of 5th century). The use of it multiplied indeed as the character of the people became lowered, and the Novels are comparatively full of it. The 8th enacts flogging and torture against the taking of money by judges (c. 8); the 123rd punishes with "bodily torments" those persons, especially stage-players and harlots, who should assume the monastic dress, or imitate or make a mock of Church usages (c. 44); the 134th enacts corporal punishment against those who detained debtors' children as responsible for their father's debt (c. 7), or who abetted illegal divorces (c. 11), and requires the adulterous wife to be scourged to the quick—so we must probably understand the words "competentibus valeribus subactam" (c. 10; and see c. 12). On the other hand, a husband chastising his wife with either the *fustes* or *flagellum*, otherwise than for conduct for which he might lawfully divorce her, was by the 117th Novel made liable to pay to her, during coverture, the amount of 1-3rd of the ante-nuptial gift (c. 14). The last chapter of the 134th Novel lashed (*De poenarum omnium moderazione*, n. 11) professes to inculcate moderation in punishment, and enacts that from henceforth there shall be no other penal mutilation than the cutting off of one hand, and that thieves shall only be flogged. Already under Constantine it had been enacted (*Code*, bk. ix. t. xlvii. l. 17, A.D. 315) that branding should not be in the face, as figuring "the heavenly beauty,"—a law in which the influence of Christian feeling upon the first Christian emperor is strikingly displayed.

Passing from the legislation of the East to that of the West, we find on the whole a very similar course of things. Among the ancient Germans, according to the account of Tacitus, corporal punishment was rare. He notes as a singularity that in war none but the priest was allowed to punish, bind, or even strike (ne verberare quidem) a soldier (*De Mor. Germ.* c. vii.). A husband might indeed flog his adulterous wife naked through the streets (c. xix.); but otherwise even slaves were rarely beaten (c. xxv.).

In the barbaric codes, corporal punishment is in like manner primarily a social degradation. We find it inflicted on a slave, as an alternative for compensation. Under the Saxon law, a slave stealing to the value of 2 *denarii* was to receive 120 blows (*ictus*) or to pay three *solidi* (*Pactus rufgod. antiq.* t. xiii.), the *solidus* being equivalent to 40 *denarii*. The same punishment was inflicted on a slave committing adultery with a slave-girl (rape indeed seems meant) where she did not die of it (t. xxix.). Where a slave was accused of theft, corporal punishment was applied by way of torture. Stretched on a bench (*super scannum tensus*) as the really older but so-called *recentior* text has it, he received 120 blows (*ictus*, or as the other text has it, 121 *colaphos*). If he confessed under torture, as already mentioned under the head "Mutilation of the Body," the penalty was castration if a male, but for a woman 240 strokes with a scourge, or 6 *solidi*. A Constitution of King Childobert (middle of 6th century), contained in Labbé and Mansi's *Councils*, enacts in certain cases of sacrilege that a "servile person" shall receive 100 lashes. Under the Burgundian law (in force from the beginning of the 6th until at least 814, when it was still recognised) bodily punishment without the option of composition was enacted for the slave, where the freeman might compound. Thus for the theft of a hog, sheep, goat, or of bees, the slave received 300 strokes with the rod, and fustigation is in the like manner enacted for other offences by slaves (t. v. &c.). A Lombard law of A.D. 724 (bk. vi. c. 88) has a singular enactment, punishing with shaving and whipping those women whom their husbands send out upon men of small courage (*super homines qui miorem habebant virtutem*), a text which gives a high idea of the vigour of Lombard women.

The Visigothic laws exhibit to us before any others the breaking down of the previous freeman's privilege (analogous to that of the Roman citizen) of exemption from corporal punishment. The corrupt or unjust judge, if unable to make due restitution and amends was to receive 50 strokes with the scourge publicly (publice extensus, Bk. ii. c. 20). The use (or abuse) of corporal punishment is indeed most conspicuous in this code. If a free woman married or committed adultery with her own slave or freedman, the punishment was death, after the public flagellation of both (bk. iii. t. ii. l. 2). If she committed adultery with another's slave, each was to receive 100 lashes (l. 3). A ravisher being a freeman, besides being handed over as a slave to the ravished, was to receive 200 lashes in the sight of all (bk. iii. t. iii. l. 1). The brother who forced a sister to marry against her will was to receive 50 lashes (*ibid.* l. 4). The slave ravishing a freewoman received 300 lashes,

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with decalvation, i. e. according to the meaning of the word at this period, scalping; 200 and decalvation for ravishing a slave-woman. Accessories to rape, if free, 50 lashes, if slaves, 100 (ll. 8-12). So again for the various grades of adultery. A freeman committing adultery with a goolly (donee) slave-girl in her master's house was to receive 100 strokes without infamy (apparently inflicted in private, and with a stick only),—if with an inferior one, 50 only; a slave receiving for the like offence 150 lashes, and the punishment increasing if violence were used (t. iv. ll. 13-16). By a law of Recared (ib. 17), public flogging was also made the punishment for prostitution, with some remarkable provisions; thus when practised by a freewoman with the knowledge or for the benefit of her parents, each was to receive 100 lashes; and when by a slave for her master's benefit, he was to receive the same number of lashes as were to be given to her, and 50 in any case where after being flogged and "decalvated" she returned to the streets. And 100 lashes awaited the woman, religious or secular, who either married or committed adultery with a priest (l. 18, also of Recared). By a law of Chindasinth (t. vi. l. 2) a husband remarrying after divorce was to receive 200 lashes publicly, with decalvation. Another law of the same king (bk. iv. t. v.) enacted 50 lashes against a child striking a parent or in various other ways misbehaving against him. Flogging, with or without decalvation is again the punishment for consulting a soothsayer on the health of a man (bk. vi. t. ii. l. 1),—that of sorcerers, storm-raisers, invokers of and sacrificers to demons and those who consult them (l. 3); of judges or others who consult diviners or apply themselves to auguries (l. 5); of slave-women and slaves causing abortion (t. iii. ll. 1, 5, 6); generally for wounds and personal injuries by slaves, and to some extent by freemen (t. iv.); for theft, either of goods or slaves (bk. vii. t. ii. t. iii.), with again the remarkable provisions that if a master stole with his slave, or the slave by his master's order, the master was to receive 100 lashes (besides compounding), the slave to be exempt from punishment (t. ii. l. 5, t. iii. l. 5); for certain forgeries (t. v. l. 2); for gathering a crowd to commit murder (bk. viii. t. i. l. 3); for violently shutting up a person within his house (l. 4); for soliciting others to rob or robbing on the face of march, the offence in the two latter cases being however for freemen alternative with composition (ll. 6, 9, 10, 11); for setting fire to woods (t. ii. l. 2); in the case of persons of inferior condition, for destroying crops (t. iii. l. 6), sending animals into crops or vines (l. 10); also for breaking mills or dams and leaving them unrepaired for 30 days (l. 30), &c. &c. Nowhere however is the abuse of corporal punishment more terrible than in the case of offences against religion. Blasphemers of the Trinity, Jews withdrawing themselves, their children or servants from baptism, celebrating the Passover, observing the Sabbath or other festivals of their creed, working on the Lord's day and on Christian feast days, making distinctions of meats, marrying within the 6th degree, reading Jewish books against the faith, &c., were to receive 100 lashes with decalvation, and with or without exile and slavery (bk. xii. t. iii. ll. 2, 8, 11). For marrying without priestly benediction, or in anywise

exceeding the law as to dowry, the Jewish husband, his wife and her parents, were to receive 100 lashes, or compound with 100 *solidi*. A law of Recared confirming the Council of Toledo punished with 50 blows (without infamy) any person who disobeyed the enactments of the Council and had no money to lose (t. i. l. 3).

In the severity of punishment under this Code, we must not however lose sight of the fact already pointed out elsewhere in these pages [BODY, MUTILATION OF THE], that the enactment of any fixed punishment constitutes an enormous step in advance on the mere composition of the earlier barbaric Codes, whilst in various of the enactments, such as those exempting slaves from punishment where they only act as the tools of their masters, we find a striving towards a higher and more discriminating standard of justice than that which measures other contemporary legislation, which equally bears testimony to the influence of the clergy on Wisigothic legislation—an influence, indeed, of which we see the darker side in the atrocious laws against the Jews.

Amongst our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, corporal punishment seems in general to have been confined to slaves, as an alternative for compensation, wherewith the slave "redeemed" or "paid the price of his skin," as it is expressed; e.g. for sacrificing to devils (laws of Whitred, Kent, A.D. 691-725), for working on Sundays (laws of Ina, A.D. 688-728, iii.). In certain cases of theft the offender himself was allowed to flog the culprit (xxviii.). A foreigner or stranger wandering out of the way through the woods, who neither shouted nor blew the horn, was to be deemed a thief, and to be flogged or redeem himself (xxviii.).

Capital punishment is again prominent in the Capitularies. The first Capitulary of Carloman, A.D. 742 (c. 6), imposes two years' imprisonment on a fornicating priest, after he has been scourged to the quick (*flagellatus ex scorticiatus*). The Capitulary of Metz, 755, following a synod held at the same place, enacts that for incest a slave or freeman shall be beaten with many stripes, as also any "minor" cleric guilty of the like offence. The same enactment, confined to the case of marrying a cousin, and in slightly different language, occurs elsewhere in the general collection. A savage one on conspiracies (A.D. 805, c. 10) is added to the Salic law, enacting that where conspiracies have been made with an oath—the principals suffering death—the accessories are to flog each other and cut each other's noses off; even if no mischief shall have been done, to shave and flog each other. For conspiracies, without an oath, the slave only was to be flogged, the freeman clearing himself by oath or compounding. The same law occurs in the General Capitularies (bk. iii. 9). Another law of the 7th book (c. 123) enacts public flagellation and decalvation for the slave marrying within the 7th degree of consanguinity, and the 4th Addition embodies much of the rigorous Wisigothic Code as towards the Jews, who were to be decalvated and receive 100 lashes publicly if they marry within the prohibited degrees (c. 2). And the Wisigothic provision against marrying without priestly benedictions, or exceeding in anywise the laws as to dowry, is by this extended to Jews as well as Christians.

There remains only to shew corporal punishment as either the subject or as forming part of

the discipline of the church itself. Here, indeed, we find at first a much higher standard than that of the civil law. Among the persons whose offerings the Apostolic Constitutions require to be rejected are such as "use their slaves wickedly, with stripes, or hunger, or hard service" (bk. iv. c. 6). Soon however a harsher law must have prevailed. The Council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, enacted (c. 5) that if a mistress, inflamed by jealousy, should so flog her handmaid that she should die within three days, she is only to be admitted to communion after seven years' penance (unless in case of dangerous illness) if the act were done wilfully, or after fine if death were not intended—a provision which speaks volumes indeed of the bitterness of Spanish slavery at this period, but which nevertheless shews the church taking cognizance of the slave-owner's excesses, and endeavouring to moderate them by its discipline, at least in the case of women. On the other hand, the right of personal chastisement was often arrogated by the clergy themselves, since the Apostolic Canons enact that a bishop, priest, or deacon, striking the faithful who have sinned, or the unfaithful who have done wrong, seeking thereby to make himself feared, is to be deposed (c. 19, otherwise 23 or 28), and Augustine clearly testifies to the fact of corporal punishment being judicially inflicted by bishops, in that painful letter of his to the Prefect Marcellus, in which, whilst exhorting him not to be too severe in punishing the Donatists, he praises him at the same time for having drawn out the confession of crimes so great by whipping with rods (*virgarum verberibus*), inasmuch as this "mode of coercion is wont to be applied by the masters of liberal arts, by parents themselves, and often even by bishops in their judgments" (*Ep.* 133, otherwise 159).

Corporal punishment seems moreover to have formed from an early period, if not from the first, a part of the monastic discipline. The rule of St. Pachomius, translated into Latin by Jerome (art. 87), imposes the penalty of thirty-nine lashes, to be inflicted before the gates of the monastery (besides fasting), after three warnings, on a monk who persists in the "most evil custom" of talking, as well as for theft (art. 121). The same punishment may also be implied in the term "*corripere*" used in other articles, as "*corripuerit iuxta ordinem*," "*corripuerit ordine monasterii*," &c. But the word might also apply to mere verbal correction, since by art. 97 children who could not be brought to think of God's judgment "*et correpti verbo non emendaverint*," are to be flogged till they receive instruction and fear. In the 4th book of Cassian's work, "*De coenobiorum institutis*" (end of 4th or beginning of 5th century), flogging is placed on the same line with expulsion as a punishment for the graver offences against monastic discipline (some of which indeed may appear to us very slight), as "open reproaches, manifest acts of contempt, swelling words of contradiction, a free and unrestrained gait, familiarity with women, anger, fightings, rivalries, quarrels, the presumption to do some special work, the contumacy of money loving, the affecting and possessing of things superfluous, which other brethren have not, extraordinary and furtive refectations, and the like" (c. 16). In the rule of St. Benedict (A.D. 528) corporal punishment seems implied in the "*major emendatio*." And "if a brother for any

the slightest cause is corrected (*corripitur*) in any way by the abbot or any prior, or if he lightly feel that the mind of any prior is wrought or moved against him, however moderately, without delay let him lie prostrate on the earth at his feet, doing satisfaction until that emotion be healed. But if any scorn to do this, let him be either subjected to corporal punishment, or if contumacious, expelled from the monastery" (c. 71). Here, it will be seen, corporal punishment is viewed as a lighter penalty than expulsion.

We need not dwell on a supposed Canon of the above-referred to Council of Eliberis, to be found in Gratian and others (ex cap. ix.), allowing bishops and their ministers to scourge *coloni* with rods for their crimes. But in the letters of Gregory I. the Great, 590-603, the right of inflicting, or at least ordering personal chastisement is evidently assumed to belong to the clergy. In a letter to Pantaleo the Notary (bk. ii. Pt. II. *Ep.* 40), on the subject of a deacon's daughter who had been seduced by a bishop's nephew, he required either that the offender should marry her, executing the due nuptial instruments, or be "corporally chastised" and put to penance in a monastery; and the Pope renews this injunction in a letter (42) to the uncle, Bishop Felix, himself. Bishop Ambrus of Tarcentum, who had had a woman on the roll of the church (de matriculis) cruelly whipped with rods, against the order of the priesthood, so that she died after eight months, was nevertheless only punished by this really great Pope with two months' suspension from saying mass (*ep.* 44, 45). Sometimes, indeed, corporal punishment was inflicted actually in the church, as we see in another letter of the same Pope to the Bishop of Constantinople, complaining that an Isaurian monk and priest had been thus beaten with rods, "a new and unheard of mode of preaching" (*ep.* 52). But the same Gregory deemed it fitting that slaves, guilty of idolatry or following sorcerers, should be chastised with stripes and tortures for their amendment (bk. vii. pt. ii. *ep.* 67, to Januarius, Bishop of Calabria). Elsewhere the flogging of penitent thieves seems to be implied (bk. xii. *ep.* 31, c. iv.).

Towards the end of the same century, the 16th Council of Toledo, A.D. 683, enacted that 100 lashes and shameful *decalvatio* should be the punishment of unnatural offences. With this and a few other exceptions, however, the enactments of the church as to corporal punishment chiefly refer to clerics or monks. The Council of Vannes in 465 had indeed already enacted that a cleric proved to have been drunk should either be kept thirty days out of communion, or subjected to corporal punishment (c. 13). The 1st Council of Orleans in 511 had enacted that if the relict of a priest or deacon were to marry again, she and her husband were after "castigation" to be separated, or excommunicated if they persisted in living together (c. 3). Towards the end of the 7th century, the Council of Arton (about 670), enacted that any monk who went against its decrees should either be beaten with rods, or suspended for three years from communion (c. 15). In the next century, Gregory III. (731-41), in his Excerpt from the Fathers and the Canons, assigns stripes as the punishment for thefts of holy things, and inserts the Canon of

the Council of Eliberis (c. 3). The Council of Orleans (511) quoted in the Council of Arton (670) admitting in the Council of Arton (670) gossips, a stripes, an offence, if prisoner under an as to the legislation undisturbed. The law therefore nation, was humanised. On the other offence shown Wisigothic in the Council marriage [N.B.—more than

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Church by itself, or of the Western Church by itself, as in the 4th century. And both those classes were extraordinary, and for particular emergencies. iii. The regular annual primate councils (see *Conc. Constantin.* A. D. 381, can. 1), as, e. g. of Antioch, or more remarkably, of Africa: the latter of which, acc. to *Conc. Carthag.* III. A. D. 398, cans. 2, 7, 41, 43, was to consist of three bishops as legates from each African province, except that of Tripoli, which was to send only one, as having few bishops, thus admitting the principle of representation under pressure of circumstances; while subsequent councils permitted a "vicar" instead of the bishop in person in case of absolute necessity (*Conc. Carthag.* IV. can. 21), and enacted a division of the bishops into "duo vel tres turmae," each "turma" to attend in turn (*Conc. Carthag.* I. can. 10); and, lastly, altered the "yearly" meeting into one only "quoties exegerit causa communis" (*Conc. Milevit.* II. A. D. 416, can. 9, *Cod. Can. Afric.* xcv.). Like councils were (less regularly) held at Rome in the 5th century, as e. g. when three delegates from the Sicilian bishops were directed by Pope Leo the Great (*Epist.* iv. c. 71) to attend the autumnal synod of the two to be annually held at Rome. And occasionally elsewhere also, as in Spain and in Gaul. National councils, in later times (6th century onwards), e. g. in France, in Saxon England, and above all in Spain, belong, where they were purely ecclesiastical, to the same class.

4. A council of (as far as possible) the bishops of the whole Church, OECUMENICAL (first so called in Euseb. V. *Constant.* iii. 6, and again in *Conc. Constantin.* A. D. 381), not intentionally limited to specially the Roman world, but including all Christians everywhere, although at that period the Christian Church was nearly included in the narrower meaning—"totius orbis" (*St. Aug. De Bapt. c. Donat.* i. 7), "ex toto orbe" (*Sulp. Sev. ii.*), "plenarium universae ecclesiae" (*St. Aug. Epist.* 162), "plenarium ex universo orbe Christiano," as distinguished from (not only "provinciarum," but) "regionum concilia" (*Id. De Bapt. c. Donat.* ii. 3). So Tertullian (as above cited) speaks of "representatio totius Christiani nominis." And Augustin (*De Bapt. c. Ionan.* vii. 53) distinguishes "regionale" from "plenarium concilium," and rests the certainty of the latter on the "universalis ecclesiae consensus." And this was regarded as an extraordinary remedy for an extraordinary emergency, to be resorted to as seldom as possible; and even when necessary, yet an evil for the time, as throwing everything into disturbance,—as had as a tempest ("procella," *St. Hilary De Synodis*). And as it was first possible, so does it appear to have been first thought of, in the time of Constantine the Great.

To these must be added, as matter of history, although all more or less abnormal:—

5. The *Σύνοδοι Ἐκδημοῦσαι*, at Constantinople, from the 4th century, and again at the various cities where the Roman emperors dwelt, as at Rome, and in one case (under Maximus) at Treves, and again the *Concilia Palatina* under the Carolingian emperors, held "in regum palatiis;" consisting in each case of the bishops who happened to be at court.

6. The mixed national councils of the European kingdoms, after the conversion of the

Franks, Saxons, Spaniards, &c.; *Placita*, Wittenburgs, &c.

The so-called Council of the Apostles (*in Acts xv.*) is a distinct precedent, in principle, for Church councils; as sanctioning the decision of emergent controversies and matters of discipline by common consultation of the whole Church under the guidance and leadership of the "apostles and elders," the bishops and presbyters. It is "the apostles and elders" who come together to consider the matter (*Acts xv. 6*). Yet *πάν τὸ πλῆθος* are present (*ib. 12*), but as listening. It is "the apostles and elders, *ὡς τὴν ὅλην Ἐκκλησίαν*," who make the decree (*ib. 22*). And the best MSS. make that decree run in the name of "the apostles and elders" only, although the reading is no doubt uncertain (*ib. 23*, reading of *ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὁδὲ λαοί*). The formal deliberation and the decree, then, emanate from the apostles and the elders, but the whole Church, i. e. the laity also, are consulted. In the same way, in other cases, we find, e. g. the "prophets and teachers" at Antioch sending St. Paul and Barnabas on their mission; yet St. Paul and Barnabas report (*ἀνγγελιαί*) to an "assembly of the Church" of Antioch what "God had done with them" (*Acts xiii. 1, xiv. 27*); St. Paul however at a later time reporting privately, for obvious reasons, to James and the elders (*ib. xxi. 18*). And the same two were formally sent to the council at Jerusalem by the Church of Antioch (*προκειμένους ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*), which plainly had also appointed them (*ἔγραψαν*, *Acts xv. 2, 3*). In 1 Cor. v. 4, the Church of Corinth is represented as "gathered together" to exercise discipline. That St. James presided at Jerusalem naturally followed from his office of Bishop of Jerusalem. Strictly speaking the assembly over which he presided was an assembly of the Church of Jerusalem only; to receive a deputation from the Church of Antioch. And it differed from the Church councils also in the actual presence in it of apostles. But this difference only strengthens the case as a precedent for mutual deliberation on the part of the Church collectively: *ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενόμενον ἁποστολικῶν* (*Acts xv. 25*). Other assemblies in apostolical times, mentioned in the *Acts*—viz. *Acts i. 15*, to appoint an apostle in the place of Judas; *vi. 2*, to establish the diaconate; *ix. 27*, to receive St. Paul—have been mis-called Apostolic Councils, by an obvious straining of the term.

It will be convenient to speak, successively, of—

A. THE ORDER of holding Ecclesiastical Councils;

B. THE CONSTITUENT MEMBERS of Ecclesiastical Councils;

C. THE AUTHORITY assigned to such Councils. And, lastly, to add a few words respecting

D. IRREGULAR and abnormal assemblies akin to Councils.

A. Under the head of the ORDER of holding a council, we have to consider,—

1. *By whom councils were summoned.*

Diocesan and Provincial Councils were summoned respectively by the bishop of the diocese and by the metropolitan of the province (see authorities in Bingham), and this after the time of Constantine, as well as before it. A council of two or more provinces together would natu-

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Apostles (in Acts in principle, for the decision of matters of discipline the whole Church eldership of the bishops and pres- and elders" who matter (Acts xv. 6). sent (ib. 12), but as and elders, with the decree (ib. 22). decree run in the ers" only, although rtain (ib. 23, read- σβήτεροι ἀδελφοί, the decree, then, the elders, but the also, are consulted. ences, we find, e.g. at Antioch sending ir mission; yet St. (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) of Antioch was at Acts xiii. 1, xiv. 27; time reporting pri- to James and the e same two were il at Jerusalem by ρεσθόντες ὑπὸ τῆ) had also appointed 3). In 1 Cor. v. 4, esented as "gathered e. That St. James ily followed from his r strictly speaking, he presided was at Jerusalem only, to the Church of Antioch, rch councils also in apostles. But this the case as a pre- on the part of the εν ἡμῖν γενομένης Other assemblies lnd in the Acts—viz. ostle in the place of the diaconate: ix. 27, been mis-called Apo- us straining of the

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rally be summoned by the senior metropolitan; the earlier councils of neighbouring bishops, prior to the organization of the metropolitan system, by the leading bishops of the locality, as, e.g. that at Antioch, which condemned Paul of Samosata; those of a patriarchate or primacy, as, e.g. of Africa, by the patriarch or primate. The *συνόδοι ἐξεδιωμοῦσαι* of Constantinople were summoned by the Patriarch of Constantinople; the *concilia Palatina* by the Frank kings and emperors; the national councils of the European kingdoms, which were as much civil as ecclesiastical, by the respective kings. And in these last-named cases the royal permission or command to hold them is frequently mentioned. Oecumenical Councils, consisting in the first instance almost wholly of bishops of the Roman empire, were summoned by the Roman emperors until the 9th century (see Socrates, *lib. v. l'roem.*), although, naturally, upon consultation with the chief bishops of the Church herself. After that period, those that have been so called have been summoned by the popes in the Western Church. The great Council of Nice was summoned by Constantine (by *τιμητικά γράμματα* [Euseb., *V. Const. ant.* lib. 6, and cf. Socrat. i. 9, Theodoret, i. 9], which purport to be given in a Syriac version in B. H. Cowper's *Anecdota Nicæna*, pp. 21-29), but "ex sententia sacerdotum" (Rufin, *H. E.* i. 1); and chiefly, as is plain, by the accounts of Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, upon the advice of Hosius, bishop of Cordova. Later documents, of no value in such a point, viz. the *Liber Damiani* and the *Conc. Constantin.* A.D. 680, put forward Pope Sylvester as the adviser. The Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, was summoned by the Emperor Theodosius (Labbe, iv. 1123, 1124); that of Ephesus, A.D. 431, *κατὰ τὸ γράμμα* or *ἐκ θεαρίτωντος*, of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. (Act. in Mansi, iv. 1111); Pope Damasus concurring in the former, but Eastern patriarchs (Meletius of Antioch, Gregory, and his successor Nectarius, of Constantinople) really "assembling;" it (even according to the *Conc. Const. ant.* of A.D. 680, and see Vales: ad Theodoret. *H. E.* v. 9); while Pope Celestine similarly concurred in the latter, but (as is evident by his own letters) did not summon it (*Acts of the Council and Letters* in Mansi, iv. 1226, 1283, 1291). The case of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, so far differs from its predecessors, that the pope, Leo the Great, suggested and requested it (desiring, however, to have it in Italy), yet subsequently, and when too late, desired its postponement (Leo M. *Epist.* 44, 54-58, 69, 73, 76, 89-95). The application was originally made to Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., but the council was actually summoned by Marcian, "et decreto piissimorum Imperatorum Valentiniani et Marciani," in the words of the council itself (Labbe, iv. 77), or in those of Leo, "ex precepto Christianorum principum et consensu Apostolicæ Sedis" (Leon. M. *l'ist.* 114), and again, in Marcian's words to Leo (uter Leon. *Epist.* 73), "te auctore." The 2nd Council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, was convoked by Justinian (Labbe, v. 4) after consultation with Pope Vigilius and with Menas patriarch of Constantinople. But Vigilius after a time put himself in direct antagonism with the council, and upon May 28, 553, was actually struck out of the diptychs by it; although, after its termi-

nation, he retracted, and in the end of A.D. 553, and by a *Constitutum* of February 23, A.D. 554, accepted its decrees. The 3rd Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, was convoked by the "piissima Jussu" of the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (Labbe, vi. 408, 431). Pope Agatho only sending legates when requested, and with them his own exposition of the faith, and a profession of his readiness to pay "promptam obedientiam" to the emperor. The 5th of Constantinople, A.D. 754 (in Cave's reckoning, the 8th oecumenical), which condemned images, was summoned by Constantine Copronymus and Leo (Labbe, vii. 397). The 2nd of Nice, A.D. 787, was convoked by the Empress Irene and her son Constantine (Labbe, vii. 661), at the request of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, with the acquiescence of Pope Adrian I.; the latter, however, speaking afterwards of the council (in his letter to Charlemagne) as summoned "secundum nostram ordinationem." And, lastly, the Emperor Basil, the Macedonian, called together the 4th of Constantinople, A.D. 869 (not acknowledged, however, by the Eastern Church, which puts in its place that of A.D. 879), after an embassy, sent to Pope Nicholas I., but received and answered by his successor Adrian II. (Labbe, viii. 1313). The Council of Sardica, intended to be oecumenical, was summoned by the Emperors Constantius and Constans (Soz. ii. 20; Sozom. iii. 2; St. Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* § 36). And the numberless smaller councils about Arianism were likewise summoned by the emperors. (See the summary of the whole case in Andrewes (*Light and Love of calling Asemblies, Sermons*, v. 160-165, and *Tortura Torti*, pp. 193, 422, sq.). The case of the 1st Council of Arles, A.D. 314, is a peculiar one. It was not a regular council of any portion of the Church, but rather a selected ecclesiastical tribunal, of which the members were specially chosen and summoned by the Emperor Constantine, and mainly from Gaul (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5; Optat. *Hist. Romat.* p. 181, Dupin), intended to be oecumenical (the Emperor "assembling there a large number of bishops from different and almost innumerable parts of the empire," Euseb. *ib.*), and actually called "plenarium," and "universæ ecclesiæ," by St. Augustine, but not so really, as neither including all bishops nor any Eastern bishops. And its object was to revise the decision of a tribunal of fewer bishops held at Rome under the Pope Melchiodus in the previous year, with which the Donatists were not content. It was simply an instance, therefore, of that which afterwards became a rule, viz. of the Emperor's assigning episcopal judges to decide an ecclesiastical case. Much like it is the summoning of the Roman councils about Pope Symmachus, two centuries later, by King Theodoric.

The regular title for the bishop's or metropolitan's letters of summons was *Synodice* or *Tractoriæ* (St. Aug. *E. ist.* 217 ad *Victorin.*); for the Emperor's like letters, *Sacræ*.

From the summons, we go on to—

II. The time when, and the occasions upon which, councils were summoned. Speaking first of those councils which were held, or were meant to recur, regularly, we have the chief stress of the canons to be directed to provincial councils, as being no doubt more difficult to enforce, and

also in the interest of justice, such councils being the court of appeal from the decisions of individual bishops. In the time of Firmilian and of Cyprian, as said above, these were habitually held once a year; Firmilian's words being apparently determined to mean provincial, not diocesan, councils, by the mention of "seniores et prepositi," "presbyters and bishops" (in the plural). The great Council of Nice (can. 5) increased them to twice in the year, once before Lent, once in autumn. And so also the *Apostolic Canon* 37, specifying, however, the 4th week after Easter and the 12th of *Τραπῆσεταιριος*, i.e. October. And twice a year, accordingly, became thenceforward the rule of what ought to be, although in actual fact, and by repeated concessions of councils, finally relaxed into once. So *Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341, can. 20 (slightly varying the days), *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, can. 19; and for Africa, *Conc. Carthag. III.* A.D. 397, can. 2, and 1, can. 7 (fixing October 21), and *Cod. Can. Afric.* c. 18; for Spain, *Conc. Tollet. III.* A.D. 589, can. 18; *I. V. A. D.* 634, can. 3 (fixing May 20), *XI.* A.D. 675, can. 15, *XVII.* A.D. 742, can. 1; *Encycl.* A.D. 668, can. 7; for France, *Conc. Reims.* A.D. 439, can. 8 (twice a year), *A. A. S. I.* A.D. 441, can. 89, *Avrel. I.* A.D. 533, can. 2, *Althissid.* A.D. 578, can. 7; and for England, *Conc. C. A. hith.* A.D. 787, can. 3 (the title of which, however, seems to refer to diocesan councils), and before it, *Conc. He. ut.* A.D. 633, can. 7, ordering a synod twice in the year, but in the next sentence limiting the number to once, viz. upon August 1, at Clovesho, on the ground of unavoidable hindrances. Once a year became, indeed, the recognized practice (but as an uncanonical concession to necessity), and is admitted by Gratian (*Dist.* xviii. c. 16, 189, 2 c.), and in England by Lydwood (*Irvine.* lib. i. tit. 14); as it had been allowed much earlier by the council in *Trullo*, can. 8, and by *Conc. Nicea.* II, can. 6. And similarly, Gregory the Great, enjoining once a year in Sicily (*Epist.* i. 1), and in Gaul (*ib.* ix. 106), adds in the latter case that it ought to be twice; and enjoins twice in Sardinia (*ib.* iv. 9), possibly as being an island of no great extent; while in yet another case (*ib.* v. 54) he orders such synods whenever needed. Leo the Great, likewise, A.D. 446, commands synods twice a year at Thessalonica (*Epist.* xiv.), but A.D. 447, only once a year at Rome, yet with the addition that it ought to be twice (*ib.* xvi.). See also Avitus Vienn. (*Epist.* 80—"It ought to be twice in a year, would that it were once in two years!") and Pope Hormisdas (*E. ist.* 25—"If not two, at least one"). Finally, Pippin, A.D. 755 (in *Conc. Veron.* pref. cns. 2, 4), renewed the junction of two a year, naming for them March 1 and October 1, but the second of them to be attended only by the metropolitans and certain selected clergy. Yet, a century after, the *Conc. Tull.* A.D. 859, can. 7, is again compelled to supplicate that they might be held once in the year.

Diocesan synods are assumed, in the 11th century (*Modus tenendi Synodos*, in Wilk. *Conc.* iv. 784), to be also held twice a year. And Herardus of Tours (*Capit.* c. 91) similarly commands them to be held twice, and each time not to last more than 15 days. But here, also, earlier rules speak of once, *Conc. Liptin.* A.D. 743, c. 1 (attributed also to *Conc. Tollet. XVI.* can. 1), *Suession.* A.D. 744, c. 2, St. Boniface (*Epist.* 103),

Capit. Cur. M. VII. 108; of which authorities, however, the last is busied not so much with a synod as with ordering the clergy to give account of their acts and receive instructions, and bids them go "per turnas et per hellemodas" to the bishop (*ib.* vi. 163). It was the office of such synods, among other things, to promulgate to the diocese the decrees of the provincial synods; and accordingly we find a provision, in *Conc. Tollet. XVI.* A.D. 693, can. 7 (and of also *Conc. of Chocsho*, A.D. 747 can. 25, and the nearly contemporary German Council under St. Boniface, can. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100), that a diocesan synod should be held within six months after the provincial one. We find also abbots and presbyters summoned to an annual synod, sometimes together, sometimes separately (*Conc. Osons.* A.D. 598, c. 1, for Spain; *Althissid.* A.D. 578, can. 7, for Gaul). Diocesan synods were at that time commonly summoned about Lent. In earlier times still, e.g. that of St. Cyprian, such councils would seem to have been held whenever needed.

The primate or patriarchal synods were intended to be annual, and that of Africa was commonly called *Universo Anniversario*. But the usual difficulty of procuring attendance was at once testified, and in attempt remedied, by the provisions for representation mentioned already. Pope Hilary (*Epist.* 3) also orders such synods once a year in Gaul. And Leo the Great summons the Sicilian bishops to attend by representation at one of two such synods annually in Rome (*Epist.* iv.). But circumstances must have speedily rendered such regular synods impossible. The Council of Agde, A.D. 506, can. 71, seems to renew the annual rule. But the 2nd of Mâcon, A.D. 585, can. 20, made it triennial ("post tritericium tempus omnes conveniant") for Gaul. And this is the Tridentine rule in later times. The *Concilia Palatina* were at first occasional, as the kings or emperors summoned them. Pippin, as above said, A.D. 755, called some council of the kind twice in the year; but the actual practice remained irregular. And *Conc. Tull.* A.D. 859, can. 7, asking for a provincial council once a year, asked also for a palatine council once in every two years. Hincmar, however, speaks of twice a year as customary ("consuetudo tunc temporis erat," speaking of "Placita" *Opp. II.* 211, sq.).

All these kinds of councils were parts of the ordinary constitution of the Church, even the Palatine councils being mixed up with ecclesiastical matters. And those of them that were proper Church councils were needed at regular times; as required (according to *Conc. Carth. III.* can. 2), "propter causas ecclesiasticas, que ad perniciem plebium saepe veterascunt," although their functions were not restricted to cases of discipline only. Other kinds of councils were only occasional remedies for special emergencies, and were held therefore when needed. Of the six grounds usually enumerated (e.g. by Hefele) for holding oecumenical councils, setting aside all those that belong to mediæval times, as, e.g. the deciding between rival popes, &c., there remains, for earlier times, only one, which is both historically the ground upon which the great oecumenical councils were actually summoned, and that assigned by the *Apostolical canon* (37) for councils at all—"Ἀνακινεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους

[αἱ ἐκκλησίαι] τὰς ἀλλήλους ἀνακινεῖσθαι.

III. The place when purely church council or some e.g. the *Secretaria* to large church which kind of councils of Cardinal Change in v. *Secretaria* for, for instance, A.D. and see Soicer in itself, as in the or again in mu 1163, at Constar χροῖα of the o great Council of bus (V. *Constant* or as he words it *τίσις ἀλλήτων* B. Sozomen (l. 19)

palace. Valentin, argues that it m of e.g. Sozomen Bishops met du church, but that and Constantine then they remov *ἀλλήλους*, *ἀλλήλους*, seats along the throne in the mical Councils we in a building atte at Constantinop agia Constantino *tract.* lib. 11, St. Cy *Conc. Ephes.*, Ev Council of Const. supplementa) Tr held in the secret *Trullus*. T against images, A imperial palace o Byzantium, and the people itself. Palat councils were con royal palaces. In *tracti* is figured delineating a couno the open Gospels t

Diocesan and p centrally and metropolitan cities was selected for the England, it is impo any certainty as t ally it was a cen was not. The outg the place for that e.g. *Conc. Tollet. IV* shall do. So als Pippin's two annual self, but that first lity of the second, can. 29, forbids any *aliteris conventus* A.D. 666, c. 7, en can. 3, leave it to mine the place, whi

[α] ἰερατικοῖς τὰ ἔθνη τῆς εὐαγγελίας, καὶ τῶν ἑκκλησιαστικῶν ἀντιλογίας λαβόντων.

III. The place in which councils were held, when purely church councils, was commonly the church or some building attached to the church; e.g. the *Secretarium* or *Διακονικὸν* attached often to large churches (Liberat. *Breviar.* xiii.), in which kind of building the 3rd to the 6th Councils of Carthage were held, and others also (Du Cange in v. *Secretarium*); or the baptistery or *βαπτιστήριον*, wherein the Council of Chalcedon, for instance, A.D. 451, met (Labb. *Conc.* iv. 235, and see Suicer in v. *βαπτιστήριον*); or the church itself, as in the Council of Toledo IV. A.D. 633; or again in much later times (as A.D. 879 and 1165, at Constantinople), the galleries or *κατηχητήρια* of the church (Bingham VIII. v. 7). The great Council of Nice met, according to Eusebius (V. *Constant.* iii. 7) in an *οἶκος ἐκκλησίας*, or as he words it elsewhere (ib. 10), *ἐν τῷ μισαυρίῳ οἴκῳ τῶν βασιλείων*. Theodoret (i. 7) and Sozomen (i. 19) determine this to mean a royal palace. Valesius, on the contrary (*ad loc. Euseb.*), argues that it must mean a church. The words of *eg.* Sozomen appear really to show, that the bishops met during their first sessions in a church, but that when the day of decision arrived, and Constantine in person intended to be present, then they removed to his palace; which was *οἶκος μεγίστος*, and where the bishops sat on seats along the wall, and the emperor on a throne in the middle. The next four Oecumenical Councils were certainly held in a church or in a building attached to a church, respectively at Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and again Constantinople (Jo. Damasc. *De Sac. Inag.* tract. iii., St. Cyril. Alex. *ad Theodos.* in *Act. Conc. Ephes.*, Evagr. II. E. i. 3, &c.). The Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, and the supplemental Trullian Council of A.D. 692, were held in the *secretarium* of the Imperial palace, called *Trullus*. The Council of Constantinople against images, A.D. 754, was held, first in the imperial palace of Hiera on the shore opposite Byzantium, and then in a church in Constantinople itself. Palatine councils and mixed national councils were commonly and naturally held in royal palaces. In Ciampini (*Vel. Mon. I. tab. xlviii.*) is figured a mosaic of the 5th century, indicating a council, and with a *sup. celsus* and the open Gospels thereon in the middle, from the Baptistery at Ravenna.

Diocesan and provincial councils were held naturally and ordinarily in the cathedral and metropolitan cities respectively. Why Clovesho was selected for the provincial councils of Saxon England, it is impossible to say, in the absence of any certainty as to where Clovesho was. Possibly it was a central spot, which Canterbury was not. The outgoing council sometimes named the place for that which was to come next; as *eg.* *Conc. Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, can. 4, enacts that it shall do. So also the place for the first of Pippin's two annual councils was fixed by himself, but that first council determined the locality of the second. *Conc. Arausic.* I. A.D. 441, can. 29, forbids any council to be dissolved "since alienius conventus deputacionis." *Conc. Emerit.* A.D. 666, c. 7, and *Conc. Tolet.* iv. A.D. 633, can. 3, leave it to the metropolitan to determine the place, which was the usual rule. The

palace where king or emperor happened to be, commonly decided the locality of the Councils (*Palatinus*, as *eg.* Clehcy, Braive, Ais-la-Chapelle, &c.). The localities of the Oecumenical Councils were determined by the circumstances of the case, and the convenience of the emperors. Nicea, *eg.* was close to the emperor's palace at Nicomedia. Ephesus was a convenient seaport, with great facilities of access on account of its trading importance, and accessible by land through the great road by Iconium to the Euphrates (see Howson and Conybeare's *St. Paul*, vol. II, pp. 80, sq. 8vo. edit.). Chalcedon was close to Constantinople, yet apart from it. And Sardinia again was chosen, in A.D. 347, as a place most convenient for East and West to meet in.

IV. Provision at the public expense, was also made, both for the conveyance of the bishops to the place of meeting, and for their entertainment during the sessions, at any rate during the period of the councils against the Arians. The former was ordered by Constantine in the cases of the Councils of Arles I. and Nice (Euseb. II. E. x. 5, and V. *Constant.* iv. 6-9, &c.); and is bitterly complained of, somewhat later, by Ammiannus Marcellinus (*Hist.* xxi. fin.), as interfering with the public system of conveyance to the detriment of public business and convenience; while pope Liberius endeavoured to obtain a council from the emperor by (among other motives) offering that the bishops would waive the privilege end travel at their own expense (Sozomen, iv. 11). Of the latter we read at the Council of Ariminum, A.D. 359, where only three of the British bishops accepted it, the others, with the bishops of Gaul and Aquitaine, declaiming it as interfering with their independence (Sulp. Sev. ii. 55).

V. The ceremonial of a council is described in respect to a provincial council, by an order of *Conc. Tolet.* IV. A.D. 633, can. 4, quoted and abridged, but not quite accurately, by Hefele (I. 65, *Engl. Tr.*), thus:—"Before sunset on the day appointed, all those who are in the church must come out; and all the doors must be shut, except the one by which the bishops enter; and at this door all the *ostiarii* will station themselves. The bishops will then come, and take their places according to the times of their ordination. When they have taken their places, the elected priests, and after them the deacons, [probabilis, quos ordo poposcerit interesse,] will come in their turn to take their places. The priests sit behind the bishops, the deacons [stand] in front, and all are arranged in the form of a circle. Last of all, those hitherto are introduced, whom the Council by their election have judged worthy of the favour. The notaries, who are necessary, are also introduced. [And the doors are barrel.] All keep silence. [And the archdeacon says, *Orate*, all prostrate themselves upon the ground. After several moments, one of the oldest bishops rises and recites a prayer in a loud voice, during which all the rest remain upon their knees. The prayer having been recited, all answer, Amen; and they rise when the archdeacon says, *Excipite* ros. While all keep silent, a deacon, clad in a white alb, brings into the midst the book of the canons, and reads the rules for the holding of councils. When this is ended, the metropolitan gives an address, and calls on those present to bring forward their complaints, if a priest, a deacon, or a layman, has any com-

which authorities, not so much with a view to give account of their constructions, and bids *ep. hebiomadas*" to be the office of such as to promulgate to the provincial synods and session, in *Conc. Tolet.* also *Conc. of Chalcedon*, nearly contemporary affairs, can. 6, v. 11, that a diocesan synod months after the proposals and presbyters synod, sometimes to *Conc. Os. cas.* A.D. A.D. 578, can. 7, for were at that time out Lent. In each of St. Cyril, synods had been held whenever

eccl. synods were in Africa was *con. Antitersanum*. But during attendance was attempt remedied, by mention mentioned *Epist.* 3) also orders Gaul. And Leo the bishops to attend by such synods annually circumstances must regular synods imple, A.D. 506, can. 71. rule. But the 2nd 20, made it triennial to omnes conveniant") the Tridentine rule in *Palatinus* were at first emperors summoned and, A.D. 755, called wide in the year; but fined irregular. And 7, asking for a pilto-asked also for a pilto-2 years. Hincmar, a year as customary *scilicet* erant," speaking of

ails were parts of the Church, even the ed up with ecclesiastical of them that were needed at regular *Conc. Carth. III.* ecclesiastics, *que ad veterascunt*," although restricted to cases of kinds of councils were for special emergencies, when needed. Of the merged (*eg.* by Hefele) councils, setting aside medieval times, as *eg.* pope, &c., there remain one, which is both upon which the great are actually summoned. *Apostolical canon* (37) ἀποστολικῶν κανόνων

Sozomen, and Sozomen. At Constantinople, A.D. 381, the successive presidents were Meletius of Antioch (no higher patriarch being at first present), and on his death, Gregory of Nazianzum until his resignation, and then Nectarius, patriarchs of Constantinople. At Ephesus, A.D. 431, Caudilianus, "comes sacrorum domesticorum," was the commissioner of the Emperor Theodosius; but every one, "unless he was a bishop," was strictly forbidden by the emperor to intermeddle with the council. At Chalcedon, A.D. 451, the emperor's legates, presided ecclesiastically, Caudilian at Chalcedon the limits of imperial interference were less exactly kept. Paschasinus, bishop of Libyaenum, the pope's legate, is repeatedly said to have presided, and signs first, and as "synodo præsidiens." But Marcian, in person, presided over the sixth session, proposed the questions, and conducted the business. And his commissioners, generally, "had the place of honour in the midst before the altar-rails, are first named in the minutes, took the votes, arranged the order of the business, and closed the sessions" (Hefele, from the Acts). At Constantinople, A.D. 553, neither Justinian nor Pope Vigilius took a personal part, the latter expressly refusing to join in it; and the actual president was Eutychius of Constantinople. In A.D. 680, Constantine Pogonatus interfered even more than Marcian in 451; and he is moreover expressly called the president. But the papal legates sign first, and Constantine only at the end of the episcopal signatures, and with the phrase, "Legimus et consentimus." At Nice, in A.D. 787, Tarasius of Constantinople really conducted the business of the council, but the papal legates sign before him; and the Empress Irene and her son were present as honorary presidents in the eighth and last session, but signed finally after the signatures of the bishops. Lastly, in A.D. 869, the papal legates with the Patriarch of Constantinople and the representatives of the other patriarchs, were practically the presidents; but the legates alone are expressly so called; while in the sixth and following sessions the Emperor Basil and his two sons acted as presidents and are so called, although refusing to sign except after the legates and patriarchs more mentioned. Of other synods, Hosius presided at Sardica, A.D. 347 (St. Athanas. *Hist. Arian.*, Sozom., ii. 12, Theodoret, *H. E.* li. 15, and the Acts themselves), the two presbyter-legates of Pope Julius signing after him, and then the Bishop of Sardica itself. At the *Latrocinium* of Ephesus, A.D. 449, the Emperor Theodosius gave the presidency to Dioscorus of Alexandria, after refusing it to the papal legates. It should be added, that objection was taken to the emperor's even sending a commissioner to the Council of Tyre, A.D. 335 (St. Athanas. *Apology*, c. *Arian.* vii.); and that the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 869, ruled that the emperor not only need not but ought not to intervene in provincial synods, &c., but only in such as were oecumenical. But kings were present continually even in provincial synods in the West; as e.g. at Toledo IV. and V., A.D. 633 and 636, at the legate councils in England, A.D. 787, in Gaul continually, and at Frankfort A.D. 794. And the king's commissioners were at the councils

of Toledo VIII. and IX., A.D. 653, 655. The remonstrance of Pope Julius to the Eastern bishops respecting the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341—that *μη δει παρη γινωσκειν του ερισθεντος Ρωμης κανονισμους τας εκκλησιας* (Sozom. ii. 13, Sozom. iii. 9)—might obviously have been made by any of the patriarchs, the church not being truly represented if any chief bishop were passed over; and reads rather like a claim, which its maker felt it necessary to press, there being no doubt about the like right of the older and Eastern patriarchs. The second Council of Nice, A.D. 787, requires all the patriarchs (or their legates) for a really oecumenical council (Labb. vii. 396).

VII. The order of Precedence, and of Signatures, in a council, which commonly went together, followed ordinarily, in respect to *Bishops*, the rule of priority of consecration (as e.g. in Africa, *Cod. Civ. Afric.* 86, *Conc. Ailiev.* cans. 13, 14; in Italy and Gaul, *Greg. M. Epist.* vii. 112 [to Syngilus, Bishop of Autun], and so also in Spain, *Conc. Bracar.* l. A.D. 563, can. 6, and *Conc. Tolet. IV.*, A.D. 634, c. 3, and [as may be seen in the signatures to charters] in England—see *Conc. of Hertford*, A.D. 673, can. 8; and *Conc. London.* A.D. 1010, in Wilk. l. 363). Here and there, however, custom gave precedence to a particular see, as in England latterly to London, Durham, Winchester. And in an oecumenical council, or indeed wherever present, the bishops of the chief sees, who in due time became patriarchs, took precedence of all others; the order being fixed by the council in *Trullo*, A.D. 692, as 1. Rome, 2. Constantinople, 3. Alexandria, 4. Antioch, 5. Jerusalem; the preceding general councils of Constantinople (cans. 3) and Chalcedon (can. 28), having raised Constantinople from a subordinate place to have "equal honours" with Rome, but to count as second (so also Justinian, *Novel.* cxxi. c. 2). Ephesus and Caesarea, as patriarchates in a secondary sense, followed the chief patriarchs; as e.g. in the 4th and 6th oecumenical councils. *Chorepiscopi*, so long as that office existed as an episcopal office, either in east or west—and again the titular and monastic bishops of the 6th and following centuries (mainly in north-western Europe)—counted in a council as bishops. If *priests* or *deacons* were present as vicars or legates of their respective bishops, they signed, in the East, in the order in which their own bishop would have signed, had he been present; in the West, usually after all the bishops present. In the 1st council of Arles, however, the priests and deacons, whom each bishop had been desired to bring with him, signed immediately after their own bishop; and the Pope's legates signed after several of the bishops. In France and England, and in the case of the archbishops in Eastern councils, the *abbots*, although laymen, signed between the bishops and priests (if any signatures occur of the last named). In Spain, as laymen, they signed at first after the priests, but afterwards (becoming probably in many instances priests themselves) they signed, as elsewhere, after the bishops and before the priests. Of lay signatures, the emperor in the great oecumenical councils signed after all the bishops, except in A.D. 869, when the emperor and his sons signed after the great patriarchs but before all the other bishops. Imperial commissioners also took

precedence, in the council itself, immediately after the patriarchs or their representatives, but did not sign the acts at all. In the mixed European synods, lay signatures also occur. In England we have in order—king, archbishop, bishops, dukes, abbots, nobles, presbyters, *ministri*; sometimes abbesses also; but, of course, in mixed synods or rather witenagemots only; and all this, not in the same order always, for sometimes not only presbyters but deacons sign before the nobles, and abbots follow the presbyters. At Clovesho, A.D. 803, the bishop, abbots, and presbyters of each diocese sign together, and in one case (that of Canterbury) an archdeacon also. The list of those present at the 1st Council of Arles, A.D. 314, as has been said, follows a like order. At Nice the signatures, so far as they are preserved, are of name and see simply. At the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, and thenceforward, the custom began of adding "gratia Christi," or "Dei miseratione," or "in Christi nomine," and also of adding to the name such epithets as *minimus*, *peccator*, *indignus*, *humilis*, &c. The sees are omitted commonly, but not always, in Anglo-Saxon, in Frank, and in Spanish councils. The chief exceptions in England are the Councils of Calceyth, A.D. 787, and Clovesho, A.D. 803, where the sees are certainly given. They occur, however, more often in France. But as the lists are commonly copies, the scribes are as likely as not to have added the sees in some instances, although this is clearly not the case in many. The addition of "deimons (*episcopi*) subscripsi," belonged to bishops as such, and very often occurs, as e.g. *Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, from the 5th century; "consentiens subscripsi," or "consenti et subscripsi," or "subscripsi" simply, being the form for others as well as bishops. The Saxon "pompasitas" varied the form in endless ways, as may be seen in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*. "Pronuntians cum sancta synodo," also occurs in the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431.

VIII. The *votes* were taken no doubt by heads, from the beginning. The plan of voting by nations, the vote of each nation being determined by the majority of individual votes within the nation itself, was a device as late as the Council of Constance, intended to prevent the swamping of the council by Italian bishops, and was abandoned again after the Council of Basle. The distinction between *voti decisi* and *voti consultativa*, the former alone counting in the formal decisions of the council, is of modern date also, so far as the terms are concerned; but the presence at councils of individuals, and of classes of persons, for consultation but without a vote, is of very early origin (see below under B), and indeed may be most probably said to date from Apostolic times.

IX. Lastly, councils were *confirmed*, in the case of the Oecumenical Councils, and so as to give their decrees the force of law, by the emperors; although, in *foro conscientie*, St. Athanasius's dictum holds good,—*πότε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἠκολούθη ταυτά; πότε κρείσσι ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔρχε τὸ κύριος*; (*Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* § 52, Opp. i. 376). The decrees of the Nicene Council were enforced as laws of the empire by Constantine (Euseb. *V. Constant.* iii. 17-19; Soer. i. 9; Gelas. *Cyzic.* ii. 36, in Mansi, li. 919). Subscription to its creed was

enforced on pain of exile (Soer. i. 9; Rufin, *H. E.* i. 5). That of Constantinople, in A.D. 381, requested and obtained the legal confirmation of Theodosius the Great (July 30, A.D. 381, *Col. Theod.* xvi. l. 3). Theodosius II., after much hesitation, confirmed the principal decision of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Hefele, by exiling Nestorius and ordering Nestorian writings to be burnt (Mansi, v. 255, 413, 920). Marcian's edicts are extant of February 7, March 17, July 6 and 28, A.D. 452, which confirm the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon of A.D. 451. The next four councils (in the Latin reckoning) of A.D. 553, 680, 787, 869, were either signed, or (as in the 6th and 8th) also enforced by an edict, by the emperors who respectively summoned them. Councils also were commonly held in the various provinces to accept the decrees of a General Council. And in this way the sanction of the bishops of Rome was given after some delay to the second council of Constantinople, A.D. 381. Nothing is said of the pope in relation to the great Council of Nice, except by documents of a date and nature such as to make them worthless (Hefele makes the best of them, but his own statements are the best refutation of his conclusion). Leo the Great refused to assent to the decree of Chalcedon respecting the patriarch of Constantinople, while accepting the rest. And both that council (ap. Leon. M. *Epist.* lxxvii) and Marcian (*ib.* *Epist.* cx.) recognize in terms the necessity of obtaining the pope's confirmation; although with special reference to the canon affecting the dignity of the see of Rome. Yet, in A.D. 553, Justinian compelled the submission of pope Vigilius to the Council of Constantinople. And the canons of the Trullan Council, in A.D. 692, were in like manner forced by the emperor upon pope Sergius. The General Councils, so called, of A.D. 680, 787, and 869, sought and received the papal confirmation. For the legal authority attached at various periods to the canons of either oecumenical or provincial councils, see CANON LAW. The "Canones Patrum," i.e., probably the collection of Dionysius Exiguus, were brought forward by Theodore, and certain canons selected from them accepted as specially needed for the English Church, at the Council of Hereford, A.D. 673 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 119). Charlemagne, in his Capitularies, dealt with ecclesiastical laws as well as civil, but consulted pope Adrian, and obtained a sort of enlarged *Codex Cumanus* from him, A.D. 774; as Pipin had done before him, A.D. 747, with pope Zacharias. But the royal authority gave legal force to these laws—"a vestra auctoritate firmitur" (*Conc. Yngunt.* A.D. 813, in *Præf.*); and so repeatedly; as indeed had been the case with Frank and Burgundian kings, &c., before Pipin also.

The Council of Calceyth, A.D. 816, can. 9, enacts that a copy of decrees of councils should be taken by each bishop, with date and names of archbishop and bishops present; and that another copy should be given to any one affected by the decree.

B. Such being (so to say) the externals of a council, the next question relates to its CONSTITUENT MEMBERS.

I. To speak first of *provincial* councils, there can be no question that *bishops* were essentially their members. The *Apostolic Canon* (37) speaks

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&c.; and similar
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Euseb. v. 16, 24).
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Conc. Laodic. c. A
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ii. A.D. 529, Pref
Ancel. ii. A.D. 8
335, can. 1; Tur
ri. A.D. 696, can
15; see also Leo
Greg. M. Epist.
deacons as repres
the 3rd century,
(Acts xv.), it bec
also took part in
propositi," Firmi
for Asia; St. Cy
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(and deacons) were
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of *ἐκθροῖσι τῶν Ἐπισκόπων*; the 5th canon of Nice, of *πάντων τῶν Ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας*, &c.; and similarly *Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341*, can. 20, and the 29th canon of Chalcedon, which describes also such *συνδοίαι τῶν Ἐπισκόπων* as *ἐκαστονομίαται*; and the earliest known synods of the kind (the earliest intell. of any kind), those of Hierapolis and Anchiolus against Montanism, and those held by Polycentus about Easter, respectively in the middle and towards the end of the 2nd century, consisted of bishops, without mentioning (yet certainly without in terms excluding) any one else (*Libellus Synodicus*, and *Euseb. v. 16, 24*). See also St. Cyprian (*Epist. 73*), St. Hilary (*De Syn. Proem.*), St. Ambrose (*Epist. 32*, "audiant [presbyteri] cum populo"), St. Jerome (*Apol. c. Rufin. lib. II.*), &c. &c. Moreover, from early times bishops but no others were compelled to attend such synods, under penalties (suspension for a year) for absence, or even for coming late; and the being present in them was a recognized and allowed cause of non-residence in their dioceses: e.g. *Conc. Laodic. c. A.D. 365*, can. 40; *Chalced. A.D. 451*, can. 19; *Ayath. A.D. 508*, can. 35; *Yasens. II. A.D. 529*, Pref.; *Turracon. A.D. 516*, can. 6; *Arel. II. A.D. 533*, can. 1; *Arvern. I. A.D. 535*, can. 1; *Turon. II. A.D. 567*, can. 1; *Emend. A.D. 606*, can. 7; *Tolet. XI. A.D. 675*, can. 15; see also Leo M. *Epist. vi. A.D. 444*; and Greg. M. *Epist. I. 54* (allowing presbyters or deacons as representatives, if unavoidable). In the 3rd century, however, as in Apostolic times (*Acts xv.*), it becomes evident that presbyters also took part in such councils ("seniores et prespositi," Firmilian, as before quoted, speaking for Asia; St. Cyprian repeatedly for Africa; *Euseb. H.E. vii. 28*, of the Council of Antioch that condemned Paul of Samosata in A.D. 264 or 265, for Syria; and the case of Origen, again, at the Arabian synods respecting Beryllus; &c.). In the Council of Elvira (A.D. 305, Hefele) twenty-six or twenty-four presbyters "sat with" the bishops. In that of Arles I., A.D. 314, each bishop was directed to bring two presbyters with him, and some brought deacons also. A series of Roman councils (A.D. 461, 487, 499, 502, 715, 721) contained also presbyters, "sitting with" the bishops, and in two cases "subscribing" with them (*Bligh. II. xix. 12*); and others might be added, as e.g. under Gregory the Great (*Opp. II. 1288*), "Gregorius Papa coram sanctissimo beati Petri corpore, cum episcopis omnibus ac Romanae Ecclesiae presbyteris residens, adstantibus diaconis et cuncto clero." So again at Carthage, A.D. 387, 389, 401; at Toledo, A.D. 400; at Constantinople, A.D. 443; at Braga, II. A.D. 572; and the order of holding a council given above from *Conc. Tol. IV. A.D. 633*, as well as the later English "ordo," also above mentioned, expressly provide for the presence of presbyters. They are present also at Calcheth, A.D. 787, and Clvesno, A.D. 803. And later still, presbyters subscribe at Lyons, A.D. 830. At the oecumenical councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon they were present, but did not subscribe. Three, however, subscribe in their own names at Constantinople, A.D. 381 (*Labb. II. 957*). But then (and deacons) were sometimes specially invited to speak at such councils on account of their personal eminence and talents: as, e.g. Malchion,

CHRIST ANT,

the priest of Antioch, in the council that condemned Paul of Samosata (*Euseb. H. E. vii. 29*); and Origen at the Arabian synods that condemned Beryllus; and Barsumas the Archimandrite at the *Labro-inium* of Ephesus, invited by the emperor Theodosius II.; and St. Athanasius the deacon at Nice; and Wilfrid, still a presbyter, at Whitby. 2. That priests as well as deacons, *καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἡδικοῦσθαι νομίζοντας*, i.e., laymen also, are bid to be present at such synods in order to bring forward complaints and obtain justice (*Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341*, can. 20, and so also in the "ordo" above quoted from *Conc. Tolet. of A.D. 633*). 3. That St. Cyprian, for instance, speaks of bishops only as the members of the synod, and this where presbyters had been present (Hefele), and of presbyters as "compresbyteri qui nobis assistebant;" while bishops only voted in the African council of A.D. 256. 4. That in *Conc. Constantin. A.D. 448*, while the bishops signed with the formula *ὄπτας ὑρέγραφα*, the archimandrites omit the *ὄπτας* in their signatures. 5. That, having regard to the judicial functions of such councils, it seems impossible to suppose that any beside bishops could have been appointed judges of bishops. On the whole, then—setting aside the well known practice whereby priests (or deacons) signed and voted with the bishops as representatives or vicars of their own (absent) bishops, and reserving also the case of abbats—it would seem that bishops were the proper, ordinary, and essential members of a provincial council; but that the presbyters as a body were consulted, as of right, down to certainly the 3rd century, and not only continued to be present, but were admitted to subscribe in several instances in later centuries; but that it must remain doubtful whether they ever actually voted in a division, and that the apparent inference from the evidence is rather against than for their having done so. The presence of the metropolitan in a provincial synod, as above said, was necessary to render it a "perfect" synod. On the other hand, the metropolitan could not act, except of course in the exercise of his ordinary functions, apart from his provincial synod. *Choropsis epi.*, during the 4th century in the east, and during the 9th in the west, in France, and the monastic and titular bishops of north-western Europe from the 6th century onwards, were treated as bishops. But besides presbyters, deacons and laymen likewise took part in such synods. The usual phrase, both in St. Cyprian and in the Roman councils under Symmachus &c. just mentioned, is, "adstantibus diaconis, cum stantium plebe" (= with the laity who had not lapsed, but were in full communion); and in those Roman councils deacons subscribe, and in the same form with the bishops and presbyters; and St. Cyprian repeatedly states that he did nothing as bishop without consulting all his clergy and laity too; and the order of a council, drawn up at Toledo, A.D. 633, specifying "invited deacons" and "chosen laymen," shows that these were not supposed to come merely to bring forward complaints, but to join in consultation. "Considentibus presbyteris, adstantibus diaconis cum universo clero," is the common phrase respecting councils of 5th century onwards, but without mention of laity as a rule. There were laymen, however, at Toledo, A.D. 653, as those

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can. 8; *Arelat.* vi. A.D. 813, can. 4; *Capit. Theodulph.* c. 4; *Laws of Northumbrian Priests*, 44; *Edgar's Canons*, 3-6. Abbats were also summoned, and a journey to the synod was an allowable canon of absence from their monasteries [ABBAT]. Theodore enacts that no bishop shall *compel* them to come (*Penitent.* II. ii. 3). In the Landaff synods (*Lib. Landav.*, and extracts in Haddan and Stubbs, vol. i.), the bishop, the three great abbats of the diocese, and the presbyters (in one case, "electi"), the deacons, and all the *clerici*, form the synod. But Spanish and Frank councils, above quoted, require the attendance of abbats. Laity and deacons were obviously present and were consulted as a body both in St. Cypryan's time and later. Bishop Sage, who argues most strongly for the negative, is plainly arguing against facts. But there is always a distinction drawn, even by St. Cypryan, between the *consilium* of the clergy and the *consensus* of the *plebs* (see Moberly's *Dampton Lectures*, pp. 119, 305). The gradual changes, no doubt, which are found in respect to the people's interest in the election of Bishops [BISHOPS], affected also their position in councils called for other than elective purposes.

III. Of *Oecumenical Councils*, as of provincial ones, bishops were clearly the proper and essential members; yet here too presbyters and even deacons were sometimes present. At Nice, in A.D. 325, presbyters and deacons were present, and in great numbers; and one deacon certainly, St. Athanasius, spoke; but there is no trace or probability of their having voted. At Constantinople, A.D. 381, three presbyters occur among the signatures, signing to all appearance in their own names, and intermixed with the bishops of the province from which they came. But there are many other signatures in the list of presbyters signing as representatives of bishops. And since the list as it stands is the work of a copyist, it is quite as likely as not that these three also represented bishops, but that the few words at the end of each name indicating the fact have been accidentally omitted. At Constantinople, in A.D. 448, presbyter-archimandrites sign exactly as if they had also voted; and this council, although itself not oecumenical, is embodied in that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. At Chalcedon itself one presbyter is noted to have spoken; and at the 2nd of Nice, A.D. 787, one presbyter signs, apparently in his own name (Bligh, II. xix. 13, from Habert). But exceptions of this kind seem rather to prove the rule, viz. that bishops, and bishops only, each as representing his own church, were the members of Oecumenical Councils.

C. The AUTHORITY assigned to Oecumenical Councils was hardly made the subject of formal and systematic treatment, until the end of the great period of councils, viz. of the 4th century, it was then limited in three ways. 1. Their decrees were not unalterable, in matters of discipline, by a further council; and required external obedience but nothing more, as being those of the highest church tribunal. 2. Their office, doctrinally, was not to enlarge the faith, but simply to testify in express and distinct terms to that which had been held implicitly before. "Quid nunquam aliud conciliorum decretis enisa est [Ecclesia], nisi ut quod antea simpliciter crederetur, hoc idem postea diligenter crederetur;"

and again, "nisi ut quod prius a majoribus sola traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per scripturæ chirographum consignaret . . . non novum fidei sensum novæ appellationis pro-xiii.); and this, so as to be a "selula et cauta depositorum apud se dogmatum custos," without any the least change in them, of any kind whatsoever, whether of diminution or addition (Id. *ib.*). 3. They were not held to be formally infallible, but to possess an authority proportioned to their universality, to be capable of being amended by subsequent councils upon better information, and to be subordinata to Scripture. Of that which is certainly written in the Bible, says St. Augustin, speaking of a doctrinal question, "omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit," but councils may set aside *Episcopal dicta* [St. Cypryan is the bishop specially intended], and national or provincial councils must "plenariorum conciliorum auctoritati, quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere: ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat" (St. Aug. *De Bapt. c. Donat. II.* 3, § 4). And again, in *Epist.* 54, the same St. Augustin, setting canonical Scripture first, places next in order universal customs, "non scripta sed tradita," which must be assumed to have been enacted "vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel plenioris conciliiis, quorum est in Ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas," instancing the observance of Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Pentecost; and then, below these, mere national and local customs. Again, in arguing against Maximin the Arian, St. Augustin confines the decision to Scripture testimonies, bidding his opponent waive the Council of Ariminiun, as he himself waives the "prejudication" of that of Nice. So again, St. Gregory the Great, saying repeatedly that he "quatuor Concilia suscipere et venerari sicut sancti Evangelii quatuor libros," and that "quintum quoque Concilium" (the last held up to his time) "pariter venerari" (*Epist.* i. 25; and see also, *lib.* 10, iv. 38, v. 51, 54), proceeds to allege as his ground for doing so, that they were "universali constituta consensu." St. Augustin indeed seems to consider the decision of a "plenary council" to be final, in a matter of discipline, because it is the highest attainable—"ultimum iudicium Ecclesie" (*Epist.* 43, *Ad Glor. et Eleus.*); and refers the Donatists to such a council, as the remedy which "adhuc restabat," to revise, and if needful reverse, the sentence already delivered by the bishops at Rome under the pope. The well-known passage in St. Greg. Naz. (*Epist. ad Procop.* iv.), denouncing synods of bishops as doing more harm than good, through ambition and lust of contention, is simply an argument from the abuse of a thing against its use; yet proves certainly, that a council *per se* and *a priori* was not held to be infallible. On the other hand, besides the general phrase commonly prefixed to councils, "Sancto Spiritu suggerente," and the like, we find Socrates (I. 9) declaring that the Nicene fathers *οὐδαμῶς ἀπο-χρησάσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας ἐδύναστο*, because they were enlightened *ὄρω τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος*; and St. Cyril (*De Trin.* I.) calling their decrees a Divine oracle (and so

others, as *e.g.* Ild. Pelus. iv. 99, *θεόθεν ἐμπνευσθεῖρα*); and St. Ambrose, declaring that "neither death nor the sword could separate him from the Nicene Council" (*Epist.* xxi.); and Leo the Great declaring repeatedly, that the faith of Nice and Chalcedon is a first principle, from which neither himself nor any one else may swerve (*Epist.* cv. cxiv. &c. A.D. 452, 453). While Justinian, who ordered all bishops to subscribe to the faith of the first four councils, lays down in his Novels (cxxx.), that τῶν προειρημένων ἁγίων συνόδων (viz. the four) τὰ δόγματα καθάπερ τῶν Θείας Γραφῶν δεχόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κανόνας ὡς νόμους φυλάττομεν. The Council of Chalcedon again speaks of the Nicene decrees as unalterable. And Leo the Great speaks of the faith of Chalcedon itself as an "irretractabilis consensus." And St. Ambrose, of the decrees of general councils as "hereditary seals which no rashness may break" (*De Fid. III. 15*). In short, while no one asserts that such councils were formally incapable of erring, the entire current of church teaching assumed that they had not erred; and that it would be the height of presumption and of folly in any part of the church or any individual Christian to contravene them; while both Vincent of Lerins, and possibly Augustin, would allow to a succeeding council power only to build doctrinally upon the foundation already laid by its accepted predecessors. The Provincial Councils "began," by ventilating the question; the General Council "terminated" the discussion, by sealing us it were and formally expressing the decision which had ripened to its proper and natural close; and this, on the assumption that such decision was accepted "universalis Ecclesie consensus" ("In Catholico regionali concilio coopta, plenarie terminata," and so "universalis Ecclesie consensus corroborata," St. Aug. *De Bapt. c. Donat.* vii. 35). And St. Vincent of Lerins, in requiring to anything "vere proprieque Catholicum," that "ubique, semper, ab omnibus, creditum est" (*Commonit.* c. 2), obviously rests the certainty of conciliar decisions upon the acceptance, implicitly or explicitly, of the whole church of all times (see Hammond on *Heres.*, sect. vi. § 9, sq.); but refuses to allow that any question so decided can be re-opened.

The relative authority of the pope and of a general council, did not emerge into a formal question until long after our period; although St. Augustin's language about Pope Melchisedes, and about the *dicta* of St. Cyprian, sufficiently shows what at any rate his decision would have been, had it been possible that the question could have been raised at that time.

Whether Provincial Councils could entertain questions of doctrine, is also a question not formally put until very late times indeed. That they did so in point of fact in earlier times, may be seen in a list of instances in Palmer, *On the Church*, IV. xlii. 1 § 2. And upon St. Augustin's view above quoted, it was their proper office to ventilate such questions, and as it were ripen them for the final determination of the Oecumenical Council. Their authority, of course, like that of diocesan synods, was in proportion to their numbers and character, and to their subsequent acceptance by the Church at large.

The Church, speaking generally, has accepted absolutely the first six Oecumenical Councils,—of

Nice, A.D. 321; Constantinople, A.D. 381; Ephesus, A.D. 431; Chalcedon, A.D. 451; Constantinople, A.D. 553; Constantinople again, A.D. 680. Where the first four are spoken of especially, it is, commonly, either in order to parallel them with the four Gospels (as *e.g.* St. Gregory the Great, who adds that he equally venerates the 5th, the last then held), or because the Fathers or others who speak of them lived before the 5th was held (*e.g.* Theodosius Coenobiarca, in Baron. *in an.* 511, no. 33, from St. Cyril and Suidas,—*Si quis quatuor sanctas synodos non tanti esse existimat quanti quatuor evangelia, sit anathema*), or, lastly, because the 5th and 6th are taken to be as it were supplementary to the 3rd and 4th. So *Conc. Lateran.* A.D. 649, cans. 18, 19, accept the five councils already then held, as being all there were. The Greek and Roman Churches accept a 7th, viz. the Council of Nice in favour of images, A.D. 787 (rejected by the Western Council at Frankfurt, A.D. 794, and by the English Church of the same date;—see Haldan and Stubbs, III. 468, 481); the Greek Church, however, fluctuating considerably in the point, accepting it A.D. 842, when the Κοπιακὸς τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας was appointed to celebrate the seven Oecumenical Councils, yet still hesitating in A.D. 863, but finally recognizing it in A.D. 879 (see Palmer, *On the Church*, P. IV. c. x. § 4). Pope Adrian accepted it. The previous Iconoclast Council of Constantinople, A.D. 754, is called the 8th Oecumenical by Cave, who counts the Trullan or Quinisext Council of A.D. 692 as the 7th. An 8th Oecumenical, viz. of A.D. 869, at Constantinople, which deposed Photius, is accepted as the next by Roman Theologians. That of A.D. 879, which restored him, is called the 8th by most of those of the East (Cave). The subsequent Western (so called) Oecumenical Councils do not fall within the scope of the present work. It is to be observed, however, that even in the 9th century, popes still spoke of the six General Councils, as *e.g.* Nicholas I., A.D. 859, and A.D. 863 or 869; Adrian I., A.D. 871 (see Palmer as above). The English Church accepted the first five, and also the canons of the Lateran Council of A.D. 649, respecting the Monothelites, which likewise accepted the five; and declared her own orthodoxy about Monothelism with a view to the 6th General Council of Hatfield, A.D. 680 (Haldan and Stubbs III. 141, sq.). And Wilfrid had similarly professed orthodoxy in reference to Monothelite views at Rome itself in the same year, on behalf of English, Scots, and Picts (*ib.* 140). The legate Councils of Calcehyth and in Northumbria, A.D. 787, accepted the six General Councils (can. I. *ib.* 448). The canons of Aelfric, A.D. 957, accept the first four, as "the four books of Christ," and as having extinguished heresy, but add that "many synods had been held since, but these were the chief" (can. 33, Wilk. I. 254). The seventh General Council so called, of A.D. 787, was, as above said, not accepted by the English Church.

As a judicial body, the Provincial Council was at first the ultimate tribunal. An appeal from it to a larger council gradually became recognized; as at *Conc. Antioch.* A.D. 341. The appeal to the Patriarch of Constantinople, or to the Patriarch of Rome, was of later date still

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says that such marriages, though not prohibited by the Divine law, were rare by custom, even when not yet prohibited by the human law; "but who can doubt that in our time the marriages even of cousins were more litly (honestius) prohibited?" And the law is likewise alluded to by Libanius, in his oration on Purveyances (*περὶ τῶν ἀγυραίων*). A constitution of Arcadius and Honorius, A.D. 396 (*Cod. Theod.* bk. iii. l. xii. l. 3), confirms the law, assimilating the marriage with a cousin to that with a niece, and declaring that, though the man may retain his fortune during his life, he is not to be considered to have either wife or children, and can neither give nor leave anything to them even through a third person. If there be a *dos*, it must go to the Imperial exchequer; it cannot be bequeathed to strangers, but must go to the next of kin, except such as may have taken part in or advised the marriage. Another law, of the same emperor, indeed (ib. l. x.), maintains the right of praying for a dispensation (this is a text Bingham has strangely misunderstood), and a third one (A.D. 403), which took its place permanently in Justinian's Code, swept the prohibition away. Professing to "revoke the authority of the old law," it declares the marriage of cousins-german, whether born of two brothers or two sisters, or of a brother and sister, to be lawful, and their issue to be capable of inheriting (*Code*, bk. v. t. iv. l. 19).

Narrower views, however, prevailed in the West, and in Italy particularly, to that extent that we might almost suppose the Theodosian legislation to have remained unrevoked. In the *Formularium* of Cassiodorus, under the Ostrogothic King Theodoric (end of 5th century), we find a text implying its subsistence, since it is that of a state privilege legalizing such unions—the 46th Formula of the 2nd part being one "by which a cousin may become a lawful wife." And the "Lex Romana," supposed to represent the laws of the Roman population under the Lombard rule, expressly reckons marriage with a cousin as incestuous (bk. iii. l. 12). Finally, a capitulary of Arubis, Prince of Benevento, who usurped the fief after the death of Desiderius, the last Lombard king (A.D. 374), seems to prohibit—as in the earliest constitution of Arcadius and Honorius on the subject—all donations by a father to his children by such a marriage (c. 8). On the other hand, the Lombard laws themselves exhibit no restraint on cousins' marriages; and it appears clear that, whether the Theodosian legislation in the matter were inspired or not by the clergy, it was by the clergy that its spirit was preserved.

We need not indeed rely as an authority on an alleged decree on consanguinity by Pope Fabian (238-52), to be found in Gratian, allowing marriages within the 5th degree, and leaving those in the 4th undisturbed; nor on one of Pope Julius I. (A.D. 336-52), in the same collection, forbidding marriages within the 7th degree of consanguinity; nor on an alleged canon to the same effect of the 1st Council of Lyons, A.D. 517, to be found in Bouchard (c. 10). But the Council of Agde, in 506, declared incestuous the marriage with an uncle's daughter or any other kinswoman, the parties to remain among the catechumens till they had made amends, although existing marriages were not to be dis-

solved (c. 61); an injunction repeated by the Council of Epaoche, 517 (c. 30), and substantially by the 3rd Council of Orleans, § 38, and by the Council of Auxerre, 578, which forbid even the marriage of second cousins (c. 31); see also the 3rd Council of Paris, about 557, c. 4, and the 2nd Council of Tours, 567, c. 51. We need, again, lay no stress on an alleged canon without a distinctive number, quoted by Ivo as from the canons of the Council of Orleans, 511, imposing for penance, in respect of such marriages, a twelvemonth's exclusion from church (during which the parties are to feed only on bread, water, and salt, except on Sundays and holidays), abstinence during life, and a prohibition to marry—a regulation savouring altogether of the later Carolingian period.

Pope Gregory the Great (590-603), whilst recognizing that the law of the Church was upon this point in opposition with the civil law, sought to base the prohibition, in part at least, on a physiological reason. In an "exposition of diverse things," in answer to Augustine of Canterbury, which forms the 31st in the 12th book of his collected letters—a most valuable repository of facts as well for the social as for the Church history of the period—he says (c. 5) that "some earthly law in the Roman empire" (he is evidently alluding to the Constitution of Arcadius and Honorius, before referred to) allows marriage between the son and daughter of a brother and sister or of two sisters (or brothers); but "we have learnt by experience that from such a marriage no issue can proceed;" besides that, the "holy law" forbids the uncovering of a kinswoman's nakedness. (See also *Bede, Hist. Eccles.* l. 27.) A wide experience shows how rash is the former assertion; whilst it is clear that so far from the "holy law" of the Old Testament forbidding generally intermarriage amongst kinsmen, the whole fabric of Jewish society, in its separation from the heathen, in its distinction between the tribes themselves, is based upon it. Cousins' marriages were, however, forbidden some years after Gregory's death, by the 5th Council of Paris, A.D. 615 (c. 14).

In the latter half of the 7th century we find marriage with an uncle's daughter condemned by the Eastern Church itself at the Council of Constantinople in Trullo, 691, and separation of the parties ordered (c. 54). It is remarkable, however, that in the canons of a council held in Britain under Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (end of 7th century), it is stated that, "according to the Greeks, it is lawful to marry in the 3rd degree, as it is written in the law—in the 5th, according to the Romans—yet they do not dissolve the marriages when it has taken place" (c. 24, and see also 139), and the Roman rule is enacted in a later canon (108), which would seem to cast a doubt on the genuineness of the Trullan canon, about the middle of the 8th century. The *Excerpta*, attributed to Egbert of York, make it the rule that marriages are permitted in the 5th degree, the parties not to be separated in the 4th, but to be separated in the 3rd (bk. li. c. 28). Substantially, first cousins' marriage seem for some considerable time, when once solemnized, to have been tolerated. Thus Gregory II. (714-30), in a long letter (*Ep.* 13) to Boniface, replying to various questions, whilst stating that he allows marriages

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after the 4th degree (c. l.), does not expressly condemn those in the 4th. This, however, is now repeatedly done by councils and by popes; in the 1st Council of Rome against unlawful marriages, 721 (c. 4); by Gregory III. 731-41, in his excerpts from the fathers and the canons (c. 11); in the Synod of Metz, 753 (c. 1), which, for the first time enacts corporal punishment—the guilty party, if without money, being a slave or freedman, to be well beaten, and if an ecclesiastical person of mean condition, to be beaten or sent to jail: in the 6th Council of Arles, 813 (c. 11); and that of Mayence in the same year (c. 54).

We have now to see the influence of the clerical view on civil legislation in respect of first cousins' marriages after the barbaric invasions. With the exception of Italy, the peculiarities of whose legislation on this head have been previously noticed, the only barbaric code in which we find a prohibition before the Carolingian era is the Wisigothic one, strongly clerical in spirit, as must always be recollected. Here a law of kindred of a father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, to the sixth generation, unless connected by permission of the prince before the passing of the law, the parties to be separated and sent to monasteries (bk. iii. t. v. c. 1). In the case of Jews indeed there was superadded to separation the treble punishment of decalvation (scalping), 100 lashes, and banishment (bk. xii. 7. iii. c. 8). With these exceptions, all other enactments adverse to such marriages belong to the Carolingian rule or period. A capitulary of King Pepin at Vermerie, A.D. 753, only absolutely requires the dissolution of marriage in the 3rd degree, allowing those in the 4th, once contracted, to stand good under penance, but forbidding them for the future (c. 1). The capitulary of Compiègne A.D. 757 (see Pertz's text) is to the same effect (cc. 1, 2). On the other hand, the law of the Allamans (t. 39) renewed under Duke Luitfrid, supposed the 2nd (died 751), and the somewhat later law of the Bavarians (t. 6)—both indeed thought to have been touched up under Charlemagne—reckon all marriages between the sons of brothers and sisters unlawful, and require them to be dissolved; all property of the guilty parties to go to the public treasury, and if they be "mean persons" (*minores personee*) themselves to become slaves to it. The Carolingian capitularies proper, almost all of them confirmed by Church synods, are scarcely to be distinguished from ecclesiastical enactments. The text of some of the earlier ones must have been tampered with, since even King Pepin's Compiègne capitulary above referred to is brought into accordance with the far stricter rules of the Synod of Metz. As the law stands in the general collection of the capitularies, if a man marries his cousin, he is not only to lose all settled money, but if he will not amend his ways none compound in 60 *solidi*, or be sent to gaol till he pays. If he be slave or freedman, he is to be well beaten, and his master to compound in 60 *solidi*. If he be an ecclesiastical person, he is to lose any dignity he has, or if not honourable, to be beaten or sent to gaol (A.D. 756-7, bk. vii. cc. 8, 10). A capitulary of the 6th book (130) forbids marriage to the 7th degree. So does one

COVETOUSNESS

of the *Additio tertia*, c. 123, under pain of the ban (at 60 *solidi*) and penance for a freeman; but for a slave, of public flagellation and decalvation, and penance. If the offenders be disobedient, they are to be kept in jail "to much wretchedness" (*sub magna acerrima*), nor touch any of their fortune till they do penance; and whilst living in crime (c. 124) are to be treated as gentiles, catechumens or envergumens. Jews marrying within the prohibited degrees are to receive 100 lashes after having been publicly decalvated, to be exiled and do penance, with forfeiture of their property either to their children by any former marriage, not being Jews, or in default of such to the prince (*Additio quarta*, c. 2), a provision borrowed mainly from one of the Wisigothic codes above referred to. See also cc. 74, 75 of the Fourth Addition, anathematizing the man who marries a cousin, and repeating the prohibition against marriages within the 7th generation. The various enactments requiring inquiry to be made as to consanguinity before marriage, bear also on this subject; as for instance the Council of Frejus in 791, c. 6; Charlemagne's first capitulary of 802, c. 35; an inquiry which by his Edict of 814 is even required to be made after marriage, the 4th degree being expressly specified as one of prohibited consanguinity.

On the whole, the course of Church practice on the subject appears to have been this: the traditional Roman prejudice against cousins' marriages, although quite uncountenanced by the Jewish law or practice, commended itself instinctively to the ascetic tendencies of the Western fathers, and through them took root among the Western clergy generally, embodying itself indeed temporarily, towards the end of the 4th century, in a general civil law for the Roman empire. But whilst this law was abrogated in the beginning of the 5th century, and in the East such unions remained perfectly lawful both in the Church and in the State throughout, nearly the whole of the period which occupies us, never being condemned by any Oecumenic Council till that of Constantinople towards the end of the 7th century, in the West the clergy adhered to the harsher view; Popes and local synods sought to enforce it; wherever clerical influence could be brought to bear on the barbaric legislators it became apparent; till at last under the Carolingian princes it established itself as a law alike of the State and of the Church. But the history of this restraint upon marriage is that of all others not derived from Scripture itself. Originating probably all of them in a sincere though mistaken asceticism, they were soon discovered to supply an almost inexhaustible mine for the supply of the Church's coffers, through the grant of dispensations, prosecutions in the Church Courts, compromises. The baleful alliance between Carolingian usurpation and Romish priestcraft, in exchange for the subserviency of the clergy to the ambition and the vices of the earlier despots, delivered over the social morality of the people to them, it may be said, as a prey, and the savageness of Carolingian civil legislation was placed at the service of the new-fangled Church discipline of the West. [J. M. L.]

COVETOUSNESS. The works of the earliest Christian authorities are full of warnings

against the different forms of covetousness, e.g. Clem. *ad Corinth.* bk. ii. cc. 5, 6; Hermas, bk. i. vis. 1, and bk. ii. mand. 12; *Conat. Apost.*, bk. i. c. 1; li. c. 46; iv. c. 4; vii. cc. 3, 4. The Apostolical Constitutions follow St. Paul in treating covetousness as a disqualification for a bishop; bk. i. c. 6; and in a later constitution also for a priest or deacon; bk. vii. c. 31. The covetousness of some of the Church-widows is especially denounced; "who deem gain their only work, and by asking without shame and taking without stint have already rendered most persons more remiss in giving,"—who "running about to knock at the doors of their neighbours, heap up to themselves an abundance of goods, and lend at bitter usury, and have mammon for their sole care; whose God is their purse," &c. (bk. iii. c. 7). The oblations of the covetous were not to be received (bk. iv. c. 6). With this may be connected the canonical epistle of Gregory Thaumaturgus, archbishop of Neocesarea (about A.D. 262) which declares that it is impossible to set forth in a single letter all the sacred writings which proclaim not robbery alone to be a fearful crime, but all covetousness, all grasping at others' goods for filthy lucre; the particular object of his denunciation being apparently those persons who had thought a late barbaric invasion to be their opportunity for gain (can. 7 and foll.). Others of the Fathers in like manner vigorously denounced the existence of the vice among the clergy. The covetousness of Pope Zephyrinus (beginning of 3rd century) is denounced by Hippolytus in his *Philosophumena* (bk. ix. c. 7, §. 11). About the middle of the century, Cyprian, in his book *De lapsis*, speaks of those Christians who "with an insatiable ardour of covetousness pursued the increase of their wealth." Ambrose, in his 7th sermon, describes a cleric who, "not satisfied with the maintenance he derives, by the Lord's command, from the altar, . . . sells his intercessions, grasps willingly the gifts of widows," and yet flatters himself by saying, "no one charges me with robbery, no one accuses me of violence"—as if sometimes flattery did not draw a larger booty from widows than torture. Jerome with bitter sarcasm speaks of some, "who are richer as monks than they were as seculars," and of "clerics who possess wealth under Christ the poor, which they had net under the devil, rich and deceitful, so that the Church sighs over those as wealthy, whom the Church sighs over those as wealthy, whom the world before held for beggars." And he beseeches his correspondent to flee from the cleric who from poor has become rich as from some pestilence (*Ep.* 2, ad Nepotianum; and see also *Ep.* 3, ad Heliodorum). In his long letter or treatise addressed to Eustochius again (*Ep.* 22), he draws a sharply satiric picture of an old cleric who wants to force his way almost into the very bed-chamber of a sleeper, and praise some piece of furniture or other article till he at last rather extorted than obtained it; contrasting with the prevalent covetousness of Roman society the story of the monk at Nitria, who at his death was found to have saved 100 *solidi* which he had earned by weaving linen. The monks consulted what to do; some were for giving it to the poor, some to the Church, some for handing it over to the family of the deceased; but Macarius, Pambo, Isidore and the other fathers of the community decided that it should be buried with him.

Gregory of Nyssa, indeed, in his letter to Letorius, observes that the fathers have affixed no punishment to this sin, which he assimilates to adultery; though it be very common in the Church, none inquires of those who are brought to be ordained if they be polluted with it. Theft, violation of graves, and sacrilege are, he says the only vices taken account of, although usury is also prohibited by divine scripture, and the acquiring by force the goods of others, even under colour of business. Against this statement should indeed be set if not a decree (1) from Gratian ascribed to Pope Julius I. A.D. 330-52, which denounces as filthy lucre the buying in time of harvest or of vintage, not of necessity but of greed, vintals or wine, in order by buying to sell at a higher price, at least the 17th canon of the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), directed against the love of filthy lucre and usury, and enacting deposition as the punishment for the cleric. But here, as in a parallel canon (6) of the Synod of Seleucia, A.D. 410, it is perhaps to be inferred that the vice was chiefly if not solely aimed at under the concrete form of usury (as to which see *USURY*); as also when St. Basil, in his canonical epistle to Bishop Amphiloehus of Iconium, writes that the usurer who spends his unjust gains on the poor and frees himself from avarice may be admitted to orders; (c. 14). That covetousness was as rife in the monastery as in the world may be inferred from the fact that Cassian's work, *De Conventuorum institutis* (ed. of 4th or beginning of 6th century) contains a whole book (the 7th) *De Spiritu philargyriae*.

The very doubtful "Sanctions and Decrees of the Nicene fathers," of Greek origin apparently (2nd volume of Labbé and Mansi's *Coisins*, pp. 1029 and foll.), require priests not to be given to heaping up riches, lest they should prefer them to the ministry, and if they do accumulate wealth to do so moderately (c. 14). The 3rd Council of Orleans, A.D. 538, forbids clerics, from the diaconate upwards, to carry on business as public traders for the greed of filthy lucre, or to do so in another's name. As the times wear on indeed, covetousness seems often to be confounded with avarice, and to be legislated against under that name. The Code of Canons of the African Church, ending with the Council of Carthage of A.D. 419, has thus a canon "on avarice," which it says is to be reprehended in a layman, but much more in a priest (c. 5). So with the Carolingian Councils and Capitularies. That of Aix-la-Chapelle in 789 forbids *avaritia*; no one is to encroach on the boundaries of others nor pass his father's landmark (c. 32, and see also c. 64, "de avaritia vel concupiscentia"). The Council of Frankfort, A.D. 794, has a canon (34), and the contemporary capitulary of Frankfort a section (32 or 34), "de avaritia et cupiditate." The capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle of 801, according to one codex, enjoins priests to abstain from filthy lucre and usury, and so to teach the people" (c. 25, and see also the Admonition generalis of the same year, in Pertz). The first capitulary of 802 requires monks and nuns not to be given to covetousness (cc. 17, 18), nor canons to filthy lucre (c. 11). Some Additions to a Nimegue Capitulary in 806 (Pertz) treat at some length of "cupiditas"—which is said to be taken either in good or bad part, "in bad part of him who beyond measure will desire any kind of thing," (c. 3)—

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of "avaritia," which is "to desire the things of others, and having acquired them to impart them to none" (c. 4), and of "filthy lucre" (c. 5), of which an instance is given in the buying at harvest or vintage time, not of necessity, but for covetousness, in order to sell at a higher price; "but if a man buy for necessity, that he may have for himself and distribute to others, we call it trade" (c. 7). The Ecclesiastical Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle in 809 again enjoins priests to avoid all avarice and covetousness (c. 2). The second Council of Rheims, 813, also enacted that some (apparently of the clergy) were to follow the will of covetousness and avarice (c. 28). The second Council of Châlons, in the same year, that if clerics gather together the fruits of the earth or certain revenues of the soil, they should not do so to sell the dearer and gather treasures together, but for the sake of the poor (c. 8).

One form of covetousness—the rapacity of judges and other functionaries in exacting fees,— would seem to fill better under the head of *SPORTULAE*, by which name such fees were known in the Roman world, and are designated in the legislation of Justinian (*Code*, bk. iii. T. ii. Novs. 17, 82, 129). We may however quote a chapter of the Wisigothic law (bk. ii. c. 25, amended by Chadsunth), which says: "We have known many judges who by occasion of covetousness overpassing the order of law, presume to take to themselves one-third of the causes" (i.e. amounts in dispute); and which limits the judge's fee to 5 per cent., requiring him to restore any surplus beyond this proportion which he may have taken, with an equal amount besides.

[See also *BRIBERY, COMMERCE, USURY.*]

[J. M. L.]

COWL [CUCULLA.]

CRATON, martyr at Rome, Feb. 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

[C.]

CREDESCENCE (Lat. *credentia*, Ital. *credenza*, Gr. *παρρησία*). The table or slab on which the vessels and elements for the Eucharist are placed before consecration. "*Credentium* appellat mensam . . . supra quam ad sacrificandum necessaria continentur." (*Ceremoniale Romanum*, l. 3, quoted by Ducange, s. v.). It is doubtful whether such a table or slab existed in the sanctuary within our period, as it rather seems probable that the elements were brought from the sacristy and placed at once on the altar, when they ceased to be taken from the offerings of the faithful. See *PROTHESIS*.

[C.]

CREED, from the Latin *credo*. Hence the title should be confined to such confessions of our Christian Faith as commence with the words I BELIEVE, or WE BELIEVE, or, again, to any interrogatories as may be addressed at baptism on other occasions, *DOST THOU BELIEVE?* but, in practice, it has been used in a more general sense, and any document which has contained a summary of the chief tenets of the Christian Faith as held by any local or national Church, has been called the *CREED* of that Church. Thus the *Rules of Faith*, of which we find traces in the earliest Christian writers, and which were intended to guide teachers in the instruction which they conveyed, have been called *Creeds*. So, also, have been designated the instructions which were prepared for candidates for baptism.

NAME.—(2.) For "Creeds," in this wider sense, we find the following words used by early Greek writers: *ἀπιστεῖν ἀρχαίαι κανὼν, ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ κήρυγμα τῶ ἀποστολικῶν, ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις*. So Tertullian very frequently appeals to the *regulae fidei*. The creed of the Church, properly so called, was designated first as *ἡ πίστις* or *ἡ παραδεδεῖσθα ἡμῶν ἀγία καὶ ἀποστολικὴ πίστις* among the Greeks, and as *fides, fides apostolica* among the Latins. We find the word *symbolum* for the first time in Cyprian, and after the title became prevalent among Latin writers it found its way among the Greek authors. But even in the fifth century the Nicene Creed was commonly known as *ἡ πίστις*. The words *τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀποκεκέρθαι*, found in Origen, denote, not the Creed, but Baptism itself, or (possibly) "the outward and visible sign in Baptism." And, similarly, we must interpret a passage in Tertullian: "Testatio fidel et signaculum symboli." In a canon of the Laodicene council, however, the word occurs once. In later years the words *σῶμα τοῦ*, and *symbolum* or *symbolis*, became the favorite designation of the baptismal Creed. Its meaning will be discussed elsewhere.

3. The words of our Lord in the institution of Baptism undoubtedly gave the first form to the baptismal Creeds which we find prevailing in the 3rd century. His injunction that His apostles should "make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," seemed almost of necessity to call forth on the part of the recipient of Baptism some avowal of belief in God as thus revealed. The words which we read in our English version of Acts viii. 37, containing the appeal of Philip to the Eunuch and the reply of the Eunuch, are not found in the best extant MSS. of the Acts of the Apostles; but the incident thus recorded may be regarded as not improbable; and we find indications in the pages of Irenaeus that it was believed by him to have occurred. St. Paul reminds Timothy of the good confession which he had made "before many witnesses." This is generally believed to have taken place at his baptism. Passing by for the present, as scarcely applicable to our immediate purpose, the passage of Justin Martyr where he relates how "they who are persuaded and believe that the things are true which are taught by us, are taken to some place where there is water, and are there baptized," and the expression of Irenaeus regarding "the canon of the truth which every one received at his baptism," we come to words of Tertullian, in which he speaks of the Holy Spirit "sanctifying the faith of those who believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost." [*BAPTISM*, p. 160.]

4. Thus are we led to infer that the primary baptismal confession corresponded to the baptismal formula; that as the convert was "baptized into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit," so was he called upon to state that "he believed in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit." And that our inference is correct seems clear from fragments of liturgies which have come down to us from various ages and different Churches. The Aethiopic manuscript of the Apostolic Constitutions describes the catechumen as declaring at the time of his baptism: "I believe in the only

true God, the Father, the Almighty, and in His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the Life-giver." Other words follow. So the pseudo-Ambrose, in his treatise on the Sacraments (book li. c. 7; Migne, xvi. 429), "Thou wast asked, 'Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?' Thou saidst, 'I believe,' and thou wast immersed. Again thou wast asked, 'Dost thou believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ and in His cross?' Thou saidst again, 'I believe,' and wast immersed. For a third time thou wast asked, 'And dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?' Thou didst reply, 'I believe,' and for a third time thou wast immersed." So, again, in the formula for baptism found in an old Gallican missal and printed by Martene (l. p. 51); in the old Roman Ritual as given by Daniel (l. p. 173); and in the formula adopted by Boniface, for use among his German converts (Migne, vol. lxxxix. p. 310).

5. But although this Baptismal Formula furnished the type of the Baptismal Confession, we find that, even in Tertullian's time, the Confession embraced something not mentioned in the words of Institution. "The Catechumen," says the great African writer (*de Corona militis*, § 3), "was thrice immersed, answering something more than the Lord commanded in His Gospel." From his treatise (*de Baptismo*, § 11) we may infer what that "something" was. "Some (Tertullian writes) would deprecate baptism, because our Lord did not Himself baptize. But His disciples baptized at His command. . . . And whereto should He baptize? To repentance!—wherefore, then, His forerunner? To remission of sins!—which He gave by a word! Into Himself!—whom in His humility He was concealing! Into the Holy Spirit!—who had not as yet descended from the Father! Into the Church!—which was not yet founded." From this passage Bishop Bull (*Judicium Eccl. Catholicæ*, Works, vol. vi. p. 139) infers (and, we think, is entitled to do so) that in Tertullian's neighbourhood and epoch, at the time of baptism, express mention was made, not only of the Father and of the Holy Spirit, and of the Son of God, but also of repentance, of remission of sins, and of the Church. Thus we are induced to say that at least these two articles may have been mentioned in Tertullian's Creed, viz. "Repentance into the remission of sins" and "the Church." But in regard to "the Church" all doubt is removed by referring to a later section (§ 6) of the same treatise, where our author explains the origin of its introduction thus: "Where the Three are, there is the Church, the Body of the Three: there the *testatio fidei*;" this on the part of the baptized: "there the *sponsio subitis*;" this on the part of God.

6. We purposely abstain from adducing passages bearing on the Rule of Faith to which Tertullian continually appeals, because in our judgment such Rule of Faith was so called as being the guide of the believer and of the teacher, and was of wider extent than the Baptismal Creed. So we will proceed to ask what light do the works of Cyprian which have come down to us throw on the baptismal customs of his day? He followed Tertullian by a generation, being bishop of Carthage from 248 to 258, and his correspondence is in our present investigation very important, as it contains several letters

on the subject of re-baptizing those who had been baptized by heretical teachers; and these letters of course contain allusions (though they may be little more than allusions) to the ceremony of Baptism.

7. We will translate the most interesting. "If any object that Novatians holds the same law of faith which the Catholic Church holds, that he baptizes with the same symbol" (the first time the name occurs in *Latin*), "knows the same God the Father, the same Son Christ, and may therefore avail himself of the power to baptize, because in the baptismal interrogations he seems not to differ from us: let such men know that we and the schismatics have not the same law of symbol, nor the same interrogations, for when they say, 'Dost thou believe remission of sins and eternal life through the Church?' in the question itself they speak falsely, because they have not the Church." This is found in his letter to Magnus (*Ep.* 69, § vii.). A passage somewhat similar is found in another letter (70, § ii.), and in his epistle to Firmilianus (75, § 2.), he speaks of the "usitata et legitima verba interrogations" at baptism. From all this we may safely conclude that this "fixed and legalized form of interrogation" did not then contain any reference to those points of doctrine on which Novatian went wrong: probably it called forth little more than the expression of belief in the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and in remission of sins and eternal life, of which the assurance was conveyed, when one was rightly admitted into the Church at Baptism.

8. We must pass now to consider the usage in regard to Creeds in the Churches of the East. From the earliest years of the Christian era, the Oriental Churches were more harassed by strange teachings than were those of the Latin race. It was the boast of Rufinus that no heresy took its rise within the Church of Rome; and of Ambrose that the Church of Rome had preserved undefiled the symbol of the Apostles. Thus the difference between the Eastern and Western symbols may be learnt from the opening clauses of their respective Creeds. In the former (and among these we of course include the "canon" of the Greek-speaking community of Lyons) men professed their belief in *one God*; in the latter, their belief in *God*. The growth of the latter creeds we will consider hereafter; for the present we confine ourselves to the former.

9. The seventh book of the Apostolic Constitutions is regarded by most critics as older than the Nicene Council, and by many as representing the customs of Antioch, about the end of the third century. Dr. Caspari assigns it to the same period, though he considers it to have belonged to the Syrian Churches. Herein we have a full account of the ceremonies which were performed at baptism, and of the confession which the catechumen made. He said: "I renounce Satan and his works." . . . "and after his renunciation (proceeds the text) let him say, 'I enrol myself under Christ, and I believe and am baptized into one, unbegotten, only, true God, Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, of whom are all things; and in the Lord Jesus the Christ, His only-begotten Son, begotten before all creation, who by the pleasure of the Father was before all

world; begotten all things were on earth, both in the last days came down, of the Holy lived wholly after and was crucified for us, and rose suffering, on the the heavens and the Father, and the world with of whose kingdom baptized, too, into Paraclete, which the beginning of set from the Fa of our Saviour and the Apostles, to a Catholic and Apostretion of the fl and the kingdom world to come."

10. It is by article to examine the heresies to which baptismal confession. The Council of Antioch those of Gregory the Martyr, and office of the Church character of a Creed than that of a Cate in passing, the of Alexandria to have met with the *κατοχόαιον*,—we doubtless the contented to other purposes we have further of confessing God with the complete members of the Church made during some ship; and in the understand his words *επιπροσθεον* (Migne

11. Still the preferred to speak at baptism. When E interesting account Council of Nicene, Creed which he had had been catech baptized," he makes Eucharist. "During both when he was become a bishop, he taught it." So, ag proper was referred the Council of Ephesus which the fathers said: "that no one but the accepted faith from the knowledge of Judaism." Introduction of the of the Church. E

world; begotten, not made; through whom all things were made which are in heaven and on earth, both visible and invisible; who in the last days came down from heaven and assumed flesh, of the Holy Virgin Mary being born, and lived holly after the laws of His God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead, after his suffering, on the third day, and ascended into the heavens and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again at the end of the world with glory to judge quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. I am baptized, too, into the Holy Spirit; that is, the Paraclete, which wrought in all the saints since the beginning of the world, and was afterwards sent from the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; and, after the Apostles, to all who believe in (to) the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, in (to) the resurrection of the flesh, and the remission of sins, and the kingdom of heaven, and the life of the world to come." Such is the Creed which connects the rule of faith which may be found in Irenaeus with the Creed which has received the name of the Nicene.

10. It is beyond the scope of the present article to examine and enumerate the errors and the heresies to which reference is made in this long baptismal confession (*ἁπολογία Βαπτισματικῆς*). The Confession of belief issued by the Synod of Antioch against Paul of Samosata, and those of Gregory of Neo-Caesarea and Lucian the Martyr, and others, were not used in any office of the Church; and they thus have the character of an exposition of the Faith, rather than that of a Creed proper. Only, we must note in passing, that in the letter of Alexander of Alexandria to his namesake at Constantinople, we meet with the phrase, *ἐν πνεύμα ἁγίῳ ἡμετέροισιν*—we confess one Holy Spirit, and doubtless the conception of confession we must attach to other points named in the letter; and thus we have further intimation that a custom of confessing God prevailed, not only at baptism, with the *competentes*, but amongst matured members of the Churches. This doubtless was made during some part of their common worship; and in the same sense we may perhaps understand his words, *ταῦτα διδάσκουμιν, ταῦτα ἐπερωτοῦμιν* (Migne, xviii. p. 549).

11. Still the passages in which the Creed is referred to speak almost exclusively of its use at baptism. When Eusebius wrote to his flock his interesting account of what had passed at the Council of Nicea, and transcribed for it the Creed which he had recited as that used "when he had been a catechumen, and again when he was baptized," he makes no mention of its use at the Eucharist. "During his whole ministerial life, both when he was a presbyter, and since he became a bishop, he had believed it and had taught it." So, again, when the Nicene Creed proper was referred to in the famous decree of the Council of Ephesus, the great danger against which the fathers were anxious to provide was this: "that no one should offer or exhibit any heretick or Judaic faith to such as were willing to turn to the knowledge of the truth from Hellesm or Judaism." No mention is made of the introduction of the Creed into the other offices of the Church. Eutyches recited the Nicene

symbol at the Robber Synod of Ephesus, and stated that "in this faith he had been baptized and sealed, and in it he had lived, and in it he hoped to be perfected;" but no reference is made to any other public use: and once more, when at the second session of the Council of Chalcedon, the deacon Aëtius read out the Creed of the holy Synod of Nicea and the holy faith which the 150 holy fathers put out at Constantinople agreeing with it, whilst both creeds met with the cry, "This is the faith of the Catholics: this is the faith of all. We all believe like this:" in regard to the Nicene symbol alone they added, "in this we have been baptized: in this we baptize;" but not a word was said as to the recitation of either at any other service (Mans., vi. 957). Only the same limited use is mentioned by Epiphanius in the latter pages of his *Anchoratus*; and in the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem.

12. We must not, however, omit to mention that it was the custom for the bishops present to subscribe to the Creed before they broke up from the great councils: thus, at the conclusion of the Council of Chalcedon, "all the most religious bishops cried out, 'This is our faith, let our Metropolitan subscribe; let them subscribe at once in the presence of the magistrates: things well defined admit of no delay: this is the faith of the Apostles: by this we all walk: we all thus think.'"

13. Let us now briefly trace the subsequent history of the use of the symbols. Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople A.D. 511, is stated by Theodoros Lector (*Hist. Eccl.* p. 561) to have ordered "that the creed should be recited *καθ' ἑκάστην σίναν*, at every congregation; whereas previously it had been used only on the Thursday before Easter, when the bishops catechized the candidates for baptism." As the avowed object of Timotheus was to express the continued abhorrence which the Church felt for the teaching of Macdonius, it is clear that the exposition of Constantinople was intended in the order, even though it speaks of "the Creed of the 318." A similar direction had been given by Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch (450 to 488). Then it seems to have spread through the East, and thus the Creeds seem to have found their way into the liturgies which bear the names of Chrysostom, Basil, and others. From the East the custom came into the West. The 3rd Council of Toledo, c. li. (A.D. 589) directed that "before the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy, the creed of the 150 should be recited by the people through all the churches of Spain and Galicia, according to the form of the Oriental Churches."

14. The words of Reccared's confirming order are so interesting, that we may be pardoned if we recite them at length: "Ut propter roborem gentis nostrae novellam conversionem,

* By the Creed of the 318 is meant the Nicene Creed. By the creed of the 150 the document as it is alleged to have been expanded to the Council of Constantinople, and as it was recited at the Council of Chalcedon. The chief difference between them is that the former alter the words "and in the Holy Ghost," proceeded to declare the condemnation by the Church of all who maintained Arian views of the Saviour: in the latter the subsequent clauses were added as we now read them, save that the words were, "who proceedeth from the Father, who will," &c.

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many years has been called in the Western Churches the APOSTLES' CREED, our first remark must be that the Eastern Churches denied all knowledge of it at the Council of Florence. Ephesus, one of the legates of the Oriental Churches, is said to have there stated, *ἡμεῖς οὐτε ἴσμεν οὐτε εἰδόμεν τὸ σὺμβολὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων* (Waterland, iii. p. 190, note r; Nicolas, *Le Symbole des Apôtres*, p. 270). Thus we must look to the Western Churches alone for evidence of the growth and usage of this Creed.

19. In his interesting volume on the Apostles' Creed, Dr. Heurtley traces its growth through Irenaeus and Tertullian and Cyprian; then we must take a leap from Novatian, A.D. 290, to Rufinus, bishop of Aquileia, A.D. 390, the intermediate space of 130 years affording only one stepping-stone, furnished by the notes of the Belief of Marcellus of Ancyra, which he left behind him on his departure from Rome; he says "I learnt it and was taught it out of the holy Scriptures." This belief resembles in great measure the Creed of the Church of Rome, as we learn that Creed from the pages of Rufinus; but Marcellus does not speak of its being used in any liturgical office, except so far as his words were quoted may show that he had received it before he was baptized.

20. This surmise is upheld by the account of Rufinus. He describes the Creed of the Church of Aquileia as resembling very nearly that of Rome; he says that at neither Church had it ever been put into writing in a continuous form, but adds that he regards the type as preserved in the Church of Rome as probably of the purest character, because there the ancient practice was preserved of the catechumen reciting the Creed in the hearing of the faithful. He speaks of this as an ancient custom. At Aquileia it would appear that the baptism was a private service. About the same time we find Ambrose describing to Marcellian (Migne, xvi. 995) the riot at Milan: from his account it would seem that at that time the custom was to deliver the Creed to the *competentes* on any Lord's Day after the lessons and the sermon and the dismissal of the catechumens: his words are, "Sequente die, post autem Dominicam, post lectiones atque tractatum demissis Catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicæ." It was he who was called out to rescue an Arian.

21. The custom of preserving this symbolum unwritten is referred to again and again by Jerome and Augustine. It will be remembered that the Faith of the Churches of the East was treated with less reserve, although St. Cyril of Jerusalem desired that his lectures should be regarded as confidential documents. We are inclined to believe that the Creed must have been committed to writing when it became customary to recite it at the Mass. The Gelasian Sacramentary (which, even if interpolated, must describe the ritual of the Roman Church at some epoch or other) contains it. Since the time of Benedict VIII., as we have seen, the Nicene Creed has been used at Rome in the Eucharistic service.

22. We have referred from time to time to the custom of repeating the creeds of the earlier councils at an early session of each succeeding assembly of a similar character. We have one interesting proof that the Apostles' Creed was

deemed of sufficient importance to be so used in a council of the West. Etherius, bishop of Omsa, and Boatus, presbyter of Astorga, recited it in 785 as against the errors of Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo. The account is noteworthy: "Surgimus igitur," they cried, "cum ipsis apostolis et huius nostrae symbolum, quem (sic) tradiderunt nobis brevi compendio, recitemus, quicunque unum Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptismum habemus; et filium in qua baptizati sumus." In hac perversitate et duplicitate haereticorum non negemus: sed sicut corde credimus ore proprio proferamus publice et dicamus CREDO IN DEUM, &c." The Creed recited, Etherius added, "Ecce fidem apostolicam in qua baptizati sumus, quam credemus et tenemus." It will be noticed that the Creed was here put forth publicly.

23. Nor should the fact that there were creeds thrown into an interrogatory form be entirely passed over. Of these some were used from an early period at baptism; and others in later years at the visitation of the sick. Dr. Heurtley has collected several instances of the former series; and the pages of Martene contain many extracts from old MSS. giving the order for the latter. The earliest instance of such a use at confession that we have found is in the rule of Chrodegang (A.D. 750). [Migne, 89, p. 1070.]

24. The (so called) Athanasian Creed appears to have been originally composed as an exposition of the faith for the instruction of believers [CRESSY, COUNCIL OF], and then it came to be sung at the Church service as a Canticle. Gieseler and others consider that it was this Creed that was ordered to be learnt by heart by the Council of Frankfurt, 794, when it decreed, "Ut fides catholica sanctae Trinitatis et oratio Dominica atque Symbolum Fidei omnibus praedicatur et tradatur;" but it is more probable that the term *fides catholica* here is generic: at all events we would refer to the creed contained in Charlemagne's letter to Elipandus [Migne, xlviii. 890], which is assigned to the same date (704) as being more probably the *fides catholica* of the Canon. It seems to have been recited at Prime on the Lord's Day at Basle in the 9th century: we hear that in 997 it was sung in alternate choirs in France and in the Church of England: in 1133 it was used daily at Prime in the Church of Antun; from 1200 it assumed the title "Symbolum S. Athanasii" and "Psalmus *Quicumque* cult," which mark the character it occupies in our services. It was daily used at Prime in those English churches which adopted the use of Sarum, but was always followed by the recitation of the Apostles' Creed: as if the declaration of the Faith of the worshipper always followed on the instruction of the Church as to what it was necessary to believe.

(Books.—Great use has been made of Dr. August Haha's Collection of Formulae and Dr. Caspari's *Programme*. Dr. Heurtley's *Harmonia Symbolica* has of course furnished important assistance. To other works reference has been made as required.) C. A. S.

CRESCENS. (1) Disciple of St. Paul, bishop in Galatia, is commemorated June 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*); April 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*)

Thus the Apostles' Creed was the baptismal creed of Spain.

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CRESCENS. (1) Disciple of St. Paul, bishop in Galatia, is commemorated June 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*); April 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*)

(2) One of the seven sons of St. Symphorosa, martyr at Tivoli under Hadrian, July 21 (*Mart. Bedae*); June 27 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Or CRESCENTIUS, martyr at Tomi, Oct. 1 (*Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CRESCENTIA, martyr in Sicily under Diocletian, June 15 (*Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CRESCENTIANUS. (1) Martyr in Sardinia, May 31 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr in Africa, June 13 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(3) Martyr in Campania, July 2 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(4) Martyr at Augustana, Aug. 12 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(5) Martyr at Rome under Maximian, Nov. 24 (*Mart. Bedae, Usuardi*); March 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [C.]

CRESCENTIO, or CRESCENTIUS, martyr at Rome, Sept. 17 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CRESSY, COUNCIL OF. [CHRISTIACUM.]

In Ponthieu, A.D. 576; but according to Labb. (vi. 535), at Autun, A.D. 670, the canons being headed with the name of Leodegarius, bishop of Autun: passed several canons, but among others, one exacting, on pain of episcopal condemnation, from every priest, deacon, subdeacon, or "clericus," assent to the "Fides Sancti Athanasii præsullis." [A. W. H.]

CRISPINA, martyr in Africa under Diocletian, Dec. 5 (*Cal. Carthag., Rom. Vet., Usuardi*); Dec. 3 (*Mart. Hieron., in some MSS.*). [C.]

CRISPINUS. (1) Martyr with CRISPINIANUS at Soissons under Diocletian, Oct. 25 (*Mart. Hieron., Bedae, Usuardi, Cal. Anglican.*).

(2) Bishop, martyr at Astyagia, Nov. 19 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CRISPOLUS, or CRISPULUS, martyr in Sardinia, May 30 (*Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CRISPUS. (1) Presbyter, martyr at Rome under Diocletian, Aug. 18 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*).

(2) The "chief ruler of the synagogue," martyr at Corinth, Oct. 4 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CRISTETA, martyr in Spain, Oct. 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CROSIER. [PASTORAL STAFF.]

CROSS. The official or public use of the cross as a symbol of our redemption begins with Constantine, though it had doubtless been employed in private by all Christians at a much earlier date. (See Guericke's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Morison's tr., 1857, and Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, &c., with Mehus, quoted below.) In the Catacombs, and all the earliest records, it is constantly used in connexion with the monogram of Christ; and this may point to the probable fact of a double meaning in the use of the symbol from the earliest times. As derived from, or joined with, the monogram, especially with the monogram in its earliest or decussated form, the cross is a general or short-hand symbol for the name and person of Christ. As used with the somewhat later or



transverse monogram, or when separated from the monogram and used by itself, it directs special attention to the sacrifice and death of the Lord, and as it were avows and glories in the manner of His death. "Le triomphe de la Christianisme s'affichait bien plus ouvertement sur cet insigne [the Labarum] au moyen du monogramme, comme exprimant le non du Christ, que par l'idée de la croix." Its use as a symbol of His person is of high antiquity; see Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* t. ii, pp. 81 and 82, tav. xxiv, and c. viii, tav. xvii. D; although some discredit may have fallen on it from the actual personification of the symbol in later days, after the publication of the Legend of the Cross, when churches were dedicated to it, as St. Cross, or Holy Road, and it became an object of prayer. [STUX OF THE CROSS.] For the purely symbolic use of the great Christian and in part human emblem, Ciampini's plate, a copy of the great "Transfiguration" in mosaic in St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, A.D. 545, may be here described as a typical example. It covers the vault of an arch. The presence of the Father is represented by the ancient symbol of a HAND [see s. c.] issuing from a cloud above all. Below it is a cross of the Western form, slightly widened at the extremities, or tending to the Maltese, inscribed in a double circle orimbus. At the intersection is the Face of our Lord, scarcely distinguishable in Ciampini's small engraving, but visible in the now accessible photograph; and

verified on the Girouald de S. *Archéologique*, Lorient seems in a part no more than it is found again (See Martigny, *Arch.* vol. xxv.) and left, and the with stars; that spots in pairs, variations of colour right and left a cross, with St. A the mountain is among which are The Holy Dove having reference Above the cross Ciampini interprets Christ: "below Didron, however vol. i.), asserts of S. Apollinare really IXOTC. seems to have growing to the vigorously enforced sacrificial death of Christ was dis Christ: the cross from the monog understood and fitly explicit. He the symbolic cross may have caducing awe and suffering of the symbol—the prog Church to actual the act of death certain from the factor for all men the heathen. The tion from the syn partly traced out s. "cross" and "cru confounded in their languages, particu taries, the followi perhaps hold good, or other representi or anyhow placed tional category.

* Didron, *Iconographie* t. i, vol. i. p. 367; Behn: "Christ is embodied in the Cross, as He is in the Lamb or as the Holy Spirit in the Dove. . . . In Christian iconography, Christ is actually present under the form and substance of the Cross. The Cross is our crucified Lord in person," &c. In the 9th century the praises of the Cross were sung, as men sing those of a god or a hero, Rhaban Maur, who was Archbishop of Mayence in 847, wrote a poem in honour of the Cross, *De Laudibus Sanctae crucis*. See his complete works, fol. Coloniae Agrippinae, 1626, vol. i. pp. 273-337. He further quotes St. Jerome's comparisons of "species crucis forma quadrata mundi" "aves quando volant, ad aethera formam crucis assumunt . . . homo natans, vel orans . . . navis per maria antea crucis similita. Tu littera signum salutis et crucis describitur."—*Comment. in Marcum*.

The *Pontifical*, or bishop's office-book, of Ebn or Egbert, brother of Eadbert, king of Northumbria, and consecrated archbishop of York in 1121, contains an office for the dedication of a cross, which certainly makes no mention of any human form thereon (v. *Sacrae Societ.* 1853, pp. 111-113). " . . . Quaesumus ut consecres tibi

hoc signum crucis, quod tota mentis devotione

famuli tui religiosa fides construxit trophaeum sollicitae victoriae tuae et redemptionis nostrae. . . . Haec tibi Unigeniti Filii tui splendor divinitatis in auro, eminent gloria passionis in ligno, in genere matris nostrae mitem redemptio, in splendore cristalli nostrae mortis remedium: sit aurum protectio, et cristalli lucida, et lignum simul cum genere et pietate fide confirmet, spe solidet, pacem consociet: angustis triumphis, amplifiet secundis, praestet eis ad persequendum nequitos, et ad vitam aeternitatis." &c. &c. A curiously mitigated state of thought or feeling is indicated by this passage: the cross is a symbol of Christ and a token of His victory; it is of material wood, gold, jewels, &c.; but a sacramental power seems to be considered as adherent in the symbol; (v. *consecration gives it personality; and it is to be addressed in prayer as if possessed of actual powers.*)



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viam aeternitatis." &c. &c.
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verified on the spot, as we understand, by M. Girouard de St. Laurent. (Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxvi. p. 5.) This Face of the Lord seems in a work of the 5th century to import no more than the name or monogram; but it is found again on the oil-vessels of Monza. (See Martigny, s. v. *Crucifix*, and Didron, *Annales Arch.* vol. xxvi.) The A and ω are at its right and left, and the ground of the inner circle is sown with stars; that of the outer with small oblong spots in pairs, which probably indicate only variations of colour in the mosaic. Further to right and left are Moses and Elias adoring the cross, with St. Apollinaris below. The ascent of the mountain is indicated by trees and birds, among which are the universally present sheep. The Holy Dove is not represented, the mosaic having reference to the Transfiguration only. Above the cross are the letters IMDVC, which Ciampini interprets as "Immolatio Domini Jesus Christi;" below it the words "Salus Mundi," Didron, however (*Christian Iconography*, p. 396, vol. i.), asserts on the authority of M. Lacroix, who has given particular attention to the church of St. Apollinare in Classe, that these letters are really IXΘYC. The accession of Constantine seems to have been an occasion of publicly avowing to the Pagans, and therefore of more vigorously enforcing on the Christian mind, the sacrificial death of the Lord for man. The office of Christ was distinguished from the person of Christ: the cross was, so to speak, extricated from the monogram; and its full import, long understood and felt by all Christians, was now made explicit. However long the change from the symbolic cross to the realist or portrait crucifix may have taken—with whatever long-enduring awe and careful reverence the corporeal suffering of the Lord may have been veiled in symbol—the progress of a large part of the Church to actual representation of the Lord in the act of death seems to have been logically certain from the time when His death as a malefactor for all men was avowed and proclaimed to the heathen. The gradual progress or transition from the symbol to the representation is partly traced out s. v. *CRUCIFIX*; and as the words "cross" and "crucifix" are to a great extent confounded in their popular use in most European languages, particularly in Roman Catholic countries, the following tentative distinction may perhaps hold good,—that a cross with any symbol or other representation of a victim attached to it, or nayhow placed on it, passes into the crucifixion category.

The usual threefold division of the form of the cross into the Crux Decussata or St. Andrew's cross; the Crux Commissa, Tau, or Egyptian; and the Immissa or upright four-armed cross, seems most convenient. It would appear from Ciampini's plate above quoted, and is historically probable, that the distinction between the Greek and Latin crosses, by reason of the equal or unequal length of the arms, is scarcely within our purview. Its earliest origin dates perhaps from the time succeeding the Iconoclastic controversy (see *CRUCIFIX*), when the Latin mind continued to insist specially on the cross as the instrument of the Lord's death, and carefully selected the most probable shape of the cross on which He suffered. The symbol of the intersecting bars was enough for the Greek. As a

Christian emblem, the decussated cross may be considered the most ancient; but all are of the earliest age of Christian work; as are many curious varieties of the cruciform figure. The forms in the woodcuts are Christian adaptations of pre-Christian crosses. They are called by Martigny and others to be what he says, *formes dissimulées*; or ancient symbols adopted by Christians as sufficiently like the cross or tree of punishment to convey to their minds the associations of the Lord's suffering, without proclaiming it in a manner which would shock heathen prejudice unnecessarily. Constantine appears to have felt that a time was come when his authority could enforce a different feeling with regard to the death of the Lord for men. He used the cross or monogram privately and publicly; impressed it on the arms of his soldiers; and erected large crosses on the Hippodrome and elsewhere in Constantinople. His use of it on his standards is well known. (CF. *LABARUM*, *DRACONARIUM*, *Euseb.*, *Vit. Const.* iii. 3, refers to the Triumphal Cross made and set above the Dragon by Constantine. For his vision and the making of the Labarum, see *ibid.* pp. 28-39; Bingham, *Antiq.* s. v. *Crucifix*. Of its use on coins, which appears to begin with Valentinian I., A.D. 364-375, see coin of Valens in Angelo



Engraved stone of earliest epoch. Didron, *La Chrétienne*, vol. i. p. 296.

Rocca, *infra*. It seems as if Constantine really hoped to use the Christian symbol as a token of union for his vast empire, with that mixture of sincere faith, superstition, and ability which characterized most of his actions. The frequent recurrence of the *τοῦτοῦ ἔικα* on ancient crosses shows the importance which he and others attached to his vision. Tertullian's words may suffice to express the general use of the cross in private in his time (*De Cor. Mil.* c. iii.): "Ad omnem progressum atque promotum; ad omnem aditum atque exitum; ad calcantum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilla, ad sedilia:—quaeunque nos conversatio exerret, frontem crucis signaculo terminua." This is paralleled by St. Chrysostom's *πανταχοῦ εὐρίσκουσαι* (τ. σταυρῶν)—*παρὰ ἀρχοῦσι, παρὰ ἀρχομένοις, παρὰ γυναιξί, παρὰ ἀνδρασί, . . . ἐν ἐπιλοῖς κ. ἐν παστάσι, ἐν σκεύεσιν ἀργυροῖς, ἐν τοῖσιν γραφαῖσι*. Julian had derided the Christians as *εἰκόνας σταυροῦ σκιαγραφούντες ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ*, &c. They were accused of worshipping it as a divinity or fetiche. See the words of the pagan Caeclius, in Minucius Felix *Octav.* cc. ix. and xxix.: "Et qui hominem

summo supplicio pro scelere punitum, et crucis ligna feratim eorum caeremoniis fabulantur, congruentia perditis sceleratisque, . . . ut id colant quod merentur." He is answered simply, "Cruces nec colimus nec optamus." This is also referred to by Molanus, *De Picturis*, c. v., with many other passages. [See SIGN OF THE CROSS.]

The cross of course conveyed to earlier Christians, as to-ourselves, the lesson of our own personal sacrifice or dedication to Christ, and the thought of His command to take up the cross. Hence doubtless its constant use in times of actual or remembered persecution. But this use of it would necessarily lead on from the thought of His person to that of His sacrifice. See the inscription by Paulinus of Nola, who made such ample use of pictorial and other decorations, placed under a cross at the entrance of his church:—

"Corne coronatam Domini super atria Christi
Stare crucem, duro spontentem celsa labore
Præmia. Tolle crucem, qui vis auferre coronam."
(See Binterim, vol. iv. part I., and Molanus,
De Imaginibus, c. 7, *De Picturis*.)^b

The private use of crosses, or representations of the cross, is highly uncertain before Constantine, though Martigny refers to Perret (*Catacombes de Rome*, iv. pl. xvi. 74) for certain stones, apparently belonging to rings, on which the cross is engraved, and which appear to be of date prior to Constantine. It seems probable that the use of the monogram prevailed before and during his



time, with sacrificial meaning attaching more and more to the cruciform in the Christian mind. (See Binterim, vol. iv. part ii.)

The most interesting cross in existence of this kind seems to be the pectoral cross or *εγκόλαπιον* in gold and niello, described last by M. St. Laurent in Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*. It is said to contain a fragment of the wood of the cross, and bears on its front EMANOVHA NOBISCVM DEYS on the back, "Crux est vita mihi; mors, inimice, tibi," in same characters. It must date from near the time of the Empress Helena, when many like crosses began to be worn. Compare drawing of serpent below the monogram.

One example is given by Bolletti of a tau-cross, dating A.D. 370 according to the consuls: neither the Crux Immissa nor the Greek cross appear by actual examples till the 5th century. This question of date can hardly be decided in the Catacombs, from the number of crosses inscribed there by pilgrims of all periods.

There is a passage from Severus Sanctus Endeletachus or Entelechius, a Christian poet, probably of Aquitaine, in the latter part of the 4th century, where a Christian shepherd has secured his flock from disease by planting or marking between their horns ("signum medii frontibus additum") the cross of "the God men worship in great cities":—

"Signum, quod perhibent esse crucis Dei
Magnis qui colitur sedus in urbibus,
Christus, perpetua gloria numinis," &c.

De Rossi's work, *De Titulis Christianis Carthaginiensibus*, speaks of 4th century marbles bear-

^b For examples and discussion of this subject, see Binterim, vol. iv. part I.

ing the cross; and it is possible that in distant provinces the associations of shameful death may not have clung to it so closely. M. Lancret makes the obvious remark that the use of the cross spread with a rapidity proportioned to the advance of Christianity, and speaks of its earlier and freer use in Africa, quoting De Rossi, *D. T. C.* For Constantine's golden cross on the tomb of St. Peter, see Anastasius, *Lib. Pontif.*, *In Syl. resto*, p. 8, Scr. Byz. (Fabroti); also Euellius, *Const. Vit.* iii. 49. Two crosses from the Catacomb of St. Pontianus given by Bottari, *Inv. xlv.*, xlvii., richly adorned with jewels and metal-work, one of which has the $\Lambda \omega$ attached to it by chains, may also date from the years immediately preceding Constantine, if not works of his time. The great Cross of the Lateran, so called, is referred to his time, and apparently accepted as of that date by Binterim, vol. iv. part i. frontispiece. It is in mosaic, and though restored by Nicolas IV., can hardly have been altered. It is a plain cross, having a medallion of the Lord's baptism at its intersection. The Holy Spirit, in form of a dove, with nimbus hovers above; and from Him seems to proceed the baptismal fountain, which at the cross-foot becomes the source of the four rivers, Gihon, Pison, Tigris, Euphrates. Between the rivers is



Lateran Cross. (Binterim, vol. iv. p. l.)

the Holy City of God, guarded by the archangel Michael, behind whom springs up a palm-tree, on which sits the Phoenix as a symbol of Christ. [PHENIX.] Two stags below near the waters represent the heathen, seeking baptism; and three sheep on each side stand, as usual, for the Hebrew and Gentile Churches. This relic should be compared with a similar one given by De Rossi (*De Titulis Carthaginiensibus*), where the cross stands on a hill, and the four rivers spring from its foot, with stags, &c., as both have decided reference to baptism, and illustrate the earliest representative use of the cross as a symbol of Christ, with special reference not to His death but His baptism. Others even in later times were made with this view, and indeed with ornaments representing Old Testament types of the Redeemer. (See CRUCIFIX, account of the station-cross of Mainz.)

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QUIBST. ANT.

This is general from perhaps the earliest period. Some special difficulties appear to be connected with it, as it is beyond doubt a pre-Christian emblem, and as such connected in the minds of those who used it with special, at least pre-Christian, meanings. These meanings will of course be of two classes:—1stly, the interpretations of speculative minds in all ages which connect the tau-cross with Egyptian nature-worship through the Crux Ansata, and which include all the Ophite and Gnostic uses of the symbol, and its connexion with the serpent, as a sign of strength, wisdom, &c.; 2ndly, those of Hebrew origin, connected as types with the Old Testament, and through that with the Christian faith,—the wood borne by Isaac, and the tau or cross on which the brazen serpent was supported. Didron's remark seems appropriate here, that the tau is the anticipatory cross of the Old Testament. We are not concerned with it as such, and may refer for much interesting and erudite speculation on the pre-Christian cross, or decussated figure, to the text and references of an article in the *Edinburgh Review* of April, 1870.

The tau appears in the Callixtine Catacomb, in a sepulchral inscription, referred to the 3rd cen-

tury, thus: IRE **T** NE. This frequently

occurs elsewhere (De Rossi, *Bullet.* 1863, p. 35); and some of the crucifixes on the vessels of the treasury of Monza are of the same shape. (See Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, vv. xxvi.-vii.) Still in some of the earliest examples it may possibly have been used, even by Christians, in the pre-Christian sense, as a type of life in the world to come.

In Boldetti, lib. ii. c. iii. p. 353, an Egyptian cross of black marble mosaic is given, which may probably be of later date than the catacomb in which it was found; but the next page contains an early inscription of the tau between A and ω.

Thus: A **T** ω. He quotes the following

passage from Tertullian on this form of the cross, who refers to Ezekiel thus: "Pertransi medium portae in medium Jerusalem et da signum Tau in frontibus virorum. Ipsa enim litera Graecorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis."—*Adv. Marcian.* lib. iii. 23. This form of cross is specially appropriated to the thieves rather than the Redeemer, in some crucifixions of early medieval type. [CRUCIFIX.]



Archæol.-Cross.
(Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xvii. frontispiece.)

* In Ipetus, *De Cruce*, l. 7, it is shown to be of Pœnician origin.
CHRIST. ART.

Both Greek and Roman crosses, and in particular cruciform churches,⁴ sometimes possess one or even two additional cross limbs, shorter than the main or central one. The upper additional



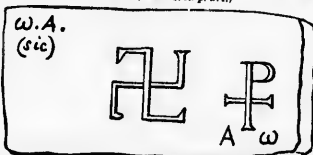
bar is supposed by Didron to stand for

the title over the head of the Crucified One. If this be so, the lower may be taken to represent the *suppedaneum*, a support for His feet. In cases where both the shorter limbs are placed above the main cross-bar, as in the cross represented in Boldetti, lib. i. c. ii. p. 271, they certainly represent the crosses of the malefactors. [CRUCIFIX.] See two coins of Valens and Anthemius, Angelo Rocca, *Bibl. Vaticana*, vol. ii. p. 253. One, a *nummus aereus*, has the three crosses, the other with two smaller cross-beams under the large one.

The term "station-cross" is derived from the



Cross on Tomb of Flavia Jovina, referred by Baroccius to A.D. 367.
(Boldetti, lib. i. c. ii. p. 271.)




On a single Tomb, Callixtine Catacomb.
(Boldetti, lib. ii. c. iii. p. 353.)

Roman military term *statio*, and applied to a large cross on the chief altar, or in some principal place of a church, but occasionally removed or carried in procession to another place, and then constituting a special place of prayer. (See Bottari, tav. xlv., and illustration of Lateran Cross.) Processional crosses may be traced to the use of the Labarum in Constantine's army, and also of his substitution of the Cross for the Dragon, or placing it above the Dragon on standards of cohorts, &c. (See the Church use of the word *Draconarius*, *standard-bearer*.)

The distinction between the Cross of the Resurrection, or Triumphal Cross, and the Cross of the Passion, is traceable to early times. In Ciampini, *V. M. tav. xvii. D* (ch. viii.), our Lord in glory stands by and supports a large cross, having the angels Michael and Gabriel on either hand. The Lamb is also frequently represented as bearing the lighter and longer triumphal cross. (See CRUCIFIX, and references to the Vatican Cross, &c.) It is also borne by our Lord in representations of the Descent into Hades. It is symbolic

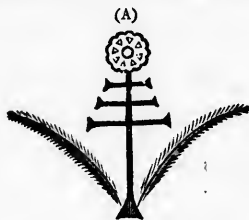
⁴ Constantine's ancient church of St. Peter, S. Paolo fuori delle Mura, and Sta. Maria Maggiore were all built

in the form of a cross. That of S. Paolo is a  with projecting spire.

of the victory gained by the sufferings to which the Passion-cross calls our special attention.

The drawing of the engraved stone or signet-cross at p. 495, with the motto "Salus," represents a device with the triumphal cross. The monogram of the Lord is placed over the serpent, which vainly tempts the doves, who look to the symbol of their Lord. But see s. v. SERPENT.

The statement of Bede (Binterim, vol. iv. l. p. 501) relating to the four kinds of wood of which the cross was made—the upright of cypress, the cross-



(B)



(C)



In Cemetery of St. Agnes

(D)



In Cemetery of Domitia.

(Baldetti, lib. ii. c. iii. p. 383.)

piece of cedar, the head-piece of fir, and the suppedaneum of box—departs from the Eastern tradition, which substitutes olive and palm for the two latter varieties of wood. This forms part of the legendary history of the cross, with which we are not concerned. The only remarks to be made by way of conclusion or summary appear to be these: that a double, and indeed manifold, meaning attached to the cross from the earliest ages. Derived as a Christian sign from the monogram, and connected with traditions of ancient learning by its Egyptian form, it may be said to have stood for all things to all men. To the earliest

members of the Church it represented their Master, who was all in all to them; and thus in their view, a somewhat wider and happier one than in later days, it represented all the faith—the person of Christ, His death for man, and the life and death of man in Christ. The Latin and other crosses point to baptism and all its train of Christian thought, without immediate reference to the Lord's sacrifice. [LAMB.] Constantine indeed (see Anastat. *Vit. Pontif.* in *Sylvestro*) seems to have attached the symbol of the Lamb to the Baptist and the sacrament he administered, as well as to the Lord's Supper and the showing forth of His death. The tendency of Christian feeling towards special or exclusive contemplation of the Lord's sufferings and death is a matter of ecclesiastical history; and its effect on Christian emotion, and therefore on Christian art, is the transition from the cross into the crucifix. (See s. v.)

An evidence of the feelings of subdued triumph with which the cross was regarded in the earliest times, as a symbol first of the Lord's life and death, then of the life and death of man, is that it is so frequently wreathed, embossed, or otherwise ornamented with flowers. Even as late as the Monza vessels, it is represented as a living and budding stem; but the cross from St. Pantanus, given by Bottari, xlv. is made to put forth golden or silver flowers half-way up its stem.

Count Melchior de Vogué (*Revue Archéologique*, vol. vii. p. 201) gives a highly interesting account of the ruins, or rather the scarcely-injured remains, of four ancient Christian towns, on the left bank of the Orontes, between Antioch and Aleppo. They contain many ancient crosses, and were probably deserted at the same time, on the first Mussulman invasion. "On est transporté," he says, "au milieu de la société chrétienne... non plus in vie cachée des catacombes, ni l'existence humiliée, timide, souffrante, mais une vie large, opulente, artistique.... Des croix, des monogrammes du Christ sont sculptés en relief sur la plupart des portes: le ton de ces inscriptions indique une époque voisine du triomphe de l'Eglise.... Le graffiti d'un peintre obscur, qui, décorant un tombeau, n, pour essayer son pinceau, tracé sur le paroi du rocher des monogrammes du Christ, et dans son enthousiasme de Chrétien émancipé écrit, en paraphrasant le labarum, *Ταύο νικά, Ceci triomphe.*" [R. St. J. T.]

CROSS, ADORATION OF. (*Adoratio Crucis, ή προσκύνησις του σταυρου.*)

I. *Adoration of the Cross from the heathen point of view.*—Christianity being a "religion of the cross," the cross being in every Christian teacher's mouth as the watchword of the new faith, the action of signing with the cross [SIX OF THE CROSS] being believed in by the Christians as a preservative against all dangers bodily and spiritual, what wonder is it that the heathen should have seen in early Christianity but a *σταυρολατρεία*, and in the cross but a Christian idol not less material than their own?

Thus we find Tertullian feeling it necessary carefully to combat this among divers false views of Christian worship prevalent among the heathen. His words, with the logic of which we have nothing to do, are "Sed et qui *Croci* nos religiosos putat, conseranens erit noster!"—Even if we did worship the cross, we should be no worse than you, for the cross enters directly

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wood of the cross shown to the ci it on their foreh their houses (Cy vi. *Patrol. Gr.* ix casner is worthy Lord and Saviour Divine Majesty, a was willing to tr servant, and to be end to die the cr the cross, therefo things by the sigh One did thereon value the symbol remembrance of H

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is paid to the ma idea of the cross fo it is the reverence holy or cherished to God, *προσκύνησις* that in this modifi Christians maintai the sacred symbol Le Nourry's *Dissert* Art. 4 in *Patrol.* ii of Constantine, *τὸ Ἱεροσολ.* i. 31 *Oratio de laudibus* l. 4, *ἀεὶ τοῦ Βασιλ* *εὐσεβήματος κα* of Jerusalem (*Ep* of *τὸ καθήκον* above-mentioned in might be viewed terical way of speak

or indirectly into your own objects of worship; for example, as being the structure around which the makers of images of the gods would first erect the clay model, or as being the framework of trophies reared in honour of victory whom you adore as a deity (Apol. c. 16; and in similar strain, Ad Nationes i. c. 12).

We find references to the same heathen taunt in the Octavius of Minucius Felix, as e. g. in c. 9, where the heathen objector winds up his remarks "ut id colunt quod mercantur;" and again (c. 12), "et jam non adorantia, sed subrogatae Cruces." The writer in meeting this attack speaks as Tertullian had done of the way in which the cross entered into heathenism, and adds (c. 29), "Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec optamus;" by which he seems to mean, We Christians do not worship the cross so as to give such adoration and honour to it as you heathen to your idols. That this misconception on the part of the heathen was not speedily overcome may be seen from the case of so intelligent a man as the Emperor Julian, who, a century after Minucius had written, taunts the Christians, as the Caecilius of that writer had done, with inconsistency, in that while they refused to reverence (προσκυνεῖν) the sacred Ancile which fell down from Jupiter and was preserved among them as a pledge of the protection ever to be shown to the city, they still revered the wood of the cross, continually made the sign of it on their foreheads, and engraved it before their houses (Cyril Alex. Contra Julianum, lib. vi. Patrol. Gr. lxxvi. 795). The gist of Cyril's answer is worthy of notice:—Since Christ the Lord and Saviour of all divested Himself of His Divine Majesty, and leaving His Father's Throne was willing to take upon Him the form of a servant, and to be made in the likeness of man, and to die the cruel and ignominious death of the cross, therefore we being reminded of these things by the sight of the cross, and taught that Our Lord thereon that we all might have life, raise the symbol as productive of thankful remembrance of Him.

II. Point of view of early Christian writers.—Having thus alluded to the adoration of the cross as seen from the heathen point of view, we shall next endeavour to trace the existence of the idea among Christians of a modified form of reverence to be paid to the cross. That idea may be expressed roughly thus: No reverence is paid to the material cross as such; it is the idea of the cross for which reverence is felt; but it is the reverence or worship due to a most holy or cherished thing, not that which is due to God, προσκύνησις, not λατρεία. Certain it is that in this modified sense of worship the early Christians maintained the duty of reverence to the sacred symbol of redemption (see especially Le Nourry's Dissertation in Minuc. Fel. c. xii. Art. 4 in Patrol. iii. 531). Thus Eusebius says of Constantine, τὸν μικροῦν ἔτιμα σταυρὸν (Vita Const. i. 31; cf. ib. ii. 16; iv. 21; and Oratio de laudibus Const. c. 9; also Sozomen i. 4, ἀὲ τὸ βασιλεὺς ἠγείσθαι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι νεκρῶντο παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν). Cyril of Jerusalem (Ep. ad Const. p. 247) speaks of τὸ στήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔργον. The above-mentioned instances taken by themselves might be viewed as due to a somewhat rhetorical way of speaking, but the real nature of

the feeling is shown by the following more definite instances.

Ambrose (In ob. Theodosii, § 46) tells of the Empress Helena's adoration of the cross after her discovery of Pilate's superscription, and adds: "Regem adoravit, non lignum utique, quia hic Gentilis est error et vanitas impiorum; sed adoravit illum qui pependit in ligno, scriptus in Cruce." Shortly afterwards he describes how the cross was placed upon kings by Helena, "ut in regibus adoretur."

Jerome, again, in the Epitaphium Paulae Matris (Ep. 108 ad Eustochium, § 9, Patrol. xxii. 883), says that "Paula prostrata ante Crucem quasi pendentem Domini cerneret, adorabat."

In the above instances Ambrose and Jerome are referring to the cross said to be found by Helena, but in the case of Minucius and others anterior to the time of Constantine the allusion is necessarily to crosses, viewed as signs and images of the true cross; and the view which is controverted is the belief of the heathen world in the veneration paid by Christians to the cross absolutely (see further, Origen, in Coloma ii. 47). Cf. further the distinction as drawn by Augustine (Tract. i. in Johannem, § 16): "Dicimus quidem lignum vitam, sed secundum intellectum lignum Crucis unde acceptimus vitam." The same line is taken in the Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducent (xxxix. Patrol. Gr. xxviii. 622), falsely attributed to Athanasius, in answer to the question, Why, when God has forbidden through His prophets the worship of created things, do we offer adoration to images and the cross? Rusticus Diaconus, a writer of the time of Pope Vigilius, carefully defines the matter in the same way, for after maintaining the adoration of the cross as leading on to that of the Crucified, he adds, "non tamen Crucem adorare dicimus Christo" (Contra Acrophales: Patrol. lxxvii. 1218).

John Damascenus (ob. circa 756 A.D.) is careful exactly to define, as the above-mentioned writers have done, the nature of the reverence paid by Christians to the cross. He says (de fide orthodoxa iv. 11): προσκυνούμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ τιμίον καὶ ζωοποιῶν σταυροῦ . . . ὁδὴ τῆς ἑλπίδος τῶν πάντων (μὴ γίνονται), ἀλλὰ τὸν τύπον ὡς Χριστοῦ σύμβολον. And hereon, he adds, may our adoration of the cross rest, ἵνα γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τὸ σημείον, ἐκεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ, &c.

Further illustrations of the wide spread of the feeling are to be found in numerous narratives of the Fathers, of a more or less legendary character, referring to the miraculous power inherent in the sacred symbol. Thus Sozomen (Hist. Eccl. ii. 3) gives us an account of a certain physician named Probianus who had been converted to Christianity, but who would not accord honour to the cross as the sign of salvation, until when suffering from a painful disease of the feet he was taught by a vision [cf. ALTAR, p. 66] to find in reverence of the cross a means of relief, and thus was cured. [We again find this story, cited from Sozomen, in the Historia Tripartita (ii. 19), compiled by Cassiodorus.]

A parallel incident is that related by Evagrius (Eccl. Hist. iv. 26), to the effect that on the burning of Antioch by Chosroes, the bishop of Apamea consented to display the wood of the cross to the adoration of the people, that their

represented their them; and thus in order and happier seated all the faith—Christ. The Lasten baptism and all its without immediate office. [LAMB.] Conat. Vita Pontif, in the sacrament he ad the Lord's Supper and death. The tendency is special or exclusive sufferings and death history; and its effect therefore on Christian the cross into the

of subduel triumph regarded in the earliest of the Lord's life and death of man, is wreathed, embossed, or flowers. Even as late represented as a living cr-ss from St. Poutiv. is made to put forth ill-way up its stem.

(Revue Archéologique, highly interesting acer the severely-injured hristian towns, on the between Antioch and ny ancient crosses, and the same time, on the "On est transporté," société chrétienne . . . es entombées, in l'etrouvante, mais une vie e. . . . Des croix, des sont sculptés en relief le ton de ces inscripvoisine du triomphe de un peintre obscur, qui our essayer son plaisir, cher des monogrammes e thousandisme de Chrétien rassant le labarum. [R. St. J. T.]

OF. (Adoratio Crucis, &c.)

Cross from the heathen ty being a "religion of eing in every Christian watchword of the new with the cross [Stox] lieved in by the Chris- against all dangers bodily er is that the heathen early Christianity but a the cross but a Christian an their own? dian feeling it necessary his among divers false ship prevalent among the with the logic of which are "Sed et qui Crucis seraceneus erit noster."— the cross, we should be the cross enters directly

last kiss of the sacred relic might be as it were their vinticum to the other world. The historian mentions that he was present with his parents, and describes the scene at some length, and tells how, while the bishop made the circuit of the church carrying the cross *ἕρπαιε ἐν ταῖς νηυσὶν τῶν προσηκούντων ἡμῶν εἶδητο*, he was followed by a large mass of flame, blazing but not consuming; a token of the safety vouchsafed to the city.

Again, Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 2) tells us of Oswald, a Saxon king (635 A.D.), who, being in imminent danger in war, erected and offered adoration to a cross, by which victory was secured.

One more illustration may suffice. In the Trullan Synod held at Constantinople in 681 A.D., it was ordained that since the cross shows to us the way of salvation, and therefore we offer to it in words and in thought our adoration, it should be distinctly prohibited to engrave crosses on the pavement, where they would be trodden under foot, and that where these already existed they should be erased (can. 73; Labbé, *Concilii*, vi. 1175).

The above examples clearly prove the existence amongst the early Christians of a veneration for the cross, combined with the feeling of the necessity of excluding from this the idea of absolute worship. The constant use of the sign of the cross [SIGN OF THE CROSS] is a further exemplification of this.

The special character of hymns is obviously such as to admit of a less exact style of language, but the tone of the early Christian poets shows clearly the nature of their views as to the veneration of the cross. In a poem (*De Passione Domini*) attributed by some to Lactantius, it is said (vv. 50 seq.):—

"Flecte genu lignumque Crucis venerabile adora
Fidellis, innocens et rancore creore madentem
Ore petens inuulsi."*

Much again can be gathered from Prudentius (405 A.D.) on this point. Thus we find (*Apotheosis* 446)—

"Jam purpura supplex
Sternitur Aeneadae reclusis ad atria Christi,
Vexillumque Crucis summus dominator adorat."

Again in the description of Constantine's victory over Maxentius (*Contra Symmachum* l. 494), he says—

"Tunc ille senatus
Militiæ nitricis titulum, Christi-que verendum
Nomen adoravit quod collucebat in armis."

The allusion here is to the cross and the monogram on the labarum (cf. also *Cath.* vi. 129, and Paulinus Nol. *Præm.* xxx. 97 sqq.).

Finally, we may cite the words of Sedulius (*Carmen Paschale*, lib. v. 188; *Patrol.* xix. 724)—

"Nève quis ignoret speciem Crucis esse colendam."

* In the prolegomena to the Roman edition of Prudentius (*l. c.* ix. 669), the accusation is brought against George Fabricius of tampering with the above, by omitting, through doctrinal proclivities, the words "lignumque . . . fidellis;" a proceeding justly reprehended by John Albert Fabricius: "Sane justè reprehendit per John Albert Fabricius: 'Sane præsertim G. Fabricii . . . pæsim, tam ille tam alibi, non ita fuisse in alienis operibus quod edebat logeniosum' (*Bib. vel. Lat.* p. 709, ed. 1712).

III. *Adoration of the Cross in ancient Liturgies.*—In the Western Church such a rite has long been observed on Good Friday. The custom is probably very ancient, and has possibly flowed hither from the East, for the words of Paulinus (*Ep.* 31, *Patrol.* lxi. 329) with reference to the observance of the like practice at Jerusalem, will carry back the date to the 4th century:—"Quam episcopus urbis ejus quotannis, cum Pascha Dominal agitur, adorandam populo princeps ipse venerantium promit." According to the Gregorian Sacramentary (*Patrol.* lxxviii. 86), at Vespers on Good Friday a cross is set up in front of the altar; then—"Venit Pontifex, adoratum deosculatur Crucem. Deinde episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi et ceteri per ordinem, deinde populus: Pontifex vero recit in sedem usque dum omnes saluent." Whenever a salutation is made (salutante pontifice vel populo) the Antiphon *Ecce lignum Crucis* is sung; and then when all have saluted, the pope descends to the front of the altar and the service proceeds. Sundry differences, but of no great moment, occur in the form given in the Gelasian Sacramentary (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1103). A more elaborate ritual, however, is to be found in the Mozarabic Liturgy (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 430; lxxvi. 609), in which before Nones on Good Friday, after the Lord's Prayer, came the hymn *Ad Salutationem ligni Domini*,

"Pange lingua gloriosum
Prælium certaminis," &c.

This was followed by the prayer, "O sancta Crux, in qua salus nostra pepenit, per te introeamus ad Patrem, per te veniam mereamur, per te apud Christum habeamus indulgentiam et veniam;" and this again by three antiphons *de ligno Domini*. Nothing further is added here in the Breviary as to the adoration of the cross, possibly because the rest is to be found in the Missal.

From this we learn the nature of the ceremony of adoration as performed at the Nones, and this, as in the preceding instance, we shall briefly describe.

Two priests hold before the altar a cross draped in black, standing first at the left, then at the right, and lastly at the middle of the altar. As each position is occupied, the antiphons are respectively chanted—*Iopule meus quid feci tibi . . . quia eduxi te . . . quid u tva debui . . .* with its own response after each. At the end of the third station the officiating priest receives the cross from the hands of the two who are holding it, and standing successively at the right end, the left end, and the middle of the altar, he uncovers at each station respectively the right arm, the left arm, and the whole of the cross, saying on each occasion, with voice growing louder each time, the antiphon *Ecce lignum Crucis*, to which is responded, *In qua salus nostra pependit*, it being ordered that as each limb of the cross is unveiled, the people should bend the knee. The priest having reverently placed the cross in front of the altar "statim presbyteri cum suis ministris adorent Crucem flectendo genua ter, cum summa re-

verentia et hinc obferant oblatis ex-vulsum;" (*Patrol.* lxi. 329) a addressed to Crucem tuam tuam Alexander L. his note on the of the terms of to the cross, that explored in the G. taries and the the Mozarabic *Eccl. Off.* i. 14) paratur crux an lantur omnes." As illustrating quote from the Exultation of the mentary: "Con dam vivificam At the end of M up by the pontif (cf. Aleuin, *Ado. nishes us with a Crucis*); and a from the Greek *χαριστος, ὁ ζωοποι ῥησανος, ἡ θρησα ερρηγυος . . . FINDING OF THIS The season who been especially as the cross is the ensuing week. N the writings of ference to this. to Chrysostom, b quest to his tir *τιμὸν καὶ ζωοποι τῶν ἁγίων*, the pastly appointed it would imply the one—*Ἐμπερον το τὸν τιμὸν στραυρι works of Sophroni sermo with the sa *Patrol.* Gr. lxxxvi Exultationem S. Cr of the season of t quest to our Lor *στραυρι ἁγιοποιος* same character as *Stallia* (*Patrol.* G. p. lxxxi. concerning this fa genitus, *De Cuerni 24*; and especial 164, 1617); and ct Duacange's *Glossary* which name and b the Greek Church k Gospel for this day 14—v. 6, and Mar also in the Greek the cross for adora abouts, for which *Gr.* ciii. 1609.) Thus the *Menology* thus *τῶν ἁγίων ἑξήκων* and its importance of its having its *spa***

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in ancient Litur- such a rite has rday. The custom has possibly flowe words of Paulinas reference to the tice at Jerusalem, e 4th century?— as quotannis, cum ndum populo prun-." According to .Patrol. lxxviii, 85), a cross is set up —"Venit Pontific, . Deuileu episcopi, per ordinem, deinde it in sedem usque euer a salutation e vel populo) the is sung; and then pope descends to the e service proceeds no great momeat, the Gelasian Sacra- (3). A more elabo- to be found in the lxxxv. 430; lxxvii. ame on Good Friday, ame the hymn Ad

verentia et humilitate osculando terram, et effert oblationem Crucis, ut aliis praebent exemplum;" the rite is then concluded by an oratio ad Crucem, in which, however, our Lord is addressed distinctly, and by the antiphon *Crucem tu in adoramus Dominum*.

Alexander Leslie, the Jesuit editor, argues in his note on the above passage for the identity of the terms *adoratio* and *salutatio* as applied to the cross, the former word being that employed in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries and the Mozarabic Missal, the latter in the Mozarabic Breviary; and Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* l. 14) cites the *Ordines Romani*, "Praeparatur crux ante altare, quam salutant et osculatur omnes."

As illustrating our present subject, we may quote from the collect for the Festival of the Exaltation of the Cross in the Gregorian Sacramentary: "Concede propitius ut qui ad adorandam vivificam ejus Crucem adveniunt . . ." At the end of Mass on that day a cross was held up by the pontiff for the adoration of the people (cf. Aleuin, *Adv. Elyphantum*, lib. ii. 9, who furnishes us with a collect, *Ad Elevatorem Sanctae Crucis*); and a parallel instance is to be derived from the Greek *Menology* for September 13, *χαρισμός δ ζωοδότος τῆς εὐσεβίας, τὸ ἀήτητον τῆς αἰωνίας, ἡ θύρα τῆς παραδείσου, δ τῶν πιστῶν εὐργετός* . . . [See also EXALTATION and FINDING OF THE CROSS.]

The season which in the Eastern Church has been specially associated with the adoration of the cross is the third Sunday in Lent, with the ensuing week. Numerous sermons are extant in the writings of the Greek Fathers having reference to this. Thus in one wrongly assigned to Chrysostom, but apparently not long subsequent to his time, *eis τὴν προσκύνῃσιν τῶν τιμῶν καὶ ζωοποιῶν σταυροῦ τῆ μέσῃ ἑβδομαδίῳ τῶν παστῶν*, the writer speaks of the day as yearly appointed for adoration, and as though he would imply the custom to be a well established one.—*Σήμερον τοιγαροῦν προσκυνήσιμος ἡμέρα τῶν τιμῶν σταυροῦ καθίστηκε*. Again, in the works of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, is a sermon with the same title and occasion (*Oratio v. Patrol. Gr. lxxvii. 3309*). Again (*Oratio iv. in Exaltationem S. Crucis*), in describing the change of the season of the Exaltation to a time subsequent to our Lord's resurrection, he speaks of *σταυροῦ θαυμάσιος προσκύνσις*. Sermons of the same character are also extant by Theodorus Studita (*Patrol. Gr. xix. 691*), and by Theophylact (*ib. cxxxi. 113*). For rubrical directions concerning this fast, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Caerimoniis Aulæ Byzantinae*, l. 3, 24; and especially ii. 11 (*op. cit.* xii. 137, 194, 1917); and cf. also Suicer's *Theaurus*, and Ducauge's *Glossary*, s. v. *σταυροπροσκύνσις*, and which name and by *κυριακὴ τῆς προσκυνήσεως* the Greek Church knows the day. The Epistle and Gospel for this day in that Church are Heb. iv. 14-7, 6, and Mark viii. 34-lx. 1. There is also in the Greek Church a bringing about of the cross for adoration on August 1 and thereabouts, for which see Const. Porph. ii. 9 (*Patrol. Gr. ciii. 1066*). This latter day is marked in the *Menology* thus: *eis τὴν πρῶτην ἢ πρόδοον τῶν τιμῶν εὐδωτῶν τῶν τιμῶν ζωοποιῶν σταυροῦ*; and its importance is testified to by the fact of its having its *προεβρία* or vigil.

IV. *Disputes among Christians as to the Adoration of the Cross.*—At the Second Nicene General Council (787 A.D.), in their fourth *actio*, among the various testimonies read from the fathers in support of the use of images in worship, was a long extract from the fifth of the *λόγοι ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἀπολογίας* τῆς *Ἰουδαίου καὶ περὶ εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων* of Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus (ob. 620 or 630, A.D.). The general tenour of his remarks (for which see Labbé, vii. 236) is as follows:—Christians are justified in offering adoration to the cross, by way of remembrance of Him who died thereon, not with any feeling of reverence for the mere material. Thus, a decree sanctioned by the seal of the emperor is reverentially treated, not on account of the decree or the lead of the seal, but of him whom the seal indicates; and so we Christians, in our adoration of the cross, honour not its material, but see in it a seal and signet of Christ Who was crucified thereon, and Whom we salute and adore. The further illustration may be taken of children who cherish some memento of an absent father, even as all things associated with our Lord are for His sake to be loved and revered. *ὅταν ὁδῶν*, he concludes, *ἴδῃς Χριστιανὸς προσκυνῶντας τὸν σταυρὸν, γνώθι ὅτι τῷ σταυρωθέντι Χριστῷ τὴν προσκύνῃσιν προσάγουσι καὶ οὐ τῷ ξύλῳ*.

A counterblast to the views of the Nicene Council is to be found in a capitulary of Charlemagne, *De Imaginibus* (i. 13, *Patrol.* xcvi. 1034), where we find an attack on the argument brought forward by the other party based on the expression, "Jacob . . . adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus" (Heb. xi. 21). The writer there insists on the "differentia crucis Christi et imaginum pictorum arte picturam," and promises to enter upon the subject "quanto mysterio Crux imaginibus eminent, sive quomodo humanum genus non per imaginem, sed per Crucem Christi redemptum sit, quæ duæ illi vel paria vel æqualia putant." This promise is fulfilled subsequently (ii. 28; *op. cit.* 1096), where the language, though probably referring to adoration of the cross, is to a certain extent vague: "Non sunt imagines Crucis æquiparandæ, non adorandæ, non colendæ, . . . et Tu solus adorandus, Tu solus colendus es."

The cause of the adoration of the cross and of images found a zealous champion in Theodorus Studita, who expounds his views in his *Antirrhæticus* iii. *ad Iconomachos*, in the form of a dialogue (see esp. *Antirrh.* i. 15; iii. 3; *Patrol. Gr.* xcix. 345, 419). After an elaborate discussion, and after dwelling on the distinction between *εἰκὼν* and *εἰδωλον*, in which he carefully repudiates any association of the adoration of the cross or image with the latter term, he sums up in a number of theses which maintain the importance of the adoration, but again insists on the distinction referred to above. Thus (*ib.* 349): "If any one boldly calls the relative (*σχετικὴν*) worship of Christ in the image, worship of the image and not of Christ Himself . . . he is heretic." For further illustrations of the subject from the writings of Theodorus, see *op. cit.* 691, 1757; cf. also Nicephorus (Patriarch of Constantinople), *Antirrhæticus* lii. 7. Later notices of the subject may be found in Photius, *Epist.* l. 1, *Ad Nicollan Papam*; i. 8, 20, *Ad Michael. Bulgur. Principem*.

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A brief reference may here be made in passing to the views on this subject of the Paulician heretics, who first appeared towards the end of the 7th century. They, generally speaking, were strongly opposed to any adoration of the cross or images. In regard to the cross, they maintained that the real cross was Christ Himself, not the wood on which He hung:—*Λίγυτες, ὅτι σταυρὸς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστίν, οὐ κρῆ δὲ προσηκουίσαται τὸ ξύλον ὡς κεκατηραυγὸν ὄργανον* (Georgius Hamartolus, *Chroni* on iv. 238, in *Patrol. Gr.* cx. 889). In accordance with this is what we are told by Petrus Siculus (*Hist. Monachorum* 29; *ib.* civ. 1284; and cf. Photius, *Contra Manich.* i. 7; i. cii. 25), to the effect that a certain Timotheus of this sect was sent by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian to the Patriarch of Constantinople to be reasoned with; and on being asked, "Why dost thou not believe and worship the honoured cross?" answered, "Anathema to him who does not do so." But by the cross he understood *τὸν Χριστὸν τῆ ἐκτάσει τῶν χειρῶν σταυρὸς ἀποκαλούμεντα*. The above quoted Georgius Hamartolus tells us (*Patrol. Gr.* cx. 892), with what truth is perhaps doubtful, that in cases of sickness they laid a cross on the patient, which cross on his recovery they dared even to break or burn (see also Euthymius, *Panopla Dogmat.* Tit. 24; *op. cit.* cxxx. 1196; and cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca* 279; *ib.* ciii. 524).

Much about this time there arose a contention of like character in the West. The actual literary warfare in this case belongs to the early part of the 9th century, but from its connection with the earlier struggle in the Eastern Church, and as throwing light on the tone of thought on this subject in the Western Church during the preceding period, it is of too much importance to be passed over here.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the publication by Cladius, bishop of Turin (820 A.D.), of a fierce attack on the doctrine of the adoration of the cross and of images. Further he ordered the removal of crosses from all the churches of his diocese. When urged by a letter from a certain Abbot Theodemir to reconsider his views, he retorted, in a long treatise, that the Gauls and Germans were held in the nets of superstition. This work Joann, bishop of Orleans, answers in detail in his treatise *De Cultu Imaginum* (*Patrol.* cvi. 305), in which he appeals largely to the writings of the Fathers of the earlier centuries, and discusses the objections of Cladius seriatim. See especially *op. cit.* 331, where he meets Cladius's remarks as to the superstition of the votaries of the cross: "Nos ob recordationem Salvatoris nostri crucem pictam veneramus atque adoramus."

Other writers of the time joined in the fray, as Theodemir above mentioned; Eginhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, in a work *De Adoranda Cruce* not now extant; Wistremir, archbishop of Toledo (cf. Pseudo-Liutprand, *Chronicon*; *Patrol.* cxxxvii. 1103); and a priest named Dungalus, who (about the year 828 A.D.) wrote a treatise dedicated to Louis the Pious and his son Lothaire: "Pro cultu sacrarum imaginum adversus insanas blasphemias naenias Claudii Taurinensis Episcopi" (*Patrol.* cv. 457 sqq.). [R. S.]

CROSS, EXALTATION OF (*Exaltatio Crucis, ἡ ὑψώσις τοῦ σταυροῦ*). This festival, held on September 14, most probably celebrates primarily the consecration of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem by Bishop Macarius at the command of Constantine (335 A.D.), although some would see in it a commemoration of the Vision of the Cross seen by the Emperor.

It is, however, to the victory of Heraclius over the Persians and his subsequent restoration of the Cross to its shrine at Jerusalem that the renown of the festival is mainly due.

Still there are not wanting indications of its observance before that event, in both the Eastern and Western Churches. Thus in the *Acti* of the Egyptian penitent Mary, whose death is referred to 421 A.D., it is apparently recognized as a thoroughly established festival at Jerusalem: thus, e. g. . . . τῆς ὑψώσεως ἐνεκεν τοῦ τιμῶν σταυροῦ, ἧς μετ' ἄλλας ἡμέρας εἰσὶν ἡγεῖσθαι (*Acta S. Mariæ Aegypt.* c. 19, in *Acta Sanctorum* for April 2; also in *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvii. 3711).

In the life (c. 70) of the Patriarch Eutychius (ob. 582 A.D.) by his chaplain Eustathius, this festival is spoken of as celebrated in Constantinople on September 14 (*Acta Sanctorum* for April 6); and in the 7th century the Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem refers to it as a feast then widely known. He adds that the Festival of the Exaltation had formerly (πάλαι) preceded that of the *ἀνάστασις* (that is, the annual commemoration on September 13 of the dedication of the church at Jerusalem), but now the order had been reversed (*Oratio in Exaltationem S. Crucis* in Gretser, *De Cruce*, vol. ii. p. 90, ed. 1608).

Again, an observance of the festival in the Western Church prior to Heraclius's victory may be inferred from our finding it in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, and from its designation simply as *Exaltatio S. Crucis*, without any allusion to Heraclius, in the earlier Latin Martyrologies, as in that attributed to Jerome (*Patrol.* xxx. 475); it may be added that this is also the case with those of Bede and Rabanus Maurus (*ib.* xciv. 1044, cx. 1168).

The circumstances attending the victory of Heraclius are briefly these. In the year 614 Jerusalem was taken by the Persian king Chosroes II., and after the slaughter of many thousands of Christians, and the destruction, partially at any rate, of the church of the Holy Sepulchre by fire, a long train of captives was led away, among whom was the Patriarch Zacharias, and with him the cross said to have been discovered by Helena [CROSS, FINDING OF], which was sealed up in a case by the patriarch himself. After some years of uninterrupted success on the part of the Persian king, during which the empire was reduced to the very verge of dissolution, Heraclius at last declared war (622 A.D.), and after three expeditions the boldness of which was justified by their success, the tide was turned and the Persian king worsted, until at

* Nestophorus (*vide infra*) styles the patriarch Modestus, though the other historians unite in calling him Zacharias. The error, for such it probably is, has been explained by supposing Modestus to have acted as deputy for Zacharias during his captivity (see Clinton, *Fasts Romani*, vol. II. p. 170); or that the latter died shortly after his return to Jerusalem, and was succeeded by the former (Petavius *in loc.*)

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Patriarch Eutychius in Eustathius, celebrated in Constantinian *Sanctorum* for April by the Patriarch Society to it as a feast then at the festival of the *ἄδραξ*) preceded that the annual commemoration of the dedication of but new the order *in Exaltationem Crucis*, vol. ii. p. 90,

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lat he was deposed and murdered by his son Siroes (628 A.D.).

The new sovereign speedily concluded a peace with the emperor, one of the conditions specially insisted on by the latter being the restoration of the cross, with which borne before him, as he rode in a chariot drawn by four elephants, Heraclius entered Constantinople. In the following spring he made a pilgrimage with the recovered cross to Jerusalem, where the patriarch recognized his own unbroken seals on the case containing the precious relics (*τὰ ἑλμία καὶ ζωοποιόγια*, as Theophanes [*vide infra*] constantly styles it), thus preserved it is said by Sira the wife of Chosroes. Heraclius wished himself to carry the cross to its shrine, but before treading on the sacred ground he was bidden to divest himself of his splendid array, that so barefoot and clad in a common cloak he might more resemble the humble guise of the Saviour. Some of the Martyrologies referred to below remark that the emperor was held by some invisible power from entering upon the sacred precincts till he had so divested himself^b (cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, vol. I. pp. 503, 504, ed. Classen; Nicephorus, *Byzantium*, pp. 11 A, 15 A; *Chronicon Paschale*, vol. I. p. 704, ed. Dindorf; and more generally for the history of the period, Cedrenus, vol. I. pp. 717 sqq. ed. Bekker; also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. 46).

Thus was the cross once more "exalted" into its resting-place, and the festival of the "Exaltation of the Cross" obtained fresh renown. Before long, possibly under Pope Honorius I. (ob. 638 A.D.), September 14 came to be observed as a festival with special memory of the restoration of the cross by Heraclius: the Eastern Church, which has not strictly speaking a separate festival of the Finding of the Cross, commemorates also on that day the original discovery by the Empress Helena.

This festival is referred to more or less fully by all Martyrologies under September 14. Of those of Jerome, Bale, and Rabanus Maurus we are already spoken. We may further specify that of Wandelbert [deacon of monastery at Trèves in the time of the Emperor Lothaire] where we find (*Patrol.* cxxi. 611)

^a *Exaltata Crucis fulgent vexilla rotæ, Festate .b indigna victor quum vexit Heraclius.*"

In the Martyrologies of Ado and Usuardus we find a further addition: "Sed et procurrentibus annis, papa Sergius miræ magnitudinis portione ejusdem liguli in sacrorio Beati Petri Domino revelante reperit, quæ annis omnibus [sic Basilica Salvatoris quæ appellatur Constantiniana,] Ado] ipso die Exaltationis ejus ab omni esculatore et adoratore populo" (*Patrol.* cxxiii. 170, 356; cxxiv. 467). See also the Martyrology of Netker (ob. cxi. 1151), and for various forms of ancient Western Calendars containing a mention of this festival, see *Patrol.* cxxviii. 1188, 1191, &c. Besides this, we may again refer to the presence of this festival in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries. The

^a It may be remarked that the historians of the reign of Heraclius vary somewhat in the dates they assign to the above events. We have followed those given by Chron. *Posti Romanus*, vol. II. pp. 163, 170. The taking of Jerusalem is referred to a later campaign by Theophanes (l. c.).

collect for the day in the latter of these has been cited in the article on the Adoration of the Cross, that in the former runs as follows:—"Deus qui nos holierna die Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis annua solemnitate heticis, preusta unicujus mysterium in terra cognovimus, ejus redemptionis præmia consequamur."

The Eastern Church, as we have already said, includes in the festival of September 14 the two festivals of the Finding and of the Exaltation of the Cross. As in the Calendars of the Western Church, so also in those of the Eastern Church is it invariably found. Thus in the Greek metrical calendar given by Papebroch in the *Acta Sanctorum* (vol. i. of May), we find under September 13, *μήμη των ἑκατοντων τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ προόδου τῆς ὑψώσεως τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιόγια σταυροῦ*; that is, as has been already explained, they celebrated the dedication of the Church built by the Emperor Constantine to commemorate our Lord's resurrection. We further gather that the festival of the Exaltation had its *προέδρια* or vigil. The notice for September 14 is *ὁλόθη δεκάτη σταυροῦ ἔβλου ἡδὲ τετάρτη*; and the fact is also recognized in the pictorial Moscow Calendar accompanying the preceding. The Octave also of the festival (September 21) is given in the Menology under that day, *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀποβόσται ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ*. See also the Calendar of the Arabian Church given by Selden (*De Significis Ebraeorum*, iii. 376, ed. 1655), where September 14 is marked "Festum Crucis gloriose"; as also in those of the Ethiopic or Abyssinian and of the Coptic Church given by Ludolf (p. 3). We also learn from him that in the case of the latter of these churches, the festival extends over three days, September 13-15, marked respectively "Festum C. gl. (primum, &c.)."

Further, the Ethiopic Church, as well as several other branches of the Eastern Church, recognizes in addition a festival of the Cross in May, possibly having more or less reference to the "Inventio Crucis" of the Latin Church (*op. cit.* p. 17; Gretser, vol. i. 232; see also several Eastern Calendars in Neale, *Holy Eastern Church*, Introd. pp. 773, 799, 813). The proper lessons for this festival in the Syrian Church, as marked in the *Peshito*, are, for Vespers, Matt. xxiv. (possibly on account of verse 30); for Liturgy, Luke xxi. 5 sqq.; and for Matins, Mark xii. 41 sqq. (Gretser, l. c.).

In addition to the works named in this article, reference should be made to Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Kathol. Kirche*, vol. v. part 1, pp. 435 sqq. See also Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. *ὑψώσις*. [L. S.]

CROSS, FINDING OF. (*Inventio Crucis*.)

I. *Introduction*.—By this name is to be understood the discovery which tradition asserts that the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine, made of the cross on which our Lord suffered. The earliest account we have of the exploration for the Holy Sepulchre is that given by Eusebius (*Vita Const.* iii. 26 sqq.), who relates Constantine's determination to remove the abominations that defiled the holy place and build there a Christian shrine, as detailed in the emperor's letter to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem (*op. cit.* fo. 30; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 17; Theo-

doret I 18), but no allusion whatever is made to a discovery of the cross. Some have indeed argued that an expression in Constantine's letter to Macarius is better suited to the discovery of the cross than of the grave—*τὸ γὰρ πρόσωπον τοῦ κυρίου σου λαίψου πάθος ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς αἰχμῆς κρυβασένον . . .* but a comparison with c. 28 would sufficiently account for the above quoted language, and it is hard to understand that Eusebius should have lost so good an opportunity of glorifying Constantine, had a real or supposed discovery of our Lord's cross taken place under his auspices.* The date of Helena's alleged discovery, is 326 A.D.; yet in the *Liberarianus Bardoianense*, the record of a journey to Jerusalem in 333 A.D., only seven years after this date, there is no reference to the finding of the cross, even in a context where we might certainly have looked for it: "Crypta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertia die resurrexit; *ibidem* modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris basilica facta est" (*Patrol.* viii. 791).

The earliest mention we have of the Finding of the Cross is in the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered rather more than twenty years after Helena's alleged discovery; in which, though he does not allude to the narrative in the form given by subsequent writers, he yet says that fragments cut off from the cross were spread over the whole world (*Catech.* iv. 10; x. 19; xiii. 4; *Patrol. Gr.* xxiii. 468, 685, 776), and he also alludes to the Finding of the Cross in a letter written some years later to Constantius, the son of Constantine, on the occasion of a luminous cross appearing in the sky over Jerusalem (*Ep. ad Const.* c. 3, *op. cit.* 1168). From the beginning of the fifth century onwards all ecclesiastical writers take the truth of the narrative in its main form for granted, though sundry variations of detail occur.

II. *Legend.*—The general tenour of the tradition is that an attempt had been made (by Hadrian, or at any rate, in his time, according to Jerome, *Epist.* 58, *Patrol.* xx. 321) to destroy every trace of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, that the ground had there been raised to a considerable height, and temples and statues to Jupiter and Venus erected thereon. On the death of Licinius, whom Constantine charges with the continuance of the evil, it was determined to purify the sacred places, and this resolution of the Emperor was carried out by his mother Helena, who went in person to Jerusalem, and by the Bishop Macarius. By the Divine guidance (and by the aid of a Jew, one Judas, afterwards baptized as Quiriacus, according to Gregory of Tours and others, *infra*) the spot was discovered, and the superimposed earth having been removed, the sepulchre was seen with three crosses of gold, and separate from these the superscription which Pilate had attached to that

of our Lord. Not knowing which of the three crosses was the one they sought, Macarius caused them to be successively presented to the touch of a noble lady of Jerusalem then lying at the point of death. The first two crosses produced no effect, but at the touch of the third the sick woman rose up before them perfectly healed, thus showing that it was upon this that the Saviour had suffered. One part of the cross set in silver was entrusted to Macarius to be carefully guarded in Jerusalem, and the remainder, together with the nails was forwarded to Constantine. One of the nails was attached to his helmet, and another to the bridle of his horse, in fulfilment, according to sundry fathers, of the prophecy of Zechariah xiv. 20.^b

For the above tradition, see Socrates (*l. c.*), Theodoret (*l. c.*), Sozomen (*lit.* 1), Ambrose (*de obitu Theodosii*, c. 46; *Patrol.* xvi. 1399), Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. Sacra*, ii. 34; *Patrol.* xx. 148), Rufinus (*Hist.* i. 7, 8; *Patrol.* xli. 1475), Paulinus of Nola (*Ep. ad Severum* xli; *Patrol.* lxi. 325), Gregory of Tours (*Liber Miraculorum*, i. 5 seq.; *Patrol.* lxxi. 709), Cyril of Alexandria also (*Comm. in Zech.* in loc.; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxii. 271) refers to it as the current history in his day. Chrysostom evidently believed in the discovery of the cross, and speaks of the practice of conveying small portions of it about as amulets (*quod Christus sibi D. us*, c. 10; *Patrol.* Gr. xlviii. 829).

One or two further details might be added. Socrates states that the portion of the cross sent to Constantine was by him inclosed in his own statue, which was placed on a column of porphyry in the so-called forum of Constantine in Constantinople, that thus the city might be rendered impregnable by the possession of so glorious a relic. According to Sozomen, besides the miracle wrought on the sick lady, a dead man was instantly restored to life by the touch of the cross; but Paulinus, while mentioning this says nothing of the other miracle. In Ambrose, spite of a protest to the contrary, we see traces of the feeling in which respect for the cross, as a token of Him who hung thereon, drifted into an adoration of the cross itself. Thus Helena is represented as saying, "Ecce locus pugnæ, ubi est victoria? . . . quomodo nec redemptam arbitror, si redemptio ipsa non cernitur?" It may be added that according to Ambrose's version of the history, the inscription is found adhering to the cross it originally belonged to. The occasion of the notice in Paulinus is the sending of a piece of the cross to Severus for a church about to be consecrated, which affords him a natural opportunity for relating the story: he adds, that however much might thus be cut away from the cross, the bulk of the wood miraculously remained undiminished.

III. *Festival.*—With the belief in the discovery of the cross thus widely spread and thus cherished, it is only natural to expect that an annual festival to commemorate it would soon be established; though it is impossible from the want of satisfactory evidence to speak with any certainty as to the actual origin of such festival.

* Montfaucon (*Collectio Nova Patrum*, vol. I. p. viii. ed. 1768) does indeed cite a passage of Eusebius as certainly referring to the cross: *αὶ δε τὰς πόδας ἐπιστήσας τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀμὸν τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μαρτυρῶν τοῦ Σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἐπιτελεσθέντος θαυμασίου, ἀληθῆς εἰσέρχεται ὄψιν τεταλπωρᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ τελευτήματα.* (*Comm. in Psal.* lxxviii. 11). When, however, we find Eusebius silent, where, if anywhere, he might be expected to speak, we cannot attach much weight to a passage of, at best, most doubtful reference.

^b Jerome, however (*Comm. in Zech.* in loc.), speaks of it as one might have expected, "nam sensu quidem plerumque dictam sed ridiculam."

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An attempt has been made to assign its first appointment to Pope Eusebius (ob. 310 A.D.), who, in a letter "Episcopis Tuscanie et Campanie," is made to say "Crucis ergo Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quae nuper nobis gubernacula Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae tenentibus quinto Nonas Martii inventa est, in praesentia Kalendarum die Inventiois festum vobis solemniter celebrare mandamus" (*Patrol.* vii. 1114).

Of course the utter spuriousness of this letter is shown, if by nothing else, by the fact that Pope Eusebius died before Constantine had embraced Christianity, and many years before the work of restoration began at Jerusalem at his command.

Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccles.* viii. 20) asserts that a festival to commemorate the Finding of the Cross was held at Jerusalem in Constantine's time, but appeals to no earlier authority in support of his statement; and in the *Chronicon* of Flavius Lucius Dexter, if the passage be genuine, Pope Sylvester I. (ob. 335 A.D.) is claimed as the originator of the festival: "Festum Iuventionis S. Crucis a Silvestro institutum celebre multis est" (*Patrol.* xxvi. 563). It is not impossible that there may have been a festival peculiar to the Roman Church, before its observance had become general.

Most Western Martyrologies and Calendars mark May 3 as "Inventio S. Crucis," including the ancient Martyrologium Hieronymi (*Patrol.* ix. 435); but there are grounds for doubting the genuineness of the words here, more especially from the fact that they are absent from the very ancient Cod. Epternacensis, as is pointed out by Papebroch (*Acta Sanctorum*; May, vol. i. p. 369). It is found in the Martyrologium Diutinum (*Patrol.* lxxx. 415), the Mart. Romanum Vetus (i. c. cxlii. 158), and those of Rabanus, Ado, Usuardus, and Notker (ob. ex. 1142; cxliii. 256; cxiv. 15; cxvii. 1075); also in a Gallican and an English Martyrology (ob. lxvii. 614, 620), the Mozarabic and the Gothic Calendar (ob. lxxxv. 9; lxxxvi. 39), the Cal. Mutinense (ob. cvl. 821), Hariacense (ob. cxxxviii. 1187).

There is a special office for this day in the Gothic Missal (ob. lxvii. 285), in the Mozarabic Breviary and Missal (ob. lxxxv. 739, lxxxvi. 1119), in the Gelasian Sacramentary (ob. lxxxv. 1162), in the Gregorian Sacramentary and Antiphonary (ob. lxxxvii. 101, 687). To this last we shall again refer.

Some, however, omit the festival altogether, and some give it a secondary place after the names of the Martyrs who are commemorated on this day. Thus there is no mention of it in the Calendar of Leo (ob. lxvii. 878), in the metrical Martyrology of Bede (ob. xciv. 604), in the Sacramentarium Sivaviense (ob. cli. 823), and some others (see in Leslie's note to the Mozarabic Missal in loc.). Again in the Martyrology of Bede given in the *Acta Sanctorum* (March, vol. li. p. xviii.) a long narrative of the Martyrs commemorated on this day is followed by "Ipsa die Iuventio Sanctae Crucis." So too runs the metrical Martyrology of Wandelbert (*Patrol.* cxl. 598):—

"Praesent Alexander quinquas et Evesius orant,
Theodosiusque Dei pariter pro nomine caesi,
His quoque celas crucis radiant vexilla repertae."

* This, however, is doubtless to be connected with the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross (September).

The same is the case with an old English Calendar, which reads "Natale SS. Alexandri, Eueati et Theodoli presbyteri, Inventio Crucis" (ob. xciv. 1151). See also the Cal. Stubulense and the Cal. Brixianum (ob. cxxxviii. 1190, 6270).

In the Gregorian Sacramentary also the mention of the *Inventio Crucis* follows that of the Saints commemorated on this day (as also the Antiphonary in the MSS.), and Méaulx (note in loc.) states that in the most ancient MSS. this festival is altogether wanting.

In the list of feasts to be observed given in the *Capitulare* of Ahyto or Hatto (appointed Bishop of Basle in 808 A.D.) there is no mention of the *Inventio Crucis* (*Patrol.* cxv. 12), and in the *Capitula* of Walter, bishop of Orleans (857 A.D.), the festivals of the *Inventio Crucis* and *Exaltatio Crucis* are appended to the end of cap. xvii. "De Sanctorum festivitatibus indicendis et observandis" (ob. cxix. 742), as though they had been introduced at a later date than the others mentioned.

All this evidence seems, as far as it goes, to point either to the fact that the festival was established at a comparatively late date, or that it was for some time of local rather than general observance. Papebroch (*Acta Sanctorum* in loc. c. lii.) suggests 720 A.D. as approximately the date of the general recognition of the festival, but the reference above to its absence in documents of even later date will incline us to look upon the end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th as the earliest period we can safely fix on.

Attention may be called here to the fact that several of the above mentioned authorities make an error of at least half a century in the date of Helena's alleged discovery. Thus the Martyrologium Hieronymi speaks of it as "post Passionem Domini anno ducesimo trigesimo tertio," in which it is followed by Florus in the additions to Bede's Martyrology, by Rabanus and others.⁴

The Greek Church has not, properly speaking, a separate festival for the Finding of the Cross, but celebrates this event on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14. Some branches, however, of the Eastern Church do observe a festival of the Finding of the Cross also. Thus in the Calendars of the Ethiopic and Coptic Churches given by Ludolf (*Pisti Sacri Ecclesiae Alexandrinae*), March 6 is marked "Inventio S. Crucis" (p. 22), and, in the case of the former Church, May 4, "Helena reperit Crucem" (p. 27).

Mention may be made here of writings on the subject of the Finding of the Cross referred to in the decrees of a council held at Rome under the presidency of Gelasius: while allowed to be read, their statements are to be received with caution. "Item [recipienda] scripta de Inventionis Crucis Dominicae, . . . novellae quaedam relationes sunt, et nonnulli eas Catholicis legunt. Sed cum haec ad Catholicorum manus pervenerint, beati Pauli Apostoli praececlat sententia, omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete" (*Patrol.* lix. 161). Further, in the *Acta Sanctorum* (May, vol. i. p. 362), Papebroch adduces grounds for believing the unhistorical character of much of this writing,—among other things, the same error in the

⁴ Theophanes (*Chronographia*) makes a similar mistake, and refers the discovery to the year 317 A.D.

date of the Finding, amounting to more than half a century, into which we have already mentioned that several of the late martyrologies have fallen. These writings seem to have found their way to the East and to have been translated into Syriac (see Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. 1. p. 497).

In addition to the books already cited in this article, reference may be made to Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. v. part 1, pp. 368 sqq., to Newman's *Essay on Miracles* recorded in *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. cxliii. sqq., where the truth of the legend is strongly argued for, as also in Gretser, *De Cruce Christi*, vol. 1. lib. 1, cc. 62-64. [R. S.]

CROSS, THE APPARITION OF THE, at Jerusalem, about the third hour of the day, in the time of Constantine, in the year 340, is commemorated May 7 in the *Byzantine and Ethioptic Calendars*. [C.]

CROSS, SIGN OF. [SIGN OF THE CROSS.]

CROWN. Referring to the article **CORONATION** for the distinction between the *corona* or garland, "corona," *στέφανος*, and the *diadem* or fillet, "taenia," "fascia," *διάδημα*, and for fuller details on both to the *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, it is proposed in this article to furnish some description of imperial and regal crowns belonging to our period, the form and ornamentation of which are known to us either from contemporaneous representations or from the crowns themselves having come down to our own time.

From the portraits on their coins it appears that the early emperors adopted the *diadem*, worn either simply or encircling the helmet



Constantine the Great, from Ferrario, *Costumi*.



Heraclius, from Ferrario, *Costumi*.

(*galea diademata*), *cidaris* or *tiara*, with which their head was covered. The coins of Constantine the Great depict him wearing diadems or fillets of various kinds; some ornamented with gems; some enriched with a double row of pearls, with the loose ends of the fillet hanging down over his shoulders. Sometimes he wears a helmet surrounded by a diadem, with a cross in front (Ferrario, *Costumi*, Europa, vol. 1. part 2—Appendice sulla Corona di Ferro). This combination is also seen on the coins of Gratian, Valentinian II., Theodosius, Leo the Great, and Basil. In a drawing given by Ferrario (*u. s.* No. 3), Heraclius, A.D. 610-641, wears a helmet encircled by a gemmed diadem with pendent ends, and a cross above the forehead. The combination of the diadem with the *cidaris* or *tiara* was borrowed from the Orientals, among whom it had been in use from ancient times (Xenoph., *Cyrop.* viii. 3-16; *Κρονος ὑβὴν ἔχων τὴν τιάρην καὶ διάδημα περὶ τὴν τιάρην*; *Anab.* ii. 5; Herod., *vii.* 61; *Aesch. Pers.* p. 668). It was worn by

Zenobia (Trebell. *Hist.* xxix. 1 "ad conclamationes galatata processit cum limbo purpureo gemmis pendentibus per ultimam fibulam"), and was adopted by her conqueror, Aurelian. It is seen in medals under the form of a peaked cap ornamented with gems, rising from a jewelled diadem or fillet, tied behind. The cap in later times assumed the popular name of *tyrhenia*, *tyrpha*, the origin of the modern *turban*. Zonaras de-



Tyrpha, from Ferrario.



Constantine from his Arch at Rome.

scribes the Emperor Basilus, in the 9th century, as *τιάρην ταινιωδέως ὀρθῶς ἢν τοῦσαν καλεῖ ὁ δημότης καὶ πολλὸς εὐρόπαρος*. Its origin, and the history of its adoption, is thus given by Tzetzes, *Chilades*, viii. 184:—

τιάρην σκίην κεφαλῆς ὄψεχε παρὰ Πέρσας, ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς νίκαις ἐξ ἡμῶν οἱ ἀστροφόροι σφαιρὶς κεφαλῆς ἐπέθετο τιάρην ἤτοι τιάρην, ὅταν εὐρώπας φασὶ ἢ ἀφ' ὧν ἔδεικτο ὁ Ἰουστινιανέσιος τοῦ κτίουσι ἐπιάνου.

Another form of the imperial headgear was a low-crowned cap, apparently destitute of diadem or any special distinction of royalty. This was known as **CAMBLAUCIUM** (which see). Constantine appears in this garb on his triumphal arch in Rome (Ferrario, *u. s.* pl. 30, No. 2), and in an illumination from a MS. of the 9th century, representing the Council of Nicaea, given by Agincourt (*Peintures*, pl. 32). Justinian, in the mosaics of the sanctuary of San Vitale at Ravenna, has his head covered with a jeweled cap, while the Empress Theodora wears a tiara surrounded with three circlets of gems. Strings of pearls and other gems hang down from each. These jeweled tassels were known as *κοτασεισίδαι*. (Const. Porphy. *De Coenonion* i. 582; ii. 688.)



Justinian and Theodora, from mosaics at St. Vitale, Ravenna.



The diadem in its original form of a linen or silken riband or fillet gradually went out of use from Justinian's time (*La Barthe, Arts industrielles du Moyen Age*, ii. 39), and was replaced by a flexible band of gold, *στέμμα*, *στέφανος*, sometimes adorned with a band of pearls and precious stones, representing the old *διάδημα*. The name *στέφανος* was in use for the imperial symbol as early as the time of Constantine. Cyril, *Ep. ad Const.* II.: *ἑτέροι . . . ἀπ' ὧν ἔχουσι τὴν*

τιάρην σου ἢ *στέφανον* σου ἐπιπέσειν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν σου. This was closed by gems. From name of *tyrpha* status Bibl.



form of *στέμμα* &c.). Exemplified in the annexed A.D. 602-610, p. 14, A.D. 707-8 the royal treasury of various colorings to the enamel. These circlets d-



Photos from a mosaic of Ferrario, *u. s.* p. 28, N.

by Claudian in Theodosius, Arcadius of the 4th century. The most ancient preserved in the Louvre, in the sort of the 7th century in number.

The most ancient preserved in the Louvre, in the sort of the 7th century in number. "Corona Ferrea"; (3) that of Theodora taken to Paris in 1804, by mistake it was deposited most celebrated of

(1) *The Iron Crown of Queen Theodora*. This crown is formed of metal, united by pearls, divided by pearls, the other part is covered with precious stones. The gem in the centre, or basal knob, is a diamond, in red and blue. The tall nubs set vertically, gem, and two rose meet without an inter-

τιμῆν σου ἢ λακίαν στεφάνου σου κεφαλῆν, χρυσοκαλλήτους στεφάνου λίθοις διαγυριστάτοις κλειδίαισι προσκομίζουτες. This circlet was closed by a cap of rich stuff decorated with gems. From being shut in at the top it took the name of *ἑσπέρικαιστος*, which appears in Anastasius Bibl. and other authors in the perplexing



Dilem, from Ferrario.

form of *spanocista* (Anast. Bibl. *Pisciculis*, 434, &c.). Examples of this form of crown are given in the annexed woodcuts of the Emperor Phocas, A.D. 602-610, and the Empress Irene, wife of Leo IV, A.D. 797-802. In the time of Const. Porphyry, the royal treasury contained circlets or *stemandia* of various colours, white, green, and blue, according to the enamel with which they were coated. These circlets decorated with gems are mentioned



Phocas, from a medal, Ferrario, pl. 28, No. 5.



Irene, wife of Leo IV, from a medal, Ferrario, lb.

by Claudian in connection with the two sons of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius, towards the end of the 4th century. "Et vario lapidum distincto igne coronas" (*Idem*, *Cons. Stilic.* h. ii. 92.).

The most ancient examples of crowns are those long preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Monza, in Lombardy, belonging to the early part of the 7th century. These crowns were three in number; (1) the so-called *Iron Crown*, "*Corona Ferrea*;" (2) the crown of Agilulf, and (3) that of Theodelinda. Agilulf's crown was taken to Paris as a prize of war by Napoleon I., in 1804, by mistake for the Iron Crown, and was stolen from the "Cabinet des Medailles," in which it was deposited, and melted down. The most celebrated of these crowns is—

(1) *The Iron Crown of Lombardy*, the reputed gift of Queen Theodelinda, who died A.D. 628. This crown is formed of six plates of gold, each double, united by as many hinges of the same metal. The face of each plate exhibits two parts, divided by spiral threads; one long, and squareish, the other tall and narrow. The plate is covered with emerald-green semitransparent enamel. The long panels contain a large gem in the centre, surrounded by four gold roses, or floral knobs, from which ramify small stalks and flowers, in red, blue, and opaque-white enamel. The tall narrow plaques contain three gems set vertically. One plaque has only one gem, and two roses. The two centre plaques meet without an intervening plaque. The number

of gems is 22; of gold roses, 26; and of enamels, 24. Within the golden circlet thus formed is the iron ring, from which is derived the designation of the "Iron Crown" (which, however, Ferrario asserts, is comparatively modern, never being found in the rituals of the churches of Milan and Monza before the time of Otto IV., A.D. 1175. Before this epoch even its advocate Bellani allows it appears in the inventories as *Corona Aurea*). This is a narrow iron band .04 inch thick and .4 inch broad, united at the extremities by a small nail, and connected with the articulated plates of the crown by little pins. Bellani asserts that it was hammered into shape, and bears no marks of the file. Burges, a more trustworthy authority, states that the marks of the file are clearly visible. (*Arch. Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 14.) This iron ring, as is well-known, is regarded as a relic of the greatest sanctity, being reputed to have been fashioned out of one of the nails of the true cross. This belief cannot be traced further back than the latter part of the 16th century. The existence of the band of iron is mentioned by Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Julius II. d. 1464) in his *Hist. Aust.* lib. iv., but simply as *hincina quaedam*, without a hint at its supposed sanctity, and with an expression of contempt for the allegorical meaning assigned to its employment in the coronation of the emperors, as denoting *stultitia*—"stultae interpretationis efficit locum." According to Muratori (*De Coron. Ferr. Comment.*, A.D. 1698), Bugatus is the first author who mentions



The Iron Crown of Lombardy, at Monza Cathedral.

it (*Attk. ad Hist. Univ.* 1587). He was followed by Zucchi (*Hist. Cor. Ferr.* 1613), whose violations of truth Muratori holds it charitable to attribute to gross carelessness. Two years before the publication of Bugatus' book, A.D. 1585, a letter, sent from the archpriest of Monza to Pope Sixtus V., quoted by Muratori, speaks of the Iron Crown as a most precious possession of his church, as having been used from early times for the coronation of the Roman emperors (even this fact is doubtful), but distinguishes it from the relics properly so called, and makes no allusion to its having been wrought out of a nail of the crucifixion. From the 16th century onwards the belief gained strength, but having been discredited by the searching historical investigations of Muratori in the treatise referred to above, the worship of the crown as a sacred relic was alternately suspended and re-enforced by decrees and counter-decrees of the ecclesiastical authorities, until in 1688 the matter was laid before the Congregation of Relics at Rome. A process was instituted, which lingered on till 1717, when a diplomatic sentence was pronounced, leaving the chief point—the identity of the iron ring with the nail—undecided, but sanctioning its

"and conchones galere auree gemmis deperantibus") and was Aureliana. It is seen in a peaked cap ornamented with a jewelled diadem cap in later times of *ἑσπέρικου*, *τοῦ*, *urban*. Zonarus de-



Constantine from his Arch at Nisus.

In the 9th century, *ἡ τοῦ* *καλι* *ἰ* *ρος*. Its origin, and it, is thus given by

ἡ παρὰ Πάφου, μὲν ἰ στερφύρου ἀράς ἵπας τυφας, ἄς ἑστίος ἑ ἑάνου.

A headgear was a low, flat, of diadem or any. This was known as Constantine appears in Rome (Ferrario) in an illumination of the 15th century, representing by Agincourt (*Penitence*) in the mosaic of the Ravenna, has his head, while the Empress surrounded with three of pearls and other. These jewelled *στασεῖσσι*. (Const. ii. 688.)



Relic at St. Vitale, Ravenna.

A form of a linen or woolly went out of use in the 12th century. It was replaced by a flexible *στέφανος*, sometimes pearls and precious stones. The name imperial symbol as mentioned. Cyril, *Ἐπὶ* *ἁ* *ῶν* *ἑ* *χ* *ρ* *ο* *ῖ* *ς* *τ* *ῆ* *ρ*

being exposed to the adoration of the faithful, and carried in processions.

The chain of evidence connecting the Iron Crown with the crucifixion nail is very precarious, and shows some alarming gaps. According to the statement of Justus Fontanus (Archbishop of Ancona, *De Coron. Ferr.* 1719), who wrote in defence of its genuineness, the inner ring was believed to have been formed out of one of the two nails given by the Empress Helena, after her discovery of the true cross on Calvary, to her son Constantine. One of these was made into a bit for the emperor's bridle (in allusion to Zech. xiv. 20); the other was used in a head-covering—a diadem, according to some authorities (Ambros. *De Obitu Theod. Magn.*); a helmet, according to others, and those the most credible. Constantine's idea seems indeed to have been that so sacred an amulet allixed to his helmet would be a protection to him in battle, "gula belli usibus aptum" (Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* x. 8; Soer. i. 17; Soz. ii. 1; Theod. i. 18; Cassiod. i. 18). The orthodox theory identifies the Monza crown with the diadem supposed to have been presented by Helena to Constantine, which passed, no one knows when or how (it is needless to enumerate the more or less probable hypotheses), from Constantinople to Rome, and is affirmed—a fact of which there is absolutely no evidence—to have been sent as a present by Gregory the Great to Queen Theodelinda; although it is in the highest degree improbable that Gregory, who is known to have been "tenax reliquiarum," should have parted with a relic of such supreme sanctity, while, if such a precious gift had been made, it could not fail to have been mentioned by Gregory when describing his donations (Greg. Mag. *Ep.* xii. [vii.] lib. xiv. [xii.]). The view of Bellani (canon of Monza, who wrote an elaborate treatise (Milano, 1819) in answer to Ferrario's *Appendice sulla Corona di Ferro. Costumi, Europa*, vol. iii.) is that the iron ring and the gold circlet were originally distinct; that the former is the sacred relic affixed to the helmet of Constantine, while the latter was primarily a diadem, open behind, and fastened to the head by clasps, the extremities of which were united in the present shape when it was adapted to the iron ring. The view of Muratori, which appears the most probable, dissipates all notion of sacred interest attaching to the iron ring, which he considers to have been inserted within the gold circle, as in the crown of Charlemagne (see *post*), simply for the purpose of giving firmness to the articulated plates.

However it may have reached Italy, the character of the workmanship of the Iron Crown proves its Byzantine origin. La Barte, who holds this as an incontrovertible fact, remarks that the art of working in enamel had not penetrated into Italy in the time of Theodelinda (*Les Arts industriels d' Mo. en Age, ii.* 56 sq.).

The small size of the crown, barely large enough for the head of a child of two years old, the internal diameter being 6 inches (its height is 2.4 inches), leads to the conclusion that it was never intended for ordinary wearing, but was a suspensory or votive crown, with a cross and lamp usually depending from it, hung over the altar, and employed temporarily, on the occasion of coronations, for placing on the sovereign's head as a symbol of royalty, and then returned

again to its place. Such crowns are seen hanging over the altar in a bas-relief of a coronation, now in the S. transept of Monza cathedral (see the woodcut p. 460), exactly resembling that which is being placed on the sovereign's head. In the church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, also, according to Codinus, the royal *στέφανος* were suspended over the holy table, and were only worn on high festivals. Ducauge (*Constant. Christiana*) also informs us that the Greek emperors were inaugurated with one of the lamp-bearing crowns ordinarily hanging over the altar [CORONA LUCIS].

(For the history of the Iron Crown, see Muratori, *De Coron. Ferr. Comment.* Meliolan. et Lips. 1719; also *Anecd. Lat.* ii. 267 sq.; Fontanini *De Corona Ferrea*, 1617; Frisi, *Memorie Storiche di Monza*, ii.; Zucchi, *Hist. Coron. Ferr.* 1317; De Mur, *Dissert. de Coron. Reg. Ital. vulgo Ferrea dicta*, 1810; Bellani, *La Corona Ferrea del Regno d'Italia*, 1819; Ferrario, *Costumi, Europa*, iii. *Appendice sulla Corona di Ferro*; La Barte, *Les Arts industriels du Moyen Age*, ii. 56 sq.)

(2) *The Crown of Agilulf.*—This hopelessly lost treasure takes its name from Theodelinda's



Crown of Agilulf.

second husband, chosen by her A.D. 591, on the death of Authar. From its small size, even less than the Iron Crown, it is evident that it was not intended for ordinary wear, but was a votive, suspensory crown. This is also proved by the inscription it bore: "† Agilulf. Graf. Di. vir. glor. rar. totius. Ital. offeret. s'co Johanni. Baptist. in. Eccl. Medicea." A gold cross depended from it, with a large amethyst in the middle, two gems in each arm and four large pearls. Seven little chains with pendent acorns hung from the cross. The crown itself was a circle of gold, decorated with 15 arched niches of laurel boughs containing figures of our Lord seated between two angels, and the Twelve apostles standing. It bore a circle of emeralds, carbuncles, and pearls above.

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The inscription was in enamel. The clumsiness of execution leads La Barte u. s. to the conclusion that this and the following crown were of Lombard, not Byzantine workmanship.

(3) *The Crown of Theodelinda*.—This is a plain circlet, enriched with a vast quantity of gems of more or less value, chiefly emeralds and pearls, and a great many pieces of mother-of-pearl. From it depends a cross, also set with emeralds and pearls. (For these crowns consult Muratori, *Ant. R. i.* 460; Ferrario, u. s. iii. 70; Frisi,



Crown of Theodelinda.

Memorie di Monza, l. pl. vi. p. 42; vol. ii. 76; Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 28; La Barte, ii. 56, *Burgas Arch. Journ.* vol. xiv.)

(4) *Crowns of Reccesvinthus, King of the Spanis Visigoths, and his Queen and Family*.—These eight gold crowns belonging to the 7th century, now in the museum of the Hôtel de Clugy, were discovered buried in the earth at Fuente de Guarrazar in 1858, having probably been interred early in the 8th century on the invasion of the Saracens. The whole of the crowns found were evidently, from their form and dimensions, votive crowns, probably dedicated by the king and queen and chief officers of the court. The crown of Reccesvinthus, who reigned A.D. 659-675, is one of the most gorgeous and remarkable relics of its age, composed of a fillet jointed and formed of a double plate of purest gold. It measures about 9 inches in diameter, or 27 inches in circumference. The hoop is about 4 inches broad, and more than half an inch in thickness. The rims of the hoop are formed of bands of interlocking circles in cloisonné work in red and green, with incrustations of cornelian. It is enriched with thirty uncut sapphires of large size, alternating with as many very large Oriental pearls, forming three rows. The intervening spaces are pierced with open work, and engraved so as to represent foliage and flowers. To the lower edge of this hoop is suspended by small chains a very remarkable fringe of gold letters about 2 inches long, incrustated with gems, with a pendant pearl and sapphire attached to each, forming the inscription—

† RECCESVINTIUS REX OFFERET.

A little below the fringe of letters hangs a massive Latin cross mounted with six fine sapphires

and eight large pearls, with jewelled pendants attached to its foot and limbs. To the upper margins are attached four golden chains of beautiful design, by which it might be suspended, uniting in a foliated ornament, and surmounted by a knob of rock crystal, with sapphires hanging round.

A second crown discovered in the same place has been assigned with much probability to the queen of Reccesvinthus. In form and arrangement it corresponds to that of the king, but the enrichments are less gorgeous. Like that, it is formed in two pieces with a hinge, to adapt it to the head of the wearer. The hoop is set with fifty-four gems, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and



Crown of Reccesvinthus.

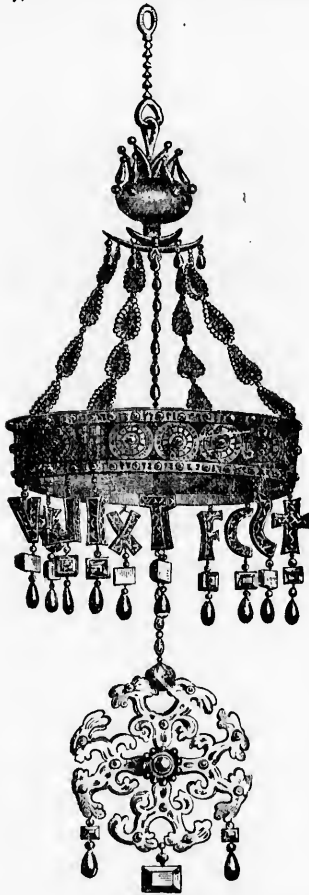
opals. From the lower rim hang eight sapphires. There is no inscription. The pendant cross is covered with jewels, but less costly than those on the former one.

The six smaller crowns are reasonably supposed to have belonged to the younger members of this royal family. Three of these are gold hoops without pendant crosses, jewelled, enriched with *repoussé* work and mother-of-pearl. One is decorated with an arcade of little round-headed arches, and has a fringe of rock crystal. The other three are of a very singular construction. They consist of a kind of open framework or basketwork of gold, formed of three horizontal

circlets, connected by numerous uprights, gems being set at the points of intersection. Each crown is richly decorated with as many as fifty-four precious stones and pearls, and is terminated with the fringe of sapphires and the pendant cross. One of the crosses presents the dedicatory inscription—

† IN DEI NOMINE OFFERET SONNICA
SANCTE MARIE IN SORBACES.

"Few relics of the period," writes Mr. Albert Way, *Archaeol. Journal*, xvi. 258, "deserve com-



Crown of Svintila.

parison with this precious regalia, both in barbaric magnificence of enrichment, and in the impressive effect of so sumptuous a display of natural gems remarkable for their dimensions

and lustrous brilliancy." (Lasteyrie, *Description du Trésor de Guirrazar*, Paris, 1860. La Barte, *Arts Indust.*, i. 499 sq.)

(5) *The Crown of Svintila*.—Svintila was king of the Visigoths, A.D. 621-631. His crown, preserved in the royal armoury at Madrid, is of massive gold enriched with sapphires and pearls set rose fashion between two borders set with delicate stones. From the lower rim hangs a fringe of open letters of gold, set with red glass, suspended by chains of double links, with pendant pear-shaped sapphires. The letters form the inscription,

SVINTILANVS REX OFFERT.

(*Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq.* ii. 11. José Amador de los Ríos, *El Arte Latino-Byzantino*, Madrid, 1861.)

These Spanish crowns are considered by La Barte to be of Spanish workmanship. Lasteyrie, on the other hand, assigns to them a Gothic origin, and, with less probability, thinks that they were brought into Spain by North German barbarians.

The suspensory form of these crowns and the inscriptions some of them present prove that they were of a votive character, and were dedicated to God by the king and his family on some memorable occasion, to be hung up over the altar. But this does not preclude their previous use as crowns for wearing. That such was their primary destination is rendered almost certain by the variation in diameter of the different circlets, and by the hinges and fastenings which facilitated their being fitted to the wearer's head. The queen's crown also has little loops, above and below, for attaching a lining or cap within the gold circlet, to prevent it from galling the wearer's brows.

(6) *The Crown of Charlemagne*.—This crown, preserved in the treasury at Vienna, is evidently made up of portions belonging to different epochs. It is composed of eight round-headed plaques of gold; four larger, enriched with emeralds and sapphires *en cabochon*, and four smaller, presenting enamelled figures of David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Christ. Strength and unity are imparted to the whole by the insertion of two little circlets of iron. A jewelled cross rises from the apex of the front plaque, from which an enamelled arch stretches over the head to the back, bearing the name of the Emperor Conrad, A.D. 1138. The costumes of the figures in the enamels are Byzantine. (Haugard-Mangé, *Les Arts somptuaires*, Paris, 1858, p. 31, vol. ii. p. 31.)

Authorities.—In addition to the treatises of Muratori, Fontaninus, and Bellani, named above, we may refer the student to the following:—Bayer, *De duob. Diadem.* in *Mus. Nap. Comment. Acad. Scient. Imp. Pet. op. l. viii.* 1736. Agincourt, Seroux d', *Art par les Monuments, Sculpture, Peinture*. W. Barges, "On the Treasures at Monza," *Archaeol. Journ.* xiv. Ciampini, *Vet. Monim.* xiv. p. 107. Guenebault, *Diction. iconogr. des Monuments*, Paris, 1843, and *Glossaire liturgique in Annales de Philosophie chrétienne*, xi. Ferrario, *Costume antico e moderno d'Europa*, vol. i. pt. 1, vol. iii. pt. 1, *Appenire sulle Coronat.* Ferrero, vol. i. pt. 2, Haugard-Mangé, *Les Arts somptuaires*, Paris, 1858. La Barte, *Les Arts industriels*. Migne, *Encycl. Theol.* xvii. Di-

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Musée de Cluny, Paris, 1861. Way, "On the
Crowns of Guartazar," *Arch. Journal*, xvi.
[E. V.]



Crown of Chalcidiana.

CROWNS FOR BRIDES.—These two uses
of crowns or
wreaths, as connected with Christian social life,
seem to call for a separate notice. In each case
there was a custom belonging to a non-Christian
period. The bridal crown, of Greek origin, had
been adopted by the Romans, and was in uni-
versal use, sometimes worn by the bride alone,
sometimes by the bridegroom also. The rigorous-
ness of early Christian feeling rejected the use of
coronae generally, as connected either with the
excesses of heathen feasts, or the idolatry of
heathen worship. Christians were to avoid mar-
riages with heathen women lest they should be
tempted to put the evil thing upon their brows
(Tertull. *de Coronâ*, c. 13). Flowers might be
worn as a bouquet, or held in the hand, but not
upon the head. It was not long, however, before
the natural beauty of the practice freed itself
from the old associations and reasserted its claim.
It is probable that the objections to it were never
very widely entertained. In the time of Chry-
sostom it was again a common usage. Bridegroom
and bride were crowned as victors, assuming their
parity, over the temptations of the flesh. It
was a shock to Christian feeling when the wreaths
were worn by the impure (*Rom. ix. in 1 Tim.*).
The bridegroom's wreath was for the most part
of myrtle (Sidon. Apollin. *Carm. II. ad Anthem.*),
the bride's of verbenæ. The prominence of the
rite in the Eastern church has led the whole
marriage service to be described in the Greek
ἑπιφάνη as the Ἀκολουθία τοῦ στεφανώ-

ματος; and the ceremony itself, as probably
handed down from an early period, deserves
mention here. First, the bridegroom solemnly
crowns the bride in the name of the Father, the
Son, and the Holy Ghost. Then the bride in like
manner crowns the bridegroom. The bride in
priest blesses them with the thrice-repeated
words, "O Lord our God, crown them with
glory and honour."

The use of wreaths for burials, common
among both Greeks and Romans, on the head of
the corpse, on the bier, on the tomb, was for
like reasons rejected by the more rigorous
teachers. The disciples of Christ were to seek
an incorruptible crown, the amaranth which
grows on no earthly soil (Clem. Alex. *Paedag.*
ii. 8). To those who had been accustomed to
shew their honour to the dead by this outward
sign, this refusal seemed cruel and unfeeling;
and Christians had to defend themselves against
the charge, "Coronae etiam sepulcris denegatis"
(Minuc. Fel. c. 12), with the answer, "Nec ad-
floribus viridem coronam, sed a Deo aeternis
viridem sustinemus" (*ibid.* c. 37). Here
also, after a time, though less formally in the
case of the nuptial crown, the old practice was
revived with a higher significance. The crown
appears on tombs and paintings as the symbol
of martyrdom; and modern Christendom repro-
duces, without misgiving, the practice which
the ancient Church rejected. [E. H. F.]

CRUCIFIX and REPRESENTATIONS
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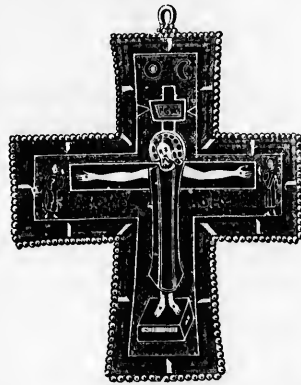
distinguish between the use of the crucifix as an object of lustre or of devotion, and that of pictorial or other representations of the Crucifixion as a scene. Every variety and combination of the arts of sculpture, mosaic, painting, and engraving has been applied to this great subject from early times, and to all parts of it; and this distinction is one of principle as well as convenience. The modern crucifix and its use of course form no part of the subject. Within the limits of our period, all representations of the crucified Form of our Lord alone, as well as pictures, reliefs, and mosaics, in which that Form is the central object of a scene, may be considered alike symbolical, without historical realism or artistic appeal to emotion. There is doubtless a divergence in the direction of realism, and appeal to feeling by actual representation is begun, whenever the human figure is added to the symbolic cross.* The use of the sculptured, moulded, or enamelled crucifix or crucifixion in early times, is a development of that of the cross, and the transition between them may have been certain from the first; but the rude efforts of earlier days, with which alone we have to do, can neither call on the imagination by vivid presentation of the actual event, nor awaken feeling by appeal to the sense of beauty, nor distress by painful details of bodily suffering. While the primitive rules of representation were adhered to, as they are to this day in the Greek Church, the picture or icon dwells on the meaning of the event rather than its resemblance, and shadows forth, rather than represents, the God-Man in the net of death for man. These rules were first infringed by, or naturally collapsed in the presence of, increased artistic power. The paintings of Cimabue and Giotto, and the reliefs of N. Pisano, brought the personality of the artist into every work, and introduced human motive and treatment, in the artistic sense of the words. To those whose minds are drawn to ascetic thought and practice, it has always been natural to meditate, and to communicate their thoughts upon, the bodily sufferings of the Saviour of mankind. This was done by Angelico and others naturally and freely before the Reformation; since that period a somewhat polemical and artificial use has been made of this line of thought; and painting and sculpture have been applied to embody it accordingly in the Roman Catholic Church. It may be remarked, before retiring within our proper limits of time, that the use of blood, by Giotto and his followers down to Angelico, has doctrinal reference to the Holy Communion, and to Scriptural promises of cleansing by the blood of Christ.† Giotto is less in-

* De Roset (vol. ii. tav. v. p. 365) gives a cross, with two lambs apparently contemplating it, below one of the usual pictures of the Good Shepherd. Aringhi, *Rom. Subt.* ii. 478: "Crux, cum Christo illi fixo, neutiquam effigiarum olini solent." The Crucifixion he calls "mysticis reatibus adumbrata . . . emblematicis figuratisque modis; sub innocuo videlicet signi juxta crucis lignum pinde consistentia typo." See Bottari, *tav. xxi. xxii.* See, however (ib., *tav. excii.*), the crucifix found in the tomb of St. Julius and St. Valentine in the Catacombs; which so much resembles the mosaic crucifix of John VII. that it can hardly be of very early date. It is generally assigned to Pope Adrian, about 890.

† As in the Crucifixion over the door of the Convent of St. Mark's, Florence, where the blood issues from the

joined to dwell for terror's sake on the bodily sufferings of the Passion, than to dwell with awe on its mystery as a sacrifice for man. But the rise of mediæval asceticism, and its attribution of sacramental efficacy to bodily pain, bore painters with it as well as other men. And in later times, when Christian feeling on the subject was lost, many men seem to have considered the final scene of the Redemption of Man chiefly as a good opportunity of displaying newly-acquired powers of facial expression and knowledge of anatomy.

If Hallam's division of periods be accepted, which makes the end of the 5th century the beginning of the Middle Ages, the public representation of the Crucifixion may be said to be a mediæval usage in point of time. Further, Martigny (*Dict. des Antiq. Chrétiennes*, p. 18), s. v.) claims for France the honour of having possessed the first public crucifix-painting which ever existed; for which he refers to Gregory of Tours (*De Glor. Martyr.* i. 23), and which he says must have been at least as old as the middle of the 6th century. But he says above, probably with great correctness, that all the most eminent Crucifixions known were objects of private devotion, instancing the pectoral cross of Queen Theodolinda and the Syriac MS. of the Medicean



Theodolinda's Crucifix.

Library at Florence, both hereafter to be described. The official or public use of the cross as a symbol of Redemption begins with Constantine, though of course it had been variously employed by all Christians at an earlier date. [Cross.]

Crucifixes, according to Guericke, did not appear in churches till after the 7th century. Such images, probably, in the early days of the Church, would produce too crude and painful an effect in the Christian imagination, and to that of the more hopeful Pagan they would be intolerable; not only because his feelings would recoil from the thought of the punishment of the cross, but from superstitious terror of con-

fect, in a conventional form, as a crimson cord, which is twined strangely beneath about a skull. (*Ruskin, 2nd P.* vol. ii. p. 125.)

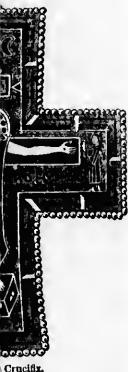
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acting the Infelix Arbor with a Divine Being.
 The Gradito Blasfemo of the Palatine illustrates
 this (see woodcut); but Christian teachers may
 have refrained from any addition to the cross,
 as a symbol of divine humiliation and suffer-
 ing, from purely charitable motives. The cross
 itself may have been felt to be temporarily
 unwelcome to persons in certain stages of con-
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If we set aside the various monograms of His
 name, and the emblematic fish, which is an an-
 gram of it, there are but two classes of repre-
 sentations of our Lord,—those which point to His
 divinity and lordship over all men, and those
 which commemorate His humanity and suffer-
 ings for all men. The earliest of the former
 class is the Good Shepherd; the earliest of the
 latter the Lamb; and both are combined in the
 painting given by De Rossi, vol. ii. tav. v. The
 symbolic Lamb, as will be seen (Gen. iv. 4,
 xiii. 8; Exod. xii. 3, xxix. 38; Is. xvi. 1; 1 Pet.
 i. 18; Rev. xiii. 8), connects the Old Testament
 with the New, and unites in itself all types and
 shadowings of Christ's sacrifice, from the death
 of Abel to St. John's vision of the slain victim.
 It is well said by Martigny to be the crucifix of
 the early times of persecution; and its emble-
 matic use grows more significant as time ad-
 vances. The cross is first borne by the Lamb on
 its head, in the monogrammatic form (Battori,
*Sculture e Pitture sagre estratte dai Cimieri di
 Roma*, &c., Rom. 3 fol. 1737-51, tav. xxi. v. 1),
 about the latter half of the 4th century. The
 simple cross occurs thus in the 5th century (Bot-
 tari, tav. xxii.). In the 6th century the Lamb
 bears the cross (Ariangi, ii. lib. iv. p. 559,
Roma Selve-ranea), and rests sometimes on a
 book, sometimes at the foot of an altar (Ciampini,
Vetera Monumenta, vol. i. tab. xv. p. 26;
 vol. ii. tab. xv. p. 58), above which is the cross;
 and then it is represented "as it were slain,"
 with evident reference to the Paschal feast
 (Ciampini, *V. M. t. ii. tabb. xv. xvi.*). Towards
 the end of the 8th century the Wounds of the
 Cross are represented on the sides and feet of the
 Lamb. In Ciampini (*De Sacris Aedificiis*, tab.
 xiii.) the Lamb is raised on a throne at the foot
 of an ornamented cross, the throne itself bearing
 resemblance to an altar-table.

The famous Vatican Cross (for which, and for
 the Cross of Velletri, see Cardinal Borgia's
 monographs, Rome, 4to. 1779 and 1780) is the
 6th century type of symbolic representation. A
 medallion of the Lamb bearing the cross, and
 with a nimbus is placed at its central point of
 intersection, and it is accompanied by two half-
 length figures of our Lord, with the cruciform
 nimbus at the top and foot of the vertical limb.
 Two others at the horizontal ends are supposed
 to represent Justina II. and his Empress Sophia.
 The upper half-length of the Lord holds a book
 in the left hand, and blesses with the right; the
 lower one holds a roll and a small cross. The
 embossed lily-ornaments are of great beauty,

and there is an inscription on the back, which
 Borgia reads thus:—

"Ligno quo Christus humanum subdidit hostem
 Dat Romae Justinus . pen."

As it is impossible to determine which is the
 earliest representation of the Crucifixion or
 crucifix now in existence or on trustworthy
 record, a few of the oldest known may be briefly



Particular of Vatican Cross.

described here. They will be found in woodcut
 in Angelo Rocca, *Thesaurus Pontificiarum Rerum*,
 vol. i. p. 153, though the copies have been made
 by a draughtsman skilled in anatomy, who has
 quite deprived them of the stamp of antiquity,
 which their originals undoubtedly possessed. The
 first and second are said by Rocca to be the
 workmanship of Nicodemus and St. Luke.

* The Cross of Velletri, which Borgia attributes to the
 5th or 10th century, contains the symbols of the four
 Evangelists. The Vatican Cross is photographed in M.
 St. Laurent's paper in *Dictionnaire Neve Archeologique* (see
 figs.). The result reflects great credit on the accuracy
 of Borgia's illustration; and M. St. Laurent speaks highly
 of Ciampini and others.

first is evidently of the time of Charlemagne. The Crucifix is clothed in a long tunic, and bears a crown of radiatory bars, closed at top, rising from the circlet. A chalice is at its feet, and A ω on the title overhead.

The head of the second, attributed to St. Luke, is crowned, and surrounded by a nimbus. It is almost entirely naked,—the waistcloth, at least, seems to have been purposely contracted: this of itself would place it at a late date.

The third example is historical. It is called the Crucifix of John VII., and represents a mosaic in the old Basilica of St. Peter's. Rocca dates it 706. It bears the cruciform nimbus with the title INRI. It is clothed in a long tunic, the form and folds of which are most graceful, and bear a great resemblance to the painted crucifix found in the Catacombs, assigned to Pope Adrian III. 884.

The fourth is the celebrated Crucifix of Charlemagne, given to Leo III. and the Basilica of St. Peter's, and dated 815. It is clothed in an ample waistcloth, the wound in the side is represented, and the head surrounded by a cruciform nimbus. Four nails are used in all these crucifixes.

A crucifix is described by the Rev. F. II. Tozer, which, as he considers, has a decided claim to be considered the most ancient in existence, and which he saw in the monastery of Xeropotama at Mount Athos. It is a reputed gift of the Empress Pulcheria (414-453), and has been spared no doubt for that reason. It is a supposed fragment of the true cross, and consists of one long piece of dark wood and two cross-pieces, one above the other, the smaller intended for the superscription. The small figure of our Lord is of ivory or bone. Near the foot is a representation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in gold, inlaid, and set with diamonds and sapphires of extraordinary size and beauty. Below that, the inscription *Κωνσταντίνου Εὐφροσύνης καὶ τῶν τέκνων*. Another exists at Ochrida in Western Macedonia, discussed, and of unknown history. Mr. Tozer considers that it belonged to a disciple of Cyril and Methodius, and may probably be connected with the latter. He mentions a third, also probably connected with the Apostle of Bohemia, in the Museum at Prague (see Murray's *Handbook of South Germany*), and another as existing in Crete (see Pashley's *Travels*). These are the only crucifixes he knows of as existing in the Greek Church. The Iconoclastic controversy, he observes, took the same course with the crucifix as with other representations, painted or carved: and when it died away into compromise on the distinction between icons and images, the crucifix was treated as an image. This does not necessarily apply to pictures in MSS.; but the carved form may have been the more easily dislodged in the Iconoclastic controversy of 720, because it had not been long introduced, since it did not exist till the 7th century. "To the keener perception of the Greeks" (says Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vi. 413) "there may have arisen a feeling, that in its more rigid and solid form the Image was nearer to the Idol. There was a tacit compromise" (after the period of Iconoclasm); "nothing appeared but painting, mosaics, engravings on cup and chalice" (this of course accounts for works like the Cross of Velletri, the Diptych of

Rarabona, and others), "and embroidery on vestments. The renunciation of sculpture grew to a rigid passionate aversion . . . as of a Jew or Mohammedan." There can be no doubt that the first step in a progress which has frequently ended in idolatry was made in the Quinisext Council, or that in Trullo, at Constantinople in 691. It is the challenge to Iconoclasm. It decrees (can. 82) that, as the antitype is better than type or symbol in all representation, the literal representation of the Lord shall take the place of the symbolic Lamb on all emblems of His sacrifice, and ordains thus: *Τὸν τοῦ αἰώντος τὴν ἀμαρτίαν κόσμου Ἀγνοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰκόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνωδὴ ἀναστῆναι ὀρίζομεν.* [Compare AGNUS DEI.]

A very early crucifix of the 6th century seems to be mentioned in the following passage, which is produced by Binterim (*Denkwürdigk.* iv. part i. 48) without reference, but which he may have seen in some unpublished record. He is speaking of the church of Hoya in the bishopric of Liege, destroyed by the Huns in the 4th century, and restored A.D. 512, at the time of the first synod of Orleans. This church "in suis civibus reedificatur, et in longum versus Orientem extenditur usque ad gradus Chori sub crucifixo, altari tamen antiquo semper remanente," &c. Further, he quotes Aegidius as stating that Robert, Provost of Liege, "sub crucifixo sepulcrum accepit." This only proves the existence of crucifixes at the time of the writers, especially as the original altar is spoken of as remaining, without mention of cross or crucifix, at the end of the choir which contained it. Had the name or date of the author of the passage quoted been known, it would have been of great importance; but it may be, and its Latin might indicate that it is, from some late chronicler, familiar with the appearance of the church, and using the words as meaning no more than under the present crucifix, or rood above the altar-screen." Dr. Binterim found no argument on it as to the date of the German change from cross to crucifix, and the passage may be left pass. The "Santo Volto," "Vultus de Luca," or Crucifix of Luca (corrupted by William Rufus, for impregatory purposes, into the "Face of St. Luke"), is carved in cedar-wood, and is attributed to Nicodemus, and supposed to have been conveyed miraculously to Luca in 782. It is said to be of the 6th century, and is certainly one of the earliest crucifixes in existence. It bears the Lord crowned as king, and vested in a long pontifical robe as priest, and this combines symbolic treatment with realism, perhaps the way afterwards intended by the Council in Trullo. The idea is that of the Crucified King of Men, and the work is an assertion of the combined deity and humanity, and of the submission to death of the Lord of humanity. A crucifix greatly resembling this was found during some operations at Christchurch, Oxford, and is now preserved in the Bodleian: it was probably an outer ornament of some Evangeliarium. We understand M. St. Laurent to consider these

4 The author of this paper can remember no representation of the Crucifixion as existing either at the convent of Mount Stoal or that of Mar Saba.

examples to graphic de *Annales Ar* 357, and t. and exhaust admirably il

The steps literal repr directly; but undoubted a be considere main to be certain exte gested by m private use from very an Syrac Evang Florence, wi detail of the ing at the w fingers, for represented in Florence, 17 one of the n world; with that undescri was the roo of ligers in the



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or the brothe "retusissimus exta," and it is his *Palaeograph* writer, the mon ismative skill At the top are other a crescent. circular or rath of the three cro the Virgin Moth the left by thr with the spear next to the cent head of the form Lord wears the cloths, and large form, are falling are used in each upper and lower playing for the cross, is a Holy early Byzantine work as an upright shape as a centry; but by a woman rogel; on the oth blic figure in th

examples to date from the 12th century (*Iconographie de la Croix et du Crucifix*; Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*, t. xxii. pp. 5, 137, 213, 357, and t. xxiii. pp. 5, 174, a most valuable and exhaustive summary of our whole subject, admirably illustrated).

The steps of the progress from symbolic to literal representation will be noticed immediately; but two more Crucifixions of great and undoubted antiquity (the first having a claim to be considered the most ancient in existence) remain to be briefly noticed. Both confirm to a certain extent the remark insisted on or suggested by many Roman Catholic writers, that the private use of the crucifix in devotion dates from very early times. The first is the famous Syrian Evangelium in the Medicean Library at Florence, widely known for the probably unique detail of the soldiers, not casting dice, but playing at the world-old game of "Mora" on their fingers, for the garment without seam. It is represented in Assemani's *Catalogus Bibl. Medic. Florent.*, 1742, tav. xxiii. The whole MS. is one of the most interesting documents in the world, with many illuminations, performed with that indescribable grimness of earnestness which was the root of Eastern asceticism, and which still lingers in the handiwork of the stern Arcagnuoli,

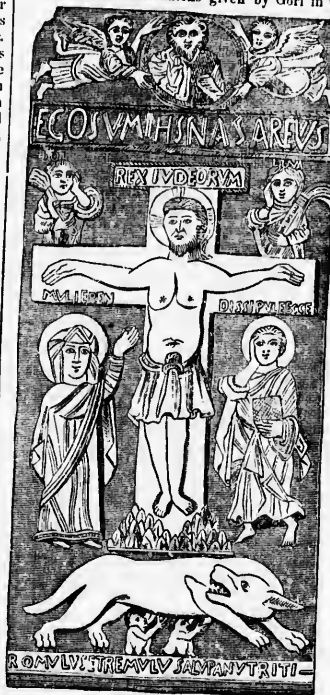


Upper half of Crucifixion MS. of Habsala.

of the brothers Orgagna. Assemani calls it "retusissimus codex qui in eadem bibliotheca est," and it is described by Prof. Westwood in his *Palaographia Sacra*, and dated 586 by its writer, the monk Rabula. It is composed with instinctive skill in two groups, upper and lower. At the top are the sun and moon; one a face, the other a crescent. The upper group, which is semi-circular or rather cycloidal in its shape, consists of the three crosses, supported on their right by the Virgin Mother and another female figure, on the left by three more women. The soldiers with the spear and the sponge stand on each side next to the central and largest cross. Over the head of the former is the name AOTINOC. The Lord wears the long robe, the thieves have waistcloths, and large drops of blood, in conventional form, are falling from their hands. Four nails are used in each. At the foot of the cross the upper and lower group are joined by the soldiers playing for the coat. In the centre, below the cross, is a Holy Sepulchre (represented in all early Byzantine and Italo- or Gothic-Byzantine work as an upright structure of much the same shape as a sentry's box). It is supported on the left by a woman, the Blessed Virgin, and an angel; on the other by St. John, another apostolic figure in the act of blessing, and other

adoring women. The base of the composition, as it were, is formed by a group of soldiers, overthrown by the stroke of visible substantial rays from the sepulchre; the stone also lies on the left. The designer seems to have thought much of the fact of its being rolled away, and he has accordingly drawn it as a disk like a grinstone. Grotesque and archaic as it is, this work is composed exactly like Orgagna's or Michael Angelo's "Last Judgment," Titian's "Assumption," or Raffaele's "Transfiguration"—i.e., of two great upper and lower groups, tied together and supported on both sides; nor could any work better illustrate the lingering of Byzantine tradition in sacred subjects. A full description is given by Professor Westwood in his *Palaographia Sacra*, also by Dom Guernanger, *Inst. Liturgiques*, vol. iii. app.

Of the four Crucifixions given by Gori in vol.



Diptych of Habsala.

iii. of his *Thesaurus Diptychorum* (pp. 116, 128, 203, 216), that at p. 203, called the "Diptych of Habsala in Picenum," is the most ancient and extraordinary. It contains a medallion of the First Person of the Trinity above, with the sun and moon below on the right and left of the cross, personified as figures bearing torches. There are two titles, EGO SUM IHS NAZARENUS in rude Roman letters, with a smaller label, REX JU-

DEORUM, over the cross. The nimbus is cruciform, the waistcloth reaches almost to the knees, the navel is strangely formed into an eye. The Virgin and St. John stand under the arms of the cross. But the distinguishing detail is the addition of the Roman wolf and twins below the cross, with the words ROMVLVS ET REMVLVS A LVPA NUTRITI. This wonderful ivory is now in the Vatican Museum (see Murray's *Handbook*), and is in the most ancient style of what may be called dark-age Byzantine art, when all instruction and sense of beauty are departed, but so vigorous a sense of the reality of the fact remains, as to render the work highly impressive — as also in the Medici MS.

Professor Westwood (*Pal. Sac.* pl. 18) enables us to refer to a Crucifixion found in an Irish MS. written about 800. It is in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and is partly copied from the *Palaeographia* by Mr. Ruskin (in *The Two Potos*, p. 27), who selects one of the angels above the cross as a specimen of absolutely dead and degraded art. This is perfectly correct, and the work is a painful object of contemplation, as it displays the idiocy of a contemptible person instructed in a barbarian workman like the carver of the diptych. The absurd interlacings and use of dots, the sharpening of fingers into points, and the treatment of the subject entirely as a matter of penmanship, without either devotional sense or its importance or artistic effort to realize it, make the MS. most disagreeably interesting as far as this miniature is concerned.

The plea or hypothesis of Roman Catholic writers, that actual images of the crucified body



Grailo.

of the Lord may have been used in the very earliest times for private devotion, is open to the obvious remark that none of them can be produced, whereas systematic memorials of the Crucifixion are found in regular succession, both mural and in portable forms. Father Martigny argues that the notorious Grailo of the Palace of the Caesars may be a caricatured copy of some undiscovered crucifix used for Christian worship. Father Garrucci's description of it, "Il Crocifisso Grailo in casa dei Cesari," is given by Canon Liddon in his 7th *Bampton Lecture* (p. 397); and the remarks which accompany it are most important, as they show "the more intelligent and

bitter hostility of Paganism to the Church since the apostolic martyrdoms a century and a half before, when converts had also been made in Caesar's household." He shows also, incidentally, that it can hardly have been derived from any Christian emblem, as the ass's head connects it evidently with the Gnostic invective, which attributed to the Jews the worship of an ass. This Tacitus mentions (*Hist.* v. c. 4); and Tertullian (*Apolog.* 16) notices Tertullian's confusion between Jews and Christians, and appeals to his own account of the examination of the Jewish temple by Pompey, who found "no image" in the temple. For proof of the confusion of the early Christians with the Jews by the pagan world, Dr. Liddon refers to Dr. Pusey's note on the above passage in Tertullian, in the *Oxford Library of the Fathers*.

The relics of the treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, closely described and partly represented in woodcut by M. Martigny, are valuable examples of the transition between symbolic and actual representation of the Crucifixion. One of the ampullae for sacred oil is said to have been presented by Gregory the Great to Theodelinda, wife of Ancharis king of Lombardy, probably some time soon after 590, about a hundred years before the Council in Trullo. It is circular, and the head of the Lord, with a cruciform nimbus, is placed at the top. Below, to right and left, are the two thieves, with extended arms, but without crosses; and below them two figures are kneeling by a cross which seems to be budding into leaves. Two saints or angels are on the extreme right and left, and the usual Holy Sepulchre below, with an angel watching it on the right in the act of benediction, while St. John and St. Mary Magdalene are (apparently) approaching it on the other side. Another vessel bears a figure of the Lord, clothed with a long robe, with the nimbus and extended arms, but without the cross. Finally, the reliquary of Theodelinda, so called, has the crucified Form, with the nimbus and inscription IC XC, clothed in the long tunic, with the soldiers, two figures apparently mocking Him, and the Virgin and St. John on the right and left. The clothed figure indicates symbolical treatment, since it must have been well known that the Roman custom was to crucify naked; and Martigny argues that the Grailo, which is clothed, must therefore have been copied from some Christian picture. But from this time, or from that of the Council of 691, the artistic or ornamental treatment begins. The earliest Crucifixions are narrative, not dramatic; the Resurrection being so frequently introduced into the same composition, as if without it the subject would be altogether too painful for Christian eyes. And, indeed, till the first efforts of Italian sculpture and Florentine painting, the importance of the event represented withdrew all attention to the personality of the artist. In works of after days the painter's power is all. Their range of excellence is as wide as the difference between the tender asceticism of Fra Angelico, and the mighty sorrow of Michael Angelo, and the intense power, knowledge, and passion of the great canvass of Tintoret in the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice. The treatment of this picture resembles that of the most ancient works. All its consummate science is directed to bringing every detail of the scene into a great unity, which

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The skull, whether human or that of a lamb, placed at the foot of the cross, either as an emblem of sacrifice or in reference to the place of Golgotha, is of late use, and is almost the only addition of symbolic detail.

The rare addition of the soldiers casting lots is said to be found in an ivory of the 8th century from Cividule in Friuli (Mozzoni, *Tavole cronologiche* della Chiesa universale, Venezia, 1856-63). The only other representation of it is in the Medici MS. The wolf and twins arm in the Rambona diptych alone. The types of the four Evangelists are on the back of the Cross of Velletri, in the Gospel of Egbert, of Trier, *infra*, and on numerous crosses of later date. Some additional inscriptions have been mentioned, as well as the addition (in the Vatican Cross) of medallion portraits. Considerable liberty in this matter seems to have been allowed in the earliest times, as is indicated by Constantine's introduction of the words of his Vision; and still more strongly in an instance referred to by Borgin, in Anastasius (tom. i. n. 2, ed. Vignoli), of a cross given by Belisarius to St. Peter—"per manus Vigilius Papae"—of gold and jewels, weighing 100 lbs., "in qua scriptis victorias suas."

attention is expressly withdrawn from the face of the Lord, which is cast into deep shadow. (See Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. li.) In all ancient work the Lord's face is abstracted and expressionless: any attempt to represent bodily pain belongs to modern work of the baser sort, which forms no part of our present subject.

For the details and accessories of the Crucifixion, whether things or persons, they have been for the most part enumerated and described. The nails are always four in number in ancient works, two for the feet and two for the hands. The crossed legs and single large nail or spike belong to the artistic period. Martigny refers to St. Cyprian (*De Passione, Dial.* Inter Opusc. p. 83, ed. Oron.) as speaking of the nails which pierced our Lord's feet in the plural number. St. Cyprian, he says, had seen the punishment of the cross. The *suppeducation* or rest for the feet occurs in the crosses of Leo III. and of Velletri, not in the Diptych of Rambona. The Graffito indicates its presence. It seems to have been occasionally left out, in deference to those passages in Holy Scripture which allude to the disgrace or curse attaching to one "hanging" on the tree. The title of the cross, which is given with slight differences in St. Matt. xxvii. 37, Mark xv. 26, Luke xiii. 38, John xix. 9, varies greatly in different representations. It is omitted in the crosses of Lucae and Velletri. Early Greek painters reduce it to the name of Christ, IC XC, or substitute the A and ω . The sign ΦC ($\phi\omega\varsigma$) occurs, as well as LVX MVNDI, frequently accompanied by the symbols of the sun and the moon, as a red star or face and crescent, or in the Rambona ivory [see page 515] as mourning figures bearing torches. They are introduced as emblematic of the homage of all nature, or in remembrance of the eclipse of the Crucifixion.

The Blessed Virgin and St. John appear in the Medicea MS., and very frequently in ancient works; the soldiers rather less so, though they occur in the above MS. and the reliquary of Monza. The typical figure of the first Adam rising from the earth as a symbol of the resurrection of the body, with the Hand of Blessing above indicating the presence of God, is given in Clampani (*La Sacra. Aedif.* tab. xxiii. p. 75). The skull, whether human or that of a lamb, placed at the foot of the cross, either as an emblem of sacrifice or in reference to the place of Golgotha, is of late use, and is almost the only addition of symbolic detail.

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But even the Vatican Cross yields in interest to two German relics of the same character, lately described and well illustrated in No. 45 of the *Jährbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheintal*, p. 195, Bonn, 1868. The first of these is the Station-Cross of Mainz. It is of gilded bronze, of the Western form (Commissa), and rather more than one foot in height. Herr Heinrich Otte refers it to the end of the 12th century, a date far beyond our period. But its interest is paramount, more particularly from the evident intention of the designer to make it embody a whole system of typical instruction, and to leave it behind him as a kind of sculptured document, or commentary, connecting the Old and New Testaments. Thus, at the middle or intersection of the arms of the cross, the Lamb is represented in a medallion, his head surrounded with a plain nimbus. On the back of the cross in the same place there is a square plate, with an engraved representation of Abraham offering up Isaac, the angel, and the ram. Round the latter is the beginning of a hexameter line—† Cui patriarcha suum—which is completed round the medallion of the Lamb in front, thus: † Pater offert in cruce natum. In like manner, four engravings on each side at the extremities of the cross refer to each other, and are described by corresponding halves of hexameters. The New Testament subjects are all in front, with the Lamb in the centre, as antitypes: the Old Testament or typical events or persons are at the back. Thus on the spectator's left at the back of the cross is an engraving of Moses receiving the Tables of the Law on Mount Sinai, with the words *Qui Moysi legem*. Corresponding to it on the right front is the Descent of the Holy Spirit, with *dat alumnis Pneumatis ignem*. The remainder is under—

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	<i>Head.</i>	
Back	Elijah carried up to heaven.	† Qui levat Eliam
Front	The Ascension.	† proprium sublimatum usum (cōvaris).
Back (right hand of spectator)	Samson and gates of Gaza.	† Que portas Gaza
Front (left ditto)	The descent into Hades.	† vis suferit claustra Jehenne.
	<i>Foot.</i>	
Back	Jenah and the whale.	† Qua redit absumptus
Front	Resurrection.	† surgit virtute sepulchri.

The decorative scrollwork is rather sparingly disposed with great judgment, and on the spike, frame, or metal strap probably intended for fixing the cross on a staff for processional or other purposes [see CROSS, DRACONARICUS] is an engraving of the probable designer and donor,

	<i>Motto.</i>
† Qui levat Eliam	
† proprium sublimatum usum (cōvaris).	
† Que portas Gaza	
† vis suferit claustra Jehenne.	
† Qua redit absumptus	
† surgit virtute sepulchri.	

THEODERIC ABBAS. The graphic power and exceeding quaintness of the Scriptural engravings is that of the finest miniatures of the 12th or 13th century.

The second of these most interesting works, inferior as a work of art from its barbaric wild-

ness and the preference for ugliness so often observed in Northern-Gothic grotesque, is of even greater interest as a transitional cross, especially when viewed in relation to the changes enforced by the decree of the Council in Trullo, A. D. 681. This is the Station-Cross of Planig, near Kreuznach; of the same size and form as that of Mainz; but referred by Otte to the 10th century. The ancient symbol of the Lamb is preserved on the back of this crucifix, which displays the human form in front, as in many other Romanesque crosses of bronzed copper. On this combination—perhaps a compromise between the feeling of the older times and the more modern spirit of the Quinisextine Council—Otte quotes Durandus, *Rationes*, lib. 1. c. 3, n. 6: "Non enim agnus Dei in cruce principaliter depingi debet; sed homine depicto, non obest agnum in parte inferiori vel posteriori depingere." He also gives the express words of Adrian I., in his letter to Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 785: "Verum igitur agnum Dominum nostrum J. C. secundum imaginem humanam a modo etiam in imaginibus pro veteri agno depingi jubemus." (*De Consecr. Dist.* iii. c. 29; see Labbe, vi. 1177.) He refers also to the splendid work on Rhenish antiquities called *Kunstdenkmäler des christlichen Mittelalters*, by Ernst aus'm Werth, Leipzig (Weigel), 1857, taf. xxiv.-vi., for the Essen and other roods, which much resemble those of Kreuznach and Mainz, combining the Lamb with the human form, and adding personifications of the sun and moon which remind us of the Diptych of Rambona, and the symbols of the four Evangelists, as in the Crucifix of Velletri. Space forbids us to give accounts of these most interesting relics, but the subject appears to be treated with exhaustive fulness and illustrated to perfection in the two German works referred to. The Planig-on-Nahe rood, however, is entitled to a briefly-detailed description. In front is the crucified form, severely archaic in treatment; the long hair is carefully parted and carried back; the head is without nimbus; and the limbs are long, stiff, and wasted, the ribs being displayed, as is so commonly done in mediæval crucifixes, to complete the illustration of the text, "They pierced my hands and my feet: I may tell all my bones." A triple serpentine stream of blood runs from each hand, and also from the feet, being there received in a cup, or chalice, the foot of which is a grotesque lion's head. The back of the cross bears on its centre the Lamb with cruciform nimbus; below it a medallion of the donor, "Richardus Custos;" and four other bas-reliefs, now wanting; occupied the four extremities of the arms, and almost certainly represented the four Evangelists. As in the Diptych of Rambona, the navel resembles an eye. Scarcely inferior to these is the 10th century miniature of a single crucifix with the title IHS NAZAREN REX IUDÆORUM, and the sun and moon above the cross-beam, within circles, and represented with expressions of horror,—seated in chariots, one drawn by horses, the other by oxen. And it is impossible to omit the Crucifixion picture from the Gospel of Bishop Egbert of Trier, 975-993 (in Mooyer's *Onomasticon Chronographicon, Hierarchia Germanica*, 8vo. Minden, 54), now in the Stadtbibliothek there. Here the Lord is clad in

a long robe to the ankles; the robbers are also clad in tunics so close to the form as to give the appearance of shirts and trousers. Above are the sun and moon, hiding their faces. The cross has a second cross-piece at top, forming a tau above the Western cross. The robbers are on tau-crosses; suspended, but with unperforated hands; the passage in the 22nd Psalm being referred to the Redeemer alone. Their names, Desmas the penitent, and Cesmas the ebullite, are above their heads. The Virgin-Mother and another woman stand on the right of the cross, St. John on the left. The soldier "Stephaton" is presenting the sponge of vinegar: * two others are casting lots below. This detail reminds us of the great Florentine miniature of the mont Rabula, excepting that the game of Mora is there substituted for dice.

These works are somewhat beyond our period; yet as a paper on Crucifixes must contain some account of the things whose name it bears, and the first eight centuries supply us with so few examples of what are popularly called crucifixes, a short inroad into early mediævalism may be allowed. The Iconodulist transition formally made at the Council in Trullo is well suited to the Northern mind, and to the sacramental theory of pain; but it fell in also with that tendency to personification advancing on symbolism, which the Western races inherit, perhaps, from ancient Greece, and which Mr. Ruskin, in his late *Oxford Lectures*, points out as the idolatrous tendency of Greek art. With Cimabue and Giotto, and from their days, artistic skill and power over beauty are brought to bear on the crucifix, as on other Christian representations, for good and for evil. Of the cautious and gradual compromise of the Greek Church we have already spoken. [R. St. J. T.]

CRUET. [AMA: AMPULLA.]

CRYPTA. In the well-known passage of St. Jerome in which he describes the Sunday visits he and his schoolfellows at Rome paid to the graves of the apostles and martyrs, he uses the term *cryptæ* to designate what we now call the *catacombs*. "Dum essem Romæ puer . . . solebam . . . diebus Dominicis sepulchra apostolorum et martyrum circumire, crebroque *cryptas* ingredi quæ in terra profunda delossæ ex utraque parte ingredientium pro parietibus habent corpora sepulchrorum." Hieron. in *Exch.* c. xl. We find the word again used metaphorically in Jerome's preface to Daniel, "Cum et quasi per *cryptam ambulus* rarum desuper lumen aspiciam." The word is employed in the same specific sense by Prudentius, *Peristeph.* Hymn. ii. :—

"Hand procul extremo culta ad pomeria valls
Mersa latebrosis *crypta* latet foveis.
Hujus in oculum gradibus vis prorens reflexis
Irs per anfractus tuce lateente docet."

The classical use of *crypta* for an underground passage or chamber, whether the drain of a closet, or a subterranean arcade, or a storehouse for fruit or corn, or a tunnel, such as that of Panispera at Naples, shews the appropriateness of the term. (See for examples Faccioliati, *Lexicon*.) *Crypta*

* "Longinus" is always the lance-bearer. See *Medil* (Laurentian) *Crucifix*, *supra*.

the robbers are also the form as to give the d trowsers. Above are the robes. The piece at top, forming a cross. The robbers are red, but with unperforated the 22nd Psalm being on the cross. Their names, ad Cosmas the choriste, The Virgin-Mother and the right of the cross, the soldier "Stephaton" of vinegar; * two others This detail reminds us miniature of the monk the game of Mora is e.

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MPULLA.]

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the lance-bearer. See *Medic*

CTESIPHON ON THE TIGRIS

seems to have been sometimes used in Christian times as synonymous with *coemeterium*. Thus we have in the church of St. Prassede an inscription commemorating the translation thither from the catacombs of the relics of more than two thousand saluts, in which occur the words "in coemeterio seu cryptis." We may, however, mark this distinction between the two words that *coemeterium* is a word of wider signification, including open-air burial-grounds, while *crypta* is strictly limited to those excavated beneath the surface of the ground. Padre Marchi, after an elaborate investigation of the inscriptions in which the word *crypta* occurs, endeavours to demonstrate that it was employed to indicate a limited portion of a subterranean cemetery, including several burial chapels or *cubicula*, so that the relation of the *coemeterium* to the *crypta*, and again of the *crypta* to the *coemeterium*, was that of a part to the whole. (*Monumenti primitivi*, pp. 156 sq., 168 sq.) His chief authority for this conclusion is a passage of Anastasius, *Vita S. Marcellini*, § 30, which appears to draw this distinction between the *cubiculum* in which the body of Pope Marcellinus was buried, and the *crypta* of which it formed part. There are also inscriptions which support Marchi's view that a *crypta* was a smaller division of a *coemeterium*. One from that of Priscilla records that Gregory lies "in the eleventh crypt," "in undecima crypta Gregorius." Others speak of "new crypts" constructed in a cemetery; e.g. an inscription now in the Vatican "in cimiterium Babline in crypta nova;" one from St. Cyriaca given by Boldetti, "in crypta nova retro sanctus." But Mich. Stef. de Rossi has shown satisfactorily, *Rom. Sott.* i. 23 sq., that Marchi presses the supposed distinction too far, and that it is very far from holding good generally. The truth is that *crypta* was a word of general meaning, and embraced every kind of subterranean excavation, whether smaller or more extensive.

We sometimes meet with the expressions *cryptae arenarum*, or *cryptae arenarie*, in connection with the interment of Christian martyrs. *Bede, Rom. Sott.* pp. 192, 186, 481, 300, &c. These would seem to indicate the galleries of a desert pozzolana pit, as places of sepulture. But it has been shewn in the article *CATACOMBS* that, though the subterranean cemeteries very frequently had a close connection with these quarries, and were approached through their adits, the sand-pits themselves were seldom or never used for interment, for which indeed they were suit without very extensive alteration and adaptation. The passages referred to, which are chiefly found in the not very trustworthy "Acts of the Martyrs," have probably originated in a confusion between the catacombs themselves and the quarries with which they were often so closely connected.

[E. V.]

CTESIPHON ON THE TIGRIS (COUNCIL OR.) A.D. 420, under Taballaha, abp. of Seleucia, on the opposite bank of the river, where the Nicene faith was received, and with it the canons to which the consent of the rest of the church westwards had been given (Mansi iv. 441-2).

[E. S. F.]

CUBICULUM. In addition to the use of this word to designate the family grave chambers in

CUBICULUM

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the subterranean cemeteries at Rome (for which see *CATACOMBS*, p. 310), we find it employed to denote what we should now call the side chapels of the nave of a church. The first instance of its use in this sense is in the writings of Paulinus of Nola. Writing to his friend Severus, *Ep.* xxxi. § 12, he describes the church recently erected at Nola, and particularizes these side chapels, which were evidently novel features in church arrangement. There were four on each side of the nave, beyond the side aisles (porticus), with two verses inscribed over the entrance. Their object was to furnish places of retirement for those who desired to pray or meditate on the word of God, and for the sepulchral memorials of the departed. The passage is: "Cubicula intra porticus quaterna longis basilicæ lateribus inserta, secretis orantium, vel in lege Domini meditantium, præterea memoriis religiosorum ac familiarium accommodatos ad pacis æternæ requiem locos præbent, omne cubiculum binit per liminum frontes versibus prænotatur." They differed from the side chapels of later ages in containing no altars, as originally there was but one altar in a church. (Remondini, tom. i. p. 412.) Paulinus also speaks of these chapels under the name of *cellæ* or *cellulae*, e.g. when speaking of a thief who had concealed himself in one of them all night, he says:

"Cellula de multis, quæ per latera undique magola, Apposita tectis præbet æcura sepulchra Hospita."—*Poema*, xix. v. 476 sq.

Cubicula is also of frequent occurrence in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, as synonymous with *oratoria*. In the description of various *oratoria* erected by Symmachus A.D. 498-514, we find, § 79, "quæ cubicula omnia a fundamento perfecta construxit." Of Sergius, A.D. 687-701, we read, § 163, that he repaired the decayed chapels around St. Peter's. "Hic tectum et cubicula quæ circumquaque ejusdem basilicæ quæ per longa temporum ejusdem ruderibus fuerant disrupta studiosius innovavit et reparavit." And it is recorded of Leo III. A.D. 795, that he also rebuilt the ruinous *cubicula* attached to the same basilica (§ 412). Perhaps the earliest existing example in Rome of such a chapel attached to the body of a church is that of St. Zeno in the church of St. Prassede, built by Pope Paschal I. about A.D. 817. In an early description of the basilica of San Lorenzo fuori le Mura, given by De Rossi, *Bullett. di Arch. Crist.* Giugno, 1864, p. 42, from a MS. in the Vienna Library, we find the word used in a similar sense: "Est parvum cubiculum in porticu ad occidentem ubi pausat Herennius martyr." Paulinus also describes *cubicula* or *cellæ* of this nature in the porticos of the atrium of the church of St. Felix. They were intended for private prayer. The altar of the basilica could be seen from them by means of windows. They were ornamented with scriptural paintings:

"Metanda bonis habitantibus diligens Quos huc ad sancti justum Felicis honorem, Duxerat orandi studium non cura libendi."

Poem. xxvi. v. 395 sq.

The last words quoted have reference to the custom, the abuse of which, degenerating into gross license, is severely inveighed against by Paulinus, of holding feasts in the *cubicula*. Cf. Paulin. *Poema* xxvi. *De Felicis Natal.* ix. v. 541.

The word *οικιακος* was used in Greek in the same sense. We have an example in a letter of Nitus to Olympiodorus the prefect, relating to the church he had built, *ἐν τῷ κοινῷ οἴκῳ πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις οἰκιακοῖς διακλαμίνῳ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι, ἕκαστον πεπεγμένῳ τριῶν σταυρῶν.*

From the use of *cubiculum* as a *chapel*, *cubicularii* came to be employed in the sense of *chaplains*. "Hic [Leo I.] constituit et addidit supra sepulchra apostolorum ex clero Romano custodes qui dicuntur *cubicularii* quos modo dicimus capellanos. Cubiculum enim idem erat apud antiquos quod hodie apud nos *capella*." Ciacconius, *Vit. et Test. Pont. Roman.* i. p. 307. [E. V.]

CUCUFAS, martyr at Barcelona, July 25 (Mart. Usuardi). [C.]

CUCULLA, *cucullus*, *cucullio*, is one of the few articles of the monastic dress specified by the founder of the Benedictines (*Reg.* c. 55); and has commonly been considered the badge of monks, e.g. in the old proverb, "cuculla non facit monachum." Benedict ordered the "cuculla," or hood, to be shaggy for winter, and for summer of lighter texture (cf. *Conc. Reg.* c. 52); and a "scapulare" to be worn instead of doors, as more suitable for field-work, being open at the sides. The "cuculla" protected the head and shoulders, and, as being worn by infants and peasants, was said to symbolise humility; or, by another account, it was to keep the eyes from glancing right or left (*Cass. Inst.* i. 5; *Sozom. Hist. Ecc.* lii. 13, 14). It was part of the dress of nuns, as well as of monks (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 41), and was worn by the monks of Tabenna at the mass (Pall. *H. L.* 38). If, as the words seem to say, it was their only clothing on that occasion, it must of course have been longer than a hood or cape. Indeed, "cuculla" is often taken as equivalent to "casula" (from "censu"), a covering of the whole person; in later writers it means, not the hood only ("cucullus"), but the monastic robe, hood and all ("vestis cucullata," *Reg. Comm. S. Bened.* c. 55, cf. *Mab. Ann.* v. 17). These same monks of Tabenna or Pachoniani, like the Carthusians, drew their hoods forwards at meal times, so as to hide their faces from one another (Pall. 48; *Ruff. Vit. Mon.* 3). The "cappa" (probably akin to our "cape"), in Italy seems to correspond with the Gallie "cuculla," and both were nearly identical, it is thought, with the "melotes" or sheepskin of the earliest ascetics (*Cass. Instit.* i. 8; *Pall. Hist. Laus.* 28); and so with the "pera" (or "penula," according to Al. Gazæus, *ad loc. citat.*), the "pellis caprina dependens ab humeris et lumbos" (*Isidor. Orig.* xix. 21, ap. *Reg. Comm. S. Bened.*). Of course it is difficult to identify precisely the technical names for dress in various countries, and in a remote period. [I. G. S.]

CUCUMELLUM. A vessel mentioned among those which Paul, bishop of Cirta, delivered up to Felix (Baronius, *Annales*, an. 303, c. 12). This cucumellum was of silver, and was probably a cruet or flagon for use on the altar. Compare *AMA.* (Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v.) [C.]

CULDEES. [COLDEI.]

CUNIBERT, bishop, deposition at Cologne (about A.D. 683), Nov. 12 (Mart. Usuardi). [C.]

CUP. [CHALICE: COMMUNION: GLASS: CHRISTIAN.]

CUPELLA, a small *loculus* or sepulchral recess. At present we have only one instance of its use to aduce, which is given by Marcell (*Monumenti Frim.* p. 114). The inscription in which it is found records the burial of her two children, Secunda and Laurentius, by their mother Secunda. The solecism in grammar and orthography with which it is full show that Secunda was a person of humble rank. The stone is preserved in the Museum Kircherianum. The inscription is as follows:—"Ego Secunda feci cupella bone | memorie filium meum Secun | dium que recessit in fidem | cum fratre suo Laurenti | tium in pace recesserunt." *Cupella* is evidently the diminutive of *cupa*, explained by Du Cange to mean *urna*, *urna sepulchralis*. This sense is a derivative one from its classical meaning of a *large cist*, *butt*, or *vat* (*Cies. Bell. Civ.* c. 11; *Lucan. lib. iv. v. 420*; *Varro apud Non. c. li. No. 113*). It appears in pagan inscriptions but rarely; e.g., "D. Apuleius Ionicus fecit Eutychæ sorori suæ et Eutycheti filio ejus. In hac cupa mater et filius positi sunt" (*Güter, Insar.* p. 845, No. 1 D); "D. M. Olib Publicius Polythimus Tutor Titl Flavi Algotrangelli pupilli sui Matri | Serctæ Fortunatæ defun | ctæ nec locum emit, inssamam | calcavit cupam ædificavit de bonis ejus omnibus consumat." (*Dion. class.* 11, No. 6). The use of the word survived till later times, and Du Cange quotes from a monkish writer "in alla *cupa* juxta orientem sepulchrum SS. Victoris, &c." The idea has been propounded by the Rev. J. W. Burgon (*Letters from Rome*, p. 206), that we may find in *cupella*, as a place of Christian burial, the etymology of the word *capella*, *chapel*, which has so long perplexed philologists, and of which no satisfactory derivation has ever yet been discovered. The architectural term *cupola* is another form of the same root. [E. V.]

CURCODEMUS, deacon, martyr at Auterre, May 4 (Mart. Usuardi). [C.]

CURIA ROMANA. [APPEAL: COUNCIL.]

CURSE. [ANATHEMA: EXCOMMUNICATION.]

CURSUALES EQUI, post-horses, i.e. horses belonging to the cursus publicus, called also for shortness *cursus*, Gr. *ἵππος*. The Roman posting or postal system—the distinction between the two belongs to a late stage of civilization—was established by Augustus. According to the "Secret History" of Procopius (c. 30), the day's journey consisted of eight posts, sometimes fewer, but never less than five. Each stable had 40 horses, and as many stablemen or stabularii (who seem elsewhere to be called hippocomi, Code, bk. xii. T. li. l. 13). Bingham gives a quite incorrect idea of the system in describing the *curiales equi* as being simply impressed for the army and exchequer. A constitution of the Emperor Constantine, A.D. 326, expressly enacts that no one but the Prefect has the right to go by any other road than that which has a "cursus," showing that so mere occasional impressment is meant (sed nec per aliam viam eundi quisquam habet facultatem, nisi per quam cursus publicus stare dignoscitur; Code, bk. xii. T. li. l. 2). But Bingham, with his almost habitual inaccuracy, seems to have con-

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[E. V.]

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[APPEAL: COUNCIL]
IA: EXCOMMUNICATION.]

II, post-horses, i.e. horses
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publicis stare dignoscitur;
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accuracy, seems to have con-

founded the *cursum publicum* with the *evectio* or
right of gratuitously using it, which was confined
to officials, to envoys, and under certain circum-
stances to senators (Code, *usq.*, l. 6, and see also
ll. 11, 10), and which did in such case resemble
a right of impressment, though the true equiva-
lent for impressment seems to be found in the
agrorum or *procuratorum*. The cost of providing
both the horses and fodder for them was supplied
by the State, i.e. as it appears, by the provinces
(the duty being deemed one which belonged to
the land and not to the person, Code, bk. x. l. 4,
law of Valerian and Gallienus), but it would
seem that they were not bound to maintain post-
carriages (Arcuvereda) or horses for them, since a
law of Arcadius and Honorius, A.D. 403, enjoins
the rectors of the provinces to see that the curials
or provincials were not compelled to provide
animals which they did not owe to the post
(*l. 19*). Through the rogery of the officers
employed the cost of fodder was, it seems, often
exaggerated, whilst the animals were starved.
(Code, *usq.*, l. 18; constitution of Arcadius and
Honorius, A.D. 400, and see also ll. 2, 7, 19.) By way
of compensation, the stable manure was left to the
provinces (l. 7, of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian).
The sale of the public horses was forbidden
(l. 10); those who used more horses than they were
entitled to had to pay, according to circumstances,
four times the price of the horses, or a pound of
gold for each (ll. 15, 20). A curious constitution
of the Emperor Constantine, A.D. 316, which is to
be found at length in the Theodosian Code, bk.
viii. T. v. l. 68, but of which only a brief extract
remains in that of Justinian (bk. xii. T. li. l. 1)—
anticipating the labours of "the Society for the
Prevention of Cruelty towards Animals"—enacts
that "Ferasuch as many with knotted and
very thick sticks (nodosis et validissimis fustibus)
at the very outset of a stage compel the public
animals to exhaust whatever strength they have,
placed that none in driving should use a stick but
either a rod or a whip, with a short goad (aculeus)
fastened to the point, which may admonish their
limbs with a harmless tickle (innocuo
tunculo), without exacting what their strength
cannot compass"—the punishment varying from
loss of rank to exile according to the original
Constitution; but the extract in Justinian's Code
simply threatens punishment generally (poena
non defutura).

It seems to be considered that the clergy were
exempt from the obligation to pay tax for the
horses of the *cursum*, under their general exemp-
tion from *sordida munera*, extraordinary charges,
the "parangarian prestation," or the *translatio*,
or obligation to carry goods (see Code, bk. iv.
T. iii. l. 2, of Constantine, A.D. 357; T. ii. l. 5, of
Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, A.D. 412;
Nov. 131, c. 5). It seems, however, difficult to
identify the ordinary contribution for the *cursum
publicum* with one of these. The opinion has proba-
bly arisen from confounding it with the lia-
bility to the "parangarian prestation," which, as
above intimated, seems rather to relate to oc-
casional impressment. Certain it is that as one
of the duties belonging to the land, which were
to be borne by all (munera, quae patrimonium
publicum utilitatis gratia indicantur, ab omnibus
subeunda sunt, Code, bk. x. t. xii. l. 1, of Anto-
nine) it does not seem by its nature to have been
one from which the clergy would be exempt, and

we have proof from the story of St. Augustine
having declined to accept for the Church an
estate charged with the patrimonial *munera* termed
the "navicularian," i.e. that relating to the trans-
port of corn from Africa, lest the Church should
have to undertake such a duty, that no ecclesias-
tical immunity obtained in a precisely similar
case (the Digest classes together as patrimonial
munera those "rel vehicularis, item navicularis;"
bk. l. T. iv. l. 1).
[J. M. L.]

CURSOR. (1) In the days when it was
dangerous for Christians to make known publicly
the time and places of their assemblies, the
faithful were frequently summoned by a mes-
senger going from house to house, who was
called *cursor* or *prætor*. To this custom Tertullian
seems to allude when (*De Egra in Persecutione*,
c. 14) he says, speaking of the difficulty of holding
assemblies, "Non potes discurrere per singulos?"
An epitaph published by Brower, USACIUS CUN-
SON DOMINICUS (*Annal. Trevrens.* l. 53), is gener-
ally referred to an official of this kind; but this
Ursacius may have been an ordinary letter-carrier
of the church. (See Ducauge, s. v. *Cursor*.) As-
semblies seem to have been, at least in some in-
stances, announced in this way in the 4th century;
for Jerome, writing to Eustochium (*Epist.* 22),
speaks of a *prætor* giving notice of the Agape;
and Eusebius of Alexandria (quoted by Binterlin,
Denkwür. iv. l. 281) speaks of the unreadiness
of many to go to church when the herald called.

(2) An official to whom was specially com-
mitted the task of circulating letters of popes
or other bishops; see Baronius, *Annales*, an.
58, § 102. "Romne adhuc durant Pape curso-
res, qui deferunt ejus ordines ac pontificias
bullas publicant." (Macri *Hierolexicon*, s. v.
Cursor.)
[C.]

CURSUS. The divine office, or series of
prayers, psalms, hymns, and versicles said daily
by the clergy in churches. For instance, the
seventh canon of the council of Chelsea [Catech.]
is, "Ut omnes ecclesie publice canonis horis
cursum suum cum reverentia habeant" (Haddan
and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 451). See HOURS OR
PRAYER; OFFICE, THE DIVINE.
[C.]

CURTAIN (*curtina*, *antiveum*, *velum*, Βῆλαρ,
παράπετασμα, καταπέτασμα, ἀμφύθυρον). Cur-
tains were used in ancient churches for the fol-
lowing purposes. 1. To hang over the outer
doorway of the church. 2. To close the doorway
between the nave of the church and the sanc-
tuary, or perhaps rather to fill the open panels
or CANCELLED of the door, during the time of the
consecration of the Eucharist. 3. To fill the
space between the pillars of the ciborium, or
canopy of the altar. 4. Curtains were also used
in baptisteries.

1. The Paschal Chronicle (p. 294) mentions
curtains embroidered with gold, for the doors,
in enumerating the gifts of Constantine to the
church at Constantinople. St. Jerome (*Epist.*
Nepot. Epist. ad Heliod.) praises the priest Nepo-
titanus for the care with which he provided
curtains for the doors of his church: "Erat sol-
licitus. . . si vela semper in ostiis." We find
again indications of this custom in Epiphanius;
and Paulinus of Nola tells us (*Poem.* xviii 30)
that those surpassed him in magnificence who
offered rich curtains (vela foribus) for the doors,
brilliant in the purity of linen, or ornamented

with coloured patters woven into their substance. He is yet more precise in speaking of his own church of St. Felix at Nola (*Poem.* xiv. 98), where he says, "the golden doorways are ornamented with curtains white as snow." Such curtains were suspended by iron or bronze rings, the remains of which are still to be discovered in some ancient Roman basilicas, for example in those of St. Cleoment, St. Mary in Cosmedin, St. Laurence, St. George in Velabro, &c. The office of raising those curtains before the priests and other dignified persons was assigned to the inferior clerks (*Council. Narbon.* can. xiii. A.D. 589); the subdeacon as well as the ostiarius is to raise the door-curtains (vela ad ostia) before the elders (senioribus). They were sometimes adorned with figures of saints or with crosses, or flowers, arranged in patterns, and with various purple ornaments.

2. It is probable that from the time of Constantine curtains were used to enclose the sanctuary, or to fill the apertures in the rails or grating [CANCELLI] which surrounded it. Athanasius (*Epist. ad Solit.*, opp. i. 847, ed. Paris, 1627), speaking of an outrage committed by the Arians, says that they carried out and burned the benches, the throne, the table, and the curtains (τὰ βῆλα) of the church, where the context certainly suggests that these were the curtains of the sanctuary. Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.*) tells us that St. Basil invited the Emperor Valens to enter into the enclosure of the sacred curtains where he was himself seated; that is, into the sanctuary of his church, which was enclosed by these curtains. And St. Chrysostom, in a passage containing much information as to the manner of celebrating the eucharist in his time, says, "when the sacrifice is borne forth . . . drawn back, then think that the sky above us opens, and angels descend" (*In Ephes. Rom.* 3, § 3, p. 23). Here the curtains are clearly those which closed the doorway of the sanctuary, which were drawn back after consecration, when the people communicated. Evagrius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 21) says that Chosroes, after his victory over Bahram (A.D. 590) sent to Gregory bishop of Antioch, among other presents, "ἀμφιβύου οὐνυκιδὸν κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ;" that is, according to the most probable interpretation, a curtain of rich Hunnish work for the door of the sanctuary. See Ducange (s. v. *Hunniscus*), who cites the word *Hunniscus* from a letter of Charles the Great to Offa king of Merca (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 498), and believes it to be equivalent to the "Sarmaticum" of Gregory of Tours (*De Vit. Patr.* c. 8). Cyril of Alexandria (*Citōna in Joann.* on c. ii. v. 24) bids the guardians of the divine mysteries not to admit the uninitiated within the sacred curtains (τῶν ἱερῶν καταρταμῶν), nor to permit neophytes to draw near the Hol. Table. In this case the curtain or "veil" of the sanctuary is clearly intended; the term itself is adopted from the Jewish Temple. Germanus of Constantinople (*Hist. Eccl.* p. 153, ed. Paris, 1560) says that the curtain symbolized the stone which was rolled to the door of the sepulchre.

3. Curtains were also fixed to the ciborium in such a manner as to surround the Altar [ALTAR, p. 65] upon certain occasions. The *Et avēta*, or sets of four curtains, which are frequently men-

tioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* among the gifts of the popes to certain Roman churches were no doubt intended for this use. See, for instance, the life of Sergius I. (p. 150 B, ed. Muratori), who is said to have given to surround the altar of a church eight *tetraveia*, four white, four scarlet. Similar presents are attributed by the same authority to Leo III. Some have thought that the *RUGAE* presented by various popes to Roman churches were curtains, but this does not seem probable.

4. They were also used in baptisteries, as may be seen in a very ancient mosaic at Ravenna (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* II. plate xxiii.); and see BAPTISM, p. 181.

(Ducange's *Glossaries* and *Descriptio* S. Sophiae; Saicer's *Thesaurus*; Martigny's *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.*) [C.]

CUSTODES ECCLESIAE. Either door-keepers, otherwise called *Ostiarii*, one of the inferior orders in the ancient Church, or, more probably perhaps, the same officers who are sometimes distinguished as *Seniores Ecclesiae*, and whose duties corresponded in certain points with those of the modern churchwardens. [See CHURCHWARDEN.] Bingham, iii. l3, 2. [D. B.]

CUSTODES LOCORUM SANCTORUM. The keepers of the holy places of Palestine, so called because of their relation to our Lord's earthly history: e.g. Bethlehem, Mount Golgotha, the Holy Sepulchre, Mount Olivet. Such an office was probably occasioned by the custom which arose among Christians in early times of visiting these places for purposes of piety and devotion; and that the function of these *custodes* was accounted a religious service appears from their having been exempted, by a statute of Theodosius, in the same manner as ecclesiastics generally, from personal tribute, in regard to this their special employment (Bingham, iii. l3, 2). [D. B.]

CUSTOS ARCAE. A name given to the archdeacon, as having charge of the treasury of the Church, and the care of dispensing the oblations of the people. In this capacity Caecilian was accused by the Donatists of having prohibited the deacons from carrying any provision to the martyrs in prison. And the 4th Council of Carthage (c. 17) direct's the bishop not to concern himself personally in the care and government of widows, orphans, and strangers, but to commit the duty to his archpresbyter or archdeacon (Bingham, ii. c. 21). [D. B.]

CUTHBERT, presbyter, abbat of Lindisfarne, March 20 (*Mart. Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*); translation to Durham, Sept. 4 (some MSS. of *Mart. Usuardi*). [C.]

CYCLUS ANNI. [CALENDAR.]

CYCLUS PASCHALIS. [EASTER.]

CYMBAL. The word *cymbalum* seems occasionally to be used for a bell, or some sacrosanct instrument used instead of a bell. Thus Gregory the Great (*Dialo.* i. 9) speaks of a *cymbalum* being struck by way of passing-bell; and Durandus (*Rational.* i. 4, § 2) of monks being called to the refectory by the sound of a *cymbalum* which hung in the cloister. [C.]

CYPRIANUS. (1) The famous bishop of Carthage, martyr under Valerian, A.D. 258

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CYZICU
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Arians ment
Patrophilus,
(Ep. ceciv.
here, I know
I hear, that
Nonnosius,

ontificatus among the gifts in Roman churches were not his use. See, for instance, p. 150 B, ed. Muratori, who to surround the altar of a, four white, four scarlet, distributed by the same name have thought that the various popes to Roman as, but this does not seem

used in baptisteries, as may ancient mosaic at Ravenna II. plate xxiii.; and see

ies and *Descriptio S. Socrus*; Martigny's *Dict. des* [C.]

CLESIAE. Either described *Ostivii*, one of the in-ancient Church, or more the same officers who are ned as *Seniores Ecclesie*, responded in certain points-tern churchwarden. [Set ngham, iii. 13, 2. [D. B.]

FORUM SANCTORUM. Holy places of Palestine, se air relation to our Lord's

Bethlehem, Mount Gol- chre, Mount Olivet. Such y occasioned by the custom Christians in early times of for purposes of piety and e function of these *custodes* ous service appears from mpted, by a statute of e manner as ecclesiastics onal tribute, in regard to mployment (Bingham, iii. [D. B.]

E. A name given to the e charge of the treasury care of dispensing the obla- In this capacity Caecilian Danatists of having prohib- n carrying any provision sion. And the 4th Council reets the bishop not to con- ly in the care and govern- ans, and strangers, but to is archpresbyter or arch- e. 21. [D. B.]

esbyter, abbat of Lindis- z Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi; n, Sept. 4 (some MSS. of [C.]

[CALENDAR.]

IALIS. [EASTER.]

word *cymbalum* seems occa- or a bell, or some sonora- ad of a bell. Thus Gregory l. 9) speaks of a *cymbalum* of passing-bell; and Duran- § 2) of monks being called the sound of a *cymbalum* sister. [C.]

(1) The famous bishop of under Valerian, A.D. 258

CYPRUS

Sept. 14 (*Cal. Cuth., Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Usuardi*); Oct. 2 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Bishop, martyr with Justina, Sept. 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr in Africa under Hunneric, Oct. 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*).

(4) Abbat of Perigord, commemorated Dec. 9 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [C.]

CYPRUS (Council of), A.D. 401, as Pagi shews (ad Baron. *ib.* n. 20) under St. Epiphanius, at the instigation of Theophilus of Alexandria, prohibiting the reading of the works of Origen. [E. S. F.]

CYRIACA, martyr, A.D. 282, is commemorated July 7 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CYRIACUS. (1) Martyr in Achaia, Jan. 12 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(2) Deacon, martyr at Rome under Maximin, March 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Usuardi*); again on Aug. 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Usuardi*), supposed by some to be the day of his translation by Pope Marcellus (see Sallier's note on Usuard, Aug. 8); July 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*). Sometimes written *Cyricus* or *Cerycus*.

(3) Martyr at Tomi, June 20 (*Mart. Hieron., Bedae*).

(4) The Anchoress (A.D. 448-557), Sept. 29 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

CYRICUS. (1) Martyr in the Hellespont, Jan. 3 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Antioch, June 16 (*Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CYRIL. (1) Bishop of Alexandria, is commemorated Jan. 28 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*); June 9 (*Cal. Byzant.*); with Athanasius, Jan. 18 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Bishop of Jerusalem, March 18 (*Cal. Byzant., Ethiop.*).

(3) Martyr in Syria, March 20 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(4) Bishop and martyr in Egypt (?), July 9 (*Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vet., Usuardi*).

(5) Martyr at Philadelphia, Aug. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [C.]

CYRILLA, daughter of Decius, martyr under Claudius, Oct. 28 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Usuardi*). [C.]

CYRINUS, or QUIRINUS. (1) Martyr at Rome under Claudius, is commemorated March 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Rome under Diocletian, April 26 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr at Milan under Nero, June 12 (*Mart. Bedae, Usuardi*). [C.]

CYRINUS. [CYRICUS.]

CYRION, presbyter, martyr, Feb. 14 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*). [C.]

CYRUS, martyr, A.D. 292, wonder-worker and unmercenary, is commemorated Jan. 31 (*Cal. Byzant.*); translation, June 28 (*ib.*). [C.]

CYZICUS (COUNCIL OF), A.D. 376, according to Mansi (iii. 469), being the meeting of semi-Arians mentioned by St. Basil in his letter to Patrophilus, and spoken of as a recent occurrence (Ep. cccxv. al. lxxxi.). "What else they did there, I know not," says he; "but thus much I hear, that having been reticent of the term *Homoousion*, they now give utterance to the term

DALMATIC

Homoousion, and join Ennomius in publishing blasphemies against the Holy Ghost." [E. S. F.]

CYZICUS, THE MARTYRS OF, are commemorated April 29 [al. 28] (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

D

DADAS, martyr with Maximus and Quintilianus; commemorated April 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DAEMON. [DEMON.]

DAFROSA, wife of Fabian the martyr, martyr at Rome under Julian; commemorated, Jan. 4 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DALMATIC. (*Δαλματική* [ΔΑ.]; *Dalmatica*, sc. *tunica* or *vestis*; the substantive, as in the similar case of *alva*, is seldom expressed.)

The dalmatic, which derived its name from the province where it was first manufactured, was a species of long-sleeved white tunic, with a longitudinal stripe (*clavus*) from either side of the neck downwards. ("Dalmatica vestis primum in Dalmatia provincia Graeciae texta est, tunica sacerdotialis candida cum clavus ex purpura," Isidore, *Etymol.* xix. 22.)

There are fair grounds, however, for believing that in its original form the dalmatic, as worn by men, was a short-sleeved or sleeveless tunic, equivalent to the colobion (*χιτών ἀχειριστός*, Sozomen, iii. 14).^a This is shown by the way in which the two words are used synonymously, as in Epiphanius (*Hier.* xv. vol. i. p. 32, ed. Petaviius), *Δαλματικάς, εἶπων κολοβίνας, ἐκ πλατισμῶν διὰ πορφύρας ἀλουργαῖνας κατεσκευασμένας*. (So too Joannes Damascenus, in Cotelier, *Écl. Græc. Mon. Ined.* i. 284.) Again, in a most important early document, to which we shall subsequently refer, the edict of Diocletian fixing the maximum price of articles throughout the Roman empire, the two words are used as equivalents (Waddington, *L'édit de Diocletien*, p. 38). Nor need any difficulty be felt from the occurrence of passages which speak of the substitution of the dalmatic for the colobion. If the above theory be correct, such passages will merely refer to the adding of long sleeves to the previously sleeveless tunic; and the change having been once made, it would be natural to employ the word colobion to denote that form of the garment implied by the name, and to retain the neutral word dalmatic to indicate the modified form; and indeed a passage from the *Life of Silvester I.* to which it will be necessary to allude subsequently, seems to support the above view. . . . ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν βραχίλων γυνὸν ἐπέγετο, Δαλματικά μανίκεια μάλλον συνέβη δομασθῆναι εἶπερ (leg. ἤπερ) κολίβια (*Vit. Silvestri*, p. 266, ed. Combefis). It is of course also just possible that this term may have been susceptible of slightly different meanings in different countries.

We first meet with the dalmatic as a secular dress, of a stately or luxurious character, worn

^a Such was also the *Leviti* [al. *Lebliti*] or *Levitarium* (words having no connection with Levite) of the Egyptian monks. (See Buntorlo, iv. l. 214.)

by persons in high position. Thus there would necessarily be something exceptional in the use of it, and then like other articles of Roman secular dress it became adopted by the Church as a dress for ecclesiastics. We shall cite first sundry allusions to the dalmatic in the *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores*. Lampridius charges Commodus [ob. 192 A.D.] with unseemly behaviour in that he appeared in the streets in a dalmatic (*Vita Comm.* c. 8; see also Capitolinus, *Vita Pertin.* c. 8). Heliogabalus [ob. 222 A.D.] also was found of appearing abroad thus clad (Lampridius, *Vita Heliogab.* c. 26). See also Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Claudi*, c. 17.

The edict of Diocletian already cited furnishes us with much interesting information as to the different varieties of this garment in use in the Roman empire at the end of the 3rd century A.D. It was made of various materials, wool, silk, linen (*Adamas, Ægyptiacus, ððvñ*); sometimes the ornamental *clivus* was present (*Δ. ἔχουσα πορφύρας*), sometimes absent (*ἔσημος*). Dalmatics both for men's and women's use are mentioned; those for the former, as we have already stated, bearing the title *Δαλματικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡραι κλασθίων*. Three different qualities are given for each sex, the price varying both according to the quality and the place of manufacture, of which Scythopolis, Tarsus, Byblos, Laodicea, &c. are mentioned.

It may be not uninteresting to add that the price of these various sorts varied from 10,000 to 1500 denarii; the denarius, it should be remembered, being of the debased currency of the earlier part of Diocletian's reign, and in value about $\frac{1}{14}$ (*op. cit.* pp. 30, 37, &c.).

Three centuries later we find the dalmatic worn as part of a senator's dress in the case of Gordianus the father of Gregory the Great, who was of that order (Joannis Diaconi *Vita S. Gregorii*, iv. 83); and the father and the son are both spoken of as wearing the planeta and dalmatic (*cf.* c. 84, *Patrol.* lxxv. 229).

In later times the dalmatic has been a dress worn by sovereigns at their coronation and on other great occasions. [See CORONATION.]

The ideas, then, of dignity and stateliness were associated with the dalmatic as a secular dress. The earliest notice of its ecclesiastical use is, if the document be genuine, in the *Acta Martyrii* of St. Cyprian, of whom it is said (c. 5) that when led out to martyrdom "se lacerna byrro expoliavit. . . , et cum se dalmatica expoliasset et diaconibus tradidisset in linea stetit." Here then, where the dress is evidently that ordinarily used by the bishop (if indeed a distinction between the everyday dress of the Christian ministry and that used by them in divine service had yet arisen), we find first the under linen garment (*linen*), over this the dalmatic, and finally the *BYRRO* or cloak.

It is not quite clear in what the impropriety consisted. If we are right in supposing that the dalmatic of this time had short sleeves, there would be an obvious unseemliness in a person of rank being seen abroad without an upper garment. Others who hold that even then the dalmatic was a long-sleeved dress, refer the cause of the censure to the implied effeminacy of the wearer (*cf.* Aulus Gellius, vii. 12. "Tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia, et usque in primores manus, ac prope in digitos Romæ utque omni in Latio indecorum fuit"); and others to the foreign nature of the garb.

About fifty years later we come to something more definite in the already cited order of Pope Silvester I. [ob. 335 A.D.] that deacons should for the future wear dalmatics instead of colobis. It is a matter of small moment whether this means the substitution of one vestment for another, or, as we have tried to show, a modification in the shape of the existing vestment; in either case the result is the same, the introduction of a long-sleeved in place of a short-sleeved tunic.* Walafrid Strabo [ob. 849 A.D.] tells us that "Silvester appointed that deacons should use dalmatics in the church, and that their left hand should be covered with a cloth of linen warp (*pallium linostimum*). Now at first, priests (*sacerdotes*, that is doubtless bishops and priests both) wore dalmatics before chasubles were introduced, but afterwards when they began to use chasubles, they permitted dalmatics to deacons. That even pontiffs, however, ought to use them is obvious from the fact that Gregory or other heads of the Roman see allowed the use of them to some bishops and forbade it to others. Hence it follows that at that time the permission was not given to all to do what now almost all bishops and some priests think they may do; namely, wear a dalmatic under the chasuble." (*De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, c. 24; *cf.* Rabanus Maurus, *De Clericorum Institutione*, i. 7, 20; Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off.* ii. 21; Pseudo Alcuin, *De Div. Off.* c. 39; Anastasius, *Vitæ Pentecosticum*, Silvester I. p. 35.)

It will be seen here that the ordinance has special reference to deacons, whether from the higher orders of the ministry already wearing the long-sleeved tunic, or, as Marriott (*Vestiarium Christianum*, p. lviii.) suggests, with the view of compensating for the absence of a supervestment among deacons.

Noticeable in the next place is the reference to permission granted or withheld by the bishop of Rome as to the wearing of the dalmatic by other bishops, so that as late as the middle of the 9th century this dress was in some special way associated with the local Roman Church, and considered the peculiar privilege of ecclesiastics of that Church, others being only allowed to use it by special permission. Of this state of things, doubtless originally due to the use of the vestment at Rome by persons of high secular position, numerous illustrations can be given. Thus in the life of Caesarius, bishop of Arles [ob. 542 A.D.], it is mentioned that on his visit to Rome, the then Pope Symmachus granted him as a special distinction the privilege of wearing the pallium [PALLIUM], and to his deacons that of dalmatics after the Roman fashion (*Vit. Cæs. Arl.* c. 4, *Patrol.* lxxvii. 1016).

Another instance occurs in a letter of Gregory the Great to Aregius, bishop of Vapincun (the modern Gap), in which he accords to him and his archdeacon the sought-for privilege of wearing dalmatics (*Epist.* ix. 107). An allusion to the same thing occurs in a letter of Pope Zacharias [ob. 752 A.D.] to Austrobert, archbishop of Vienna (*Patrol.* lxxxix. 956). The genuineness, however, of this letter is doubtful. One or two

* Reference may perhaps be made to Ananias Macellonian (xiv. 9), who, writing in the latter part of the 4th century, still speaks of the short-sleeved tunic in connection with deacons, showing that as yet the change had not become wide-spread.



Rome in the C

dancing with their feet, loud clamouring in their voices; imitating and provoking youthful lusts by their theatrical motions, their wanton eyes and unseemly antics." And again, commenting on the words, "We have piped unto you and ye have not danced" (Matt. xi. 17), he cautions his readers that they must not suppose that the "dance" of Christians implies any immodest movement of the body; rather, it is like the solemn movement of David before the ark (*De Pœnit.* ii. 6).

St. Augustine declares (*contra Parmenianum*, lli. c. ult.) thativolous and lascivious dancing was put down by the bishops of the church; and the author of *Sermo 215 De Tempore* (in Augustine's *Works*) speaks sorrowfully of the revels (balletades) and dances before the very doors of the churches, which were relics of paganism. To the same practice the 60th canon of the *C. cœc. Eovi. Afric.* refers, which prohibits the lascivious dances which took place in the streets on festival days, to the great scandal of religion, and annoyance of those who wished to worship.

St. Chrysostom also repeatedly and vehemently protests against it. He declares it to be one of the pomps of Satan renounced in baptism; he says, "the devil is present at dances, being called thither by the songs of harlots, and obscene words and diabolical pomps used on such occasions." And in another passage, speaking of the dancing of Herodias' daughter, he says, "Christians do not now deliver up half a kingdom nor another man's head but their own souls to inevitable destruction" (*Hom. 47 in Julian. Mart.* p. 613, *Hom. 23 de Novitua.* p. 264, ed. Paris, 1616).

The council of Laodicea, A.D. 366, forbids wanton dancing (*βαλλίσειν ἢ ὀρχεῖσθαι*) at marriage feasts (can. 53).

The third council of Toledo (A.D. 58) prohibits dances with lascivious songs on solemn festivals, the use of which they complain of as an irreligious custom prevailing in Spain among the common people, and order to be corrected both by the ecclesiastical and secular judges (can. 23). The Decree of Recaredo (*Brun's Cœnes*, l. 394) confirming these canons, speaks of these same dances as "ballematio" or "ballemachie"; words which recall the "βαλλίσειν" of the Laodicean canon, and the "balletades" of the Pseudo-Augustine, and are perhaps akin to the modern *Ball* and *Ballet*.

The council of Agde (A.D. 506) forbids the clergy to be present at marriages where obscene love songs were sung, and obscene motions of the body used in dancing (*Conc. Agathen.* can. 39). [C.]

DANIEL. (1) The prophet; commemorated *Magabit 23* = March 19 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); July 21, *Natalis*, (*Mart. Bedæ*); with Ananias, Azarias, and Misanel, Dec. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Stylites, Holy Father, A.D. 487; commemorated Dec. 11 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DARIA, virgin, martyr at Rome under Numerian; commemorated with Chrysantus and "qui cum eis passi sunt," Aug. 12 (*Mart. Hieron.*); with Chrysantus and others, Nov. 29 (*Mart. Hieron.*); with Chrysantus, Dec. 1 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*); with Chrysantus, Marinianus, "cum infinita multitudinæ martyrum," Dec. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*). [W. F. G.]

* There are several various readings.

DARIUS, martyr at Nicea; commemorated Dec. 19 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DASIUS, martyr at Nicœmedia, with Zoticus, Gaius, and 12 soldiers; commemorated Oct. 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

DATIVA, confessor in Africa; commemorated Dec. 6, with seven others (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DATIVUS. (1) Martyr in Africa, with Saturninus, Felix, Apollis, and his companions; commemorated Feb. 12 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr under Decius and Valerian with five others; commemorated Sept. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DAVID. (1) "et tres pueri;" commemorated June 25 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(2) of Thessalonica; commemorated June 25 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) King of Ethiopia; commemorated Makarram 10 = Sept. 7 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(4) King of the Jews; commemorated Sept. 20 (*Cal. Armen.*); Taksas 23 = Dec. 19 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); Dec. 29 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(5) and Constantine; commemorated Oct. 2 (*Cal. Georgian.*).

(6) commemorated Dec. 23 (*Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

DAVID. Among the Egyptians, an archimandrite, or any head of a monastery of whatever rank, was called *David*; so that when a monastic head gave letters of commendation to any one, he subscribed himself as "*David illius loci*" (*Gratian De Formatis*, quoted by Ducauge, s. v.). [C.]

DAYS, NAMES OF. [WEEK.]

DEACON. *Διάκωνος, diaconus; διάκων* (*Deacon, Gloss.* quoting Malaxus, *Hist. Patriarch.*); *δ'ακωνες* (Cyprian, *Ep. ad Succensus*, and repeatedly in the decrees of councils, e. g. *Conc. Elib.* c. 18 and 76, *I. Arelat.* c. 15, *I. Tolat.* 1).

1. *NAMES.*—The first idea contained in the word appears to be that of service rendered in an inferior capacity. It seems too as if something of a sacred character attached to the word even before its use in the Scriptures. Thus we find *διακονεῖν γάμου*, "metaphora sumpta ab iis qui pocula aut victum ministrant egentibus et potentibus" (*Steph. Thes.* in verb. *διακονεῖν*; comp. Buttman's *Lezilogus*, and Stanley, *Apostolic Age*, p. 69).

In the New Testament *διάκωνος* is used: 1. In the general sense of an agent or instrument. Thus the sovereign power is called Θεοῦ διάκωνος (Rom. xiii. 4), and Timothy διάκωνος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1 Tim. iv. 5). Sometimes "bishops and deacons" express all the offices of the Christian ministry (ὅν ἱερακόνας καὶ διάκωνας, Phil. i. 1). 2. But the word appears to have assumed its distinctive ecclesiastical meaning at the appointment of the first seven to superintend the distribution of the alms to the hellenist widows, ἵνα διακονοῦν τῇ καθάρσει τῶν ἁγίων (Acts vi. 1-6), when the διακονία τῶν τραπέζων became distinct from the διακονία τοῦ λόγου. These seven are never called deacons in the Acts of the Apostles. In the only passage in which mention is made of them as a body, Philip is described as one of "the seven" (Acts xi. 8). It has therefore been contended that the institution of the diaconate was not

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at Nisaea; commemorated (vii).

[W. F. G.]

at Nicœmia, with Zoticus; commemorated Oct. 21 (Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

[W. F. G.]

in Africa; commemorated seven others (Mart. Rom.).

[W. F. G.]

Martyr in Africa, with Pelius, and his companions; 12 (Mart. Rom.).

[W. F. G.]

Decius and Valerian with decorated Sept. 10 (Mart. Rom.).

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Three pueri; commemorated (vii).

[W. F. G.]

at Nisaea; commemorated Mas- (vii).

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at Nisaea; commemorated Sept. 23 - Dec. 19 (Cat. E. hœp.); (Fet., Adonis, Usuardi).

[W. F. G.]

at Nisaea; commemorated Oct. 2 (vii).

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at Nisaea; commemorated Oct. 23 (Cat. Amen.).

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at Nisaea; commemorated Oct. 23 - Dec. 19 (Cat. E. hœp.); (Fet., Adonis, Usuardi).

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at Nisaea; commemorated Oct. 23 - Dec. 19 (Cat. E. hœp.); (Fet., Adonis, Usuardi).

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really connected with the appointment of the Seven. One theory would identify the deacons with the *πρεσβυτεροι* or *πρεσβυτοι* elsewhere mentioned in the New Testament (Acts v. 6 and 10) as performing certain subordinate offices in the church. But this theory appears to be at variance with the account given in the Acts, where it is distinctly said that, at the time of the appointment of the Seven, the distribution of the alms, *ἡ διακονία ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὴν*, was performed by the apostles themselves.

A theory something like this has been adopted by later writers. In this case it is alleged that the appointment of the Seven was merely to meet a particular emergency, and "had probably no connection with the deacons in the later period of the apostolic age," though it is admitted "that they may possibly have borne the name," and that "there was in some respects a likeness between their respective duties" (Stanley, *Lectures on Apostolic Age*, p. 62; comp. Vitringa, *Essays on Lightfoot, Essay on Christian Ministry*, in *Comm. on Philippians*, p. 186, note). A passage from St. Chrysostom is brought forward in support of this theory, in which he distinctly asserts that the ordination (*χειροτονία*) of the Seven was either that of deacons, not that of presbyters, or that of bishops (*Hœm. on Acts vi.*). This passage is incorporated into a decree of the Council in Trullo (c. 16) which, referring to the institution of the Seven "deacons" (*ἡ τῶν πρῶτων ἑπτὰ διακόνων ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων καταστήσει παραβύβατον*), expressly distinguishes these ministers from the deacons proper who took part in the sacred ministry of the altar (*ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ μυστηρίου διακονουμένων ἐν ἁγίοις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑποουρίας*). Compare Thomassin, *Fet. et Nov. Eccl. Disciplina*, Part I. L. 1, c. 51, § 11, 12.

On the other hand there is abundant testimony that the early church in general considered the order of deacons to have originated in the institution of the Seven. Irenæus speaks of "Nicolaum unum ex septem qui primi ad diaconatum ab apostolis ordinati sunt" (*Hœres. i. 27*). Socrates asserts that the church of Rome retained the custom of only having seven deacons, in accordance with the number of those ordained by the apostles, of whom Stephen was first (*H. E. viii. 19*), so *Constitut. Apost. viii. 46*; Hilary, *Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. 11*, apud *Ambrosii Opera*; Eusebius, *Ep. 65, ad Eusebium*; Id. *Ep. 68, ad Marcellin. De Incern. 4*).

The name of deacon (*i. e.* servant or subordinate) was given to the third order of the ministry on account of the duties which they had to perform, *ἐξουσιοθετοῦν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, τοῦτέστι διακονεῖν* (*Constitut. Apost. iii. 20*); *τοῖς ἐπισκόπῳ ὑπακούειν εἰς τὰ ἐπισκοπικὰ μυστήρια* (*Conc. Nic. c. 18*). "Diacoanus ita se presbyteri et episcopi ministrum novit" (*iv. Conc. Carth. c. 57*; comp. *i. Conc. Turon. c. 1*; *Conc. Ekk. title c. 18, and c. 33*). In the last named canon, however, the heading "De Episcopis et Ministris" includes the presbyters and all other orders of the clergy.

They are also continually called Levites, from the analogy of the Mosaic Dispensation; of which *ἡμετέροις ἰδὲ διακοναὶ ἐπιτελεῖνται* (*Clem. ad Cor. i. 40*). Jerome (*Epist. ad Eusebium*) compares the bishops, priests, and deacons with Aaron, his sons, and the Levites respectively. (*Comp. i. Conc. Turon. c. 1, 2*, Salvian, *ad Eccles. Cathol. ii. 394*.)

ad Cor. i. 40). Jerome (*Epist. ad Eusebium*) compares the bishops, priests, and deacons with Aaron, his sons, and the Levites respectively. (*Comp. i. Conc. Turon. c. 1, 2*, Salvian, *ad Eccles. Cathol. ii. 394*.)

11. *Position of Deacons.*—They are always spoken of in conjunction with the bishops and priests in the service of the church. The canons of the councils are almost invariably addressed to the bishops, priests, and deacons as to the three orders of whom the clergy was composed, and the same rule is observed in the writings of the apostolic fathers (See *Ign. Trall. c. 3*, *Philadelph. c. 7*; Polycarp, *Philipp. 5*; *Martyr. Ignat. 3*). In the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ* (viii. 46) they are said to be ordained in the same manner as the priests and bishops; and in another place (ii. 28, 28) a type of the threefold operations of the Holy Trinity is found in the distinctive offices of bishops, deacons, and deaconesses. In many respects, indeed, their position was put on a level with that of the priests. The same rules apply to the married deacons as to the married priests (*i. Conc. Trul. 1, i. Conc. Turon. 2*). In later days the oath of purgation to be taken by a deacon was the same as that of a priest, and differed from that of the inferior orders of clergy (*Con. Berghem. c. 18, 19*). Their share of the first-fruits (*ἀπαρχαί*) offered at the altar was the same as allotted to the presbyters, and was double that of the deacons (*Constitut. Apost. ii. 28*). Of the *EULOGIÆ* which remained after the administration of the Eucharist, the bishop and the deacon two (*Ibid. viii. 30, 31*). In some churches it would seem as if the emoluments of the deacons were even greater than those of the priests, since Jerome warns them against estimating the dignity of their ecclesiastical position by its pecuniary results: "Presbyter non se inferioris minorem, sacerdotio esse majorem" (*Hieronym. Ep. 85, ad Evang. comp. Conc. in Ecl. c. xviii.*).

There are places also in which their office is spoken of as sacerdotal in the general sense. Thus Optatus speaks of it as the third grade: "Quid commemorem diaconos in tertio? quid presbyteros in secundo sacerdotio institutos?" (*c. Donatist. lib. i. 35*). Jerome speaks of their ordination to a priesthood (sacerdotium) in common with the bishops and priests (*Hieron. Apolog. Jovin.*), and St. Augustine (*Ep. 16*) addresses one Præsides as a fellow priest (consecratus) of whom Jerome, in the epistle that follows, speaks as a deacon.

But notwithstanding such expressions as these their right to be considered as in any way partakers in the office of the presbyter, or priest in the narrower sense, is in many places emphatically denied. In the *Questiones* it is held impossible that a deacon can in any case discharge the degree of a priest (sacerdotis), since he is in no degree a partaker of the priestly office (*Quæst. Fet. et Nov. Test. Inter Augustini Opera, N. T. 46*); deacons are inferior to priests (*πρεσβυτεροι, i. Conc. Nic. c. 18*); a deacon might be ordained by one bishop only, because the ordination was only to a ministerial, not a priestly office (non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecrator, *iv. Conc. Carth. 4*); and deacons distributed the consecrated elements, not as

priests, but as the attendants upon priests (*ἑρεῖται*, *Constitut. Apost.* viii. 28); so Ambrosiaster, "quoniam non sunt sacerdotes" (*Conm. Ep. Ephes.* iv. 11).

And this inferiority of office was marked by the position given them in the discharge of the duties. While the bishops and the presbyters were seated on their thrones in the church, the deacons were to stand near them (*Constitut. Apost.* ii. 57). The first council of Nice (c. 18) strictly forbade a deacon to sit among the priests as contrary to all rule and order. So it was ordered that a deacon might only be seated by express permission in presence of a priest (*ἡρεῖβύρεπος*, *Conc. Laod.* c. 20; comp. *Conc. Agath.* c. 65, iv. *Conc. Carth.* c. 30); but the same respect was to be paid to the deacons by the subdeacons and inferior clergy (*Ibid.*). So it is said that even the deacons of the churches at Rome, though inclined to presume on their position, did not venture to seat themselves during the services (*Quæstion. c.* 1, i. 10); and the testimony of Jerome confirms this: "In ecclesiâ Romane presbyteris se sent, et stant in eorum" (*Epist.* 85, ad *Evagri.*). So i. *Conc. Basiliens.* c. 4. In councils their proper position was standing, as is apparent in several records of their proceedings; e. g. "considentibus presbyteris, adstantibus diaconis" (i. *Conc. Tolet. Proem.*); "adstantibus ministris vel universo clero" (i. *Conc. Bracar. Proem.*); and this was strictly enforced by canons; the priests should sit at the back of the bishops, and the deacons stand in front (iv. *Conc. Tolet.* 4). Deacons, however, who held ecclesiastical offices (*ὀφφικια ἐκκλησιαστικά*) were allowed to be seated, but on no account before any presbyter, unless they represented their own patriarch or metropolitan in another city, in which case they were to take the place allotted to the person whom they represented (*Conc. Quinisext.* c. 7). Another canon provides that they should not speak at councils unless especially bidden (iv. *Conc. Carth.* c. 40). [COUNCILS, p. 481.]

Thus in every way their position appears to have been associated with the discharge of duties which were recognised as honourable in themselves, and conferring honour on those to whom they were entrusted, yet distinctly marked out as ministerial rather than sacerdotal, and carefully kept apart from those which specially belonged to the priests.

III. *Duties.*—These were of a varied nature, but appear to have been in every case suggested by those which were originally allotted to them, and to be comprehended in *διακονία τῶν τραπέζων*, as distinguished from the *διακονία τοῦ λόγου*.

1. They were stewards of the property of the church and of the funds belonging to the widows and orphans. Thus Cyprinus speaks of Nicostrius as having not only robbed the church but defrauded the widows and wards (Cyp. *Ep.* 49 [at. 52], ad *Corinthios*). So Jerome calls the deacon "mensurum et viduarum minister" (Hieron. *Ep.* 85, ad *Paulin.*). They were also to distribute the oblations (*εὐλογίας*) which remained after the celebration of the Eucharist among the different orders of the clergy, in the regular proportions (*Constitut. Apost.* viii. c. 31).

2. They were almoners of the charities bestowed by the church. It was part of their duty

to seek out and visit the sick and afflicted, and report to the bishop respecting such as were in affliction (*Constitut. Apost.* iii. 19). But all alms were to be distributed alike; and in the direction of the bishop (*Ibid.* ii. c. 31, 32, 34). They were also to select the aged women (*ἡρεῖβύρεπας*) invited on the ground of poverty to more frequent participation in the *ἁγίασμα* (*Ibid.* ii. 28).

3. The discipline of the church was in a great measure intrusted to their hands as the immediate ministers of the bishop. In times of persecution it was their duty to minister to the confessors in their prisons, and to bury the bodies of the martyrs (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 17). They were also to strengthen the faint-hearted and exhort the wavering. Thus it was one of the complaints against Novatian that he resisted in remaining in his hiding-place when exhorted by the deacons to come forth (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43). If any for misconduct were cast out from the congregation, the deacons were to intercede for the offender, since, it is able, Christ intercedes for sinners with the Father (*Constitut. Apost.* ii. c. 16). They were also associated with the bishop in the work of seeking out and reproving offenders (*Ibid.* ii. c. 17). As deputies of the bishop they were to relieve him of the lighter cases brought for adjudication, leaving the weightier for his own decision (*Ibid.* ii. 44), and might even, in his absence, take charge of the diocese (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 20). They also appear to have been entrusted, in the absence of a presbyter, with some jurisdiction over the inferior clergy (*Constitut. Apost.* viii. 28). When any of the faithful brought letters commendatory from another diocese, they were to examine into the circumstances of the case (*Ibid.* ii. 58). They were also frequently sent on embassies from one church to another (Ignat. *Philadelph.* c. 10). They also sometimes represented their bishops in councils (*Conc. Quinisext.* A. D. 691, c. 7), though this was forbidden in the West, on the ground that a deacon being inferior to the priests (presbyteris junior), could not be allowed to sit with bishops in the council (*Conc. Emerc.* A. D. 666, c. 5). Thomassin however asserts that this provincial decree was never acted upon (*Nova et Vet. Eccl. Discip.* i. 2, c. 23, § 19). At all councils a deacon was to read the decrees by which the proceedings were regulated (*capitula de conciliis agendis*) before the business commenced (iv. *Conc. Tolet.* 4). It appears also to have been the duty of the deacons on these occasions to keep the doors, and call for those whose presence was required before the council (*Ord. Eccl. Africanae*, c. 100).

4. In other respects they were to be channels of communication between the bishop and the laity (*Constitut. Apost.* ii. 28). All the offerings of the people (*τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ προσέφυγας, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς καὶ τὰς δεκάς, τὰς τὰ ἐκείνην*), when not made directly to the bishop, were to be presented to him through their hands (*Ibid.* ii. 27). So various were their duties in relation to the bishop that he was regarded in one place his ear and eyes and another his heart (*Ibid.* ii. 44); in another his sense and perception (*ψυχή καὶ αἴσθησις*, *Ibid.* iii. 17).

5. These duties were connected with the *διακονία τῶν τραπέζων*, as relating to the material needs of the community. Another class of

duties are considered. Eucharist occasion from that it is the Eucharist will not *Eccl.* i. 1, in Acts vi. "In communion celebrabant." a. They of order in tumance see that a allotted to tranee, or misbehaved ii. 37, viii. misbehaved, and they w signing home welcome to (*Constitut.* at the men during the viii. 11). belonging to the altar, brought was priest. Their an priests offices, that God might These duties here were longing to th omnia obsequi facti clerico rent, et vas sacerdotis, si (*Quæstiones*, ordered that water on the *νῆος χειρῶν* viii. 11). But strictly forbid (*ὀμπέρας*) to the sacred ve c. 66). In *ὀμπέρας* is the second corders that a public pennac the subdeacon sacred vessels the deacons al secerated eleme (*Constitut. Apo* them; of *διδάσκοντες πρὸς* viii. 12). "Pr offerentium; non ille pollicetur xviii.) [DUTY They had also service itself. Communion Off CHRIST, ANT.

the sick and afflicted, and respecting such as were afflicted (Euseb. iii. 19). But all butted (acted) under the (Ibid. ii. c. 31, 32, 34) of the aged women (some ground of poverty) in the *ἀγάθη* (Ibid.

the church was in a great their hands as the immediate bishop. In times of persecution to minister to the prisoners, and to bury the dead (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 11). strengthen the faithful elders. Thus it was one of Novatian that to carry his hissing-place when was to come forth (Euseb. for misconduct were cast out, the deacons were to minister, since, it is added, Christ with the Father (Constitut. were also associated with work of seeking out and relieving (ii. c. 17). As deputies to relieve him of the burden of adjunction, leaving (Ibid. ii. 44), his absence, take charge of (ii. 20). They also appear in the absence of a presiding officer (ii. viii. 28). When any of letters commendatory from were to examine into the case (Ibid. ii. 58). They sent on embassies from (Ignat. *Philadelph.* c. 10) represented their bishops (Ibid. x. A. D. 691, c. 7), hidden in the West, on the ground being inferior to the superior, could not be allowed the council (Conc. Emerit. assia however asserts that he was never acted upon (Ibid. i. 2, c. 23, § 19). It was to read the decrees were regulated (capitula before the business completed. 4). It appears also to the deacons on these occasions, and call for those who before the council (Colz 0).

they were to be channels of on the bishop and the laity (Ibid. 28). All the offerings of (Ibid. *ἱεροῦ προσφοράς, τῆς ἐκείνου τῆς ἐκείνου*) when the bishop, were to be presented in his hands (Ibid. ii. 27). duties in relation to the altar in one place his ear and heart (Ibid. ii. 44); in perception (*ψυχῆ καὶ αἵματος*)

connected with the deacons relating to the maintenance. Another class of

duties arose from the "ministry of the Table," considered in relation to the celebration of the Eucharist. Thomassin says that, although the occasion for instituting the order of deacons arose from the necessities of the common table, yet that it also had reference to the celebration of the Eucharist, "ad sacram mensam, quæ tunc civili non divellebant" (Vet. et Nov. Discip. *Eccl.* l. 1, c. 51, § 4; comp. Wordsworth, *Comm. in Act.* vi. 2, and, there quoted, Bishop Pearson, "In communi victu sacramentum Euchristine celebrant").

a. They were to provide for the maintenance of order in the congregations during the performance of the various services. They were to see that all the congregation took the places allotted to them, that no one lingered in the entrance, or whispered, or slept, or in any way misbehaved during the service (Constitut. *Apost.* ii. 37, viii. 11). So Chrysostom says, "if any misbehave, call the deacon" (*Hom.* 24 *in Acta*); and they were to be particularly careful in assigning honourable places and giving a cordial welcome to the poor and aged and to strangers (Constitut. *Apost.* ii. 58). They were to stand at the men's gate lest any should go in or out during the celebration of the Eucharist (Ibid. viii. 11). They also discharged the lesser offices belonging to the Lord's Table; they arranged the altar, placed on it the sacred vessels, and brought water for the hands of the officiating priest. Their duty was to minister both to bishops and priests in things pertaining to their several offices, that all things relating to the worship of God might be rightly celebrated (Ibid. viii. 46). These duties, however, in large churches where there were many clergy, devolved on those belonging to the inferior orders: "ut autem non omnia obsequiorum per ordinem agant multitudo facti clericorum. Nam utique et altare portarent, et vase ejus et aquam in manus funderent sacerdotes, sicut videmus per omnes ecclesias" (Christ. *nes.* Q. 101); and in another place it is ordered that the subdeacon should pour the water on the hands of the officiating priest, *ἀπόψυον χερῶν τοῖς ἱερεῶσι* (Constitut. *Apost.* viii. 11). But there are decrees of councils strictly forbidding the inferior orders of clergy (*ὀμπέρτας*) to enter the Diaconicum or touch the sacred vessels (Conc. *Laodic.* c. 21, *Ayth.* c. 66). In the decree of the latter council *ὀμπέρτας* is rendered "insacratos ministros." The second canon of the first council of Toledo orders that a deacon who had been subjected to public penance should only be received among the subdeacons, so that he might not handle the sacred vessels; and it was expressly ordered that the deacons should take the remains of the consecrated elements into the Pastophoria or Sacristy (Constitut. *Apost.* viii. 13).

It was their duty also to present the offerings of the people at the altar, proclaiming at the same time the names of those who had made them; of *διδάκοντι προσάγειν τὰ δῶρα τῶ ἱερατικῶ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον* (Constitut. *Apost.* viii. 12). "Publici diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina, tantum offert ille, tantum ille pollicetur est" (Hieron. *Comm. in Ezechiel.* xviii.). [DUTIES.]

They had also an important part to fill in the service itself. At the commencement of the Communion Office the deacon who ministered

was to stand near the bishop and proclaim with a loud voice: *μῆρις κατὰ τῶνδ, μῆρις ἐν ἑσῶναι ἑνὸς, ἑνὸς ἐν ἑσῶναι ἑνὸς*, "let none come who has ought against any one, none in hypocrisy" (Constitut. *Apost.* ii. 54, 57, § 12). The reading of the Gospel was allotted either to a deacon or to a presbyter (Ibid. ii. 57, § 5); though in some churches it appears to have been the special office of the deacon, "Evangelium Christi quasi diaconus lectitabas" (Hieron. *Epist.* ad *Subim.*). Sozomen says of the church at Alexandria, that the archdeacon only read the Gospel, but in other churches the duty was discharged by the deacons, and in many only by the priests (Soz. *II. E.* vii. 19). The second council of Nicaea admitted that a deacon, in the absence of a priest, might be permitted to read a homily of the Fathers in the church, on the ground that they who were worthy to read the Gospel of Christ were not unworthy to recite expositions of the Fathers (ii. *Conc. Nicaense*, c. 2), and for this reason it was forbidden that a deacon should be appointed who could not read (Conc. *Narbon.* c. 11; comp. Cyprian, *Ep.* 34, al. 39). It was perhaps in allusion to this part of their office that the duty was assigned to them of holding the Gospels over the head of a bishop at the time of his ordination (Constitut. *Apost.* viii. 4).

The deacon appointed for the purpose was also to give the signal for the departure of the unbelievers (Ibid. cc. 5, 12), to recite the appointed prayers for the catechumens, the excommunicated, those preparing for baptism, and the penitents, and to dismiss each class in its proper order (Ibid. viii. cc. 6, 7, 8). He was to make the proclamation which was the signal for the kiss of peace (Ibid. ii. c. 57), and to recite the prayer for the universal church (Ibid. ii. 57, viii. 9, 10, 11, 13, 35). Thus Chrysostom (*Hom.* 14 *in Rom.*) speaks of the deacon offering the prayers on behalf of the people (*τῶ ἄθῆου*). In the liturgy given in the *Constitutiones* under the name of St. James, it is ordered that two deacons should stand by the altar bearing fans [FLABELLUM] made of fine membrane, or peacock's feathers, or linen, to drive away flies or insects from the sacred elements (Constitut. *Apost.* viii. c. 12).

At the administration of the Holy Communion it was the duty of the deacons to receive the consecrated elements from the officiating minister in order to distribute them among those who were present, and to convey them to the absent (Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* viii. c. 2); "Diaconi ordo est accipere a sacerdote et sic dare plebi" (*Questiones*, 101). But their peculiar office was the administration of the cup; *ὁ διάκονος κερύχεται τὸ ποτήριον* (Constitut. *Apost.* viii. c. 13); "solennibus adimpletis diaconus ore preesentibus coepit" (Cyprian, *De Lay. is.* c. 25). They were strictly forbidden to distribute the bread if a priest was present (ii. *Conc. Arclit.* c. 15), unless some necessity arose for doing so, and they were bidden to do so by the priest (iv. *Conc. Carth.* c. 38). But it was carefully noted that the deacon only acted as the subordinate of the priest (Constitut. *Apost.* viii. 28), and had no right whatever to offer the sacrifice (Ibid. viii. 46). Priests under censure are deprived of the privilege of consecrating, deacons of ministering (Conc. *Ayth.* c. 1); and it was forbidden that they should give the consecrated

bread to the priests, on the ground that it was unseemly that those who had no power to consecrate should administer to those who had (1. *Conc. Nic.* c. 18). So Jerome says of Hilarius, the deacon, that he had no power without priests or bishops to celebrate the Eucharist, "Eucharistiam conficere" (Hieron. *contra Iulifer.*). And though the right of consecration appears to have been assumed in some places, it was strictly forbidden (1. *Conc. Arelat.* c. 15).

There are, however, two passages which may seem to favour the idea that deacons had sometimes power to consecrate. One of these is the decree of the council of Ancyra, which forbids deacons who have offered sacrifice to idols to offer either the bread or the wine, *ἕρπον ἢ ποτήριον ἰδωδέσειν* (*Conc. Ancyr.* c. 2). But this undoubtedly refers either to the offering the oblations which preceded the prayer of consecration (Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. 2, c. 29, § 14), or to the distribution of the elements after consecration (Bingham, *Antiquities*, ii. c. 20, § 7; comp. Suicer, *Thesaurus*, t. 1, p. 871). The other is the speech put by St. Ambrose into the mouth of Laurentius, the deacon, when meeting his bishop, Sixtus, on the way to his martyrdom: "Cui commissi Domini sanguinis consecrationem, cui consummanlorum consortium sacramentorum" (Ambros. *De Offic.* i. 41). But this doubtful expression seems interpreted by the words immediately preceding, "naquam sacrificium sine ministro offerre consueveras," the "offerre consueveras" clearly referring to Sixtus himself. The "sanguinis consecrationem" probably merely means "sanguinem consecratum," and the duty attributed to the deacons was the service they always performed after consecration—*ὑπεροβούμενοι τῷ τοῦ κυρίου σώματι μετὰ φθβου* (*Constit. Apost.* ii. 57; see Bingham, *Antiquities*, ii. 26, § 8).

After the administration the deacons were to take away what remained of the sacred elements into the sacristy, to recite (*κηρύττειν*) the Post-Communion Prayer, and dismiss the people (*Constitut. Apost.* viii. cc. 13, 35, 40). Thus it is said that Athanasius commanded his deacon *κηρύξαι εὐχὴν* (*Conc. H. E.* ii. 11), and *κηρύττειν* is mentioned among the sacred offices from the performance of which the deacons who had worshipped idols were to be suspended (*Conc. Ancyr.* c. 2). It was ordered by the fourth council of Toledo (c. 40), that the deacon (Levita) should wear a stole over the left shoulder, "propter quod orat, id est, prædicat." Chrysostom too calls the deacons *κηρυκες* (*Hom. 17 in Heb.* ix.). Thomassin says that the word *κηρύττειν*, used by the council of Ancyra, expressed the recital of the prayers and exhortations and the reading of the Gospels, which were done with raised voice (Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. 2, c. 29, § 14; comp. Suicer, *Thes.* in voc. *κηρύττειν*).

β. It appears that the daily services in district churches were sometimes entrusted to the deacons and priests in alternate weeks. In this case both presbyters and deacons were to assemble on the Saturday evening, that the Sunday services might be celebrated with due honour (*Conc. Tarracon.* c. 7). The council of Eliveris (c. 77) also speaks of a deacon in charge of a parish, without either priest or bishop, "regens plebem sine episcopo vel presbytero."

γ. It does not appear that preaching was among the duties which were usually entrusted to deacons, though Philip and Stephen undoubtedly did preach. Hilary, the commentator, holds that in the earliest days of the church, all the faithful both preached and baptized, but that afterwards a different course was adopted, and separate offices assigned to different members, so that in his days the deacons did not preach, though he says that at first all deacons were evangelists, and had commission given them to preach, though without any settled charge (sine cathedra) (*Comm. in Ephes.* iv. 11, in Ambrose's Works). Yet that some faculty of preaching was inherent in the office, at least at the command of the bishop, appears from the language of Philostorgius (*H. E.* iii. 17), where he says that Icentius ordained Aetius as a deacon, in order that he might teach in the church, but that he declined to undertake the other duties of a deacon, only accepting that of preaching (*ἰδωδέσειν ἀνεβήξατο*); and though Leontius was a heretic, the words seem to indicate that this was reckoned among the ordinary functions of a deacon. On the other hand, the duty of preaching could not have belonged to them in the Western church in ordinary cases, since Caesarius, bishop of Arles, in giving permission to the priests and deacons in his diocese to read certain homilies to the people, when he himself could no longer preach to them through the infirmities of age, gives as the ground of his permission that, since they were allowed to read the Holy Scriptures in the church, it could not be wrong for them to read homilies composed by himself or by other fathers of the church (Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* ii. 1, c. 89, § 8, 9), words adopted by the second council of Vaison, already quoted. And so Vigilius in his letter to two deacons, Rusticus and Sebastian, speaks of their exorable pride in venturing to preach without permission of the bishop, as contrary to all precedent and canon law, "contra omnem consuetudinem vel canones" (Lalbe, *Conc.* v. p. 554).

δ. They had also certain duties to perform at the administration of baptism. It was to be administered by bishops and priests only, with the assistance of the deacons (*ἐξυμνητούμενων αὐτοῖς τῶν διακόνων* (*Constitut. Apost.* iii. c. 11). They had to undertake the preliminary enquiries into the circumstances of the candidates (*Ibid.* viii. c. 32). They were to apply the unction which preceded the administration of the sacrament to the foreheads of the women (*Ibid.* iii. c. 15), and to undertake all the necessary arrangements for the male candidates (*Ibid.* iii. 16). [BAPTISM.] It was their duty, or that of the subdeacon, to fetch the CHRISM from the bishop before Easter (ii. *Conc. Brac.* c. 51. i. *Vet.* 20).

But they were strictly forbidden to assume that the administration of baptism was one of the functions of their office. In the *Apostolic Canons* and *Constitutions*, the decrees concerning baptism are directed only to bishops and priests, though the other general canons addressed to all three orders of the ministry (*Canones*, c. 39, 41, 42; *Constitut.* viii. c. 22). The *Constitutions*, too, distinctly assert that it is not lawful for a deacon to baptize (viii. c. 28, iii. c. 11, vii. c. 46). In the latter passage it is added, that if any argument is drawn from the fact of baptism being administered by Philip and

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Anselm, it is for want of perceiving that these
 men were specially appointed for those duties by
 the Lord, the High-Priest. Epiphanius asserts
 that no deacon was ever entrusted with the
 administration of a sacrament (*ἰερωσύνην ἐπι-
 τῆναι*; *Haeres.* 79, cap. 4). So Hilary, while
 asserting that all the faithful were once ac-
 customed to baptize, adds, "nunc neque clerici
 vel laici baptizant" (*Com. in Eph.* iv. 11, in
 Ambrose's Works).

Yet it appears that they were permitted to
 baptize by command of a bishop, or when in
 charge of a parish without a presbyter. The
 right of baptizing resides generally in the bishop
 [BAPTISM, p. 166], but from him may be com-
 manded both to priests and deacons (Tertul-
 lian, *De Baptismo*, c. 17). So a decree of the
 sixth century, speaking of the necessity of a holy
 life even for the laity, adds, how much more is
 this necessary for priests and deacons, since
 they may be called at any moment to offer
 the sacrifice or baptize? (i. *Conc. Turon.* 1). In
 another decree it is ordered that if a deacon
 having charge of a parish (*regens plebem*) with-
 out a bishop or presbyter should have baptized
 any, the bishop should confirm it by his blessing,
 "per benedictionem perficere debet" (*Conc.*
Eph. 77); and again, in another, it is provided
 that while priests, in cases of urgent sickness,
 may baptize at any season of the year, deacons
 may only do so at Easter (*Synod. Rom.* A.D.
 384, c. 7, in Bruns's *Canones*, ii. 278); and
 Jerome, speaking of those who in remote places
 were baptized by priests and deacons, places the
 right of both to baptize on exactly the same
 footing, as derived from the license of the bishop
 and the possession of the chrism, "sine chrismate
 et episcopi jussione neque presbyteri neque
 diaconi jus habent baptizandi" (*Dial. contra
 Luciferum*, c. 4). It seems then that, at least in
 the Western Church, the deacons were permitted
 to baptize when the bishop gave them authority
 and sent them the chrism. Thomassin however
 (i. 2, c. 29, § 14), thinks they had less liberty
 in this respect in the Eastern Church.

α. The power of receiving penitents appears
 generally to have been confined to bishops and
 presbyters; yet this rule was not invariable.
 Thus Cyprian allows deacons to receive confession
 (exomologesin) and bestow the parting blessing
 in the case of those penitents who had obtained
 "libelli" and were prevented by the near ap-
 proach of death from receiving absolution at the
 hands of a priest (*Ep.* 13, al. 18, *ad Cler.*). A
 decree of the first council of Toledo (c. 2) pro-
 vides that those deacons who had performed
 public penance should be reduced to the order of
 subdeacons lest they should lay hands on any.
 But it is probable that this was not the act
 which conferred absolution, but only a ceremony
 which went before the reception of the Eucharist
 and prepared the penitent for its administration
 (Thomass. *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Disc.* i. 2, c. 29, § 8).
 A decree of the council of Eliberis (c. 32) pro-
 vides that in certain cases of urgent necessity,
 and at the command of a bishop, the deacon may
 receive a penitent to communion. But this prob-
 ably only meant that the deacons might convey
 the consecrated elements, which, as in the case
 of Serapion recorded by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 44),
 might be sent even by a child (Thomassin, i. 2,
 c. 29 § 9).

In these cases their duties were evidently only
 ministerial, and strictly limited to the subor-
 dinate functions belonging to their office. Their
 right to bestow any blessing on their own
 authority is plainly denied (*Constitut. Apost.* viii.
 28, 46). [BENEDICTION; DOMINUS VOSQUUM.]

ζ. From their bearing the chairs of priests
 and bishops (iv. *Conc. Brag.* Proem. c. 5), it
 would appear that in some churches they were
 expected to perform duties scarcely consistent
 with the dignity of their office. But their
 general tendency appears to have been either
 to claim functions which did not belong to
 them (i. *Conc. Arelit.* c. 15; *Conc. Quinisext.*
 c. 16), or to assume a precedence which may in-
 dicate that they were in some cases superior to
 the priests in wealth or social position. Thus
 they are rebuked for administering in some
 churches the Eucharist to priests and partaking
 of it even before bishops and presuming to sit
 among the priests (i. *Conc. Nic.* c. 18); for their
 pride in sitting in the first choir and compelling
 priests to take their places in the second (iv. *Conc.*
Tolet. c. 39); for claiming precedence at coun-
 cils of presbyters when they held any ecclesiastical
 office (*Conc. Quinisext.* c. 7); for exciting
 seditions against the bishop (*Constitut. Apost.*
 ii. 32); for bestowing the benediction at private
 banquets in presence of priests (Hieron. *Ep.* 85
ad Evang.); and for esteeming themselves, on
 account of their superior wealth, as of higher
 dignity than the priests (*Idem Comm. in Ezek.*
 xviii.).

η. Deacons were strictly limited in the dis-
 charge of their office to the parishes for which they
 were appointed, and there are many decrees of
 councils forbidding them to wander elsewhere
 without the consent of the bishop (*Canon*
Apost. c. 12; i. *Conc. Nic.* c. 15; *Conc. Quinisext.*
 c. 17; i. *Arelat.* c. 21; ii. *Bracar.* c. 34;
Agath. c. 52).

IV. *Promotion to a higher order.*—It has
 been doubted whether in the earliest ages ad-
 mission to the diaconate implied, or was a
 necessary preliminary to, advancement to the
 priesthood. That this was the case has been in-
 ferred from the words of St. Paul to Timothy—
 οἱ καλῶς διακονήσαντες βαθμὴν ταῦτοῖς καλῶν
 περιποιούνται (1 Tim. iii. 13). See DICTIONARY
 OF THE BIBLE, i. 417. It is undoubtedly true—
 1. That in later times *βαθμὸς* was used as a tech-
 nical term denoting degrees of ecclesiastical office.
 So it was said of Athanasius, *πάσαν τὴν τῶν
 βαθμῶν ἀκολουθίαν διετέθειν* (Grog. Naz. *Orat.*
 21), and in that sense it repeatedly occurs in
 the decrees of councils (*Conc. Eph.* c. 6
Chalcedon. c. 29; *Quinisext.* c. 13). 2. That the
 elevation of deacons to the priesthood was part
 of the system of the church in after years. Thus it
 was ordered that deacons who maintained com-
 munication with their wives should not be ele-
 vated to the priesthood (i. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 1),
 "ad ulteriorem gradum non ascendat" (i. *Conc.*
Turon. 2). So, in the *Questions*, the priest is
 spoken of as being ordained from among the de-
 acons, "ex diaconis presbyterus ordinatur" (*Quæst.*
 Q. 101). And so Jerome argues the higher
 office of the priesthood from the fact that the
 diaconate was a step to the priesthood, "ex
 diacono ordinatur presbyter" (Hieron. *Epist.*
ad Evang.). But many deacons appear to have
 grown old and died without promotion to the

priesthood (Thomassin, *l. c.* *Eccl. Hist.* *l. 2*, c. 33, § 9).

V. *Vestments.*—Concerning the dress of a deacon, it was ordained that when engaged in the services of the altar their apparel should not be too flowing, with a view to the ready performance of their duties, for they are like sailors and boatswains (τοιράρχους) in a ship (*Constitut. Apost.* li. 57). They were to wear a plain stole, "orarium," unadorned with gold or colours, on the left shoulder, the right being left free, to typify the expedition with which they were to discharge their sacred functions (iv. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 40). The manner of wearing the stole distinguished them from the priests; the stole itself was the mark of their office, since the inferior clergy were expressly forbidden to wear it (*Conc. Luc.* c. 22, 23). Due care was to be taken that this distinctive portion of the dress was clearly seen, "non licet diacono velo vel palli scapularis sinus involvi" (*Conc. Autiss.* c. 13). In another decree notice is taken of certain deacons who were accustomed to wear their stoles hidden beneath their albs, so as to resemble a subdeacon's, and they are ordered to display it openly for the future on the shoulder (i. *Conc. Brac.* c. 9). Those who had been temporarily deposed for any offence were presented on their reconciliation with an alb and a stole, as symbols of their restoration to their office (iv. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 28). It was to the stole that St. Chrysostom alluded when he saw a vision of the wings of ministering angels in the fine linen that floated over the left shoulders of those engaged in the service of the altar (ταῖς λεπτταῖς ὀθλίαις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστέρων ὤμων κενεταῖς; Chrysost. *Hom. in Hil. Prodig.*). [STOLE.] The alb was to be worn only at the time of ministering at the altar, or reading the Gospels—"Diaconus tempore oblationis tantum vel lectionis albat utatur" (iv. *Conc. Carthag.* 41; *Conc. Narbon.* c. 12), or when performing the duty of the deacon at the opening of councils (iv. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 4). And this renders more emphatic a rebuke administered to certain priests and bishops who were accustomed on great festivals to be borne on chairs or litters by deacons in albs—"albatibus diaconibus" (iv. *Conc. Brac.* Proem. § c. 5). They also wore a DALMATIUM (which see).

VI. *Number of Deacons.*—The number of deacons allotted to each church appears to have varied. The council of Neocaesarea (c. 15) ordained that there should be seven deacons and no more in every city, however large, since that number had been ordained by the apostles (comp. *Conc. Quinisext.* c. 16), and this appears to have been the normal number in many churches (*Constitut. Apost.* viii. cc. 4, 46; Euseb. *l. c.* *E. E.* vi, 43; Hilary, *Comm. in 1 Tim.* iii. 8). But the later practice appears to have been as stated by Sozomen, that the church of Rome retained the number of seven deacons, as instituted by the apostles, but that other churches acted according to their own convenience (*Soz. H. E.* vii, 19). The number of deacons seems, however, to have been generally small; for St. Jerome states that deacons derived a dignity not belonging to their office from their paucity in number—"Diaconos paucitas honorabiles, presbyteros turba facit contentibiles" (*Epist. ad Euan.*).

VII. *Age.*—The age at which deacons were

allowed to be ordained was universally fixed at twenty-five (iii. *Conc. Carth.* c. 4; *Conc. Agath.* c. 16; *Conc. Quinisext.* c. 14; iv. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 20; iii. *Conc. Aurel.* c. 8); but Thomassin relates that Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, would not permit any deacon to be ordained in his diocese who was under the age of thirty, and who had not read four times all the books of the Old and New Testament (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* ii. 1, c. 89, § 8).

VIII. *Judication over.*—A deacon could only be judged by three bishops (i. *Conc. Carth.* c. 11; ii. *Conc. Carth.* c. 10, but Brunus gives a different reading of this canon) of whom one was to be his own diocesan (iii. *Conc. Carth.* c. 8). See DEGRADATION, p. 542.

IX. *Diaconus in Monasteries.* In monasteries the name of deacon was sometimes given to those who discharged the office of steward and almsgiver—"oconomoi et diaconatores" [ORCONOMES] (Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 2, c. 3, § 4; 3, c. 29, § 23). [P. 6.]

X. *Cardinal Deacon.*—A cardinal deacon (*diaconus cardinalis*) was in ancient times a deacon who was permanently attached (incardinated) to a particular church (Gregory the Great, *Epist.* v. 2; see CARDINAL, p. 289).

The name *cardinalis* seems also to have been given to the deacon to whom seniority or pre-eminence among his fellows had been assigned by competent authority. So Gregory the Great, writing to Liberatus, a deacon at Cagliari (*Epist.* i. 81), warns him not to set himself above the other deacons, unless he had been made cardinal by the bishop. Under Charlemagne a cardinal deacon of the city of Rome (diaconus in urbe constitutus in urbe Romæ) is mentioned with special distinction (*Cyprianus*, anni 806, c. 23, p. 458*, Baluze; and *Cyprianus*, i. c. 133, p. 728).

XI. A deacon was assigned to each of the seven REGIONS into which the city of Rome was ecclesiastically divided; these were called *Regionary Deacons* (diaconi regionarii). The acolytes of each region were under the authority of the regionary deacon (Mabillon, *Com. Præv. in Ord. Rom.* p. xix.).

XII. *Stationary Deacons* were those who ministered to the pope on his going to any STATION where an office was to be said.

XIII. *Diaconi Testimoniabiles* were those deacons who always lived with and accompanied a bishop for the avoiding of scandal (ii. *Conc. Tolet.* c. 12). See SYNCHELLUS. [C.]

DEACONESS (ἡ δίακονος, δίακονισσα, *Diaconissa*, *Diaconia*). 1. An order of women in the primitive Church who appear to have undertaken duties in reference to the deacons among men. Their office was probably rendered more necessary by the strict seclusion which was observed by the female sex in Greece, and in many Oriental countries. The word itself is only once used in the New Testament, in the place in which St. Paul speaks of Phoebe as δίακονος τῆς ἐκκλησίας (Rom. xvi. 1); but it was usually supposed by ancient commentators that the "women" mentioned by St. Paul in the passage in which he enumerates the qualifications of a deacon (1 Tim. iii. 11) were really deaconesses, whether, as the A. V. assumes, wives of deacons (Chrysostom,

Theophylact, *Wardsworth* (Lightfoot) on *Philipp.*

II. *Quæ* been thought in the early days of the injury should be years of a *Nov. Eccl. Pol.* certain th deaconesses. And it appe to the offic to Trajan, the Christi *Constitution* be a chaf widow (cf. of Carthage) crated virgi to discharge ams given, th and those w had (*Epist. Trullo* also who has resti tion of her office, be a *serz.* c. 48). speaks of his as being virg. viii. 23) spe whom Chrysos a deaconess; who was ordi. Thus it see cannot be n widows or th were probabl served. It w circumstances.

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Theophylact, Theodoret, Oecumen., quoted by
 Wordsworth, *Comm. in loco*, or women-deacons
 (Lightfoot, *Essay on Christian Ministry in Comm.*
on Philippians, p. 189).

II. *Qualifications for the Diaconate.*—It has
 been thought that these deaconesses were widows
 in the earlier days of the Church, on the ground
 of the injunction of St. Paul that no widow
 should be taken into the number under sixty
 years of age (1 Tim. v. 9, cf. Thomas, *Vet. et*
Nov. Eccl. Discip. l. 1. 3, c. 50, n. 10; Hooker,
Eccl. Pol. v. c. 78, § 11). But it does not appear
 certain that St. Paul is in this place speaking of
 deaconesses (cf. Wordsworth, *Comm. in loco*).
 And it appears certain that virgins were admitted
 to the office. Thus Pliny speaks, in his epistle
 to Trajan, of two handmaidens (ancillæ) whom
 the Christians called "ministrae." The *Apostolic*
Constitutions (vi. 17) say that the deaconess should
 be a chaste virgin (παρθένος ἀνήνη) or else a
 widow (cf. *Iust. Novell.* vi. 6). The 4th council
 of Carthage (c. 12) speaks of widows and consec-
 rated virgins (sanctimonialia) who are selected
 to discharge the duties of deaconesses. Epiphani-
 us gives three classes from whom they are to
 be chosen, the virgins, the widows of one husband,
 and those who lived in continence with one hus-
 band (*Expositio Fidei*, n. 21). The council in
 Trullo also provides that the wife of a bishop
 who has retired into a convent on the consecra-
 tion of her husband may, if found fit for the
 office, be admitted to the diaconate (*Conc. Quini-*
sect. c. 48). Gregory Nyssen (*Vita Macrinae*)
 speaks of his sister Macrina, and of one Lampadia,
 as being virgins and deaconesses. Sozomen (*II. E.*
 vii. 24) speaks of a noble virgin named Nicarete
 whom Chrysostom urged without effect to become
 a deaconess; and of one Olympias, a young widow,
 who was ordained to the same office (*Id.* vii. 9).
 Thus it seems evident that the deaconesses
 cannot be absolutely identified either with the
 widows or the virgins of the early church, but
 were probably chosen from these orders on occasion
 served. It would even appear that, under some
 circumstances, married women were admitted.
 The age at which they were to be admitted to
 their office was strictly defined. Tertullian (*De*
Vel. Virg. c. 9) lays it down that they should
 be 80 years of age, widows of one husband, and
 mothers, that their own experience may enable
 them to give sympathetic help to others (com-
 pare Basil, *Epist. Canon.* c. 24 and Jerome, *Ep.*
ad Sabinum). The council of Chalcedon (c. 15)
 fixes it at 40, and says they are to be chosen
 after strict enquiry, giving as a reason the dis-
 honour done to the grace of God, if any, after
 having undertaken this service, should marry.
 The council in Trullo (cc. 14, 40) also assigned
 the age of 40 for the admission of a deaconess,
 and 60 for that of a widow, grounding the latter
 rule on the words of St. Paul (1 Tim. v. 9), thus
 proving conclusively that, in their opinion, he
 was not speaking in this place of deaconesses.
 Theodosius issued a decree that no woman should
 be admitted to the diaconate till she had attained
 the age of 60, and be. u. s. childless (*Soz. II. E.* vii.
 18). Justinian's legislation fixed the age of
 admission at 40 (*Novell.* 123 c. 13) or 50 (*Id.* vi.
 6). Thomasin thinks that only the canons
 which relate to women of 60 years of age refer
 to deaconesses, and the others apply to widows
 who have merely taken the vow of continence.

But he is obliged to own that he is maintaining
 this opinion in the face of the decree of the
 council of Chalcedon (Thomas, *Vet. et Nov.*
Eccl. Discip. l. 1. 3, c. 52, § 3, 4). Yet much
 appears to have been left to the bishops. Olym-
 pius is described as a young widow, and Tertul-
 lian (*De Vel. Virg.* c. 9) expresses great indigna-
 tion at a case, with which he says he was him-
 self acquainted, in which a virgin under 26 was
 admitted to the order of widows "in vilitatu,"
 under which term the context proves that he is
 speaking of the diaconate.

From the passages already quoted it will be
 seen that it was always required that, if widows,
 deaconesses should only have been once married.
 This was probably in obedience to the injunction
 of St. Paul, "the wife of one man" (1 Tim. v.
 9). Other names of female servants of the
 Church are, *πρεσβυτρίδες*, women-elders, and *πρε-*
σβυτέρας, aged women. In the N. T. the words
 appear identical in meaning (cf. 1 Tim. v. 2, and
 Titus ii. 3). But in the *Apostolic Constitutions*
 (ii. 28), the *πρεσβυτέρας*, the poorer of whom
 were to be invited more frequently to the Agapæ,
 are clearly different from the *πρεσβυτρίδες* who,
 as ministers of the church, are allotted a definite
 share of the first-fruits then offered, while the
 same proportion of the "eulogiae" is allotted
 in another place to those who are there called
 deaconesses (*διακονισσας*, *Ibid.* viii. c. 31). Epi-
 phanius appears to make a distinction between
 the two, when he says that the deaconesses were
 called widows (*χήρας*), but the elder of them
 (*τὰς ἐτι γρηγορέας*) were called *πρεσβυτρίδας*,
 and notes carefully that the word is quite different
 from that which designates women-presbyters
 (*πρεσβυτερίδας*) (Epiph. *Haer.* 79, cap. 4, cf.
Conc. Luod. c. 11).

Probably from the difficulty of finding virgins
 qualified for the office, it would appear that the
 deaconesses were in a great measure chosen
 from among the widows. And thus they were
 often called *χήρας*, although distinct from the
 general body of widows belonging to the Church.
 Thus Epiphanius, in the passage already quoted,
 speaks of the order of deaconesses (*διακονισσῶν*
τῶν γυναικῶν) who are called widows. So there is
 canon speaking of the ordination of widows
 whom they call deaconesses, "Viduarum consecra-
 tio quas diaconas vocitant" (*Conc. Epasn.* c.
 21); and Basil speaks of a widow who has been
 taken into the number of widows, that is, re-
 ceived by the Church into the diaconate (Basil,
Ep. Can. c. 3). Under this term were included
 all deaconesses, whether they were widows or
 not. So Ignatius speaks of the virgins who
 were called widows, *τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας*
χήρας (*Ad Smyrn.* c. 13). So that it is probable
 that the word may have meant those living with-
 out a husband, whether in widowhood, or under
 a vow of continence (see Jacobson *in loco*).

III. *Duties of Deaconesses.*—The duties of the
 deaconesses were various. The most important
 related to the administration of baptism to
 women [BAPTISM, p. 160]. Thus the 4th coun-
 cil of Carthage (c. 12) speaks of them as widows
 or virgins selected for the purpose of assisting in
 the baptism of women, and who therefore must
 be qualified to assist the unlearned candidates
 how to answer the interrogatories in the bap-
 tismal office, and how to live after baptism. Epi-
 phanius says that the order was instituted to

assist at the baptism of women, that all things might be done with proper decency (*Haer.* 79, cap. 3). In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii. 15, 16) it is said that the deaconess (*ῥῆν δῆκονου*) was to be chosen for ministering to women, because it was impossible to send a deacon into many houses on account of the unbelievers. At the baptism of women the deaconesses were to administer the christ before baptism, and to undertake all the necessary arrangements for the women, as the deacon did for the men. No woman was to have any intercourse with the bishop or deacon except through the deaconess (*Dist.* ii. c. 26). They were also to receive women who were strangers, and allot them their places in the church (*Ibid.* ii. c. 58), and to stand at the door of that part of the church which was allotted to women (*Ibid.* ii. c. 57). Thus the Pseudo-Ignatius (*Ad Antioch.* c. 12) speaks of the deaconesses who kept the doors of the church. They were to attend to the women who were sick or in affliction as the deacon did to the men (*Constitut. Apost.* iii. 19), and in time of persecution to minister to the confessors in prison (Cotel. Annot. in *Constit. Apost.* iii. 15, quoting from Lucian and Libanius). They were to exercise some supervision over the general body of widows, who were to be obedient to the bishops, priests, and deacons, and further to the deaconesses (*Constitut. Apost.* iii. c. 7). They also probably had authority over the virgins. Thus Gregory Nyssen, in the life of Macrina, says that Lampadin was set over the body of virgins in the diaconate. But the latter office appears to have been separable from the diaconate. Sozomen says that Nicarete refused either to become a deaconess, or to preside over the virgins of the Church, as if she might have accepted the one position without the other (*Soz. H. E.* viii. c. 23).

IV. *Rank and Privileges.*—There can be no doubt that deaconesses were considered to be an order in the Church. Nectarius is said to have ordained Olympias to the diaconate, *δῆκονου ἐχειροτόνησας* (*Soz. H. E.* viii. 9), and the same word is used in the decrees of the councils in Trullo (ce. 14, 40), and Chalcedon (c. 15). Epiphanius speaks of them as an order, *τάγμα*, in the Church (*Haer.* 79, cap. 3); and they were to receive the consecrated elements immediately after the male clergy, taking precedence of the widows and virgins, and the lay people (*Constitut. Apost.* viii. c. 13). Their ministry is said to be dependent upon that of the deacons (*Ibid.* ii. c. 26). A form of ordination by the bishop is also given in which the words *ἐπιθήσῃς τὰς χεῖρας*, which express the act of ordination, are the same as those employed in the office for the ordination of deacons, which the whole form greatly resembles (*Ibid.* viii. 19, 20).

Thomassin understands deaconesses to be meant in a decree of the 2nd council of Carthage (c. 3), which forbids a virgin to be consecrated by a presbyter, "puellarum consecratio a presbytero non fit" (ii. *Conc. Carth.* c. 3), or, as modified by the 3rd council (c. 36), without the consent of the bishop (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. l. 3, c. 50, § 11, 12).

There is however a somewhat remarkable passage in a decree of the council of Nice, which, after speaking of the Paulianist clergy who were to be reordained on their admission to the

Catholic Church, goes on to say that the deaconesses who had assumed that office, or habit, since they had no imposition of hands, could only be reckoned among the laity (I *Conc. Nic.* c. 19). But this appears simply to refer to certain women among the Paulianists who had assumed the habit or office of deaconess without imposition of hands, and who therefore could not be reordained but simply reckoned among the laity (cf. Thomassin *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. l. 3, c. 50, § 12). Indeed the same canon speaks of deaconesses as among the clergy (*ἡ τῶν κληρικῶν*) and to be received in the same manner. Thus clearly making a distinction between those among the Paulianists who had been regularly ordained, and those who had assumed the office without ordination. But the reading is doubtful (see Brunus, *Cinones*, l. 19), though Thomassin, in the place above quoted, accepts it without question as authentic.

The ordination, however, was expressly understood to confer no sacerdotal functions of any kind. The 4th council of Carthage (c. 100) expressly orders that no woman should venture to baptize. It appears that certain sects of the Montanists ordained women as priests and even as bishops. In opposition to these Epiphanius, while speaking of them as an order in the Church, asserts that they were women-elders, but not priestesses in any sense (*ἡγετοὶ Βαρβάρης ἡγίσιον*), and that their mission was not to interfere in any way with the functions allotted to the priests (*ἡερατεύειν*), but simply to perform certain offices in the care of women (Epiph. *Haer.* 79, cap. 3). Tertullian also says that it is not permitted to a woman to speak in the church, nor to baptize, nor to make the oblation (offerre), nor discharge any of the offices allotted to men (*virile munus*) (*Tert. de Vel. Virg.* c. 9), and is indignant at the forwardness of women who take upon themselves to teach and to baptize contrary to the express command of the Apostle (id. *De Nuptiis*, c. 17). The *Constitutions* (iii. 9) emphatically deny the right of women to baptize, asserting that priestesses are ordained for female duties, and are a heathen, not a Christian institution; and that if Our Lord had wished them to baptize, he would himself have been baptized by his own mother rather than by John the Baptist. The latter argument is also used by Epiphanius, who says that if Our Lord had ordered women to exercise any priestly or ecclesiastical ministry, he would first have given that office to the Virgin Mary (*Haer.* 79, cap. 3).

V. *Celibacy.*—It is evident that the ordination of deaconesses included a vow of celibacy. The council of Chalcedon (c. 15) pronounces an anathema against those who should marry after having been ordained to the diaconate. And Justinian's legislation ordered that those who married should be sentenced to forfeiture of property and capital punishment (*Norcell.* vi. 6).

VI. *Discontinuance.*—It is probable that this occasioned the discontinuance of the order. Certainly it did not last long. The council of Laodicea, A.D. 320, forbade the appointment of any of those who were called *ἡγετοὶ Βαρβάρης* (*Conc. Laod.* c. 11). The 1st council of Orange (c. 26), A.D. 441, simply forbids the ordination of any deaconess whatever; and again, "Viduarum consecrationem quas diaconas vocitant ab omni regione nostrâ penitus abrogamus" (*Conc. Episc.* c. 21).

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19) describes the church erected by his father as having *συναλ δίδροποι*. The church of St. Sophia was similarly surrounded with porticoes, except towards the east, on which side they were usually wanting (Procop. *de Aedif.* lib. i. c. 8, lib. v. c. 6), and which were of two stories towards the west (Ducange, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, lib. iii. c. 16, 17). The "deambulatoria" sometimes contained altars (Ducange *sup. roc.*). The term is also used for the walks of a cloister, "deambulatoria claustrorum." [CLOISTER.] [E. V.]

DEAN. [DECANUS.]

DEATH, REPRESENTATIONS OF.—

Though symbolic images involving the thought of death are by no means rare in early Christian art, they have reference almost entirely to the state of death, rather than the process, so to speak. They point to the condition of the restored soul, rather than to the painful separation of body and soul. Thus the thought and representations of death are generally without terror. The Pausing of Lazarus [LAZARUS] is repeated (Bottari, *passim*) as an earnest of the Lord's power: the Resurrection accompanies the Crucifixion in early art, as in the Laurentine M.S. Flowers are freely used to decorate tombs, with little change from their Pagan employment; and the bird set at liberty, the palm-branch, the car or chariot at rest, and the ship at anchor (see s. vv.), occur the two first *passim*, the others occasionally. Herzog (*Real-Encyc.*, s. v. "Sinbilder") states that the skeleton figure of death, in its retrospective view, pointing to the change from the life and pleasure of this world is traceable to remains of Gnostic symbols. The writer of this article can remember no earlier instance of it, than Giotto's crowned skeleton at Assisi. (See Crowe and Cavalaselle's *Italian Painters*, life of Giotto.) Orgagna and, lastly, Holbein bring down this Gothic grotesque symbol of the visible change, and outer side of the subject, to modern days.

For the apparently Pagan Charlot of Death in the Catacomb of St. Praetextatus see Perret, *Catacombes*, &c., vol. i. pl. 72; also Bottari, vol. iii. 219. [R. St. J. T.]

DEBTORS. The Jewish law in reference to debts and debtors, and to the redemption of pledges, is very peculiar. That of the Christian Church has been mainly founded on the Roman, which, originally very harsh towards debtors (see Gibbon, c. xlv., &c.) under the empire was greatly mitigated in their favour. Thus by a constitution of Diocletian and Maximian (A.D. 294), it was expressly enacted that the laws do not suffer freemen to be compelled to become slaves to their creditors by reason of their debts (*Code*, bk. iv. Tit. ix. l. 12). Under the older law there had already been introduced in favour of the debtor the expedient of the *bonorum cessio*, something between our bankruptcy, and what a few years back was distinguished from it as insolvency (see Dig. bk. xlii. Tit. iii.). It was a question among the jurists whether, if a man had once given up all his goods to his creditors, any after acquired property of his was subject to their claims. Sabinus and Cassius would have held free (*Ibid.* l. 4), thus assimilating him to the bankrupt. Ulpian took a middle, and it must be said, an unwise course, holding that the liability depended on

the quantum of the subsequent earnings, and that he was not to be disturbed in the possession of anything left or given to him by way of charity for his maintenance (*Ibid.* l. 6). Modestinus also held the liability to attach, if the property were sufficient to justify the action of the praetor (*Ibid.* l. 7). Under the Code, by a constitution of Alexander Severus (A.D. 224), the debtor was not held free from his debt till the creditor was paid in full, but the *cessio bonorum* exempted him from imprisonment and from torture (bk. vii. tit. lxxi. ll. 1, 8). It was in the option of the creditors to allow the debtors five years' delay instead of accepting the *cessio*, such option to be exercised, in case of difference of opinion, according to the figure of the debt, so that a single creditor whose claim should amount to more than the sum total of all the others had the fate of the debtor in his hands (l. 8; Const. of Justinian). An attempt having nevertheless been made to make the *cessio* compulsory on the debtor, the 135th *Novel* forbade this.

Debtors were under the Christian emperors admitted to the right of sanctuary in churches and their precincts, Jews only excepted, who pretended a wish to become converted in order to frustrate their creditors, and who were not to be admitted until they had paid all their debts (*Code*, bk. i. t. xii. l. 1 ff.), although the public imposit might be levied within the churches themselves, and if the collectors were subjected to violence or seditious opposition, the *defensores* and *oeconomi* of the Church were made responsible for the fiscal dues not collected (*Novel* 17, c. 7); but otherwise it was expressly enacted by a constitution of the Emperor Leo, A.D. 466 (bk. i. t. xii. l. 6), that the bishops and *oeconomi* were not to be held responsible for the debts of persons claiming sanctuary.

We may moreover observe in the 60th *Novel* a law forbidding creditors to torment their dying debtors or their families, place their seals upon the property, or interfere with the funeral, under severe penalties (c. i.); and in the 115th another which forbade the pressing by creditors of the heirs, parents, children, wives, husbands, aunts, cognates, connexions or sureties of a deceased debtor within nine days of his death, the delay not to be reckoned as time running for prescription nor otherwise to prejudice the creditor (c. v.). The 134th *Novel* forbids a custom which it speaks of as prevalent in various places, that of detaining a debtor's children as pledges, or as slaves or servants for hire, under penalty of forfeiture of the debt, damages to an equal amount, and corporal punishment (c. vii.). As to debts due to bankers, see the 136th *Novel*, and 7th *Edict* of Justinian.

Under the Ostrogothic rule in Italy, the Edict of Theodoric required debtors condemned by judicial sentence to pay within two months, under pain of the sale of their pledges (c. 124). Where, however, a creditor seized the goods of one who was not under obligation to him, he was to pay fourfold the value, if sued within the year, otherwise simply to restore the amount seized; and so of the fruits of land (c. 131). Under the Lombard law, on the contrary, by practice of seizing the person of the debtor the way of pledge seems to reappear, although the liability is confined to himself and his *golphans*, or nearest future heir (*Laws of Rotharis*, c. 149;

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Epist. vii. pt. 2.

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DECALVATU

p. 472.]

DECANATUS

district of a rural

monastic grange,

DECANIA, t

[p. 539] temp. Ca-

in later times also

(Du Cange).

DECANICIUM

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Theodosius, s. v.).

l. i. 85) states that

was a silver mace.

DECANICUM

canobis), an eccles-

olis or *demorio*

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by their bishops r-

ious. The word is

tabernacle official-

of the church—w-

false etymology it

another form, *dia-*

justified by the fac-

ordered ecclesiastic

sequent earnings, and
 arbed in the possession
 a to him by way of
 (Ibid. l. 6). Modest
 to attach, if the prop-
 erty the action of the
 r the Code, by a con-
 verus (A. D. 224), the
 from his debt till the
 out the *cesso honorum*
 onment and from tor-
 l. 8). It was in the
 allow the debtors five
 pting the *cesso*, such
 case of difference of
 figure of the debt, so
 claim should amount
 of all the others had
 is hands (l. 8; Const.
 pt having morever
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e Christian emperors
 sanctuary in churches
 ily excepted, who pre-
 converted in order to
 and who were not to
 d paid all their debts
 although the public
 within the churches
 debtors were subjected
 osition, the *defensores*
 ch were made respon-
 collected (Novel 17,
 expressly enacted by
 roy Leo, A. D. 466 (bk.
 bishops and *oecomeni*
 for the debts of

ible in the 60th Novel a
 torment their dying
 place their seals upon
 with the funeral, under
 in the 115th another g
 by creditors of the
 es, husbands, agnates,
 urities of a deceased
 by his death, the delay
 running for prescrip-
 ices the creditor
 orts a custom which
 in various places, but
 dren as pledges, or as
 under penalty of fines
 to an equal amount,
 c. vii.). As to debts
 136th Novel, and 7th

rule in Italy, the
 d debtors condemned
 y within two months,
 their pledges (c. 124).
 r seized the goods of
 igation to him, he was
 e, if sued within the
 to restore the amount
 fints of land (c. 131).
 on the contrary, by
 erson of the debtor the
 appear, although the
 self and his *gophans*,
 es of Rotharis, c. 149;

DECALVATIO

A. D. 638 or 643). Little, however, is found
 generally in the barbaric Codes on the subject.

It is not surprising to find the Church occasion-
 ally interfering either by spiritual penalties, or
 coarsely by kindly assistance to the unfor-
 tunate, where the municipal law failed to take
 effect for their relief. A signal instance of ec-
 clesiastical assistance to a debtor is that which
 forms the subject of Augustine's 215th or 268th
 letter, addressed to his congregation, to which he
 appealed to repay Maedonius, who had suffered
 by his kindness to one Pascius, a debtor who had
 taken sanctuary.

An Irish Synod of the middle of the 5th cen-
 tury (450 or 456) enacted the excommunication
 of fraudulent debtors, as if they were heathens,
 till they paid their debts (c. 20). In the collec-
 tion of Irish canons, supposed to belong to the
 end of the 7th century, there is a whole book
 (xxiii.) "of debts and pledges, and usury," and
 another (xxviii.) "of sureties and rates." There
 is however no reason for supposing that enact-
 ments like this ever took effect beyond the limits
 of Ireland.

From the letters of Gregory the Great, (A. D.
 590-603) we obtain some glimpses of the con-
 dition of debtors at the heart of Christendom,
 towards the end of the 6th and beginning of the
 7th century, and of the behaviour of the Church
 towards them. Two of his letters (*Epist.* ii. 56
 and iii. 43) are occupied with the case of a Syrian
 named Cosmas, a poor debtor, whose sons, accord-
 ing to his account, were detained by his creditors
 as pledges for his debts, and whom he was anx-
 ious to benefit.

Several other instances to the same effect occur
 in the same collection. A letter (*Epist.* v. 35)
 to Secundinus, bishop of Thormina, is written in
 favour of one Sincerus, whose wife was pressed
 to pay the debts of her late father. See also
Epist. vii. pt. 2, 37 and 60. Compare SANCTU-
 ARY; USURY. [J. M. L.]

DECALVATIO. [CORPORAL PUNISHMENTS,
 p. 472.]

DECANATUS = 1. the office of dean; 2. the
 district of a rural dean; 3. sometimes a farm or
 monastic grange, in late charters. [A. W. H.]

DECANIA, the district under a DECANUS
 [p. 539], temp. Car. Calvi. The word was used
 in later times also for a monastic farm or grange
 (Du Cange). [A. W. H.]

DECANICUM (*Δεκανίκιον*). The PAS-
 TORAL STAFF borne before the Patriarch of Con-
 stantinople on solemn occasions; delivered to
 him in the first instance by the emperor (Suicer's
Theaurus, s. v.). Panciroli however (*P. ex-novo*
 l. 85) states that the decanicium (or *decanitium*)
 was a silver mace. [C.]

DECANICUM, DECANIA, or DECANICA (*Δε-
 κανικόν*) an ecclesiastical prison, *carcer canonici-
 cels* or *domerito un d'imus*, a place of confine-
 ment in which criminous clerks were incarcerated
 by their bishops and other ecclesiastical super-
 iors. The word is derived from the *decani*, the
 subordinate officials—the *βαββούχοι* or lictors
 of the church—who were the jailers. By a
 false etymology it is sometimes written *δικανικόν*.
 Another form, *δικανικόν*, also found, may be
 justified by the fact that the sacristy and other
 named ecclesiastical buildings sometimes served

DECANUS

the purpose of a prison. Cf. the letter of Pope
 Gregory II., A. D. 731-741, to the Emperor Leo
 Isaurus, in which, comparing the mercy of the
 ecclesiastical with the severity of lay rulers,
 he says that when one of the clergy was
 proved to be worthy of punishment, instead of
 hanging or beheading him, the bishop hung
 round his neck the gospels and the cross, and
 imprisoned him in one of the treasuries or dia-
 conica, or catechumena of the church (Labbe,
Concil. viii. p. 25). The word *decanicus* is not
 unfrequently met with in early times; e. g. in
 the petition of Basil the deacon to the Emperor
 Theodosius, complaining of the cruel indignities
 he and his friends had been subjected to at the
 hands of Nestorius (*Acta Concil. Epliac.* pars i.
 c. 30, § 3 *et passim*; Labbe, *Concil.* iii. 425-431).
 "They had been stripped and beaten, and led
 off half-naked to the *decanicum*, where they were
 detained without food, and again beaten by the
decani."

The *Decanici* are named among the buildings
 of which heretics were to be deprived, in a
 decree of Arcadius and Honorius (*Justin. Cod.*
 lib. i. tit. v. c. 3); and in the *Novells* of Justi-
 nian (lxxix. c. 3, p. 211) we find a decree ad-
 dressed to Meenas, Archbishop of Constantinople,
 ordering that officers venturing to execute a
 sentence of secular courts on clerics should be
 imprisoned in the so-called *decanica* (*καθεργε-
 σθησαν εν τοις καλουμένοις δεκανικοις*). [E. V.]

DECANUS (in an ecclesiastical sense) =

I. A member of a guild, whose occupation was
 that of interring the dead [COPIATAE]: reckoned
 among *clerici* by St. Jerome, Epiphanius, the *Cod.*
Theodos., &c.; called also *κονιαρις* (Epiphanius),
fossarius (Pseudo-Jerom., *De VII. Ord. Eccl.*),
lecticarius (Justinian, *Novel.* xliii. *Præf.*), *col-
 legiatus* (in the laws of Honorius, &c., Justinian,
 Theodosius the Great), *decanus* (same laws; and
Collect. Const. Eccl. in *Biblioth. Jur. Canon.*
 p. 1243). The office was apparently instituted
 by Constantine at Constantinople, where it num-
 bered in his time 1100 members, but was
 afterwards reduced to 950; but then again
 increased by the Emperor Anastasius, who also
 endowed it (Justinian, *Novel.* xliii. lix.; *Cod.* lib.
 iv. *De Sacrosanct. Eccl.*). From thence it spread
 to "other populous churches." The poor were to
 be buried by its members gratuitously, at least
 where it was endowed (*id. Novel.* lix.). The
dekanoi mentioned by St. Chrysostom (*Hom.*
 xlii.) were a different, and a civil, body of
 officials, attached to the emperor's palace.
 (Bingham, Du Cange, Meursius, Suicer.)

II. A presbyter appointed to preside as the
 bishop's deputy over a division of his diocese;
 called at first archpresbyter (Thomasin, l. iii. 66,
 § 14; Daussey, p. i. § 2), with the epithet of *vica-
 nus* (*Conc. Turon.* II. c. 19, A. D. 567; Brun's
Canones, ii. 229), to distinguish him from the
 urban archpresbyter or protopope, and succeed-
 ing under that name to some of the functions of
 the older cherepiscopus; originally in the Church
 of France:—first called *Decanus*, and his district
Decania,—(setting aside a canon, wrongly at-
 tributed to the Council of Agde, A. D. 505, but
 really of the date of Charles the Great, acc. to
 Daussey, and two questionable canons respectively
 of *Conc. Tolet.* V. A. D. 636, and VII. A. D. 644)—
 later than about the time of Charles the Great

(see *Capit. Car. Calvi*, tit. v. § 3; *Conc. Tolos.* A.D. 843, c. 3; *Hincmar, Opp.* i. 738, c. A.D. 878); called also *decanus ruralis* (e.g. in *Conc. Trever.* A.D. 948, c. 3), *magister* (by *Hincmar*, v. *Conc. Gallie*. III. 623), *decanus episcopi* (when introduced into England, a step perhaps facilitated by the existence of the civil division into tithings, about A.D. 1052, in *Lejg. Edc. Confess.* xxxi., and see *Du Cange*, and *Carpentier's Supplem.* to *Du Cange*), *decanus Christianorum* (in a charter of A.D. 1092, ap. *Du Cange*), and commonly afterwards *decanus Christianitatis*, probably as having to do with courts Christian, i. e. with the bishop's courts. The developed functions of the office belong to a period later than that to which the present work relates. In Ireland, the peculiar institution of the court became mixed up with that of *plébana*, or rural dean. Beyond the British isles and France, the office does not seem to have existed. (*Dansey, Horæ Decanice Kurales*, 2nd edit. 1814; *Du Cange*; *Spelman*.)

III. The chief officer of a cathedral, *decanus ecclesie cathedralis*, as distinguished from the *decanus urbanus* and *ruralis*, or city and country arch-priests, after the chapter of the cathedral had become a separate and corporate body [CANONIC]. The office so entitled dates in its full development only from the 10th or 11th centuries, Normandy and Norman England being the countries where it first occurs, Rouen having a dean in the 10th century, and the Dean of St. Paul's, A.D. 1086, being the first English dean. But as a cathedral officer, the *decanus* dates from the 8th century, when he is found, after the monastic pattern, as subordinate to the *præpositus* or provost, who was the bishop's vicegerent as head of the chapter. The arrangement still survives, after a fashion, in the relative positions of the provost or head, and of the dean, in Oxford and Cambridge colleges. The Council of Mayence, A.D. 813, substituted deans for provosts. And that of Aix la Chapelle, A.D. 817, subordinated the provost to the dean. A series of provosts, afterwards mostly converted into deans—at Canterbury until the time of Lanfranc, at Worcester A.D. 872-872, at Ely A.D. 878, at Lichfield A.D. 818-822, at Wells before A.D. 1088, at Beverley A.D. 1070, at several foreign cathedrals, and in some English collegiate churches—is given by *Walcot (Cathedrati*, p. 38). The change probably arose from the abandonment on the part of the provosts of the spiritual and internal direction of the chapter, through their attention to its temporal and external concerns. The functions of the dean are laid down, for the diocese of Lincoln, A.D. 1212, as sanctioned by Pope Alexander III. (*Wilk. Conc.* I. 535, 536), and for that of Lichfield A.D. 1194, by Bishop Nonant (*ib.* 497), and for that of Sarum, as adopted by Glasgow (*ib.* 741). But the office, in this full sense of the title, belongs to a period long subsequent to the date of Charles the Great.

IV. Deans of Peculiarities, and other special applications of the title of dean, belong also to a like later period. As does likewise the deanery of the province of Canterbury, attached to the bishopric of London. (*Thomassin*; *Du Cange*; *Walcot's Archaeology and Cathedrati*.) [A. W. H.]

V. *Decanus Monasticus*.—Among monks the office seems to have existed in Asia and Egypt, at least in a rudimentary form, from almost the very commencement of coenobitism; in

subordination to the 'pater,' 'abbas,' 'hegumenos' or 'archimandrita' (*Bligh. ib.*). The 'decanus' was deputed by him to superintend the younger brethren, drilling them in self-denial and encouraging them to confess to him even their secret thoughts (*Cassian, Instit.* v. 8, 9). Especially he was to watch over the novices just emerging, their first year of probation being past, from the 'xenodochium' or strangers' room (*ib.* 7), setting them an example of obedience by himself obeying the 'præpositus' even in things impossible (*ib.* 10). *Augustine* speaks of the 'decanus' as having charge over ten monks (*De Mor. Eccl.* 31); *Jerome*, over nine; (*Ep.* 22 ad *Eus'och.*). The 'decanus' was to provide for the temporal necessities of his monks, for instance, by sending out to them the linen under-garments; (*cf. Cass. Instit.* iv. 10) to watch by night over their cells; to lead them to and from refectory; to assign to each the allotted task; and, at the close of the day, to hand over the work done to the 'oeconomus' or steward, who was to make a monthly report of it to the abbat (*Jerome, ib.* cf. *Bingh. u.s.*).

The great monastic legislator of M. Casino adopted cordially this important feature in coenobitism, prescribing more precisely the duties of the 'decanus,' and placing him next in rank to the 'prior' or 'præpositus.' Indeed, *Benedict* preferred deans to priors as less likely to collide with the supreme authority of the abbat (*Reg.* c. 65; *cf. Conc. Agouat.* I. 816, 11). All monasteries, except the very smallest, for the words 'major congregatio' are taken to mean any number over twenty (*Mart. in Lep. S. Bened.* 17), were to have deans, one for ten brethren. He was to have charge of his 'decima' in all things, with this proviso, "according to the precepts of the abbat" (*Reg.* 21). He was to be appointed not by seniority, 'per ordinem,' but by merit, at the choice of the abbat, or, according to some commentators, of the abbat and seniors (*ib.*). He was to hold office for an undefined period, one year or more (*Mart. in Reg.* 31-2), in fact, "quandiu se bene gesserit," but after three admonitions was to be deprived (*Reg.* 21). He was to guard the morals and conduct of the monks under his care, especially the dormitory (*Reg.* 22; *cf. Reg. Magist.* 11); and to hear their confessions (*Reg.* 46).

In subsequent adaptations of the *Benedictine Rule* the office of Dean is defined still more precisely. By the rule entitled 'Magistri,' his badge of office was to be a wand 'virga' or 'rover' a crook, symbolic of pastoral duties (*Reg. Mag.* 11, *cf. Menard. in Conc. Reg.* 28, 2). The same rule orders two deans for each decade of monks, to relieve one another, so that one or the other may be always with them (*ib.*). They were to preside at table in the refectory (*ib.*). By the rule of *Fructuosus*, the dean is to keep watch over the younger monks, even in minute points of deportment, to receive their most secret confessions, and to delate impatient offenders to the abbat or prior (*Reg. Fruct.* 12). By the council of Aachen, in 817, the eldest in rank of the deans is to superintend the other deans (*Conc. Aquigr.* 55).

According to *Menard* (*in Reg. S. Bened.* 21), the practice of the Reformed Benedictines as to the office of dean has varied considerably. With the Cistercians it has been unknown (*ib.*). With

the monks temporalitatum prof. Du Ca. of M. Cassi. to the abbards, the revived (according to a 'foris deca' the monast. caas operi people; in a 'villici' or the 'decan' some'tmes (ib.) In a correspondi of the wor (ib.).

See, also III. tract v. tionnaire d. Maillane, L.

For the g of 'decanus CANONICI.

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ater, 'abbas,' 'heguta' (Biugh. 6). by him to superintend drilling them in themselves to confess to him (Cassian, *Instit.* v. 12). as to watch over their first year of probation 'xenodochium' or setting them an example obeying the 'praepositus' (ib. 10). Augustina as having charge over (ib. 31); Jerome, over (ib. 10). The 'decimus' was moral necessities of his ending out to them the (ib. Cass. *Instit.* iv. 10) to assign to each the close of the day, to the 'aeconomi' or like a monthly report of (ib. of. Biugh. u.s.).

legislator of M. Casino important feature in were precisely the duties being him next in rank (ib. 10). Indeed, Benedict as less likely to collude (ib. 1. 810, 11). All monasteries, for the words taken to mean any number (ib. S. *Bened.* 17), were brethren. He was to 'minia' in all things, with to the precepts of the was to be appointed not 'm', but by merit, at the according to some com- and seniors (ib.). He a undefined period, one in *Reg.* 31-2), in fact, 'rit,' but after three ad- (ib. 21). He was the conduct of the monks the dormitory (*Reg.* 22; to hear their confessions;

ions of the Benedictines as defined still more pre- entitled 'Magistri,' his be a wand 'virga,' or of pastoral duties (*Reg. Conc. Reg.* 28, 2). The ones for each decade of other, so that one or the ch them (ib.). They were the refectory (ib.). By the dean is to keep watch, even in minute points of their most secret confes- sioners offenders to the (ib. 12). By the council the eldest in rank of the other deans (*Conc.*

(in *Reg. S. Bened.* 21), rmed Benedictines as a ried considerably. With en unknown (ib.). With

the monks of Clugni, the deans administered the temporalities of the monastery, being the 'villarum provisoris' or 'suffraganei Prioris' (ib. of Du Cange, *Glossar.* s.v.). With the monks to the abbat (of. *Altezer. Ascetic.* ii. 9); but afterwards, the original institution of deans was revived (Menard. 6). In some monasteries, according to Du Cange (*Glossar.* s.v.), there was a 'foris decanus' to look after the interests of the monastery, outside its walls; in some a 'decanus operis' or 'operariorum' over the work-people; in some, the tenants under the monastery, 'villici' or 'coloni' were called 'decani.' Hence the 'decania' or 'decanatus' came to mean sometimes a grange belonging to a monastery (ib.). In nunneries there were officials, 'decimae,' corresponding to the 'decani' in the older sense of the word, to maintain order and discipline (ib.).

See, also, Haefteni *Disquisitiones Monasticae* III. tract. vi. disquis. 4, Antverpiae, 1644. *Dictionnaire du Droit Canonique*, par Durand de Maillane, Lyon, 1776, 1786.

For the growth and development of the office of 'decans' in cathedral-monasteries see under CANONICAL. [I. G. S.]

DECIMAE. [TITHES.]

DECRETE. [DECRETUM.]

DECRETAL. As has been observed in a previous article [CANON LAW], a decretal in its strict canonical sense is an authoritative rescript of a pope, in reply to some question propounded to him, just as a decree is an ordinance enacted by him, with the advice of his cardinals, but not drawn from him by previous inquiry.* The very word therefore implies power and jurisdiction. Hence, though from the 4th century downwards epistles of the Bishops of Rome are extant,† the earlier specimens do not come up to the full canonical idea of decretals, inasmuch as they possessed, when issued, a moral weight rather than a legislative force. They are thus spoken of by Gieseler:—"Another source of influence to the Roman bishops was the custom of referring to them particularly, as the head of the only apostolic Church of the West, all questions concerning the apostolic customs and doctrines, which in the East were addressed indiscriminately to the bishops of any church founded by an apostle. This gave them occasion to issue a vast number of didactic letters (epistolae decretales), which soon assumed a tone of apostolic authority, and were held in high estimation in the West, as flowing from apostolic tradition." (Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.*, Second Period, chap. iii.)

As the papal power became firmly established, such epistles acquired more and more force, until at length they occupied the position tersely expressed by the canonist Lancelottus in later

* *Decretalis epistola est, quando Papa ad consultationem ulcuius respondet: sive solus, sive de consilio fratrum. . . . Decretum est, quod Papa de consilio fratrum, nulla consultatione facta, super aliqua re statuit, et in rescriptis restitit. . . . Constituitur est quod Papa proprio motu statuit, et in rescriptis restitit, sine consilio fratrum et nulla consultatione facta.*—Hustensius, *Aurea summa*, Proem. 14.

† As regards the 3rd century, see Phillips, p. 6, and Bickell, l. 35, note. Constantine is the only Pope of whom any letters of that date remain.

days—"Decreta Pontificum Romanorum canonibus conciliorum pari potestate exaequantur" (lib. i. tit. 3). Conversely, also, the papal power itself was mainly indebted for its development to the canonical doctrine of decretals. For it was the collection of forged decretals put forth by the Pseudo-Isidore which chiefly persuaded the world that the popes had from the most primitive times been in the habit of issuing authoritative rescripts; and this being once admitted, it followed that they must still have power to act in a like manner.† Moreover, the pretended decretals were so full of assertions of the papal prerogatives, that when they were once accepted as genuine and valid, they were a sufficient justification for the issue of any subsequent document of the same sort, however extravagant. As the collection of the Pseudo-Isidore did not appear until the middle of the 9th century, it lies beyond the period to which the present work is confined. But some notice of it is required on many grounds. It contains numerous alleged decretals of very early popes, the spuriousness of which must be pointed out. It gave the chief support to the canonical idea of a "Decretal," and therefore enables us to show that that idea in its full development is probably later than 800 A.D. It contains several decretals taken from the older collections of Dionysius and of the Spanish Church, and therefore gives us occasion to notice that the idea in question, though not fully matured, was not unknown at an earlier period. It may be convenient therefore briefly to indicate the character and contents of the work.

It commences with nearly sixty letters of various Bishops of Rome, from Clement to Melchisede. These are all fictitious, and are all (according to Heinschius, cxxxi.), with the exception of two letters of Clement (which are in whole or in part more ancient forgeries) the work of the Pseudo-Isidore.

Then follow various conciliar decrees, with which we are not here concerned, but many of which are unauthentic. In a third part we have again decretals of popes down to Gregory II. In this series the first that is genuine is that of Siricius to Himerius or Eumerius, Bishop of Tarragona.‡ Among those that follow, some are to a certain extent genuine, or, at all events, have been taken, with more or less exactness, from existing records. Others, on the contrary, are either the invention of the compiler, or have been compounded by him out of some existing materials, or, lastly, were forgeries found ready to his hand.††† Everywhere, however, unwar- ranted alterations and additions are to be found,

* The work is considered by Heinschius to have appeared between 817 and 853, A.D. It has been usual to trace its origin to the province of Mayence, but Heinschius attributes it to that of Rheims. The author is not certainly known (see Heinschius, cxxvii. and cxxix. *et seq.*). By some he has been identified with Benedictus Levita; but, according to Heinschius, he only availed himself of materials found in the collection of Benedictus. (Heins. cxliii.)

† With this the original collection of Dionysius began.

†† Alfama makes 39, Phillips 35, false decrees in this part of the work. It is hard to say with precision how many of the forgeries were previously in existence. On this point the careful analysis in the preface of Heinschius should be consulted. See also Phillips, p. 63, Bickell, l. 35, note. It is impossible to condense the results.

wholly spurious letters being apparently mixed with those that have some title to be deemed authentic.¹ It thus appears that the work is not a pure, unminged forgery. It rests in part on older collections. These are the Hispan collection, the so-called Hadriano-Dionysian collection (or *Codex Hadrianus*), and some other works of less importance. Of these some account has been already given under a previous head [CANON LAW], and it is therefore unnecessary to repeat it here. As there mentioned, the work of Dionysius (subsequently sanctioned by Pope Hadrian) was the first which placed the papal epistles side by side with the decrees of Councils. This seems to have been the important step. From this time an opening was given to contend that they were on a par, and the wide circulation which the work obtained very materially assisted the pretensions founded on it. Then came the Spanish collection, which yet further contributed to invest the papal epistles with a legislative, as distinguished from a moral, authority in the Church. It carried on the series further than Dionysius had done;² and at length, in the 9th century, the appearance of the work of the Pseudo-Isidore (so called to distinguish him from the Isidore to whom the Spanish collection is attributed), with its crowd of fictitious epistles which an uncritical age received in implicit faith, put into the hands of the popes the greatest weapon which they have ever wielded. The result therefore is that previously to the year 800 A.D. the foundations were really laid for the superstructure afterwards raised; but it was chiefly due to the subsequent work that that superstructure attained its vast proportions and peculiar character. For the forgeries invented by, or enshrined in, that work, not only vastly increased the number of papal epistles, and carried them back to primitive times, but were directly framed with a view of supporting the highest claims of the Roman see. There is little or nothing in the genuine epistles which could be made the foundation of many of the later papal claims, whereas the fictitious decretals furnish a basis for the largest pretensions. It was for this reason that

¹ As an indication that the learned of all communions are substantially agreed at the present day as to the character of the work as a whole, it may not be uninteresting to cite the following summary of the work from the Benedictine notes to the *Bibliotheca Canonica* of Ferrari, edit. 1835: (stated to be published "Superioris permissu et privilegio.") Under the title "Cronones" the collection of Pseudo-Isidore is thus spoken of:—"Continet collectio præter quinquaginta Canones Apostolorum ex Hadriano collectione, epistolæ Romanorum Pontificum a Clemente usque ad Silvestrum, quarum omnium hinc Isidorus auctor fuit, exceptis duabus Clementis ad Jacobum Ileritæ; tum octones plurim conciliorum, in quibus falsa habetur constitutio Constanti ad Silvestrum; postremo Pontificum Ileritæ ab ipso Silvestro ad Gregorium M. aliis cum epistolis ac monumentis, quarum pars ex aliis collectionibus sumpta vera est; quæ et Romana, præter epistolas omnes Pontificum Siciliæ antiquiorum ab Isidoro confectas, exceptis S. Damasi ad Paulinum Ileritæ, pars altera cum actis concilii Bononiæ sub Julio et Concilio I. V. et VI. sub Symmacho, excoisitata et inventa est." See another account, also from a Roman Catholic point of view, in Phillips' *Du droit Ecclésiastique*, chap. I. § 8.

² Phillips (p. 29) seems to think that some decretals purporting to proceed from the earliest pope had been added to the collection of Dionysius at the end of the 7th century, thus carrying the series backward also, and paving the way for Pseudo-Isidore.

they were brought at once into prominence, and that from the time of their appearance decretals, as distinguished from other sources of ecclesiastical law, play so large a part in the works of the canonists.

"The false decretals," says Milman (*Lat. Christ.* book v. chap. 4), do not merely assert the supremacy of the popes—the dignity and privileges of the Bishop of Rome—they comprehend the whole dogmatic system and discipline of the Church, the whole hierarchy from the highest to the lowest degree, their sanctity and immunities, their persecutions, their disputes, their right of appeal to Rome.^b They are full and minute on church property; on its usurpation and spoliation; on ordinations; on the sacraments, on baptism, confirmation, marriage, the Eucharist; on fasts and festivals; the discovery of the cross, the discovery of the reliques of the apostles; on the chrism, holy water, consecration of churches, blessing of the fruits of the field; on the sacred vessels and habiliments. Personal incidents are not wanting to give life and reality to the fiction. The whole is composed with an air of piety and reverence: a specious purity, and occasionally beauty, in the moral and religious tone. There are many axioms of seemingly sincere and vital religion. But for the too manifold design, the aggrandisement of the see of Rome and the aggrandisement of the whole clergy in subordination to the see of Rome; but for the monstrous ignorance of history, which betrays itself in glaring anachronisms, and in the utter confusion of the order of events and in the lives of distinguished men—the former awakening keen and jealous suspicion, the latter making the detection of the spuriousness of the whole easy, clear, irrefragable—the False Decretals might still have maintained their place in ecclesiastical history.¹

Authorities.—Gieseler, *Text Book of Eccles. History*; Heinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianæ et Capitula Anselmi*, Lipsiæ, 1863, which is now probably the standard work on the subject; Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts*, Giessen, 1843; Milman, *Latin Christianity*; Phillips, *Du Droit ecclésiastique dans ses Sources*; Woltner, *Kirchenrecht*. [B. S.]

DECRETUM, DECRETALE. The letter of the clergy and people of a city, sent to the metropolitan and the provincial bishops, signifying the election of a bishop of their city [BISHOP, p. 220], whom they require to be consecrated; equivalent to τῆς χειροτονίας τὸ ψήφισμα (Palladius, *Vita Chrysost.* p. 39). Gregory of Tours (*Vita Marci*, c. 13, in Du-Roi's edition) says that in the choice of Mauritius the electors could not "in unum venire decretum." A form for such a letter is given in the *Ordo Romanus Vetus*, under the title, "Decretum quod clericus et populus firmare debet de electione episcopi." The proper form of one addressed to the pope himself is given in the *Liber Diurnus Pon-*

^a It has been thought by Giffrier that one motive of the fraud was to beat down the power of the metropolitans over the bishops, by making that of the pope greater and more immediate in its nature over all the clergy. See Milman's note, *ibidem*.

^b It should perhaps be added that in this article the strict canonical sense of "decretal" has been taken. The word, like other ecclesiastical terms, is sometimes used in a looser and more general sense.

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lff. Romm. c. 3, p. 54. In the same place there follows (p. 56) a "Decretale, quod legit diocesis designato episcopo." The difference between this and the foregoing *Decretum* appears to be, that the one was sent by the hands of some official of the vacant see immediately on the election of the bishop; if thereupon the pope gave his assent, the bishop became technically *designatus*, and a deacon of his church read the *Decretale*, and a deacon for consecration (Garnier, *in loco*). Several forms of Decretal on the election of bishops may be found in Sirmond's *Council Gall.* ii. 647 ff. and in Usher's *Vet. Epist. Hibern.*, *Epp.* 25, 33, 40.

DEDICATION. [CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES: PATRON SAINT.]

DEDICATION, FESTIVAL OF (Εγκαλία). The observance of the anniversary of dedication arose contemporaneously with the custom of the solemn dedication of churches. It was natural that an epoch so intimately connected with the religious life of the congregation should not be allowed to drop into oblivion. By a very intelligible metaphor the day of consecration was considered the birthday of the church, or congregation meeting for worship within its walls. St. Leo (*Sermo lxxxii. in Natal. Machab.*) calls it the "dies natalis" of the church. By another metaphor it was regarded as the day of the church's espousals to her heavenly Bridegroom. Most naturally therefore some joyous feelings and outward festivities as birthdays and wedding-days. These celebrations having their first origin in the time when the Christians were a poor and barely tolerated sect, exposed continually to persecution, and when any outward pomp attracting the notice of the heathen population around would be fraught with peril, assumed a character of magnificence in their period of security and opulence. The earliest instance on record of the observance of such anniversaries is in the case of the church of "the Great Martyr" erected by Constantine on Calvary, and consecrated A.D. 335. In memory of this solemn dedication, the most magnificent the Christian world had yet witnessed, a yearly festival was held for eight days at Jerusalem, attended by immense crowds not of the citizens only but of strangers from all parts (*Soz. H. E.* lib. ii. c. 26). But the custom was certainly anterior to this, for not many years later, towards the middle of the 4th century, the observance of these anniversaries is spoken of by Gregory Nazianzen as "an ancient usage," *εγκαλιαν ημεραβαν παλαιος νθος και καλως εχων και παρο ουχ επαξ ελλαδ και πολλαδας, εκαστης του εναιου περιρωτης την αυτην ημεραν εταγωνοντες* (Greg. Naz. *In Locum Dominicam. Orat.* lxxxii.). Two centuries later it was laid down by Felix IV. c. A.D. 530, as a law of the Church that such anniversaries should be solemnly kept for eight days, "solemnitates vero dedicationum ecclesiarum per singulos annos sunt celebrandae" (*Epistola ad Episcopos, Labbe, Council. iv. 1655*). The example of Christ attending the Feast of Dedication (John x. 22), and of Solomon feasting the people for eight days at the Dedication of the Temple, 1 Kin. viii. 65, 66, were adduced as authorities for this observance. At the commencement of the next century we find the first

indication of the revelry with which these festivals were subsequently disgraced, and which made them a by-word for scandalous licence. Gregory the Great writing to Mellitus when proceeding to join Augustine in England, A.D. 601, after retracting the advice previously given that the heathen temples should be destroyed, and recommending their purification and conversion into Christian Churches, proceeds in a similar spirit to advise that the popular festivals formerly held on these consecrated sites should not be wholly discontinued, but that "as some solemnity must be conceded as a compensation," they should be transferred to the anniversaries of the day of dedication, or the nativities of the martyrs by whose relics the churches were hallowed. On these days he recommends that huts or arbours should be erected, about the transformed temples, in which after "killing cattle to the praise of God in their eating, they should celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting" (Greg. Mag. *Epist. ad Mellitum, Had-dan and Stubbs*, vol. iii. p. 37; *Bele*, lib. i. c. 30). In other places Gregory alludes to the eagerness with which the country folk flocked together to these festive celebrations, and the mixed crowds that were attracted by the good cheer (Greg. Mag. *Homil. in Evang. xiv.*; *Epist.* lib. i. 52, 54; *Vita*, c. 37. See also Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 15). Such gatherings of half-leavened pagans inevitably assumed a character of gross licence entirely at variance with their sacred intention. Dramatic representations were performed, drinking was prolonged to intoxication, and singing and dancing were continued far into the night. In fact they were characterized by all the revelry and licentiousness of a village fair, which in so many cases is the lineal successor of the dedication festival, changed only in its externals. These gross scandals were not allowed to pass un-reproved. The serious attention of bishops and councils was directed to them, and earnest attempts were made for their suppression. The 19th canon of the council of Châlons, A.D. 650, is directed against the custom (the prohibition indicates the practice) of bands of women singing foul and obscene songs, "turpia et obscena cantilena," at the perches or choirward walls on the dedication festivals (Labbe, *Concil. vi.* 391 [compare DANCING]). But so thoroughly had these licentious festivals established themselves, that their authoritative condemnation proved idle, and they lived on in defiance of prelates and councils.

Gavanti lays down (*Theol. Sacr. Rit.* § 8, c. 5) that the Feast of Dedication is a festival of the first-class, of greater dignity than that of the Patron Saint or the Titularity of the Church. The reason for this superiority is assigned by St. Thomas Aquinas (*lect. 5 in Joann. c. x.*) because the dedication festival is a commemoration of the benefits conferred on the whole church, which exceed those given to any individual saint. The Feast of Dedication is a "duplex majus" and has an octave. If it happens to coincide with any greater festival the consecrator, or afterwards the bishop of the diocese, may transfer the anniversary to some Sunday, or any other day convenient for the large attendance of the country people (Gavanti u. s.; Bellarmin, *de cultu sanctorum*, lib. lii. c. 5, *de dedicatione et consecra-*

into prominence, and appearance decretals, sources of ecclesiastical in the works of

says Milman (*Lat.* o not merely assert the dignity and privilege—they comprehend and discipline of from the highest to city and immunities, putes, their right of full and minute an usurpation and spoliation of sacraments, on baptism, the Eucharist; on convey of the cross; of the apostles; on creation of churches, field; on the sacred personal incidents are a reality to the fic-titious with an air of pious purity, and occasional and religious acts of seemingly sin-ful for the too manifold of the see of Rome the whole clergy in Rome; but for the story, which betrays aims, and in the utter events and in the lives of former awakening, the latter making conscious of the whole the False Decretals their place in eccle-

Text Book of Eccles. includes Pseudo-Isidorian, Lipsiae, 1863, standard work on the de des Kirchenrechts, Latin Christianity; *litique dans ses Sources*; [B. S.]

ETALE. The letter of a city, sent to the provincial bishops, a bishop of their city they require to be con- τρις χριστορας το Chrysos. p. 39). *Greg. rit.* c. 13, in Du-nico of Manritius the num venire decretum."

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er that one motive of the power of the metropolitans at of the pope greater and over all the clergy. See

ed that in this article the "etal" has been taken. The verus, is sometimes used in

so under APPEAL. And Seville (*Hispid.* II. A.D. to restore the older practice) bishop acting *in iudicio* honorari daret potest. The rule however that three bishops were to try a deacon, six in the case of a bishop, and of the province indeed which could depose a priest also. In which clergy were to be taken for granted that penalty for all such impious excommunication. But in addition to these, as against clerical disciplinarians attached the like duty, having recourse to the law, as *e. g.* after Easter, &c. The 38th canon (deposes for negligence). See BISHOP, PRISBYTER.

There have been some ceremonies of such a nature, the details of later customs in early times, and date in the Roman Pontifical of the 8th century. Martene (iii. c. 2) has collected earlier practice. Libesius his earliest instance, the later practice was in itself, that something of the rule from the first, was conferred with the ring to each order, vestments, and with the vestments, there could natural symbol of the than the taking away ornaments and vestments. Liberatus, according to, by taking away his mitre, later ceremonial in the face's bull given, solemnly takes away, or each, and this is the secular judge, or on some ending by scraping the degraded clerk, to signify of unction and blessing, proceeded to share his name words as well as acts, gaining may likewise be *e. g.* Socrates, II. E. i. 24, of Eustathius). Regular are of a late date. They are and in Böhmert, as

there still followed in and cases, confirmation, as, may be seen in *e. g.* the clerk being still canonical law, although now

DEICOLAE

(Bingham, xvii.; Martene, *De Ant. Rit. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 2; Böhmert, *Jus Eccles. Protest.* lib. v. tit. xxvii. § 974, tom. v. pp. 715-766.)

[A. W. H.]

DEICOLAE (compare COLIDEI). A name sometimes applied to monks, as in the *Epistle* of Martin of Braga to King Miro, in D'Achery's *Spiœlogium*, iii. 312 (Ducauge, s. v.). [C.]

DEI GRATIA. The bishops of the Church, regarding themselves as called to their office by the will of God, have from ancient times been in the habit of using formulae implying a divine call. Thus Pope Felix II. (A.D. 358) calls himself "per gratiam Dei episcopus" (Hardouin, *Concil.* i. 737). Aurelius says that he holds his office "dignatione Dei" (*C. Carth.* iii. c. 45; A.D. 397). Other bishops used equivalent expressions, as "Dei" or "Christi nomine, misericordiae, misericordiam." The German bishops have used, from the 7th century onward, the form "Dei gratia," to which in later times some such phrase as "apostolice sedis gratia" or "providentia" was added. Zailwein (*Principia Juris Eccl.* iv. 278) believes this addition not to be earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century, and Thomassin (*Vetus et Nova Eccl. Discip.* pt. I. bk. i. c. 60, § 10), will not allow that it was used in Germany before the beginning of the fifteenth; but the germ of it is certainly found in the writings of Boniface, the apostle of Germany, who styled himself "servus apostolice sedis" (Hartzheim, *Concilia Germaniae*, i. 43).

A similar style was adopted by secular persons of exalted rank; thus Agilulf on his crown (CROUN, p. 508) is described as "Gratia Domini . . . Rex totius Italiae" (A.D. 591); and Rothar (A.D. 643), in his *Edict* for the Lombards (Walter, *Corpus Juris Germanici*, i. 683), speaks of himself as "in Dei nomine rex, anno, Deo propitiante, regni mei octavo." In England, Ethelbert of Kent, in a charter of the year 605, styles himself, "Aethilbertus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum" (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 55), Ethelbald (A.D. 716) styles himself "divina dispensatione rex Merciorum" (*Cod. x Dipl.*). From the days of Pepin the form "Dei gratia" seems commonly to have been adopted by the Frankish kings. Charles the Great (A.D. 769) adopted the following style and title: "Carolus gratia Dei rex regnique Francorum rector et devotus sanctae ecclesiae comes atque adiutor in omnibus apostolice sedis" (Pertz, *Monum. Germaniae*, iii. 33). Selden, *Tiles of Honor*, in Works, iii. 214; Allen, *Royal Prerogative*, p. 22, ed. 1849; Herzog, *Real-Encyclop. d. Lit.*, iii. 312. [C.]

DEITIES, PAGAN. [PAGANISM IN ART.]

DELATORES. [INFORMERS.]

DELEGATED JURISDICTION. [JURISDICTION.]

DELEGATUS. [LEGATE.]

DELPHINI. [CORONA LUCIS, p. 461.]

DEMERITORUM DOMUS. [DECANIA.]

DEMETRIA, daughter of Faustus, martyr at Rome under Julian; commemorated June 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

DEMETRIUS. (1) Martyr at Thessalonica, A.D. 296; commemorated Oct. 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi); Oct. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

DEMONIACS

(2) Bishop and martyr of Antioch with Ananias, Eustasius, and twenty others; commemorated Nov. 10 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi).

(3) Saint; commemorated Dec. 22, with Honoratus and Florus (*Mart. Usuardi*, Adonis in *Appendice*).

(4) Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 231; commemorated Magabit 12 = March 8 and Tekemt 12 = Oct. 9 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(5) "Demetrius et Basilus," commemorated Nov. 12 (*Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

DEMOCRITUS, Saint, at Siandaa in Africa; commemorated July 31, with Secundus and Dionisius (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

DEMON (IN ART). The evil spirit is always represented in early Christian art as the enemy and tempter of mankind under the form of the serpent, excepting in the Laurentian MS. [DEMONIAC] and in the singular diptych (in Gori, *Thesaurus*, t. iii. tab. viii.) which represents the cure of a demoniac. As Martigny observes, these cases are in all respects exceptional; but they are probably the earliest works of art in which the devil or any inferior evil spirit is represented in the human form. [But see DEVIL.] It might be expected that as the form of Job occurs frequently in early carvings and paintings (Bottari, tavv. xv. cv.; Perret, i. xxv. &c.) some representation of the evil one as an agent of torment might be found with him; but this seems not to be the case. The figure of the SERPENT (see s. v.) accompanies most representations of Adam and Eve in Bottari and elsewhere; his head is generally turned towards Eve. The first known instance of the human-headed serpent as tempter is found in the Catacomb of St. Agnes (Perret, ii. pl. Al.), if the painting be of the same date as the catacomb. This point involves great difficulties, which time and inquiry seem rather likely to aggravate than to diminish. For the Serpent threatening the Doves see DRAGON; and Gori, *Thesaurus*, Diptych. iii. p. 160. [R. St. J. T.]

DEMONIACS. The Church inherited from both Jews and heathens the belief that demons, i. e. "unclean" or "evil" spirits, could take possession of the bodies and the souls of men, women, children, and subject them to a cruel bondage. The history of our Lord's miracles naturally tended to confirm and deepen the belief. Abnormal physical or mental states, which could not be otherwise explained, were referred to demoniacal possession as a sufficient cause. From one point of view, indeed, it was held as a dogma that every child born into the world was thus under the power of an evil spirit, of the chief of evil spirits, and from an early period a formula of exorcism was employed as a preliminary rite to baptism, and the work of exorcism and exorcist was thus brought into close connection [BAPTISM; EXORCISM]. In the present article, however, it is proposed to deal only with those in whom the condition was more or less chronic, and who were brought therefore under a continuous course of treatment.

It is clear from the narratives of the New Testament, and from the records of the Church, that the class consisted chiefly though not exclusively of those who in our own time would be classified as insane. They were known as the *δαμονισμένοι*, the N. T. name more frequently

as the *ἐνεργούμενοι* (*energumeni*), men operated on, exercised by, unclean spirits, less frequently as *χειμαζόμενοι* (*hyemantes*)^a or *κλιδαυζόμενοι*, those who are tossed to and fro by the storms and billows of uncontrollable impulse. The boundary-line between mental and moral disorder is at all times difficult to trace, and the name is at times extended, as by the Pseudo-Dionysius (*de Eccles. Hierarchy*. iv. 3), to those who were the slaves of lust or other master-passions, probably to those in whom the moral evil assumed the character of a possession, overpowering the ordinary restraints of prudence and self-control. For the most part, however, the *energumeni*, as demoniacs, may be identified with those who suffered from some form of insanity. The symptoms described by Cyprian, sleepless nights, panic fears, restless agitation (*de Idol. Vanit.* p. 239); the outward appearance of the *demones* as portrayed by Chrysostom (*Hom. De incomprens. Not. Dei*), squalid, foul, with hair dishevelled, and in rags, all point to the same conclusion. It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the theory which referred all these phenomena to an actual possession of the human nature by a malignant spiritual power. It is enough to say that it was postulated in the whole treatment of such cases by the Church. The suggestion of a more scientific view that the symptoms originated in excess of bile, or the inflammation of a tissue, or other physical cause, was rejected as the whisper of unbelief, itself the suggestion of the demons, who wished thus to deprive men of the prayers and incantations which were the only effectual weapons against them (*Hom. Clem.* ix. 12). Men dwell with exultation on the power which their prayers, and the utterance of the Divine Name, and the laying on of hands, had to drive the demon howling and blaspheming from his usurped abode (Cyprian, *de Idol. Vanit.* l. c.; *ad Demetr.* c. 15). It might have seemed, looking at the matter from the modern, scientific standpoint, as if the Christian Church had itself got into a hopelessly wrong groove, from which no good results were to be expected, which tended to stereotype the delusions that fed the madness, and were utterly at variance with any rational treatment. It will be found, however, it is believed, that partly in spite of the theory, partly in consequence of it, the treatment of the insane in the early ages of the Church assumed before long a true therapeutic character, and brought them under influences which tended, in the natural course of things, to bring them to a sound mind. Cases of instantaneous expulsion of the demon, like those described by Cyprian, became less frequent; and, where the mastery of a strong will had for a time calmed a paroxysm of frenzy, were followed by a relapse. Putting aside the case of the symbolic or hypothetical exorcism which preceded baptism, we have to think of the *energumeni* as brought, by virtue of the theory, within the range of sympathy and care. Instead of being left, as in most eastern countries, to go wild, like the Gadarene and

^a The word *χειμαζόμενοι* and its Latin equivalent are sometimes explained as pointing to the position which the demoniacs occupied in the outer porch of the church, exposed to the inclemency of cold or rain. The meaning given in the text rests, however, on better authority. Comp. Suicer, s. v. *χειμαζόμενοι*.

other demoniacs of the N. T., when the insanity was not dangerous, or to be brutally chained and fettered if it was, they were marked out as objects of pity and of special prayer (*Const. Apost.* viii. 7). They occupied a fixed place in the porch of the church, and so were brought within the soothing influence of psalms and hymns and words of comfort (Dionys. *de Eccles. Hierarchy*. iv. 3). With them, as fellow-sufferers, might sometimes be found the lepers of the neighbourhood; sometimes also those whose leathsome depravity had made them defiled like the leper, and incapable of human society like the demoniacs (*C. Anagor.* c. 17). When the prayer was over they were brought to receive the benediction of the bishop (*Const. Apost.* viii. 7). The church itself became a kind of home for those who otherwise would have been homeless. There the exorcists paid them a daily visit, and gave them food, and laid their hands upon them (*4 C. Carth.* c. 90, 92). There, if the nature of the case required it, they were brought under a discipline of abstinence that might subdue the impulses of passion (*Hom. Clement.* ix. 10). There they were employed in industrial tasks that were suited to their condition, such as sweeping the pavement of the church (*4 C. Carth.* c. 81) or lighting its lamps (*C. Elib.* c. 37).^b If they were in the *status* of catechumens they might be admitted to baptism at the hour of death, even though there had been no complete cure (*Const. Apost.* viii. 32; Cyprian, *Epist.* 76; *1 C. Arvadic.* c. 15; *C. Elib.* c. 37). If they were already among the faithful they might even, if the insanity did not take a violent form, be admitted to communion (Cassian, *Collat.* vii. 30; Timoth. Alex. *Respons.* c. 3), and that daily. It is almost needless to say that they were excluded, even after recovery, from ordination. The exorcists were instructed to repeat their prayers and other forms of adjuration *memoriter* (Isidor. *Hispal. Epist. ad Landefred.*). They were often identical with the entechists, and were therefore more or less experienced in the work of teaching (Balsamon on *C. Laod.* c. 26). The influence thus brought to bear upon the real or supposed demoniacs were, it is submitted, calculated to soothe and encourage, to bring them under the influence of sympathy. Even the ceremonial imposition of hands, over and above the sacramental associations connected with it, and their power to soothe the paroxysms of suicidal remorse, may have had what we have learnt to call a mesmeric effect, calming the over-excited brain, through the tones of pity, into something like tranquillity. It is not too much to claim for the Christian Church, whatever may be thought of its theory of madness, the credit of having taken some practical steps, and those steps the first, towards a rational treatment of the insane. Here, also, as in the institution of hospitals, love and pity were not without other fruits than those they sought for, and ministered to the attainment of a truth at which they did not aim. [E. H. P.]

DEMONIAC, HEALING OF (IN ART). One instance only is known to Father Martigny

^b The canons of the Council of Elvira cited in the text forbid the practice, probably on account of some inconvenient results; but the prohibition shows that it was common.

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Our Lord hold His hand is extension. Another MS.; see woodc

DENIS, COUSIN, near Paris' council of bishops shortly before 1 between his sons 1720, 1721.)

DENARIUS.

DENUNTIATION.]

DEO DICAT which persons who were designated. of Basle (*Cyprian dicatae* to meddle [compare DEYOT. Cagliari, describing says (in the tract. tortured and slew dicentes).

DEO GRATIA be to God!" A frequently occurring ancient times, derivative use of the ph 14). The best-known bably that in which people to the *De*, end of the liturgy.

According to the and *Deo gratias*, "naming of the passage" in the Lit phrase as being also of Amen, or *Latus*; **CHRYST. ANT.**

when the insanity brutally chained and marked out as obdurate prayer (Const. fixed a fixed place in and so were brought presence of psalms and (Dionys. d. Eccles. n, as fellow-sufferers, and the lepers of the also those whose loathem defiled like the mna society like the . When the prayer to receive the bene- (Apost. viii. 7), a kind of home for have been homeless, em a daily visit, and air hands upon them There, if the nature were brought under at night subdue the (Genet. ix. 10). There strial tasks that were such as sweeping the t C. Cuth. c. 91) or (ib. c. 37).^b If they chumens they might t the hour of death, en no complete cure ypprian, *Epist.* 76; 1 c. 37). If they were they might even, if a violent form, be ab- sion, *Collat.* vii. 20;), and that daily. It at that they were exclud- ordination. The ex- cept their prayers ion *memories* (Isid. i. 1). They were often es, and were therefore the work of teaching 26). The influence the real or supposed mittel, calculated to bring them under the Even the ceremonial and above the sacred- with it, and their xysms of suicidal re- we have learnt to call the over-excited brain, into something like o much to claim for tever may be thought the credit of having es, and those steps the treatment of the in- ne institution of hos- pe not without other ight for, and misin- a truth at which they [E. H. P.]

ING OF (IN ART) a to Father Martigny of Elvira cited in the text in account of some locution shows that it was

of a representation of this miracle; it is one of the instances of single sufferers, perhaps that of the youth after the Transfiguration. The evil spirit issues in human form from the head of the possessed (Gori, *Theo. Pitych.* t. lii. tab. viii.).



Our Lord holds a cross on His shoulders and His hand is extended using the Greek benediction. Another example is in the Laurentian MS.; see woodcut. [R. St. J. T.]

DENIS, COUNCIL OF ST. (*ad S. Dionysium*, near Paris), A.D. 708, was rather a national council of bishops and nobles, at which Pipin shortly before his death divided his kingdom between his sons Carl and Carloman (*Labb.* vi. 1720, 1721.) [A. W. H.]

DENARIUS. [PETER'S PENNY.]

DENUNTIATIO MATRIMONII. [MARRIAGE.]

DEO DICATUS. One of the terms by which persons who devoted themselves to religion were designated. Thus Hatto or Alhito, bishop of Basle (*Capitulae.* c. 16) forbade even *Deo dicatae* to meddle with the service of the altar [compare *DEVOTA FEMINA*]; and Lucifer of Cagliari, describing the conduct of his enemies, says (in the tract *Memendum esse*, etc.) that they tortured and slew even dedicated persons (*Deo dicatae*). [C.]

DEO GRATIAS. *Τὸ θεῷ χάρις*, "Thanks be to God!" A response of the people, frequently occurring in divine service from very ancient times, derived no doubt from the apostolic use of the phrase (1 Cor. xv. 57; 2 Cor. ii. 14). The best-known instance of its use is probably that in which it forms the response of the people to the *Te, missa est* of the priest at the end of the liturgy.

According to the Mozarabic rite the people said *Deo gratias*, "Thanks be to God," at the naming of the passage to be read as the "Prophecy" in the Liturgy. Bona mentions this phrase as being also occasionally used instead of *Amen*, or *Latus tibi Christe* when the Gospel

CHRIST. ANT.

was ended (*De Reb. Liturg.* ii. vii. 4). St. Augustine notices it as a common mode of greeting among the monks in his time, for which they were ridiculed and insulted by the Agonistici, as they called themselves, among the Donatists (Aug. in *Psa'm.* cxxii. p. 630). The expression appears to have been frequently used on other occasions by way of acclamation. When Evodius was nominated as Augustine's successor the people called out for a long time—"Deo gratias, Christo laudes" (Aug. *Ep.* 110, *de Actis Evodii*). [C.]

DEPORTATIO. One of the usages of the Gallican Church was that a bishop on his way to be enthroned was borne in a chair by the hands of his fellow-bishops. Thus Wilfrid of York, who was consecrated in Gaul, is said (*Vita* by Eddius, c. 12) to have been borne to his throne by the hands of the bishops who were present, "more eorum," i.e. after the Gallican custom [Bishop, p. 225]. Gregory of Tours perhaps alludes to this custom when he says (*Hist. Franc.* iii. 2) that the assembled bishops and people placed (locaverunt) Quintianus in the episcopal throne of Clermont. A "chairing" of the bishop on the shoulders of certain persons of rank, the first time he entered his cathedral, was customary in several of the French churches in the middle ages (Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Litibus*, l. viii. 10, § 19). [C.]

DEPOSITION. [DEGRADATION.]

DEPOSITION, IN HAGIOLOGY (*Depositio*). The word *depositio* is explained in the sermon of Maximus, *De Depositione S. Eusebii* (in the *Works* of Ambrose, ii. pt. 2, p. 469) to mean, not the day of burial, but that on which the soul lays down the burden of the flesh; and it is probably with this idea that it is used in calendars and martyrologies. For instance, in the *Mart. Hieron.* we have on March 21 "*Depositio Benedicti Abbatris*;" in the *Mart. Bedae* on the same day, "*Natule Benedicti Abbatris*," as if *Depositio* were exactly synonymous with *Natule*, which confessedly means the death-day of a saint.

Yet on July 11, the day on which the Translation of St. Benedict is placed by Bede and Ade, the *Mart. Hieron.* has again *Depositio*. We may infer that the word was at least occasionally used to designate the day on which the relics were entombed.

Papebroch, in his *Conatus Chronologico-Histor. ad Catal. Pontif. Romn.* (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. iv.), contends strongly that *Depositio* is used for the day of death; *Levitico*, *Cultus*, or *Translatio* for that of burial.

In early calendars the word *Depositio* is said to be confined to bishops [CALENDAR, p. 256]. (Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vi. pt. 3, p. 370 ff.) [C.]

DEPRECATORIAE. In an ancient codex quoted by Duacange (s. v.), *litterae deprecatorie* are explained to be simple "letters of request" given by presbyters, who were unable to grant the formal "dimissory letters" (formate) of bishops. [COMMENTATORY LETTERS; DIMISSORY LETTERS.] [C.]

DEPRIVATIO. [DEGRADATION.]

DEPUTATUS (*Δεπουτάτος*). The Greek Church distinguishes between persons properly

in orders, set apart for a certain work by the imposition of the bishop's hands, and those merely nominated to certain offices without imposition of hands. Deacons, subdeacons, and readers belong to the former class; to the latter, those who discharge purely subordinate offices under the direction of the clergy; as the *Theori*, who have the charge of the sacred vessels and vestments; the *Cantisti* [CAMISIA], who attend to the thuribles and water-vessels in the service of the altar; and the *Deputati*. The office of the latter is, in processions to precede the deacon who bears the Book of the Gospels, or the oblations, carrying lighted tapers, and, also, if necessary, to clear the way for the bishop through the crowded church. (Permaneder in Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, iii. 107, who quotes Morinus, *De S. Eccl. Ordinationibus*, pt. ii. p. 66, ed. Antwerp, 1695).

These *Deputati* thus corresponded with the *Crozierarii* or *Cerostatarii* of the Latin Church; and in the form of their appointment (Gear's *Euchology*, p. 237) their office is said to be that of bearing the lights in the holy mysteries. See ACOLYTE. [C.]

DESCENSUS. A word sometimes used to signify the vault [COXPRESSIO] beneath the altar containing relics of saints. Anastasius, for instance (*Hist. Eccl.*, an. 5 Leonis Isaur.), uses it as equivalent to the *cardines* of Theophanes, from whose he is compiling. [C.]

DESECRATION OF CHURCHES AND ALTARS (Execratio). So infelicitable a character of holiness was thought to be stamped upon a church or an altar by the act of consecration, that nothing short of destruction, or such dilapidation as to render them unfit to serve their proper ends, could nullify it (Barbosa, *De Off. et Potest. Episcop.* pt. ii.). A church might, however, be so polluted as to need RECONCILIATION (*q. r.*) by the perpetration in it of homicide or other revolting crime; and if the relics which had been deposited at consecration were removed, the church and altar lost this sacred character until these were restored; with the relics and the renewal of masses, the whole effect of consecration returned (Vigilius, Pope 538-555, *Ad Euthorim*, *Epist.* ii. c. 4). Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 6) mentions an instance in which a church, in consequence of a homicide having been perpetrated in it, lost the privilege of Divine Service (*officium perdidit*). Compare CHURCHYARD, SACRILEGE. (Martene, *De Lit. Ant.* ii. 284; Thomassin, *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. 458). [C.]

DESERTION OF THE CLERICAL LIFE. Several centuries elapse before we find desertion of the clerical life recognized as an offence. The Council of Chalcedon in 451, enacts (c. 7) that those who have once been received into the *clerus* are not to desert it for any military service or worldly dignity. The Council of Angers in 453 declared (c. 7) that clerics who leaving their order have turned away to secular warfare and to a lay life are not unjustly removed from the church which they have left. The 1st Council of Tours, A.D. 461, has an equivalent provision expressed in somewhat clearer language (c. 5), specifically enacting excommunica-

tion for the offence. We have an instance of the practice by a Breton Council of uncertain date (supposed about 553), recorded by Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 15), in which a bishop, who let his hair grow and took back his wife, was excommunicated. Under Justinian's Code, by a constitution of that Emperor himself, A.D. 532, renewing and extending a previous one of Arcadius and Honorius, if a person deserted the clerical or monastic life for a military one (the term *militia* with its congeners, did not at this period imply necessarily the use of arms) he was punished by being made a *curialis* of the city of his birth, i.e. charged with all the burthens of the state. If there were already very many *curiales* in the city he was to be placed in any one neighbouring or remote one, or even in any one of a different province which should happen to be in special want of these political beasts of burthen. If he hid himself, the *curiales* could at once enter upon his property and detain it to answer legal demands (bk. i. tit. iii. l. 53 § 1). If, on the other hand, a clerk or monk embraced an ordinary secular life, all his property passed to the church or monastery which he had deserted (*Ibid.* l. 56, § 2)—a provision confirmed as to monks by the 5th *Novel*, c. 4. The 6th *Novel*, which extends the prohibition to subdeacons and readers, transfers the benefit of the forfeiture, as respects clerics,—if indeed there be anything to forfeit,—to the *curia*, providing moreover that if the clerk in question be poor, he shall be reduced to an official condition, i.e. probably to that of a mere servant to the public offices (c. 7); and this forfeiture to the *curia* is confirmed by the 123rd *Novel*, c. 15. But as respects monks, the same *Novel* (c. 42) requires a monk who betakes himself to a secular life—being first deprived of any office or dignity he may acquire—to be sent to a monastery, to which moreover it assigns all property acquired by him after his leaving his former one. If he absconds from this, the judge of the province is to hold and admonish him.

In a letter of Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741-51) to king Pepin, the Pope decrees that those who have once been admitted into the clergy, or have desired monastic life, are not to betake themselves to military service, or to any worldly dignity (*Ep.* 7, c. 9), under pain of anathema if they do not repent and return to their former life—a provision substantially identical with that of the Councils of Angers and Tours. In Charlemagne's *Capitularies* also is a provision "that a priest ought to continue in the religious habit" (*Aditio Tertia*, c. 110). See also the 31st canon of the Council of Frankfort in 794, "that clerics and monks should continue steadfast in their determination."

Desertion of the clerical life must of course be distinguished from desertion of the clerical functions in a particular diocese or parish. See, amongst other authorities, as to bishops leaving their districts (*episcopatus*), the so-called *Apostolical Canons*, c. 11 (otherwise 13 or 14), and the 123rd *Novel*; and as to presbyters, deacons, and other clerics so acting, *Apost. Can.* c. 12 (otherwise 14 or 15); also the 16th Canon of the Council of Nicea. One of the temptations to the breach of discipline in question appears to have been the serving in private oratories, as to which see *Novels* 57, 58, and 131. [J. M. L.]

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DESIDERATA. A name sometimes used for the sacraments, as being desired of all Christians. Zeno of Verona (*Facit. 8 ad Fontem*, quoted by Duceage) asks why his hearers delay "ad desiderata festinare." [C.]

DESIDERIUS. (1) Bishop of Vienna, martyr at Lyons; Natale, Feb. 11 (*Mart. Bedue, Adonia in Appendice, Usuardi*). According to Ado he suffered martyrdom on May 23, and was translated Feb. 11.

(2) Bishop of Ferrara; "Passio" May 23 (*Mart. Adonia, Usuardi*).

(3) The tender, martyr at Naples under Diocletian, with Januarius the bishop and others; commemorated Sept. 19 (*Mart. Rom. Fel., Bedue, Adonia, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DEFONSATIO. [ARRHAE; BETROTHAL; MARR. GE.]

DESPOTICAE (Δεσποτικά έστρα). The greater festivals of the Church are so called by the Greeks; they are generally reckoned to amount to twelve, but authorities vary on this point. [FESTIVALS.] (*Daniel's Codex Liturgicus, iv. 235.*) [C.]

DETRACTION is defined to be the concealed and unjust attack in words upon the reputation of another person. It differs from *Calamnia* in that the latter is a false accusation made in the course of legal proceedings, and from *Contumelia* in its being concealed from the person affected.

This sin has been condemned both by fathers, as by St. Augustine (in hom. 41 *De Sanctis*), St. Jerome (*Ep. 2, al. 52, ad Nepotian. c. 14*), and St. Chrysostom (*De Sacerd. 5, 6*), and by various councils (e.g. *Cone. Carth. iv. cc. 55-60*) under wider words which include other offences against the 9th commandment (Bingham, *Chr. Ant. 6, 2, 10, and 16, 13, 3*; Ferraris *sub voc.*; Thom. Aq. *Summa, 2, 2. quæst. 73*; Soto *De Just. et Jure, 5, 10*). [I. B.]

DEUS IN ADJUTORIUM. The canonical hours, according to Western usage, generally begin with the words of the 70th [69th Vulg.] Psalm.

V. Deus in adiutorium meum intende.
R. Domine ad adiuvandum me festina.
Cassian (*Collatio, x. c. 10*) tells us that this verse was frequently used by monks in their devotions before his time, but it does not appear that it was definitively prefixed to each Hour before the time of St. Benedict, who prescribed that use in his Rule (c. 8).

The Roman use at Matins prefixes the verse and response,

V. Domine, labia mea aperies.
R. Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam, from the 51st [50th Vulg.] Psalm; in the monastic breviaries, on the other hand, the *Domine, labia* follows the *Deus in adiutorium*.

In Compline, *Deus in adiutorium* is preceded by V. Convertite nos, Deus salutaris noster.

R. Et averte iram tuam a nobis, from the 85th [84th Vulg.] Psalm.

The verse, "O Lord, open thou our lips," &c., also occurs in the early part of the Greek morning office.

(Hona, *De Divina Psalmodia*, ch. xvi. 4; Martene, *De Ant. Monach. Rit.* pp. 5, 23; Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, iii. 122.) [C.]

DEVIL. (IN ART.) The Early Church seems to have contemplated the spiritual enemy of God and man principally as to his functions of temptation and possession in this world. Representations of him as the final accuser and claimant of the souls of the lost, or as their tormentor in the place of his own condemnation, belong to mediæval rather than to primitive art. The present writer is not aware of the existence of any hell earlier than the mosaics of Torcello, as that painted by Methodius, even if its story be true, has altogether vanished. On the sarcophagi, and later in Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS. more particularly, the tempter is symbolized, as so often in Holy Scripture, under the form of the SERPENT (see s. v.).

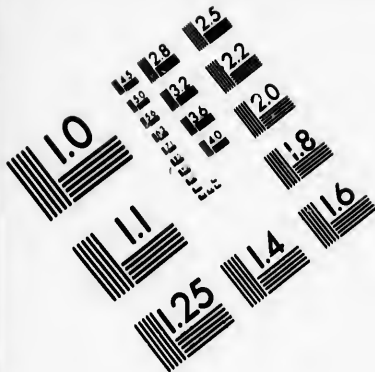
One instance there is, however, given by Didron in the *Iconographie du Serpent* (*Ann. Archéologiques, v. 2*) of a Gnostic combination of human and serpentine form, with leonine head and face (see woodcut). It is taken from a bronze in the Vatican collection, and is derived, he says with certainty, from the ancient Egyptian symbol of a lion-headed serpent. But the human form and expression are so predominant as to make it appear to be an anticipation of the personified serpent of the Middle Ages, represented in the Book of Kells and other northern MSS. The Gothic or mediæval representations seem to begin in Italy with the fiend in the Chase of Theodorice, which, till lately destroyed by gradual and wanton mischief, adorned the front of St. Zenone in Verona.

In the Laurentian MS. of Rabula (A.D. 587) there is an extraordinary representation of the demoniaes of Gadara, just delivered from their tormenting spirits, who are fluttering away in the form of little black humanities of mischievous expression. [See DEMONIAES.]

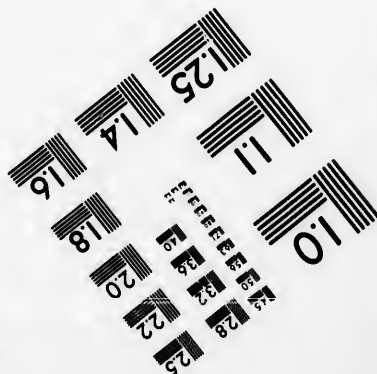
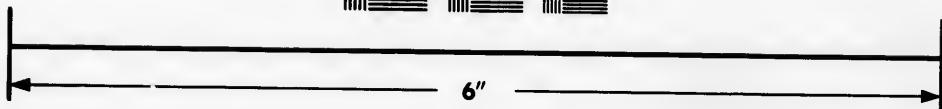
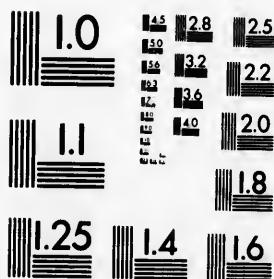
[R. ST. J. T.]
DEVOTA FEMINA, or simply **DEVOTA.** It need hardly be said that the practice of vows made to God is recognized in the Pentateuch, and throughout the Old Testament (Levit. xv. 16, xxvii. 1 and foll., Numb. vi. 2 and foll., xv. 3, 8, xxx. 2 and foll. &c.). Such vows might be of persons as well as things, as in the instance of the "singular vow" mentioned in Lev. xxvii., and of the Nazarites mentioned in Numb. vi.; with which compare the applications in the case of Jephthah, (Judg. xl. 30) Samson (Judg. xiii. 5) and Samuel (1 Sam. i. 11). Certain checks are at the same time imposed on the vows of women, which are required to have at least the tacit assent of a father, if the woman be "in her father's house in her youth" (Numb. xxx. 3-5), or of a husband, if she "had at all a husband" (*ib. 6-8, 10-15*); "but every vow of a widow, and of her that is divorced, wherewith they have bound their souls, shall stand against her" (v. 5).







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The examples of St. Paul (Acts xviii. 23, 24), and the four disciples at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 23) show that like practices were adopted by the Apostolic Church. But over and above these temporary vows, it is clear that the class of church-widows were considered as personally devoted to God. Moreover, in his mode of speaking of virgins, St. Paul clearly shews that he considers those who have authority over them to have power to "keep" them for the Lord (see 1 Cor. vii. 34, 37, 38). The *Apostolical Constitutions*, besides their abundant notices of the church-widows, shew us also the rise of a distinct class of church-virgins devoted to God in like manner. The term *devota*, however, as applied both to widows and virgins, survived both organizations and spread beyond them, and seems to serve as a transitional link between them and female monachism. From the 4th century downwards there are many texts which can hardly be applied, at all events exclusively, to either institute as such, and anticipate any organized female monachism, but which clearly imply a practice of self-consecration to God on the part both of widows and unmarried women, and which serve as the foundation of the practice of the Church in later times in respect to nuns.

Thus the first Council of Valence, A.D. 374, treating "of girls who have devoted themselves to God," exacts that if they voluntarily contract "earthly" marriage, they shall not even be allowed immediate penance, and shall not be admitted to communion till they have given full satisfaction. Now it was only in the 5th century that monachism, under the Basilian rule, penetrated into Southern Gaul, so that the *puellæ* in question cannot have been nuns properly so called. The same applies to the canons of the 1st Council of Toledo, A.D. 400, which enact that a "devota" who takes a husband is not to be admitted to penance during his life, unless she preserves continence (c. 16), or, with still greater severity, that if a bishop's, or priest's, or deacon's daughter, having been devoted to God, sins and marries, should her father or mother restore their affection to her, they are to be excluded from communion. The father may indeed shew cause in council against the sentence, but the woman herself is only to receive the communion after her husband's death and penance, unless at her last hour (c. 19)—a text which indeed admits the validity of the marriage.

The stamp was set on the woman's *devotio* by her taking, or rather receiving from the priest's hands, the veil, symbol of her being espoused to Christ. Hence the distinction which we find made between the gravity of marriage in the case of the veiled and unveiled; as to which see Pope Innocent I.'s 2nd letters, to Victricius Archbishop of Rouen, cc. 12, 13, and certain canons of doubtful authority, supposed to be contemporaneous "of the Roman to the Gaulish bishops," cc. 1, 2. The devotional or virginial habit might indeed be assumed, at all events in the 5th century, without actual consecration; see Leo the Great's 167th letter, A.D. 458 or 459, to Rusticus Bishop of Narbonne, c. 15.

The "virgin devoted to God" is assimilated to the monk in a canon of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, forbidding both to marry under pain of excommunication, but subject to the in-

dulgence of the local bishop (c. 15). The 2nd Council of Arles, A.D. 452, seems to confine excommunication in such cases to marriage after 25, and provides that a penance is not to be refused if asked for, but communion only to be granted after long delay (c. 52). An exaggerated strictness on the other hand pervades a letter of Pope Symmachus (A.D. 498-513) to Bishop Caesarius, of Arles. Not only does he require the excommunication of those who have sought to marry virgins consecrated to God, whether with their own will or against it, and declare that "we do not suffer" widows to marry who have long persevered in the religious purpose; but he forbids those virgins to marry "to whom it may have happened to pass their age during many years in monasteries"—"enforcing, in short, virginity without even a profession.

The practice of the religious profession, both in convents and outside of them, is shewn in the Canons of the 5th Council of Orleans, A.D. 529, which excommunicates alike, together with their husbands, both girls who in convents have put on the religious garment, and those who, whether girls or widows, have assumed the habit in their houses (c. 19). On the other hand, the 1st Council of Macou in 581 pronounced excommunication for life against both parties, in case of such marriages.

Towards the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century, in the letters of Pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 590-604), we seem to perceive a distinction between the "religious" and "monastic" habit, which may have indicated that between the simple *devota* and the nun. Writing to the Roman exarch (bk. iv. ep. 18), he speaks of women till now "in the religious and monastic habit" who have thrown off the sacred garment and veil, and married, and who are said to be under the exarch's patronage, and warns him against the iniquity of such protection. It will not have escaped attention that the "veil" in this passage seems to correspond, as in later and present Romish practice, with the specially monastic profession. On the other hand, an earlier letter of the same pope (bk. iii. ep. 24, *ad Constantinum*), distinguishes between veiled virgins and women in convents. The incompatibility between marriage and the religious "habit" is indicated in another letter of the same pope to bishops Virgilius and Syagrius, (bk. vi. pt. ii. c. 119).

That in spite of all prohibitions, marriages with "religious" women continued to take place, and to be celebrated even in church, is evident from an edict of King Clothair II., issued at the 5th Council of Paris, A.D. 614 or 615. No one was to carry off religious girls or widows, who have devoted themselves to God, as well those who reside in their own houses as those who are placed in monasteries (thus clearly distinguishing between the two classes); and if any, either by violence or by any kind of authority should presume to unite such to himself in marriage, he was subject to capital punishment, or, under special circumstances to exile, and forfeiture of goods.

The 7th letter of Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741-51), addressed to Pepin as mayor of the palace, and to the bishops, abbots, and nobles of the Franks, refers to Pope Innocent's letter before

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local bishop (c. 15). The 2nd d. 452, seems to confine such cases to marriage after that a penance is not to be, but communion only to be delayed (c. 52). An excommunicated other hand permits a nunachus (A. D. 498-513) to of Arles. Not only does he munition of those who have virgins consecrated to God, own will or against it, and do not suffer" widows to ng persevered in the religious forbids those virgins to marry have happened to pass their years in monasteries"—con-irginity without even a pro-

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DEXAMENE

mentioned, as to the distinction between the marriage of veiled and unveiled virgins, the former of whom are to be separated, the latter only to do "some" penance (cc. 20, 21). On the other hand, a capitulary of the 6th book (c. 411) treats as absolutely null a marriage with "a virgin devoted to God, a woman under the religious habit or professing the continuance of widowhood," re-enacting the punishment of separation and exile for the offenders. One of the 7th book (c. 338) is addressed to the case of those widows and girls who have put on the religious habit in their own houses, either receiving it from their parents or of themselves, but afterwards marry; they are to be excommunicated till they separate from their husbands, and if they will not, to be kept perpetually excluded from communion. A Lombard capitulary of 783, contains a like enactment (Pertz, *Lep.* t. 1).

DEXAMENE, Δεξαμένη, a cistern or tank for the water needed for the replenishing of the font and the various ecclesiastical offices (Procop. *Hist. Arcan.* c. iii.). Erroneously interpreted by Suidas, *sub voc.* of the altar; and by Bingham, *Orig.* bk. viii. c. vii. § 4, of the font. [E. V.]

DIACONIA. (1). The name given to the localities in which food and alms were distributed to the poor by the deacons of the Church of Rome. Each was under the administration of one of the seven deacons, one for each region, the whole being under the superintendence of an archdeacon. Each *diaconia* had a hall for the distribution of charity, and an oratory or chapel annexed. These last remained when the original purpose of the *diaconia* had passed away, and have risen to the dignity of churches, of which there are now fourteen, each assigned to one of the cardinal deacons.

The original purpose of the *diaconis* is illustrated by the following passages from Anastasius—*Stephan.* II. § 229: "foris inuros . . . duo fecit Xenodochia. . . que et sociavit venerabilis Diaconis illic foris existentibus . . . id est *Diaconie S. Dei genetricis, et B. Silvestri dune.*" *Hadrin.* I. § 337: "constituit Diaconias tres foris portam B. Apost. Principis . . . et ibidem dispensatione pro ordine pauperibus consolari, atque eleemosynam fieri [constituit]." *Infra*, § 345: "alien egregius Praesul Diaconia constituit . . . concedens eis agros vineas etc. ut de eorum reditu . . . Diaconie proficientes pauperes Christi referentur."

(2). The word *diaconia* was also used for that part of the deacon's office which consisted in dispensing food and money to the poor. It is thus employed by Gregory the Great in a letter to John, in which he says, "te mensis pauperum et exhibenda diaconie eligimus praeponendum;" and goes on to speak of the money received "diaconie exhibitione erogandum" (Greg. *Magn. Ep. ad Joann.* 24). See Suicer, *Ducange, Hospitium de Templis*, p. 18. [E. V.]

(3). In the earlier days of monachism this term was used for monastic alms-giving (Cass. *Collat.* ruii. 7; Gregor. M. *Ep.* 22). The oldest monk was entrusted with it in Egypt (Cass. *Collat.* xxi. 1); in the East the "oecomenus" or *hursar* (Martene in Cass. *ib.* xxi. 8, 9). [I. G. S.]

DIACONICA (Διακονικά). Certain short prayers or "suffrages" in the Liturgy are called *Diaconica*, as being recited by the attendant

DIADEMA

deacon. They are also called *Ερημικά*, as being mainly prayers for peace. In the consecration of a bishop the *Diagonica* are said by Isthop. (Menard on the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, p. 523; Neale's *Tetralogia Liturgica*, p. 217.) [C.]

DIACONICUM. (1) The vestry or sacristy of a church, so called from being the place where the deacons performed their duties in getting ready the vestments and holy vessels, heating the water, preparing and lighting the incense, and other essentials for the celebration of the Eucharist, and other divine offices. No minister of a lower grade was permitted to enter the *Diaconicum* (Counc. *Laod.* can. 21; Counc. *Aquithens.* can. 66). The *diaconicum* was, as a rule, placed on the right or south side of the *bona* or sanctuary, answering to the *prothesis* on the north, and communicating with the *bona* by a door in the *parabona* or side-wall. It also usually had an independent entrance through an external door. The *diaconicum* generally terminated apsidally, and was always provided with an altar (*θυσιαστήριον, Απορθηγματιω Πατρων* apud Gelas. No. 3; *Άγια Πραξίς, Eucholog.* Gonr., p. 245), on which the bread and wine were placed prior to their removal to the *prothesis*. Its wall was often adorned with pictures of saintly deacons, such as Stephen, Benjamin, &c. Within it was the treasury, *κευθηλαρχεϊον, or σκευοφυλάκειον*, where the sacred vessels and other treasures of the church were kept (Cyril Scyth. in *Vita S. Sab.* apud Ducange). It was also used by the priests as a vestry, in which they changed their vestments and put on their eucharistic dress (*εισελθόντες δαδασουσι την ιερατικήν στολήν εν τῷ διακονικῷ, Τυρικήν Sabae*, cap. ii. ap. Suicer). Relics were preserved in it (*Citadel, Patriarch. Constantinopol.* ap. Suicer). Worshippers who for disciplinary reasons were excluded from the actual church were permitted to offer their devotions here, e.g. the Emperor Leo VI. when excommunicated for his fourth marriage (Codrenus, *Compend. Hist.*). The *diaconicum* was sometimes a spacious chamber annexed to the church (*diaconicum majus*), large enough for the reception of a provincial or general synod (Cousset, p. 477). In the *diaconicum* of the church at Paneas, the statue, supposed to be that of the woman with the issue of blood, removed for safety from the market-place, was erected (Philostorg. lib. vii. c. 3).

Other names by which the *diaconicum* was known were, *δοκαστικόν* (as being the hall of reception), *σκευοφυλάκειον, μετατόριον or μετατόριον* (a word of various orthography and very uncertain etymology, perhaps representing "mutatorium," as the place where the clergy changed their vestments), *παστοδόριον*, secretarium, on which see Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. viii. c. vii. § 7; Leo Allat. *De Templ. bracc. Ier.*, ep. i. § 13-15; Suicer, *sub voc.*; Ducange, *Glossar. Id. Descript. S. Sophicæ*, ad Paul. Silentiar.; Neale, *Hist. East. Ch.*, General Introd. p. 191, § 9.

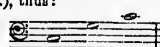
(2) *Diaconicum* also signifies the volume containing the directions for the due performance of the deacon's office, *βιβλίον τῆς Διακονίας*. Cf. Leo Allatius, *Dissert. I. de Libr. Eccl. Græcor.*

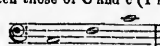
(3) The word is also used for certain prayers said at intervals in the service by the deacon: *εὐχὰν διακόνου*, known also as *εἰρημικά*. [DIACONICA.] [E. V.]

DIADEMA. [CROWN: CORONATION.]

DIAPASON, DIAPENTE, DIATESSARON. These are the three intervals of the octave, the perfect fifth, and the perfect fourth: the ratios which determine them are $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$. They were the only intervals that were considered consonances, and were always of the same magnitude in every scale whether diatonic, chromatic, or enharmonic, while the others were variable (see **CANON IN MUSIC**, p. 274). Although the system of reckoning by tetrachords continued till the time of Guido Aretinus, yet the name Diapason shows that the ancients attributed to the octave a greater degree of perfection in respect of consonance, which is also shown by the notation preserved by Alypius, where in the modes above the Dorian in pitch, for most of the higher notes (which would be the latest extension of the respective scales) the symbols representing the notes an octave below were adopted with the addition of a acute accent. It is strange that this plan was not extended over the whole "diagram" of the modes, which would have been a very material simplification, and is indeed a considerable approximation to our present system of calling all notes differing by an octave by the same name. This however appears to have escaped the notice of the early Latin authors, although they did make great simplifications. St. Gregory completed the recognition of the octave by reducing the names of notes to 7, which have remained to this day.

The fifth and fourth together make an octave ($\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{4}{3} = 2$), and according as the former or the latter was the lower in pitch, the octave was said to be harmonically or arithmetically divided; these divisions were also called authentic and plagal (q. v.), thus:

Authentic:  Here the value of G (1) is the Harmonic mean between those of C and c (1 and $\frac{1}{2}$).

Plagal:  Here the value of F (2) is the Arithmetic mean between those of C and c (1 and $\frac{1}{2}$).

But it is worth noticing that if two harmonic means be inserted between C and c, F is one of them, which would point to the conclusion that the accents were wrong in taking an arithmetical division at all, though it is most natural that that error should have been made by them.

This division can be made in any octave, excepting that that from F to f can only be divided authentically at c, and that from B to b can only be divided plagally at E. [J. R. L.]

DIAPENTE. [**DIAPASON.**]

DIAPSALMA. This is the word used in the Septuagint and recognized by other writers as the equivalent to "Selah," which occurs in the Psalms and in the Canticle of Habbakkuk. See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, sub voc. Selah, where the obscurity of the subject is fully stated. As the early Christians used the psalms in public worship so it is natural they would copy the Hebrew method of singing the psalms. The Liturgy of St. James prescribes Pss. 23, 34, 145, 117 at the Fraction, and in Ps. 34 $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$ occurs in the LXX. where Selah is not found.

St. Jerome enters into the question at some length in his letter to Marcella, but leaves the matter in doubt; he mentions it also in his commentary on Ps. 4 and Habak. 3.

It appears to the writer that an interpretation suggested by the primary meaning of $\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$ will nearly, if not quite, reconcile the conflicting opinions and perhaps account for them; viz., that it was a direction for the instruments to play, while the chorus was silent or perhaps producing a series of notes without words, i. e., a "division,"* or "Pneuma." It has been said that the Jews used Paemata; if so, the adoption of them by Christians is obvious; but in any case it would seem that they were commonly in use at an early period. In consequence of the common use of various musical instruments at feasts and entertainments at which Christian morality was likely to be outraged in the period of the empire, the Christians were chary of their use in religious services, fearful doubtless of the association of ideas. Sir John Hawkins (*Hist. of Music*, p. xxvii.) gives a list of fathers who have denounced musical instruments, but he gives no references; and the writer has succeeded in verifying Epiphanius only, who speaks of the flute as a diabolical instrument. In the Eastern Church to this day instrumental music is, we believe, unknown. Thus the Pneuma may have been invented by the early Christians as the nearest approximation to the Diapsalma. [J. R. L.]

DIARETOR. The *Codex Eccl. Afric.* (c. 78) runs thus (Brun's *Canons*, i. 175): "Rursus placuit, ut quoniam Hipponeusium directorum destitutio non est diutius negligenda is episcopus ordinetur." The equivalent Greek version is " $\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$," "caretakers of the church" [**INTERVENTOR**], as if during a vacancy of the see, which is implied in the concluding words of the canon. Ducange (s. v.) conjectures "directorum," Hardouin "diarhytorum." The word does not seem to occur elsewhere. [C.]

DIASYLA, Διάστυλα, the **CANCELLI** by which the *thema* was separated from the *moza* (Sym. Thessalon. apud Ducange; $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\delta\omega\upsilon\ \eta\tau\omicron\iota\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \delta\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega\upsilon$). Gear's *Enchir.* p. 708. [E. V.]

DIATESSARON. [**DIAPASON.**]

DICE (*Alex. κύβοι*; Low-Latio, *Decius*; whence *Fr. De*). The playing at dice, or games of chance generally, never looked upon favourably by moralists or laws (see *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiq.*, s. v. ALEA), early attracted the notice of the censors of Christian manners. The *Paedagogus* of Clement (lib. 11, p. 497) forbids dice-playing, whether with cubes or with the four-faced dies called *αγρράβυλοι* (see *Rest u. Palm*, s. v.), out of desire for gain. Apollonius (in *Euseb. H. E.* v. 18, 11), denouncing the Montanists, asks whether prophets play at tables (*τάβλαις*) and dice. And gaming is one of the forms of vice which we find denounced by the Church in the earliest canons which remain to us. The *Apostolical Canons* (cc. 41, 42 [al. 42, 43]) forbade either clergy or laity to play with dice

* "The tack makes sweet division."—*Romans and Julia* lib. 6.

into the question as soon as to Marcella, but leaves the mentions it also in his com-
mentary Habak. 3.

writer that an interpretation of the primary meaning of $\psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ quite, reconcile the conflicting accounts for them; viz., action for the instruments to be used was silent or perhaps of notes without words, i. e., "Pneuma." It has been used Pneumata; if so, the Christians is obvious; but it seems that they were contemporary period. In consequence of various musical instruments and entertainments at which was likely to be outraged in empire, the Christians were in religious services, fierce association of ideas. Sir Isaac Newton (*Philos. Transact.* p. xxvii) gives who have denounced musical instruments as giving no references; and he is content in verifying Epiphanius of the flute as a diabolical instrument in the Eastern Church to this day. The music is, we believe, unknown. It may have been invented by some one as the nearest approximation.
[J. R. L.]

The *Codex Eccl. Afric.* (c. 78) Canon, i. 175; "Rursus in Hipponeusium *dicertorum* non est diutius negligenda ordinare." The equivalent is " $\sigma\theta\eta\tau\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\iota$ $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota$ of the church" [Inter-fering a vacancy of the see, the concluding words of the canon (s. v.) conjectures "dicertorum" diarrhytorum." The word is elsewhere. [C.]

ἀσπίδα, the CANCELLI by which was separated from the *πύξ* Ducange; $\delta\iota\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\kappa\iota\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$. Goar's *Euchol.* p. [E. V.]

N. [DIAPASON.]
; Low-Latin, *Decius*; whence at dice, or games of chance looked upon favourably by see *Dict. of Greek and Rom.* early attracted the notice of Christian manners. The *Pseudo-Isid.* 11, p. 497 forbids dice cubes or with the four- $\sigma\theta\eta\tau\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ (see Boet u. Palm, for gain. Apollonius (in 11), denouncing the heathen prophets play at tables. And gaming is one of the things we find denounced by the canon which remains to us. (cc. 41, 42 [al. 42, 43])
y or laity to play with dice

on pain of degradation or excommunication. The Council of Eliberis (A.D. 305) also denounced the penalty of excommunication against any of the faithful who played at dice, "that is, tables," for money (can. 79). And at the end of the 7th century the Trullan Council (can. 50) repeated the same penalties of degradation and excommunication. Nor was the civil power indifferent. Justinian (*Code*, lib. 1, *De Episc. et Cler.* l. 17; Nov. 123, c. 10) forbade the clergy of every rank from playing at games of chance (*ad tabularum ludere*), or even being present at them, on pain of suspension with seclusion in a monastery for three years. Another enactment (*Code*, lib. 1, *De Episc. Audien.* l. 25) commits the investigation of such offences to the bishops, and empowers them to call in the secular arm, if necessary, for the reformation of scandalous offenders; and yet another (*Id.* l. 35), complaining bitterly that even bishops did not abstain from these stola pleasures, denounces such laxity in the severest terms. These imperial laws are all inserted in the *Nomocanon* of Photius and John of Antioch.

The laws themselves indicate that Christians and even clergy were by no means exempt from the almost universal passion for games of chance. One or two instances may serve to confirm this. Jerome relates (*De Script. Eccl. in Apol. Ep.* 105) that Synesius alleged his own irresistible propensity for gambling as a reason why he should not be made a bishop. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* x. 16) tells us that certain monks of the convent of St. Radequand at Poitiers accused their abess, among other matters, of *dicere*; whereupon the abess declared that she had done the same thing in the lifetime of St. Radequand († 587) herself, and that it was not forbidden either by the common law of canonical life or by their own Rule; nevertheless, she would submit to the judgment of the bishops. (Thomassinus, *Nova et Vet. Eccl. Discip.* pt. iii. lib. iii. c. 43.) [C.]

DICERUM. $\Delta\iota\kappa\eta\rho\iota\upsilon\mu$, *ceruus biculus*, a two-forked wax taper used by bishops of the Greek Church in the Benediction of the people. It was also employed in the benediction of the book of the Gospels lying on the Holy Table. The bishop was said $\delta\iota\kappa\eta\rho\iota\omega$ $\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\omega$. The double taper was considered to symbolize the two natures of Christ.

Tricerium, $\tau\rho\iota\kappa\eta\rho\iota\upsilon\mu$, *ceruus tricusus*, was similarly used, and held to symbolize the Trinity. Symeon Thessalon, *De Templo*, p. 222, *apud* Ducange s. v. $\kappa\rho\upsilon\sigma\theta\iota\varsigma$. Goar's *Eucholog.* p. 125. [E. V.]

DICTERUM. [PULPIT.]
DIDYMUS, martyr at Alexandria; commemorated April 28 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuard). (W. F. G.)

DIES. The word *dies* is used, like the English "day," to designate a festival: as (e. g.) the *Annates Franc.* a. d. 802, "Ipse rex celebravit diem S. Joannis Baptistine." The principal special uses of the word are the following:—
1. *Dies adoratus*, GOOD FRIDAY.
2. *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Certain "unlucky days" once marked in calendars (see the ancient calendars published by Bucher), supposed to have been discovered by the ancient Egyptians from astrological calculations. Decreases were made

against the superstitious observance of these days (*Decret.* pt. 2, can. 26, qu. 7, c. 16), and ancient Penitentials (see Ducange, s. v.) forbid men to avoid these days especially for blood-letting or commencing a work; indeed the superstitious preference for, or avoidance of, a day (*De ret. u. s.* c. 17) was forbidden generally. A memorial verse by Durandus (*Rationale*, viii. 4, § 20).

3. *Dies boni*, "les bons jours," used for festivals (Sidonius, *Epist.* v. 17).
4. *Dies cinerum*, the first day of LENT, or Ash-Wednesday.

5. *Dies Coenae Domini*. MAUNDY THURSDAY.
6. *Dies Consecrati*. The *Capitularium Car. M.* (ii. c. 35), enjoins that four days at Christmas should be observed as festivals; these days are referred to in the council of Soissons, A. D. 853, A. D. 869, c. 8, as *dies consecrati*, on which no courts were to be held.

7. *Dies Dominica*. [EASTER; LORD'S DAY.]
8. *Dies Magnus, Felicitis natus*, EASTER-DAY (*Capitularium Car. M.* v. c. 136); "dies magnus Coenae," Maundy Thursday (*Capit. Herardi*, c. 14). So $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\eta$ $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$ (*Conc. Ancyr.* c. 6) is used for Easter-Day. "Dies magnus" is also used for the Last Day (*Cypri. Car. M.* vi. c. 37).

9. *Dies Natalis*. [NATALIS.]
10. *Dies Neophytorum*, the eight days, from Easter-Day to its octave, during which the newly baptised wore their white garments. Augustine (*Epist.* 119, c. 17) speaks of the "octo dies neophytorum" as days of special observance.

11. *Dies Palmarum*, or in *Ramis Palmarum*, PALM-SUNDAY.
12. *Dies Sancti*, the forty days of LENT. See the Theodosian *Code*, lib. ii. *De Feriis*, and Baronius, ad an. 519, § 42.

13. *Dies Scrutinii*, the days on which candidates for baptism were examined, especially Wednesday in the fourth week of Lent.

14. *Dies Solis, Dies Lunae*, and the other days of the week; see WEEK.

15. *Dies timoratum* or *murium*; certain days on which ceremonies were performed to avert the ravages of moths or mice (Audoenus, *Vita Eligii*, ii. 15). See Delrio, *Disquis. Magic.* lib. iii. pt. 2, qu. 4, § 6.

16. *Dies Virilium*, in some ancient German calendars, Thursday in Holy Week, "Grundonnerstag." [MAUNDY THURSDAY.]
17. *Dies rotorum*, a wedding-day; *Leyes Longobard.* lib. ii. tit. 4, § 3. [C.]

DIETA. The ecclesiastical CURSUS or daily office. Victor of Paris (*MS. Liber Ordinis*, c. 27, quoted by Ducange) orders his book to be carried round whenever office is said (*quando dicta cantatur*). See Beeth, *De Div. Off.* c. 21; Durandus, *Rationale*, v. 3, 29. [C.]

DIGAMY. It has been stated under the head BIOAMY that we propose to consider under the present head whatever concerns the entering into marriage relations with two persons successively. The subject is one in respect to which a different morality has been applied to the clergy and laity. As respects each class moreover, it divides itself under two branches—which, however, it will not always be necessary to consider separately—that of successive marriages after divorce or

separation, and after the death of a husband or wife.

In respect of the clergy, it has been already observed under the head **BIGAMY** that the prescriptions as to bishops and deacons in 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12, and Tit. i. 6, requiring them to be husbands "of one wife," apply more probably to successive than to simultaneous marriages. The explanation of them seems to lie in those enactments of the Pentateuch (Levit. xxi. 7, 13, 14), which forbid the priest to marry a widow or divorced woman. The oldest authorities support this view. The *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 2) require the bishop to be the husband of a single woman once married; a prescription extended by a constitution, evidently indeed of later date (vi. 17) to presbyters, deacons, and even singers, readers, and porters; the deaconesses also were to be pure virgins, or at least widows of one husband (as to whom, see also viii. 25, no doubt later still). The so-called *Apostolical Canons* in like manner provide that if any one after baptism shall twice enter into marriage, or marry a widow or divorced woman, he cannot be a bishop, priest, or deacon, or in anywise on the list of the sacred ministry (cc. 13, 14, otherwise 16, 17, or 10, 18). It is clear from the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus (ix. 12) that by the beginning of the 3rd century the rule of monogamy for the clergy was well established, since he complains that in the days of Callistus "digamist and trigamist bishops, and priests, and deacons, began to be admitted into the clergy." Tertullian recognizes the rule as to the clergy. Thus in his *De Exhortatione Castitatis* (c. 7), he asks scornfully: "Being a digamist, dost thou baptize? being a digamist, dost thou make the offering?" And he points (*Ib.* c. 13) to certain honours paid among the heathens themselves to monogamy.

The rule of the Church, it will be observed, forbade indeed to the clergy both personal digamy, and marriage with a digamous woman. St. Ambrose, in the first book of his *Offices* (c. 50), further considers the case of prebaptismal marriage,—many persons, it seems, being surprised that digamy before marriage should be an impediment to orders.

We pass from the testimony of the fathers to that of councils and popes. The so-called canons of the Nicene Council from the Arabic—which probably indeed only represent the state of the Church of Arabia at a much later period—enact the penalty of deposition against a priest or deacon dismissing his wife in order to change her for another fairer or better or richer, or "on account of his concupiscence" (c. 60, or 71 of the Ezechellensian version). The still more problematical "Sanctions and Decrees" attributed to the Nicene fathers require, in accordance with the previously existing laws of the Church, the priest to be "the husband of one wife, not a bigamist or trigamist," and forbid him to marry a widow or dismissed woman, &c. (c. 14).

The first Council of Valence (A.D. 374) enacts that "none after this synod . . . be ordained to the clergy from among digamists, or the husbands of previously married women (*internuptarum*)," but decrees that nothing should be inquired into as to the status of those who are already ordained (c. 1). Compare the 4th Council of Carthage (A.D. 397), c. 69, and the 1st Council of Toledo (A.D. 400), cc. 3 and 4.

The letters of pope Innocent I. (A.D. 402-17) deal frequently with the subject, and more than once on the point already treated by St. Ambrose of the effect of prebaptismal marriage. In his 2nd to Victorius bishop of Rouen, besides laying it down that clerics should only marry virgins (c. 4), he dwells on the absurdity of not reckoning a wife married before baptism (c. 6). The 23rd letter of the same pope, addressed to the Synod of Toledo, reverts a third time to the error of not reckoning in cases of digamy a prebaptismal marriage.

The letters of Leo the Great (A.D. 440-61) repeatedly recur to the subject. See the 4th, 5th, and 6th.

Second marriages were, however, still allowed to the inferior clergy. Thus the 25th canon of the 1st Council of Orange, A.D. 441, ordains respecting "those fit and approved persons whom the grace itself of their life consents to be joined to the clergy, if by chance they have fallen into second marriage, that they should not receive ecclesiastical dignities beyond the subdiaconate." The same enactment is repeated almost in the same words in the 45th canon of the 2nd Council of Arles, A.D. 452. In some dioceses, however, the rule was still stricter, if full faith is to be given to a letter of bishops Loup of Troyes and Euphrosius of Autun to bishop Talasius of Angers (A.D. 453), which lays it down that the Church allows digamy as far as the rank of porters, but excludes altogether exorcists and subdeacons from second marriage, whilst in the diocese of Autun the porter himself, the lowest of the inferior clergy, if he took a second wife lost his office, and, as well as a subdeacon or exorcist falling into the same "madness," was excluded from communion (see Labbe and Mansi's *Councils*, vol. vii. p. 942). As respects marriages to widows, we must not overlook a Council of uncertain place, of the year 442-4, by which a bishop named Chelionius was deposed, amongst other reasons, for having contracted such a marriage; though he was afterwards absolved by Pope Leo. See further, against the 2nd marriages of the clergy or other marriages to widows or divorced women, the 4th canon of the Council of Angers, A.D. 453; the 4th canon of the 1st Council of Tours, A.D. 461; the 2nd canon of the Council of Rome, A.D. 465; letter 9 of pope Gelasius I. (A.D. 492-8) to the bishops of Lucania, cc. 3, 22; and two fragments of letters by him to the clergy and people of Brindisi.

Among the Nestorians of the East indeed, towards the end of the 5th century, the re-marriage of the clergy was held valid. One of their synods held in Persia, under Barsamas archbishop of Nisibis [**BIGAMY**], expressly lays it down that a priest whose wife is dead is not to be forbidden by his bishop to marry again, whether before or after his orders.* And even in the West it is evident that instances of digamy or quasi-digamy must at the beginning of the 6th century have been so frequent in France at least as to require toleration. Thus the Council of

* A somewhat later Nestorian synod under the patriarch Babouas, however, seems to allow but one wife to the "Catholice" inferior priests, and monks. It is difficult, however, to collect the exact purport of the enactment from the short notice in Labbe and Mansi's *Councils*, vol. 3, p. 239.

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Agde, A.D. 506, after the canons and statutes of the fathers had been read, determined, "as touching digamists or husbands of women before married (intermaritum)—although the statutes of the fathers had otherwise decreed—that those who till now have been ordained, compassion being had, do retain the name only of the priest-hood or diaconate, but that such persons do not minister" (c. 1). So the Council of Epône, A.D. 517, c. 2; the 4th [3rd] Council of Arles, A.D. 544, c. 3; and the 4th Council of Orleans, A.D. 541, c. 10. It seems superfluous to multiply authorities as respects the Western Church, except to notice the introduction of the same legisla- tion among new communities. Thus for Eng- land, a Council held under archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, towards the end of the 7th century, forbids the priesthood (c. 116) to the husband of a widow, whether married to her before or after baptism. The Collection of Irish Canons, supposed to be of about the same date, in its first book 'On the Bishop,' requires him to be a man 'who having taken only one wife, a virgin, is content' (c. 9). And pope Gregory II. (711-10) in a capitulary to his abbegates in Bavaria, forbids a digamist, or one who has not received his wife a virgin to be ordained (c. 5). On the other hand, a Spanish canon seems to imply that quasi-digamous marriages might in that province be contracted with the advice of the bishop, since the 4th Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, enacted (c. 44) that clerics who without such advice (sine consultu episcopi sui) had married widows, divorced women, or prostitutes, were to be excluded from communion.

The last authority we shall quote, as embracing the East as well as the West, is that of the [5th] 8th General Council, that of Constantinople in Trullo, A.D. 691, which treats of the subject in a manner proving that the canonical injunctions against digamous or quasi-digamous marriages among the clergy were yet in many instances transgressed. Those who had become involved in second marriages, and down to a given past date had "served sin," were to be deposed, but those who, having become involved in the disgrace of such digamy before the decree, had forsaken their evil ways, or those whose second wives were dead already, whether priests or deacons, were ordered for a definite time to cease from all priestly ministrations, but to retain the honour of their seat and rank, whilst praying the Lord with tears to forgive them the sin of their ignorance. On the other hand those who had married widows, whether priests, deacons, or subdeacons, after a short period of suspension from ministerial functions, were to be restored to their rank, but without power of further promotion. For all those committing the like offence after the date assigned, the canon was renewed "which says that he who shall have become involved in two marriages after baptism, or shall have had a concubine, cannot be bishop, or priest, or deacon, or in anywise a member of the sacerdotal order; and so with him who has taken to wife a widow or divorced woman, or a harlot, or a slave, or a stage-player" (c. 3). It would probably be difficult to assign the original canon thus referred to. The text is moreover remarkable as confining the disability of second marriage to post-baptismal unions—in

direct opposition to the authority of St. Ambrose and others before referred to.

It is sufficient to state here that so long as we retain the female diaconate in sight, the same obligation of monogamy attaches to the deaconesses as to the male clergy; e. g., not to speak of Epiphanius for the East, when the female diaconate reappears in Gaul during the 6th century, we find the 2nd Council of Orleans, A.D. 533, enacting that "women who have hitherto received against canonical prohibition the diaconal benediction, if they can be proved to have again lapsed into marriage, are to be expelled from communion;" but if they give up their husbands, they may be readmitted after penance (c. 17).

It must not be overlooked that the civil law of the Roman empire since the days of Justinian followed the canon law on the subject of clerical marriages. This is perhaps only implied in the Code (see bk. i. t. iii. l. 42, § 1, and l. 48), but distinctly enacted in the *Novels*. Under one or other of these, bishops, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons were alike forbidden to receive ordination if they had been twice married, or had married widows or divorced women (6th Nov. cc. i. v.; 22nd Nov. c. xlii.; 123rd Nov. cc. i. xii.; 137th Nov. c. li.). Readers who remarried or contracted the like marriages, could rise to no higher clerical rank (an indulgence which did not, however, extend to a third marriage), or if they obtained such irregularly, forfeited altogether their clerical position (6th Nov. c. v.; 22nd Nov. c. xlii.; 123rd Nov. c. xiv.). Deaconesses must in like manner, if not virgins, have been only once married (6th Nov. c. vi.).^b

II. As respects the laity, the distinction between second marriages after divorce or separation, and after death, which is unimportant as respects the clergy, becomes an essential one. In both respects the practice of the Church, instead of being founded, as it was with reference to the clergy, on the prescriptions of the Old Testament, depends upon a more or less narrow interpretation of the New, or on more or less bold deductions from its teachings, combined with the surrounding influences of civil society. In conformity with St. Paul's views as to remarriage after death, we

^b A curious offshoot from the subject of the prohibition of clerical bigamy is the extension of that prohibition to the widows of clerics. Thus, the first Council of Toledo, A.D. 400, enacted that if the widow of a bishop, priest, or deacon took a husband, no cleric or religious woman ought so much as to eat with her, nor should she be admitted to communion except in *articulo mortis* (c. 18). The 4th Council of Orleans, A.D. 511, required the widow of a priest or deacon married again to be separated from her husband, or if she remained with him, both to be excluded from communion (c. 13). The Council of Epône (A.D. 517), somewhat more sharply decreed immediate exclusion of both, till they should separate (c. 32). The Council of Lerida (A.D. 521) according to Sirlin, forbade the communion to the remarried widow of a bishop, priest, or deacon, even in *articulo mortis*. The Council of Auxerre (A.D. 578) ag'dn forbade such marriages as respects the widows of the superior clergy; the Council of Mâcon, A.D. 585, extended the prohibition to those of subdeacons, exorcists and acolytes, under pain of confinement for life in a convent of women (c. 16). Yet Pope Gregory the Great (A.D. 599-602) did not go so far, for we find him in a letter to Leo, bishop of Catania, (bk. ii. letter 34) ordering a certain Honorata, widow of a subdeacon, who on her marrying again had been shut up in a monastery to be restored to her husband.

find Hermas writing that "whoso marries"—i.e. as shown in the context, after the death of either wife or husband—"does not sin, but if he dwells by himself, he acquires great honour to himself with the Lord" (bk. ii. M. iv. § 4); but adopting the stricter view as to remarriage after divorce, declaring it to be adultery in the man even when he has put away his wife for that offence itself, and the same to be the case with the wife (*ibid.*, § 1). Negatively, on the other hand, it may be observed that the epistle of Barnabas, in enumerating the works of the "way of light," does not specify monogamy (see c. 19).

The *Apostolical Constitutions* (iii. 1) speak of the marriage of a church-widow as bringing disgrace to the class, "not because she contracted a second marriage, but because she did not keep her promise (*ἑπαγγελία*)"—a passage clearly implying even in this case the full lawfulness of second marriage. See also cc. 2 and 3, and *Apost. Can.* 40, al. 47 or 48.

Although amongst the earlier Romans there was one form of marriage which was indissoluble, viz., that by *confarreatio*, still generally a second marriage either after death or divorce, was by no means viewed with disfavour. There are, however, certain clear indications that already in the first century of our era constancy to a single partner was in the Roman world beginning to be looked upon with favour. Thus Tacitus speaks of Germanicus's being a man "of one marriage" as one of the causes of his influence (*Ann.* ii. 73), and mentions a little further on (c. 76) that the daughter of Pollio was chosen to be chief vestal "for no other reason than that her mother remained married to the same man." The same Tacitus observes of the Germans that the best of their communities (*civitates*) were those where the women only married as virgins, so that they never had but one husband (*De Mor. Germ.* c. xix.). And it is perhaps worthy of notice that the *jus connubii*, when given to soldiers, was restricted under Philip (247-9) to the case of a first marriage, though this was probably not attributable to any moral considerations (see Muratori, *Thes. Inscr.* i. 362).

Meanwhile an intensifying spirit of asceticism was leading many in the church to a condemnation of second marriage in all cases. Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, c. 31, § 5) only professes on behalf of the Christians a preference for monogamy. Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 150-220) seems to confine the term marriage to the first lawful union (*Stromata*, bk. ii.—quoted, as well as several of the following references, in Cotelerius, *Patres Apostol.* vol. i. p. 90, n. 16). Athenagoras terms second marriage "fair seeming adultery." Tertullian (A.D. 150-226) inveighs against it with unwearied urgency, in his two books *Ad Uxorem*, in his *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, in his *De Monogamia*, and in his *De Pudicitia*—the last but one, however, written when he was altogether a Montanist. In the first of them, indeed, he admits that his wife will not actually sin if she marry after his death (i. 7), but argues from clerical to lay monogamy. In the *Exhortation to Castity* (which is addressed to a man) he uses the same argument, but goes so far as to say that second marriage is a form of adultery (c. 9). Origen (184-253) so far as the Latin text of his 17th homily on

Luke can be trusted, is not much less severe. Recommending perseverance in widowhood, he says: "But now both second and third and fourth marriages, not to speak of more, are to be found, and we are not ignorant that such a marriage shall cast us out from the kingdom of God."

It would seem, however, that when these views were carried to the extent of absolute prohibition of second marriages generally by several heretical sects, the Montanists (see Augustin, *de Haeresibus*, c. 26), the Cathari (ib. c. 38), and a portion at least of the Novatianists (see Cotel. *Patr. Ap.* vol. i. p. 91, n. 16), the Church saw the necessity of not fixing such a yoke on the necks of the laity. The forbiddance of second marriage, or its assimilation to fornication, was treated as one of the marks of heresy (Augustin, u. s.; and see also his *De bono rēnitentis*, c. 6). The sentiment of Augustin (in the last referred to passage) may be taken to express the Church judgment at the close of the 4th century: "Second marriages are not to be condemned, but had in less honour;" and see also Epiphanius, in his *Exposition of the Catholic Faith*, c. 21.

What the "less honour" consisted in may partly be inferred as respects the Greek Church, from the 'Sanctions and Decrees' attributed to the Nicene Fathers (Labbe and Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. ii. p. 1029 and foll.), which distinctly authorize widowers' and widows' marriages (i. 7). Yet the blessing of the crowns is not to be imparted to them, for this is only once given, on first marriages, and not to be repeated. . . . But if one of them be not a widower or widow, let such one alone receive the benediction with the paronymphs, those whom he will.

The 7th Canon of the Council of Neocaesarea, in A.D. 314 or 315, bears that the presbyter ought not to be present at the marriage festivities of digamists, as the act would be incompatible with his assigning a penance to such persons. The canon implies, it will be seen, that the act of second marriage entailed the infliction of a penance. This appears more clearly from the 1st Canon of the Council of Laodicea, (between A.D. 357 and 367), which rules, as respects those who have "freely and lawfully" contracted a second marriage, without any secrecy, that after a short time, and some chastisement in prayers and fastings, they should be admitted to Communion. And Basil (A.N. 329-379) in his Canonical epistle to bishop Amphilocheus of Iconium fixes one year as the period of the suspension of digamists from communion.

We must thus consider that two views on the subject of simple remarriage after the death of husband or wife were abroad in the Church; one which, with Augustin, looked upon it as merely less honourable than monogamy, and deemed its actual condemnation a mark of heresy; the other, which looked upon it as in itself an offence deserving penance, however slight this might be.

The latter view found most colour as respects second marriages after what was deemed a religious profession, as that of the penitent, and of the widow. See *IV. Conc. Carth.* c. 104; *II. Arles*, c. 21; Pope Symmachus, *Epist.* 5, § 5; *V. Paris*, c. 13, and many others.

A more extraordinary instance of the enforcement of monogamy on a particular class of women is confined to Spain. The 13th Council

of Toledo, after the confirmation of Sarawidow remained. The own co under A fines it ment ev for thro missing ever to riage aff fully rec later tin in the R that M' Dia. 20 forbade after the the ancie 4th cent subjected. I n un against se in the rec to the C The earli upper to Great (A. nian's Coc and bk. vi Substan of the Ch second ma latterly co care the ri The herba this point c. 37; the ce. 182, l vi. c. 74. fully the r a partner Chindsswin Among forbidding priests' (su knowledge riages with be no true n separated, w against them vere to be a though not to limit the ion till ame amendment, a widow who and her husb the church (C' A woman who was never sou of marriages none take mo is already sup

is not much less severe. Penance in widowhood, the second and third and fourth rank of more, are to be found, and that such a marriage is the kingdom of God."

However, that when these to the extent of absolute marriages generally by the Montanists (see Aug. c. 26), the Cathari (ib. at least of the Novatians vel. i. p. 91, n. 16), the necessity of not fixing such a penalty. The forbiddance or its assimilation to form one of the marks of heresy see also his *De bona voluntate* of Augustin (in the) may be taken to express at the close of the 4th marriages are not to be considered honour; and see also position of the Catholic Faith,

honour" consisted in may respects the Greek Church, and Decrees attributed to the able and Mansi, *Concilio*, which distinctly an widows' marriages (l. 7). crowns is not to be imparted once given, on first marriage repeated. . . . But if one or widow, let such one deliction with the penance will.

The Council of Neocesarea bears that the presbyter sent at the marriage festival the act would be incurring a penance to such penalties, it will be seen, that the infliction entails the infliction appears more clearly from Council of Laodicea, (be 367), the rules, as receive "freely and lawfully" marriage, without any time, and some chastisements, they should be admitted. Basil (A.D. 325-5) epistle to bishop Amphilo- chus one year as the period penitents from communion.

After that two views on the marriage after the death of a spouse in the Church; one looked upon it as merely monogamy, and deemed it a mark of heresy; the other on it as in itself an offence never slight this might be of almost colour as respects what was deemed a repentance of the penitent, and of *Conc. Carth. c. 104*; *Symmachus, Epist. 3*, and many others.

By instance of the enforcement on a particular class of Spain. The 13th Council

of Toledo, in 683, declared it to be "an execrable crime, and a work of most inveterate iniquity, after the death of kings, to affect the royal couch of their surviving consorts" (c. 5). This was confirmed some years later by the 3rd Council of Saragossa, A.D. 691, which required the widows of the kings to enter a convent for the remainder of their lives (c. 6).

The penance for ordinary digamy recurs in our own country, in the canons of a Council held under Archbishop Theodore, of Canterbury, which fixes it at two days fasting from wine and flesh-meat every week during the first year, and fasting for three consecutive Lenten, "but without dismissing the wife" (c. 26). But subject however to some such qualifications, second marriage after the death of husband or wife remained fully recognised as the right of the laity. In later times, indeed, so slight a feeling subsisted in the Romish Church against re-marriage among the laity after the death of a husband or wife, that Muratori (*Antiquitates Medii Aevi*, ii. Diss. 20), says that the Latin Church never forbade second, third, or even more marriages after the death of one of the parties, although the ancient church, especially during the 3rd and 4th centuries, bore such unions impatiently, and subjected them to penance.

It must now be observed that the feeling against second marriage traceable in early times in the records of the Church gradually extended to the Civil Law, especially as regards widows. The earliest laws which indicate this feeling appear to belong to the time of Theodosius the Great (A.D. 380-2), and are to be found in Justinian's Code, bk. v. tit. ix., *De secundis nuptiis*, and bk. vi. tit. lvi.

Substantially the Roman civil law, like that of the Church, fully recognised the right of second marriage of a surviving husband or wife, latterly confining itself to securing with especial care the rights of the issue of the first marriage. The barbaric codes do not vary materially from this point of view. See the *Edict* of Theodoris, c. 37; the *Laws* of Notharis (A.D. 638 or 643), c. 182, 183; *Laws* of Liutprand (A.D. 724), vi. c. 74. The laws of the Wisigoths recognised fully the right of remarrying after the death of a partner among the laity. See the *Laws* of Chindaswinth, bk. iii. tit. 1, l. 4.

Among the Carolingian *Capitularies* is one forbidding marriage with widows without their priests' (suorum sacerdotum) consent and the knowledge of the people (bk. v. c. 40). Marriages with professed widows were declared to be no true marriages, and the parties were to be separated, without any accusation being brought against them, by the priest or the judge, and were to be sent into perpetual exile (ib. c. 411); though another enactment (bk. vii. c. 339) seems to limit the penalty to suspension from communion till amendment of life, or in default of such amendment, to perpetual exclusion. If, indeed, a widow who was also a penitent remarried, she and her husband were not to be suffered to enter the church (c. 317, and see also *Add. Quarta* c. 88). A woman who had connexion with two brothers was never to marry again (ib. 381). A limit was even sought to be imposed on the number of marriages which might be contracted: "Let none take more than two wives, since the third is already superfluous" (bk. vii. c. 406).

III. We come now to a branch of the subject on which the law of the Church has seldom run precisely in the same groove as that of the state, viz., remarriage not after death of one of the parties, but after divorce or separation. Several classes of cases have here to be distinguished. The first is that in which physical separation involves the presumption or at least the possibility of death. The 22nd *Novel* fixed a period of five years, after which the wife of a captive husband, who could hear no tidings of him, might lawfully marry again (c. 7). The Wisigothic Code was less indulgent. One of its older laws enacted that no woman might marry in her husband's absence, till he was known to be dead; otherwise, on his return, both she and her second husband were to be given over to him, so that he might do with them what he chose, whether by selling them or in any other way (bk. ii. t. ii. l. 6). As respects the church, a letter of Pope Innocent I. (402-17) to Probus simply lays down that where a wife had been carried into captivity and her husband married again in her absence, on the return of the former the first marriage alone held good (*Ep. 9*). Leo the Great ruled to the same effect in his letter (A.D. 458) to Nicetas, Bishop of Aquileia. Wives whose husbands had been taken in war were bound to return to their former husbands under pain of excommunication; but the second husbands were not to be held guilty for the act of marrying (*Ep. 159*). The Council in Trullo (A.D. 692), more severe, decreed that the wife of an absent husband marrying before she was certain of his death was guilty of adultery (c. 93).

The next group of cases are those of simple prolonged physical separation. The Roman law took especial account of the case of soldiers. The 22nd *Novel* allowed the wife of a soldier after ten years' absence, during which she must have repeatedly pressed her husband by letters or messages, whilst he either repelled her importunities, or wholly neglected them, to marry again, altering in this respect a constitution of Constantine's (*Code*, bk. v. t. xvii. l. 7), which seemed to fix four years as a sufficient period of separation. But the wife was required to present a protest, apparently a written one, to the soldier's superior officers (c. 14); and the 117th *Novel* surrounded this proceeding with certain formalities, requiring moreover the wife to wait a year further after taking the step in question before she could lawfully marry again (l. 11). St. Basil on the other hand notices the case in his first canonical epistle to Amphilochius, and decrees that where the soldier's wife remarries, the circumstances should be examined into, and some indulgence shewn (c. 36). The Council in Trullo adopted this view, and authorized a soldier, who might return after a long absence and find his wife married to another, to take her back, indulgence being shewn both to the woman and to her second husband (c. 93).

Physical separation through captivity constitutes the next group. A council held under Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, towards the end of the 7th century, allows a layman, if his wife were by force carried away into captivity, and he could not recover her, to take another, as being better than to commit fornication (c. 31). After such a second marriage (which

could be contracted after a twelvemonth, c. 140), he was not at liberty to take back his former wife if married to another, but she might herself also marry another husband (c. 31). One of the later Lombard laws (A. D. 721) enacts that if any one go away for a matter of business or of trade, whether within a province or out of it, and do not return within three years, his wife may apply to the king, who may allow her to marry again (Law of Liutprand, bk. iii. c. 4).

If we now consider the case of voluntary desertion or divorce, we shall find considerable fluctuation in the rules and practice of the Church as to a second marriage following thereon. St. Paul had, indeed, admitted that desertion for the faith's sake dissolved the social obligations of marriage: "If the unbelieving depart, let him depart; a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases" (1 Cor. vii. 15). Did the not being "under bondage" imply freedom to marry again? An alleged canon of Gregory the Great is reported to have ruled that it was no sin to do so (c. 17). The same conclusion may, perhaps, be drawn, as respects heresy at least, from a canon (72) of the Council in Trullo, which not only forbids marriage between an orthodox person and a heretic, but declares it void and dissolved; and seems only by way of permission to allow that where two infidels have married, and one comes to the light of the truth, he or she may remain in union with the other. And under the canons of the English Council under Theodore, the case would be included in that of desertion generally, in which it was laid down that a layman deserted by his wife might after two years take another with the bishop's consent (c. 140). Indeed St. Basil in the 4th century had ruled in his first canonical epistle to Amphiloehius that a woman who married a man deserted by his wife, if dismissed on the latter's return, had only fornicated in ignorance, and was not forbidden to marry again; though he thought it better that she should remain single (c. 46). The 93rd canon of the Council in Trullo confirmed this view.

There was indeed one case of separation, the very converse of that of a Christian husband or wife deserted by an infidel partner, which Justinian's code specially dealt with, that of the husband or wife embracing the monastic profession. This was held to give freedom to the other party to marry again, although as respects a woman, by analogy with the law in case of remarriage after death, only after the expiration of a twelvemonth. She was, however, at once to send a divorce *bonâ gratiâ* to her husband (Code, bk. i. t. iii. l. 53, § 3; and see l. 56; 5th Nov. c. 5; 22nd Nov. c. 5). The avoidance of marriage by the religious profession was however maintained, after the divorce *bonâ gratiâ* had been forbidden; see the 117th Nov. cc. 10, 12, and the 123rd, c. 40.

The great struggle was, however, on the subject of marriage after divorce. Our Lord's teaching on the subject, it will be remembered, was not only in professed opposition to the Jewish law, but in no less signal opposition to the Romn, in which the facilities for divorce were simply scandalous. The right of divorce in specified cases, and of subsequent remarriage for the innocent party, was maintained by the state for a long time under the emperors (see Code,

bk. v. t. xvii.). No limitation of time for remarriage was fixed for the man (lib. l. 8, § 3, *Constitution of Theodosius and Valentinian*, A. D. 449); but by analogy with the case of remarriage after death, the woman's right to remarry after divorce for her husband's wrong, or after a divorce by mutual consent, was limited to arise after the expiration of a twelvemonth (§ 4 and l. 9, *Constitution of Anastasius*, A. D. 497). But if she divorced herself from her husband otherwise than in the cases specified, she could not remarry within five years, and if she did, became infamous, and the marriage void (l. 8, § 4). The right of remarriage by a wife after the year was by the 22nd *Novel* extended to all cases of "reasonable" divorce obtained by her; the husband in the like case being always free to remarry at once (cc. 16, 18). The divorce by mutual consent, except for the sake of observing chastity, was however forbidden by the 117th *Novel*, c. 10.

In Italy the right of divorce and remarriage was maintained by the edict of Theodoric according to the old constitutions (c. 54), and though it cannot be traced through the Lombard laws, probably subsisted till the Carolingian conquest, when by a capitulary of the year 789, enacted for Lombardy, marriage after divorce was forbidden (bk. l. c. 42).

The Wisigothic law seems first to have admitted divorce, then sought to forbid it altogether. An "ancient" law prohibited a divorced woman from remarrying, and if she did, ordered both her and her second husband to be given over to the former one (bk. iii. t. ii. l. 1).

If we turn now to the law of the Church, we find the Council of Elberis in 305 forbidding communion even *in extremis* to women leaving their husbands without cause and marrying another (c. 8). See also c. 9 and c. 10.

Basil in his canonical epistle to Amphiloehius dwells at length on the subject of divorces (c. 9). He doubts, indeed, whether a woman living with a divorced man is to be treated as an adulteress; but she is one certainly who leaves her husband and marries again. But the deserted husband may receive absolution (*συγγνωστὸς ἔσται*), and the woman who lives with him is not condemned; though it is otherwise if the man himself leaves his wife (*ὅς*). Such a man marrying again is an adulterer, and only in the 7th year is to be readmitted among the faithful (c. 77). To Basil's mind, a dismissed wife should remain unmarried (c. 48).

The African Council of Milevis, A. D. 416, the 17th canon of which forbids generally dismissed women to marry other husbands, hardly agrees with an Irish Council of uncertain date held under St. Patrick, which lays it down that first marriages are not made void by second ones, "unless they have been polluted by adultery" (c. 28); nor with the Council of Vannes (*1 œcumenus*) in 465, which enacts excommunication against those who having wives, except by reason of fornication, without proof of adultery marry other women (c. 2). The Council of Hertford in 673 seems to revert to the stricter view, enacting that a man is not to leave his wife except for fornication, nor, if dismissing her, to marry another (c. 10). The Council in Trullo declares that both the woman leaving her husband and marrying another, and the man leaving his wife and

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 (c. 88). On the other hand, the English Council
 under Theodore enacts that where a wife is un-
 faithful a man might dismiss her and marry
 another, the woman however not to be allowed
 to marry her lover (c. 143). And yet by a seem-
 ingly strange contradiction it is enacted that a
 harlot's husband may not marry any other woman
 during her lifetime (c. 166), the case aimed at
 being probably that of a marriage with a full
 knowledge that the woman did not mean to
 leave her course of life. Among the *Excopts*
 from the chapters, "de remedis peccatorum," by
 the same archbishop, published in the *Anecdota*
 of Martone, we find that the penance assigned
 to a man dismissing his wife and marrying
 another is seven years "with tribulation," be-
 sides five years of lighter penance. If the wife
 departed, and the husband married again, his
 penance was for one year only.

A letter (7) of Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741-51) to
 Pepin as mayor of the palace, enjoins again the
 excommunication of laymen dismissing their
 wives and taking others in their place (c. 7),
 and reiterates the prohibition against marriage
 after divorce (c. 12), which we find also repeated
 in the replies made by Pope Stephen II. in 754
 to certain queries put to him when he was at
 Quiry in France (c. 5).

Under Charlemagne a different spirit be-
 comes obvious. The law is made stricter, but
 the rulers are above it. All injunctions to
 morality on the part of the popes were power-
 less against the passions of their Carovingian
 patrons. See the curious letter addressed by
 Stephen III. (A.D. 768-70) to Charlemagne and
 Carloman his son, then associated with him on
 the throne.

The Council of Aix in 789 (c. 42) and the
 Council of Friuli in 791 (c. 10), endorsing the
 stricter construction of our Lord's words as to
 divorce, enacted that after a divorce for adultery
 either party should marry again. The latter,
 however, "by indulgence," allowed those who
 were separated for consanguinity's sake on
 discovery to marry again, if they could not re-
 main unmarried, which it recommended them to
 do; but if they willfully contracted such a mar-
 riage they were after separation to do penance
 all their lives and never marry again, nor could
 their children inherit from them (c. 8). The
 prohibitions against a second marriage after
 divorce are repeated in the Capitularies, bk.
 vii. cc. 73, 382 (the latter expressly includ-
 ing the case of adultery); bk. v. c. 300, *Ad-*
quarta cc. 118-161,—the prohibition being here
 extended to marrying again after "killing a wife
 without cause." And the edict of Charlemagne
 (A.D. 814) directs inquiry whether all men noble
 or ignoble, have lawful wives, "not the dis-
 missed wives of others."

Strange to say, the Eastern empire presented
 at this same period a similar scandal to that of
 the imperial court of the west. The Emperor
 Constantine had sent his wife to a convent and
 married another, the Archbishop Joseph per-
 forming the ceremony. For so doing he was
 ejected by the patriarch Tarasius, but received to
 communion by a Constantinopolitan synod in 808
 in spite of the efforts of Theodorus Studita and
 of the monks, and another assembly in 809,

declared the emperor's marriage to be lawful, on
 the shameful ground that "the divine laws en-
 do nothing against kings."—It is somewhat en-
 ous to add that a Nestorian synod held in Persia
 in 804, following the stricter view, had laid it
 down that after a divorce for fornication neither
 husband nor wife could marry again.

To sum up the conclusions of this inquiry, we
 find—1st, that as respects the clergy, a rule
 borrowed from Leviticus or derived from its pre-
 scriptions was held by the church to forbid to the
 clergy all marriages which should on either side
 be of a digamous character; and that although
 this rule was evidently constantly infringed in
 practice, and its infringements oftentimes con-
 doned in the past, it was nevertheless steadily
 upheld as binding throughout the whole period
 to which this work refers, and latterly extended
 or sought to be extended to the inferior clergy;
 the one open protest against its application being
 that of a Nestorian synod in Persia, towards the
 end of the 5th century. 2nd, that as respects
 the laity, notwithstanding the stricter views
 taken by several writers of the earlier church,
 the right of remarriage after the death of a
 husband or wife became firmly established,
 though in the Eastern church such marriages
 were subjected to some ceremonial disparage-
 ment, and were generally sought to be dis-
 couraged by penances more or less severe. 3rd,
 that considerable fluctuation in the views and
 practice of the Church seems to have prevailed
 on the subject of remarriage after separation or
 divorce, and that whilst second marriages in such
 cases were generally condemned by the letter of
 the canon law towards the end of the 8th and
 beginning of the 9th centuries, the sovereigns
 both of the East and West set such prohibitions
 at naught for themselves, and parted with their
 wives to marry others almost at their will.
 (See also DIGAMY).

[J. M. L.]

DIGNITAS. A well-known classical word =
 id, quo quis re aliqua dignus est, as Facciolati
 defines it. By degrees it was used as a generic
 term for ranks or offices, "Dignitas equitatis,
 senatoria, consularis," and so forth. From Pliny
 downwards, by "dignitates" were frequently
 meant "magistracies." The well-known *notitia*,
 or "Table of dignities of the Roman Empire in
 the east and west," which Pausirolus thinks
 may have been published about the end of the
 reign of Theodosius the younger in its present
 shape, was probably commenced under Augustus
 (Böcking's *Notit.* p. liii.-v.). They form the
 subject of the 6th book in the Theodosian Code,
 and of the 1st and last books in that of Justinian
 (Gothofred *Op. Jurid. Min.* pp. 1263, 1374, and
 1415-18). All, of course, were purely secular;
 but, in process of time, when ecclesiastics were
 promoted to secular offices, and ecclesiastical
 offices themselves began to confer as much social
 distinction as secular, people talked of "digni-
 ties" in the Church as freely as in the State.
 Hence, retrospectively, this term might be ex-
 tended to the offices of bishop, metropolitan,
 archbishop, patriarch, pope, cardinal, bishop-
 suffragan, archpriest, archdeacon, chancellor, &c.,
 though, as matter of fact, it was never applied
 to them till it had been used to denote later and
 more subordinate posts first. In ecclesiastical
 parlance, says Duange, "when a benefice in-
 cluded the administration of ecclesiastical affairs

with jurisdiction, it was called a dignity." And Thomas's, to the same purpose, speaks of "provosts, deans, stewards, chamberlains, treasurers, cellars, and sacristans, as among the 'dignities' inseparable from cathedrals and abbeys" (*De Hen.* l. ii. 70). True, we meet with none of these words in their received ecclesiastical meaning before the 9th century; nor was it till then, probably, that ecclesiastical offices of any kind began to be styled "dignities": still, practically, they had been this long before. [E. S. F.]

DIMISSORY LETTERS. (*Litteras dimissoriae, formativae; επιστολά ἀπολυτικά.*) Letters given by a bishop to one of his clerks removing into another diocese; or to a layman of his diocese desiring to be ordained elsewhere. [See BISHOP, p. 232; COMMENDATORY LETTERS.]

1. In ancient times a bishop was forbidden to receive a clerk from another diocese, or to admit to higher orders a clerk already ordained to some inferior rank, or to ordain a layman domiciled in another diocese (*alterius plebis hominem*), without the express and formal consent of the bishop of that diocese (*Conc. Nicen.* l. c. 16; *C. Sardic.* cc. 16, 19, A. D. 347; *C. Carthag.* l. c. 5, A. D. 318; *C. Turin.* c. 7; *C. Arausic.* l. c. 8, 9; *C. in Trullo,* c. 17; *Ordo Rom.* l. III. p. 87). Keaders, psalmists, and doorkeepers, were included under the designation of clerks (*C. Carth.* iii. c. 21; compare Augustine, *Epist.* 235, 240, 242). A bishop was not to hinder a presbyter of his diocese from being ordained bishop of a church to which he was elected, nor was one who had a superfluity of clerks to refuse them to a diocese where there were too few (*C. Carth.* iii. c. 45). The decision in cases of this kind seems to have rested with the metropolitan. In a case in which a bishop, Julianus, wished to reclaim a lector who belonged to his diocese by birth, though he belonged by baptism to the bishop who had ordained him, Epigonius, it was ruled that the lector belonged to the diocese of his baptism, to which he had come as a catechumen with commendatory letters (*C. Carth.* iii. c. 44).

The rules, however, with regard to the ordination of extraneous laymen were probably never enforced with the same strictness as those which related to clerics. Origen, an Alexandrian, was ordained presbyter by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem, much to the indignation of his own bishop, Demetrius; there was, however, in Origen's case a special reason—his mutilation—why he should not be ordained (*Euseb.* II. E. vi. 8, 26, 27). Jerome was ordained priest at Antioch, neither the church of his birth nor of his baptism. And there are other instances of the like kind.

The theory on which all this rests is that a bishop by the act of ordination acquired a perpetual right to the services of the clerks whom he ordained ("Quisquis semel in hac ecclesia ordinem sacrum accepit, egrediendi ex ea ulterius licentiam non habet." *Greg. Magn. Epist.* v. 38), and even—in a less degree—to the services of those whom he baptised. Hence letters dimissory were not merely letters testimonial or commendatory, but properly *ἀπολυτικά*; instruments, that is, setting the clerk free from his allegiance to his first bishop, and transferring the same powers over him to the bishop of his adopted

diocese (Thomas's, *Nota et Vetus Ecclesiae Disciplina*, ii. l. 1 ff.).

2. It was probably from the same notion, of the clerks being bound by a peculiar allegiance to their bishop, that the practice arose of requiring the clergy, and "religious" persons generally, to have the sanction of the bishop before they approached their king or lord (donnum) for the purpose of making benefices (*Conc. Ancyran.* l. c. 7, A. D. 511). This canon is, however, wanting in several MSS. [C.]

DINGOLVINGA, COUNCIL OF (*Dingolwingense*), at Dingolung, on the river Isar, in Bavaria, A. D. 772, under Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, passed 13 canons upon discipline and reformation of manners. *Labb. Conc.* vi. 1794, 1795; *Le Coigne, Annal. v. in an.* 770; *Hartzheim, Conc. German.* l. 130. [A. W. H.]

DIOCESE. The word *διοίκησις*, signifying in its general sense any kind of administration, came to be specifically applied by the Romans to a *Provincia*, but to one of the lesser sort, for Cicero speaks of his *Provincia Cilicidensis* "cuius scilicet tres *διοικήσεις* Asiaticas attribuitur tunc" (*Epist. ad Fam.* lib. xiii. ep. 47).

At a later period, however, when Constantine remodelled the civil divisions of the empire, a *diocesis*, instead of being a minor province, contained within it several provinces. Thus, for instance, there were ten provinces in the Egyptian diocese. About the same time the word passed from the terminology of the civil government into that of the church. It was employed in a sense analogous to its secular application, and signified an aggregate not merely of several districts governed each by its own bishop, but of several provinces (*παροικία*) each presided over by a metropolitan. The diocese itself was under an Exarch or Patriarch (Ἐξαρχία). It is in this sense that the Council of Constantinople (can. 2) speaks of the Council of Constantinople and the Council of Ephesus of the Egyptian diocese. *Διοίκησις Ἰστωῦ ἢ πολλὰς ἑπαρχίας ἔχουσα ἐν ταυτῇ* says Balsamon, *ad Can. IX. Council. Chalced.* "That canon gives an appeal from the head of the province, the metropolitan, to the head of the *διοίκησις* in these words: *εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς ἑπαρχίας Μετροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφιβητοῦ καταλαμβαίνω ἢ τὸν ἕταρον τῆς διοικήσεως ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευσῆς Κοσταντινουπόλεως ἑθρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ διακρίσθω.* About the same period the word *diocese* began also to assume the sense which has finally prevailed to the exclusion of that just mentioned, and to be used to signify the district governed by a single bishop. For the three first centuries this was commonly denoted by *παροικία*, but it now began also to be called *diocesis*, as in the Council of Carthage (see *Bing. Anlir.* bk. ix. li. § 2) we have "Pleuit ut nemini sit facultas, relictâ principali cathedrâ, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diocesi constitutam se conferre." In point of fact, however, the word, which perhaps retained to a certain degree its general rather than its technical sense, is found applied in turn to every kind of ecclesiastical territorial division. For, while Hincmar (*Epist. ad Nicolum*) uses it of the province of a metropolitan ("non solum diocesis, verum etiam parochia mea inter duo regna sub duobus regibus habetur divisa"), Suicer alleges other authorities to show that the

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COUNCIL OF (*Dingol-* ... on the river Isar, in ... Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, ... discipline an! reformation ... no. vi. 1794, 1795; Le ... i. 770; Harzheim, *Conc.* ... [A. W. H.]

... word *diocesis*, signifying ... kind of administration, ... applied by the Romans to ... of the lesser sort, for ... provincia Ciliensis "eccl- ... tiones attributas fuisse" ... (p. 87).

... ver, when Constantine ... visions of the empire, a ... g a minor province, or ... provinces. Thus, for in- ... provinces in the Egyptian ... one time the word passed ... of the civil government ... It was employed in a ... secular application, and ... of merely of several di- ... its own bishop, but of ... (i.e.) cases prescribed over ... diocese itself was under an ... ARCH). It is in this sense ... antinople (can. 2) speaks ... dioceses, and the Council ... than diocese. *Διοκισις* ... *ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* says ... *encl. Chalcid.* That canon ... the head of the province, ... head of the *διοκισις* in ... *τῆν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας* ... *ἢ κληρικῶν ἀμφιθε-* ... *τῶν ἑσάρχων τῆς διοικη-* ... *τοῦσις Κωνσταντινουπό-* ... *ῆς δικαιοσύνης*. About the ... diocese began also to as- ... was finally prevailed to ... mentioned, and to be ... tect governed by a single ... first centuries this was ... *apostolica*, but it now began ... *sis*, as in the Council of ... *utiq.*, bk. ix. ii. § 2) we ... *linal sit factus, relicta* ... *quoniam ecclesiam in dioce-* ... *ferre*. In point of fact, ... ch perhaps retained to a ... al rather than its tech- ... plied in turu to every ... rritorial division. For, ... *ad Nicolaum*) uses it of ... *solitatis* ("non solum dioce- ... *arochia me inter duo* ... *bus habetur divisa"),* ... *morities to show that the*

DIocese

word is sometimes employed in a sense closely resembling our word *parish*, viz. the district of a single church in a diocese. It has been observed that this was a Latin, and especially an African use of the term (Thomas, l. i. c. 3).

Considered in the acceptance of the word, which has prevailed in later times to the exclusion of the others, a bishop's diocese and his power over it are thus spoken of in the 4th century—

Ἐκαστὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν ἔξουσιαν ἔχειν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχίας διακεῖν τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκδοτὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν ἐυλόθειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιῆσαι πόσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ἐκ καὶ χειροτονίᾳ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρισίως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν περὶ τῶν διὰ τὴν πρῶτην ἀεικίριον δίχα τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἕνεκ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γνώμης. (Council, Actio h. can. 9.)

It has been thought that, from every bishop having a right to erect new churches in his own diocese, and to set up a cross on the spot where they were to be placed, his diocese has sometimes been called *σταυροτόπιον* (Bing, viii. 9, 5).

The enouneil rule was not only that a diocese should have but one bishop, but that a bishop should have but one diocese. In subsequent times, however, the latter part of this rule was much broken down by the practice of "commend."

This practice came into use on various grounds. One of these is thus indicated by Thomassin:—"Incurtiones barbarorum juges et cruentissime Fundant civitate episcoporum plebenaque propemodum omnem effugiant. Cum viduata tunc pastore suo fuisset Terracina, Fundanum sibi postulavit episcopum. Confirmata est a Gregorio Magno ea electio, a quo jussus est Agnellus titulum et administrationem gerere ecclesie Terracinenis, et nihil serius veluti commendatam sibi curare ecclesiam Fundanam. Sic te Terracinese ecclesie cardinalem constituit esse sacerdotem, ut et Fundensis ecclesie pontifex esse non desinas" (Thomassin, pt. ii. lib. 3, cap. 10).

In other cases a vacant diocese was simply committed to the care of a neighbouring bishop till a successor could be appointed. This was in the earlier times the most common species of commend, and was of course temporary only.

Sometimes there was a kind of double commend, the pope commending to the care of a neighbouring bishop a diocese whose own diocesan was occupied in administering the affairs of another church previously commended to him.

In other instances, again, where a bishop was under sentence of penance, the affairs of his church were entrusted to another, or to the metropolitan, until he was restored. "Emeritense Concilium Metropolitanum commendavit ecclesiam eorum episcoporum, qui ad poenitentiam accedere jussi fuerant, quod a Concilio Provinciali abfuisse" (Thomassin, pt. ii. lib. 3, c. 11).

In one instance Childeric appears to have commended a diocese to the care of an abbot (*ibid.*).

At first the bishop to whom a diocese was commended appears only to have received his actual expenses. Gregory the Great, however, when Paulus had charge of Naples during a vacancy, directed as follows:—"Prædicto Paulo centum solidos et unum pævulum orphanum quem ipse elegerit pro labore suo de eadem ecclesia facias dari" (*ibid.* c. 10).

DIocese

By degrees large profits were derived from a commend, and it thus became an object of ambition, and was bestowed by popes and sovereigns without reason and to the prejudice of the Church. In later times it became a flagrant abuse, but its worst forms belong perhaps mainly to a period beyond our present limits. It came to be held in perpetuity, instead of for a limited period, and the revenues of two or more sees were accumulated upon one person as a provision for life.

One peculiar kind of commend, must not be omitted, viz. where a part of the revenues of a church was assigned to a great lay noble, in return for his taking on himself its defence against its heathen or other enemies. Such protectorates were common in the more disturbed periods. They are styled 'commendæ militares.' In the same manner and on like grounds the sovereigns retained to themselves portions of church property. But the subject of *Commendæ* is too large to be discussed at length here. The learning of the whole subject will be found in Thomassin.

The limits of dioceses were probably fixed in the first instance by local or accidental circumstances. They differed widely in size and population. Details on these points will be found under NOTITIA. It is more important to observe that when too large they were, not unfrequently, divided, as in the following instance:—

In the Council of Lucus Augusti, or Lugo, under King Theodemir, anno 569, a complaint was made that the dioceses in Gallæcia (in Spain) were so large that the bishops could scarce visit them in a year; upon which an order was made, that several new bishoprics and one new metropolis should be erected, which was accordingly done by the bishops then in council, who made Lugo to be the new metropolis, and raised several other episcopal sees out of the old ones, as declared in the acts of that council" (Bing, ix. vi. § 16).

As his own diocese was the proper sphere of the action of a bishop, in acting in the diocese of another he was under certain restrictions. These prevailed at all times to a greater or less degree, but seem eventually to have been laid down in

* "The Diocese," says Milman, "grew up in two ways— 1. In the larger cities the rapid increase of the Christians led necessarily to the formation of separate congregations, which to a certain extent, required each its proper organization, yet invariably remained subordinate to the single bishop. In Rome, towards the beginning of the 4th century, there were above forty churches, rendering allegiance to the prelate of the metropolis. 2. Christianity was first established in the towns and cities, and from each centre diffused itself with more or less success into the adjacent country. In some of these country congregations, bishops appear to have been established, yet their chorępiscopi, or rural bishops, maintained some subordination to the head of the Mother Church; or where the converts were fewer, the rural Christians remained members of the Mother Church in the City. In Africa, from the immense number of bishops, each community seems to have had its own superior; but this was peculiar to this province. In general, the churches adjacent to the towns or cities either originally were, or became, the diocese of the City Bishop: for as soon as Christianity became the religion of the State, the power of the rural bishops was restricted, and the office as length was either abolished, or fell into disuse."—*History of Christianity*, Book iv. ch. 1.

the Inter canon law as follows, viz. that a bishop may perform divine offices and use his episcopal habit in the diocese of another, without leave, but not perform any act of jurisdiction; and it has even been said, that jurisdiction cannot be exercised by a bishop of another place, though with the consent of the diocesan, except over such as willingly submit themselves to his authority. And where the holder of a benefice in one diocese resides in another, the bishop in whose diocese he resides may proceed against him for an offence, but the punishment, so far as it affects his benefice, is to be carried out by the bishop where the benefice is (Gibson's *Codex*, pp. 133, 134).

See also BISHOP: EXARCH: PARISH.

Authorities: Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesie disciplina*. Bingham, *Ayliffe, Parergon Juris Canonici*. Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. *Διοκλής* and *ερανοπήγιον*. [B. S.]

DIOCLES, martyr at Histrias (? Iстриa), commemorated May 24 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

DIODORUS. (1) Presbyter, martyr at Rome with Marianne the deacon and many others; commemorated Dec. 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

(2) of Perga, *ἱεροδρόμος*; commemorated April 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DIODOTUS, Saint, of Africa; commemorated with Anesius, March 31 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DIOGENES, Saint, in Macedonia; commemorated April 6 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DIOMEDES, martyr at Nicæa, A.D. 288; commemorated June 9 (*Mart. Usuardi*); Aug. 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DIONYSIA. (1) Martyr at Lamosacum with Peter, Andrew, and Paul; commemorated May 15 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

(2) Martyr in Africa with seven others; commemorated Dec. 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

DIONYSIUS. (1) Martyr in Lower Armenia with Emilianus and Sebastian; commemorated Feb. 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr; commemorated with Ammonius, Feb. 14 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr at Aquileia with Hilarus the bishop, Tatian the deacon, Felix and Largus; commemorated March 16 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(4) Bishop of Corinth; commemorated April 8 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(5) Saint, uncle of Pancratius; commemorated May 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(6) Bishop and confessor under Constantius; deposition at Milan, May 25 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(7) Martyr at Sinnada with Democritus and Secundus; commemorated July 31 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(8) Saint, of Phrygia; commemorated Sept. 20 (*Ib.*).

(9) The Areopagite, bishop of Athens and martyr under Adrian; commemorated Oct. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal. Byzant.*); Oct. 17 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(10) Bishop of Paris, and martyr with Rusticus the presbyter and Eleutherius the deacon;

commemorated Oct. 9 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi).

(11) Patriarch of Alexandria, and martyr under Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 265; commemorated Nov. 17 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). Maskarram 17 = Sept. 14 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(12) The Pope, under Claudius II.; deposition at Rome Dec. 26 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*); Dec. 27 (*Cal. Bacher.*).

(13) Martyr with Petrus Lampasacenus and his companions; commemorated May 18 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(14) One of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus; commemorated Oct. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DIOS, Asceta, Holy Father, under Theodosius the Great; commemorated July 19 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DIOSCORUS. (1) Martyr under Numerian; commemorated Feb. 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) The reder, martyr in Egypt; commemorated May 18 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(3) Martyr at Alexandria, with Hieron, Arsenius, and Isidorus, under Decius; commemorated Dec. 14 (*Ib.*). [W. F. G.]

DIOSCURUS, Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 454; commemorated Maskarram 7 = Sept. 4, and Tekemt 17 = Oct. 14 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [W. F. G.]

DIOSPOLIS, or **LYDDA**, probably RAMAS (COUNCIL OF), A.D. 415, of 14 bishops under their metropolitan, Eulogius of Caesarea; where Pelagius, having been examined, by anathematizing 12 propositions that had been imputed to him, and making profession of 12 orthodox propositions in their stead, was acquitted, and declared to be in the communion of the Catholic Church (Mansi, iv. 311-20). [E. S. F.]

DIPPING. [BAPTISM.]

DIPTYCHS. (*Δίπτυχα* *λεπὰ* *δέματα*, *καρδολόγος*; *diptycha*, *matriculæ*, *nomina*, *tabulæ*.)

1. The name of *diptych* is given to a tablet, primarily two-leaved, as the word implies, in which were contained the names of Christians, living and dead, to be recited during the celebration of the Eucharist. It would seem that the origin of the custom is to be referred to the primitive practice by which the members of a church brought offerings of bread and wine from which were taken the sacred elements. Then, before the consecration, the names of those who had so contributed were read aloud, as well as those of deceased members of the church whom it was wished specially to commemorate.

This primary use was subsequently extended so as to include the names, on the one hand, of sovereigns, patriarchs, bishops, and the like, as well as of those who had deserved well in any way of the church; while, on the other hand, in conjunction with departed saints and confessors, a special mention was thought desirable in each church of those who had previously been its bishops. The great length to which these lists necessarily grew caused the habit of reciting them fully to be subsequently abandoned, but in some form or other the practice has been retained in both the Eastern and the Roman Church.

This custom was doubtless primarily suggested as to its form by the practice which prevailed

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the Second Council of Vasio (529 A.D.), "ut nomen Domini Papae, quicumque sed apostolice praefuerit, in nostris ecclesiis recitetur." (can. 4, Labbé, iv, 1680; cf. *Stagg.* ii, *Germani et aliorum post Epist.* 40 *Hormisdæ Papae*, ibid. 1484; where allusion is made to the omission of all names, save of the pope only, in the celebration of the Mass at Scampae, a usage of which Martene, p. 145 n, gives some later examples.)

After the mention of the names of ecclesiastics of various grades came that of the sovereign, as mentioned in the above quoted passage of Maximus; and among those who had deserved well of the church in various ways we find special mention enjoined by the Council of Merida (666 A.D.) of the names of those who had rebuilt a church (*Concil. Emeritense*, c. 19; Labbé, vi, 507).

From these *diptycha vivorum* also, as we have seen in the previous case of the *Labellæ episcopales*, a name might be removed, justly or unjustly, as, e.g., in the case of Vigilius (Baluzius, *Collectio Novi Conciliorum*, 1542). Thus too we find Augustine threatening, in case of certain conduct unbecoming to the clerical office, "delebo eum de tabulâ clericorum" (*Serm.* 356, vol. v, 2059, ed. Gaume); and in another passage of the same father, we find him protesting against an unjust exercise of this punishment (*Epist.* 78, vol. ii, 276). Again, we find the name of Pope Felix III. erased from the diptychs by Aecius, and after his death restored by Euthymius, who erased at the same time that of Peter Mongus (Theophanes, 480-81 A.D. pp. 205, 206, ed. Classen). Felix, however, ungraciously returned this by refusing to recognise Euthymius, from his having retained the names of Aecius and Phravites (*op. cit.* 483 A.D. p. 209).

4. *Diptycha mortuorum*.—We shall now refer briefly to the diptychs containing the names of the faithful dead. And here it will be obviously seen that the essence of the practice of a recital of names at all was the wish to maintain and keep alive the spirit of Christian brotherhood; and when Christianity had taught men that, whether living or dead in the flesh, all faithful were alike living members of Christ's Church, it would be natural to add the names of those who had gone before in the faith and fear of God. How soon this became complicated with the idea of prayers for the dead this is not the place to discuss.

As to the manner in which the diptychs of the dead are introduced in Greek liturgies, we find in that of St. Mark, *ὁ δὲ διόκωνος τὰ διπτύχα τῶν κεκοιμημένων* (i. e. reads), and, similarly, in that of St. Chrysostom, *ὁ δὲ διόκωνος τῶν τε κεκοιμημένων καὶ ζώντων, ὡς βούλεται, ἀμνημονεῖ*. The prayer of the priest, which follows, runs in the former case thus, *καὶ τούτων πάντων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάστασον, θέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων σου σκηναῖς* This might be illustrated by the passage of Chrysostom already referred to (*Epist.* i. 2): "Non est quod pro dormitōne ejus nūd vos fiat oblatio, nō deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesiâ frequentetur."

This commemoration of and prayer for the faithful dead is found in the Gregorian Sacramentary after the consecration, and thereupon follows a prayer, entitled in the Sacramentary *Super Diptycha* (the *Collectio post Nomina* of the Mozarabic Missal), which we cite: "Memento

etiam, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuorum Illi, qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii et lucis et pacis nō indulgens deprecamur."

Among others, the names of deceased emperors of undoubted orthodoxy were mentioned. Thus Pope Nicholas I. (ob. 887 A.D.), in a letter to the Emperor Michael III., refers to the mention of the names of Constantine, Constans, Theodosius the Great, Valentinian, and other emperors, "inter sacra mysteria" (*Epist.* 86, *Patrol.* cix, 959).

The regulation of the Council of Merida, already referred to, ordains the mention of the names of special benefactors, after they have departed this life.

Thus far we have spoken merely of names of individuals inserted in the diptychs, but, besides these, a commemoration was made of the Four Œcumenical Councils, to which practice numerous references are made in the proceedings of the Council held at Constantinople in 530 A.D. under Menas (See, e.g., Labbé, v, 85, 165, 185; the last of which passages furnishes us with a very interesting illustration of the practice, describing how, at the reading of the diptychs, the whole multitude flocked round the sanctuary to listen; and when only the titles of the Four Holy Synods were recited by the deacon, and the names of the archbishops Euphemius and Maceonius and Leo, of blessed memory, all cried with a loud voice, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord!"; and in those of the second Œcumenical Council of Constantinople (e.g. *Collatio* 2, Labbé, v, 432). There is also a reference to this in the Code of Justinian, in a letter of the emperor to Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople, in which he expresses his intention of resisting any attempts to abolish this practice (lib. i. tit. 1. § 7; tom. ii. pt. 1, p. 16, ed. Beck.). Theophanes records an instance of a daring attempt to break through this custom, when Euphrasius, patriarch of Antioch, omitted the Council of Chalcedon from his diptychs, and also the name of Pope Hormisdas (Theophanes, A.D. 513, p. 258).

5. A brief remark may be made here as to sundry variations in the time when the diptychs were recited according to various uses. The primary custom would seem to be, that they were read after the oblation of the bread and wine, and before the consecration. This may be seen, for example, from numerous references in the acts of the council under Menas, spoken of above, which prove this to have been the custom of the Church of Constantinople (see esp. Labbé, v, 185, already quoted). It would appear also that in the Mozarabic Missal and in the ancient Gallican form, the diptychs originally held this place. The same also holds true for the representative of the diptychs in our own liturgy, the prayer for the Church Militant. In the Liturgy of Chrysostom, however, the Mozarabic Missal, and not a few others, as we now have them, the diptychs follow consecration.

In the various forms of the Roman Liturgy, and in the Ambrosian, the commemoration of the living and dead enters into the canon of the Mass, that of the living before, and that of the dead after, consecration. It has been suggested, however, that this too is a modification of an earlier state of things, from a consideration of the

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Sundry of reciting times they plified by from the stom, to w see also J. (l. c.). (2) that the su trychs behl Mass (*Cal edition of (p. 248), " nam vel a verentur repeated th mentioned in an, c. vii where the s priest. (5) tablets we the names whom the we find a fo n. 180), " M morandum tana consec views, at any*

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OF THE LITURGY, p. 271.]

Sundry differences also exist as to the manner
of reciting the names on the diptychs. (1) Some-
times they were read, by the deacon, as is exem-
plified by the citations we have already given
from the liturgies of St. Mark and St. Chryso-
stom, to which others might have been added.
See also Jerome (in *Execr. l. c.*) and Maximus
(*l. c.*) (2) In some churches it would appear
that the subdeacon recited the names on the dip-
tychs behind the altar. Thus, in an ancient
Mass (*Code Ritoldi*) published by Moward in his
edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary, we find
(p. 246), "Subdicconi a retro altari, ubi memora-
nam vel nomina vivorum et mortuorum nomi-
narentur. . . ." (3) Frequently the priest himself
repeated the names. (4) A curious plan is that
mentioned by Fulenius (*De Gestis Abbatum Lobien-
sium, c. vii.* in D'Achery's *Spicilgium*, vi. 551),
where the subdeacon whispered the names to the
priest. (5) We find even that in some cases the
tablets were merely laid upon the altar, with
the names of the offerers and benefactors, of
whom the priest made general mention. Thus
we find a form cited by Pamelius (*Liturg. Lat.*
n. 180), "Memento . . . quorum nomina ad mem-
orandum conscripsimus, ac super sanctum altare
tuum conscripta adesse videtur." The two last
views, at any rate, however, are clearly quite late.

For some remarks on a plan whereby, in the
church of Ravenna, a clausule was made to serve
the purpose of diptychs, see Ducange (*s. v.*).

The name of diptych was also given to regis-
ters, when they were entered, as occasion required,
the names of newly baptized persons, as they
first becoming members of the Christian family
(*Dion. Areop. Hier. Eccl. c. 11*). [REGISTER.]

6. *Literature.*—For the matter of the fore-
going article we are mainly indebted to Martene,
De Antiquis Ecclesie litibus, i. 145, sqq. ed. Ven-
ice, 1783; Ducange's *Glossarium, s. v. Diptycha*,
Africa; Bingham's *Antiquities*, xv. 3; and the
Onomasticon (s. v.) appended to Roswey's *Vitae
Patrum*. Reference may also be made to Salig,
De Diptychis Veterum, tum profanis, quae in sacris,
Halae Magd. 1731; Donati, *Dei officii depl. anti-
quissimi praxani e sacri*, Lucua, 1753; Gibbings,
Predlection on the Diptychs, Dublin, 1864. [R. S.]

DIPTYCHS, EXTERIOR ORNAMENTATION OF.—As the most ancient consular
diptych now known is referred to Stilicho in 405
(see *infra*, and Gori, vol. i. p. 126, ed. fol. Flor.
1779), and only one purely ecclesiastical one is
mentioned even as conjecturally earlier than the
5th century, it will be inferred that the interest
of these relics is historical rather than artistic.
Martigny gives a highly reduced copy of one
from Donati's *Dittica depl. Antic.* p. 149, attri-
buted to a certain Arebinus the Younger,
consul, A.D. 506, in the eastern parts of the
empire, 16th year of Anastasius (Baronius, *ad
An.* 508). It is beautifully engraved in folio
size in Gori, v. 1. Its ornaments consist of two
coruscipius, with the titles of the consul above
them and baskets of fruit and flowers below;
they are carved with leaves and connected by
wreathed foliage in which the stiff conventional
symmetry of Roman-Byzantine art begins to
show itself. Gori calls it the Diptych of Lucua.
The use of folding tablets in the services of the

church seems to have been a matter of common
convenience, like their use anywhere else. But
many of these carvings remain, which have evi-
dently been altered from profane uses to eccle-
siastical, and still retain the original bas-reliefs
with changes and adaptations. Others, again,
like that of Rambona, are entirely Christian in
their origin. The most ancient of the latter
class is considered by Martigny to be the prop-
erty of the Cathedral of Milan (Bignati, *Me-
morie di S. C. Iso in f.n.*), and is referred to the
4th century from the character of its sculptures.
He cites others, whose coverings are lost or
separated from them, whether they were of
wood, ivory, or metal. That of Arebinus bears
the cross, as also the Greek diptych of Flavian
Taurus Clementinus (Gori, tab. ix. and x. p. 260,
vol. i.). The Rambona ivory, though only of the
9th century, is for the most interesting in exist-
ence. (See art. CATHRIX for a full description
and woodcut; and Gori, *Thes. Vet. Diptychorum*,
vol. iii.) It is stated by MS. Laurent, *Icono-
graphie de la Croix et du Crucifix*, in Didron's
Annales Archeologiques, xv. xxvi.-vii., to have
been presented to the monastery of Rambona
(March of Ancona) by Agiltrude, wife of Guy,



d. of Spoleto; and is of type more barbaric than
the Lombard work of Verona, bearing great re-
semblance, in the large unmeaning faces and eyes
of its figures, to many Irish and Saxon MSS.
Many ancient diptychs have been used for bind-
ings of more recent service-books; as a tablet
which now covers a copy of the Gospels of St.
Luke and St. John in the Vatican. Our Lord
between two angels and the Magi before Herod
can be traced in it. At the Cathedral of Vercelli,
at St. Maximus in Trèves, and at Besançon, there
are relics of this kind. Gori's *Thesaurus*, and
Pacinaudi's *De Cultu S. Joannis Baptistae*, contain

many and most interesting records and illustrations, chiefly of Middle-Age works.

The Lambona ivory, with two others of greater antiquity, are described and represented in Buonarroti's *Ucri*, p. 231. One of them is that of the Consul Basilus, in 541; the other, which Buonarroti supposes to be more ancient, is called the Diptych of Romulus, and represents his apotheosis.

The Florentine edition of Gori's *Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*, 1755, contains a fine engraving of the half of the Diptych of Stilicho which remains in existence (see woodcut.) The consul is seated at the top, with the usual barbaric stolidity of expression, in toga picta, and erule chair: the amphitheatre and combats of wild beasts are represented below. That of Boethius, which succeeds, has standing figures of the consul, with a head of disproportioned size, but a countenance evidently studied with great care: he bears a sceptre, surmounted by an eagle, drawn with much spirit. Stilicho to all appearance, and Boethius undoubtedly, hold the mappa, the signal of beginning the games, in the right hand, as also the elder or prior Arcobindus. Gori, i. tab. vii., where the bestiarii and their opponents are of considerable merit. The erule chairs are evidently the originals of those represented in Saxon and early Norman MSS.

The Christian Diptychs of Milan, in use in the 12th century, and conjectured to belong to the 7th or 8th, are represented in Gori, vol. iii. p. 264, sqq. They represent the history of the New Testament; and in particular, the Nativity, the Transfiguration, and the Passion of our Lord. They must certainly be well within our allotted period of the first eight centuries. Those of Monza (Murray, *Handbook N. Italy*, p. 164) are referred to either Claudian, Ausonius, or Boethius. Another, bearing two consuls, surnamed David and Pope Gregory by later possessors of the diptych, is highly interesting. [R. St. J. T.]

DIRECTANEUS. Any psalm, hymn, or canticle, said in the service of the Church in monotone, without inflection, was called *directaneus*. It is probably to this monotone that Isidore refers when he says (*De Eccl. Off.* v. 5) that the primitive Church used a very simple kind of chant, more like mere recitation than singing. Aurelian (*Republ. ad Virgines*, c. 40) gives the following direction: "Ad Lucernarium, *Directaneus parvulus*, id est, 'Regina terne, 'Cantate Deo,' &c.;" and he further directs that at Nocturns the *directaneus* "Miserere mei Deus" should be said. Compare the *Rule* of Benedict, c. 17; and that of Caesarius of Arles, c. 31. [C.]

DIS MANIBUS. [CATACOMBS, p. 308.]

DISCIPLINA ARCANI, a term of post-Reformation controversy (it is used by Tenzel and Schelstrate in special dissertations A.D. 1683-5), is applied to designate a number of modes of procedure in teaching the Christian faith, akin to one another in kind, although differing considerably in character; which prevailed from about the middle of the 2nd century until the natural course of circumstances rendered any system which involved secrecy or reserve impossible. So far as these were ac-

feasible, they arose out of the principles, 1. of imparting knowledge of the truth by degrees, and in methods adapted to the capacity of the recipients; and 2. of cutting off occasion of profaneness or of more hardened unbelief by not proclaiming the truths and mysteries of the faith indiscriminately, or in plain words, or at once, to unbelievers. And these principles find their origin, and their defence, respectively in the apostle's distinction between "milk for babes," and "strong meat" for those "of full age" (Heb. v. 12-14), and again, between speaking to "carnal" and to "spiritual" hearers (1 Cor. iii. 1); and in our Lord's prohibition against "casting that which is holy to dogs," or "throwing pearls before swine," together with the habitual tone of His teaching, and in particular its parabolic character. Persecution also at first compelled to secrecy. Upon such grounds there arose, as the Church became systematized and settled, first, a distinction between *catechumens* and *fideles*, and between different classes of catechumens, with respect to the kinds and amounts of knowledge to be imparted to each successively; and, secondly, a spirit, rather than a formal system, of habitual reticence upon the higher and more mysterious doctrines of the faith, in Christian writings or sermons likely to be read or heard by the heathen. But beyond these natural and reverent practices, the desire to meet the ancient philosophers on their own ground, and on the one hand to rationalize Christian doctrines, on the other to transcendentalize the theories of reason into anticipations and foreshadowings of the mysteries of the faith, assisted by the excess of the allegorizing principle of interpretation current in the Alexandrian Church, produced a special *disciplina arcana*, almost wholly at Alexandria, yet prevailing in a less degree elsewhere also, from the time of Clement of Alexandria and Origen; in which the doctrines and facts of Scripture were expounded esoterically to the initiated, who had the key to them in the true *gnōsis*, while their real and deeper meaning was disguised and withheld by an "oecomy," or "accommodation," from others.

1. First, as regards *catechumens*, the earliest intimation of any system of secrecy is in Tertullian: "Omnibus mysteriis silentii fides adhibetur" (*Apol.* vii.); and again, speaking of heretics, "Quis catechumens, quis fidelis, incertum est; pariter audiant, pariter orant; etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sacrum cibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabant" (*Præcor. adv. Hæret.* xli.). And the latter complaint, respecting catechumens, is repeated two centuries afterwards by Epiphanius (*Hæc.* xlii. n. 3), and by St. Jerome (*Comment. in Galat.* vi.), with reference to the Marcionites. Later writers than Tertullian specify particulars, e.g. baptism, the eucharist, and the oil of chrism, & οὐδὲ ἐποστρέβειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀνόμοις (St. Basil. M., *De Spir.* 8. xxvii.); and St. Greg. Naz. (*Orat.* xl. *De Bapt.*), "Ἐχει τοῦ μυστηρίου τὰ ἔκτορα καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἀκοαῖς οὐκ ἀπόβητα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἶσα μαθήση; and St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* vi. c. 30), οὐδὲ τῶν μυστηρίων εἰς κατηγορούμενων λευκῶς λαλοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πολλὰ καὶ λέγομεν ἐπιμεκασθόμενοι, ἵνα οἱ ἰδόντες πιστοὶ γινώσκωσι. καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες μὴ βλαβῶσι. And the *Apost. Canons* (lxxxv.) speak of αἰ

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καὶ . . . ἄς οὐ χρὴ δημοσιεῖν ἐπὶ πάντων διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς μυστικά. Similarly the proclamation in the *Apost. Constit.* (viii. 12) and in the Liturgies, *Μὴ τις καταχυμμένων, μὴ τις ἀκροωμένων, μὴ τις τῶν ἀίστων.* And the phrase, "missa catechumenorum," used In St. Aug. *Serm.* xlix. A.D. 396, *Conc. Carthag.* IV. c. 84, A.D. 398, and *Conc. Nerd.* A.D. 523, c. 4, and Jo. Cassian, *Coenob. Institut.* xi. 15, and *Conc. Valent.* A.D. 524, c. 1. So *Conc. Arausic.* I. A.D. 441, c. 19, "Ad baptismum catechumeni nunquam admittendi." And while *Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 365, c. 5, *μη δέιν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἐκρωμένων γένεσθαι* may possibly refer to the consecration, as probably as to the election, of a bishop: St. Chrysostom certainly speaks of ordination (*Hom.* xvii. in 2 Cor.), when he refrains from detailing what takes place at a *χειροτονία*, "which the initiated know; for all may not be revealed to the uninitiated." The eucharist again was celebrated with closed doors (St. Chrys. *Hom.* in Matt. xiii.), not to be opened to anybody, even one of the faithful, at the time of the Anaphora (*Apost. Constit.* viii. 11), and to be guarded by the deacons, lest any unbeliever or uninitiated person enter (*ib.* ii. 57). So again Pseudo-Augustin (*Serm. ad Neophyt.* i.), "Dismissis jam catechumenis, . . . quia specialiter de coelestibus mysteriis loquentur sumus." And to the same effect, St. Ambrose (*De His Qui mysteriis Injulantur.* c. 1), Theoret (*Quaest.* xv. in Num.), Gaudentius (*Serm. II. ad Neophyt.*), and above all the catechetical lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, which are framed expressly upon this principle, and the preface to which forbids the communication of their more advanced contents to those who are without, if any such should ask what St. Cyril had said. See also the directions to widows in *Apost. Constit.* iii. 5. Lastly, and further still, besides this general and perpetually recurring distinction between initiated (*μεμνημένοι*) and uninitiated (*ἀμύητοι*), distinctions were made between the more and the less advanced of the latter themselves: the Lord's Prayer; *Constit. Apostol.* vii. 44; St. Aug. *Enchirid.* c. 71; Theodoret, *Uterc. Fab.* v. 28, and *Epit. Div. Decret.* c. xviii.; St. Chrys. *Hom.* xx. xl. xix. in Matt.; the Creed; St. Ambrose, *Ad Marcell. Epist.* 33 (20 ed. Bened.); St. Jerome, *Epist.* xxxviii. *Ad Pamm.* (ed. Ben.); and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity (St. Cyril Hieros. *Catech.* vi. 30), being taught only to the *competentes*, the first, in St. Augustine's time, only eight days before baptism (St. Aug. *Hom.* xlii., *Conc. Agath.* c. 13), the second at some like period, and the last mentioned during the last forty days. Catechumens also were allowed to hear the sermon, but no further, in the African Church (*Conc. Carthag.* above), in that of Gaul (from *Conc. Arausic.* I. A.D. 441, c. 18), and in that of Spain (from *Conc. Valentia.* A.D. 524, c. 1).

II. Apart from the special discipline of catechumens, the Christian fathers, from the 2nd to at least the 5th century, habitually refrain from speaking plainly of the deeper mysteries of the faith, in writings or sermons accessible to the heathen. Origen, e. g. (*Cont. Cels.* i. 7, Opp. i. 325), enumerating the doctrines that were not hidden, mentions the birth, crucifixion, and resurrection of our Lord, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment, but omits the doc-

trines of the Holy Trinity and of the Atonement (compare St. Paul's account of the elements of the faith in Heb. vi.). St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Lect. Catech.* vi. 30; *Op.* i. 106, ed. 1720) tells us, that it is not permitted to speak to a heathen of the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Sozomen omits the Nicene creed from his history (i. 20), expressly because that work would probably be read by heathen readers. St. Chrysostom will not speak fully of baptism in a homily, because of the "uninitiated" among his hearers (*Hom.* xl. in 1 Cor.). St. Augustine reckons both sacraments among the "occulta" (*in Ps.* ciii.; see also *Hom.* xvii. in *Jouan.*, and in *Ps.* cix.). Pope Innocent I. (*Ad Decentium.* c. 3) will not recite the words even of Confirmation, "ne magis prodere videant, quam ad consultationem responderent." The last words of the *Apostolic Constitutions* forbid the making these books public (bk. viii. in *fin.*): "preach of the mysteries contained in them." So St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Cont. Julian.* vii.) and many others; while the words of Theodoret (*Quaest.* xv. in *Num.*) may be taken as a summary: "We speak obscurely of the Divine mysteries on account of the uninitiated; but when these have withdrawn, we teach the initiated plainly." Such topics are to be mentioned to persons in general "in enigmas and shadows, mystically, not clearly." And any statement about them is repeatedly broken off with "the faithful," or "the initiated, know." Compare also the distinction drawn by St. Cyril of Jerusalem between *πρηχέισθαι* and *ἐνηχέισθαι*. The reasons assigned for the practice are:—1. To avoid offence to the weak or to the heathen, *οὐκ ἐπει-ῆ ἀσθίειαν κατέγραμεν τῶν θεουμένων, ἀλλ' εἰπεῖθ' ἀτελέστατον ὁ πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐνδιακύνται* (St. Chrys. *Hom.* in Matt. xxiii. xl. xxiv.), or again, more forcibly, *οὐ χρὴ τὰ μυστήρια ἀμύητοις παραφθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἔαλητες μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες γελῶσι, καταχόμενοι δὲ περιεργῶν θεουμένοι σκανδαλίζωνται* (*Conc. Alexandr.* ap. St. Athan. *Apol.* ii.). To which may be added the still more forcible words of St. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. pp. 323, 324), who says that he suppressed some portions of the truth, not as grudging it, but fearing lest he should put a sword into the hand of a child. 2. Out of reverence: "Adhibuimus tam sanctis rebus atque Divinis honorem silentii" (St. Aug. *Serm.* i. inter. xl.). To which, 3. St. Augustine adds another of a more superficial kind, viz. the excitement of curiosity; saying to catechumens, "Si non excitat te festivitas (Pascine), dicitur ipsa curiositas," and therefore, "da nomen ad baptismum" (*De Verb. Dom. Hom.* xlvi.).

It must be added, in order to complete the case, first, that such a principle of reticence is not to be looked for, for obvious reasons, in the earlier Apologists in persecuting times; e. g. there is no trace of it in Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus (Bingh. X. v. 2). In such cases, the desire to avoid scandal to the weak, and the feeling of reverence for the truth itself, must needs, and rightly, give way to the clear necessity of a plain statement of the whole truth. Next, that the reserve in question was simply (so to say) a temporary educational expedient; and was never practised towards the "faithful" themselves, to whom the whole truth was declared in plain words; and that there are no grounds

whatever for supposing the existence of an esoteric system of doctrine, not appearing at all in any of the writings or documents of the earlier church, but brought to light in subsequent centuries, although secretly held all along.

III. So far, there was no question made of the defensibility of the principle of reserve, thus applied; however plain it may be, that it must speedily have become impossible to maintain the practice. It is obviously a perfectly fair proceeding, to withhold truths avowedly from those to whom it will do harm to declare them. The Alexandrian schools, however, seem to have stretched the casuistry of truthfulness to a point beyond this. Controversially, it is no doubt both allowable, and wise, to state the truth in terms as acceptable to the views and prejudices of an opponent as sincerity will permit, but certainly no further. To help a Platonist, e.g. to believe in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, by pointing out how far Platonism itself advances towards such a doctrine, is plainly as consistent with honesty as it is with good sense; but so to speak as to imply the insincerity of the two doctrines has both actually proved to be a fruitful parent of heresy, and is distinctly not honest. So again it is obviously fair to neutralize an opponent's objection by pointing out that it includes in its range that opponent's own erroneous or incomplete view as well as the orthodox faith; but only if the latter is not confounded with the former as though it were the same thing. An *argumentum ad hominem*, used as such avowedly, is of course justifiable, so that it be not put forward as the arguer's own *bona fide* belief. The Alexandrian school, however, seem to have "oecumenized," in managing controversies, both in fact and avowedly, in the extreme sense of the lines of argument thus suggested. St. Clement of Alexandria, for instance, lays down as a principle (*Strom.* vii. 9), that the true Gnostic, indeed, "bears on his tongue whatever he has in his mind," but it is "to those who are worthy to hear;" adding, that "he both thinks and speaks the truth, unless at any time, medicinally, as a physician for the safety of the sick, he may lie or tell an untruth, as the Sophists say." (*Ὅπως ψεύδεται, κἄν ψεύδος λέγῃ.* is the Platonic way of putting it.) So also (*Strom.* vi. 15), *Ψεύσται τῷ ὄντι οὐχ ὁ συμπεριφερόμενοι δι' οικονομίαν σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ὁ εἰς τὰ κυριώτατα παραπίπτοντες, καὶ ἀθεοῦντες μὲν τὸν Κύριον τὸ θεόν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀθεοτεροῦντες δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἀληθῆ διδασκαλίαν.* And Origen, as quoted by St. Jerome (*Adv. Rufin. Apol.* i. c. 18), in like manner lays down a caution, implying a like principle, that "homo cui incumbit necessitas mentiendi, diligenter attendat, ut sic utatur luterum mendacis, quomodo condimento atque medicamine, ut servet mensuram ejus: ex quo," he adds, "perspicuum est, quod nisi ita mentiti fuerimus, ut magnum nobis ex hoc aliquod quaeratur bonum, judicandi simus quasi inimici Eius Qui ait, Ego sum veritas." Further, St. Clement also appears to hold an esoteric traditional teaching to have been delivered to St. Peter, St. James, St. John, and St. Paul (*Strom.* i. i, vi. 7; and v. Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 1); and Origen likewise (*Cont. Cels.* i. 7) speaks of an esoteric Christian teaching, but obviously means no more by the terms, at least in this passage, than to affirm the distinction between elementary teaching and the

deeper doctrines of the faith as taught successively to catechumens. On the other hand (*Cont. Cels.* vi.) he speaks of an oral traditional knowledge, *ὁ ὑπαρξία πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔστιν ὄρατά.* But St. Clement's *γνώσις* was not a distinct inner system of doctrine differing from that which was to be taught to the *πᾶσι*, but rather a different mode of apprehending the same truths, viz. from a more intellectual and spiritual standpoint. In actual fact, we find, by way of instance, St. Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, Origen's pupil, using language respecting the Holy Trinity that is confessedly erroneous, and defeated by St. Basil (*Epist.* ccx. § 5) on the ground that he was "not teaching doctrine but arguing with an unbeliever," and that in such a case "he would rightly in some things concede to the feelings of the unbeliever, in order to gain him over to the cardinal points." The whole subject will be found ably and profoundly discussed in Newman's *Arians*, c. i. § iii. pp. 40-102 (3rd edition). How far the practice was borrowed from, or unconsciously furthered by, the undisguised principles and practice of Philo-Judeans on the subject, may be doubted. That writer certainly, both in actual exposition of Scripture and in avowed principle, assumes that duller souls must be taught "falshoods by which they may be benefited, if they cannot be brought to a sound mind through the truth" (*Quid Deus sit Immortālis*, Opp. i. 282, ed. Mangey). But there is no need for looking beyond Scripture itself for the germ and principle of a true and legitimate "oecumeny." The Alexandrian divines themselves are only responsible for pushing that principle to a degree which made it at least extremely dangerous, and sometimes barely honest. The application of esoteric meanings to Scripture facts by the same school is a parallel case of exaggerating a principle of the analogous sort, possessing a foundation of truth, into extremes that are utterly unjustifiable.

[Newman, *Arians* (as above quoted); Martigny; Bingham; Schelstrate, *De Discipl. Arcani*: Moheim, *De Reb. Christ. ante Constantin.* § xxxv. pp. 302-310; and a special dissertation, *De Accommodatione Christo imprimis et Apostolis tributa*, by F. A. Carus (Lips. 1793, 4), is referred to.] [A. W. H.]

DISCIPLINE. (1.) From the earliest time the Church has endeavoured, in accordance with the Lord's commands, to maintain its own purity both in life and doctrine. In the earliest ages, the penalties for transgressing the laws of the Church, in whatever respect, were of course of a purely spiritual nature, and enforced by the authority of the Church itself, which had no jurisdiction *in invitum*. The means which the Church employed for the correction of offenders within her pale were admonition, withdrawal of privileges, the enjoining of acts of mortification, and, in the last resort, exclusion from the Church altogether [EXCOMMUNICATION]. From this constant effort of the ecclesiastical authorities to correct offences, and to purify the Church from scandals by its own power arose the system of Penitential Discipline [PENTENCE], which is common to all members of the Church, lay and clerical, secular and regular.

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(see quoted); Martigny;
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pecial dissertation, *De*
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Lips. 1793, 4), is refer-
[A. W. H.]

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on all Christians, the clergy and the members of
monastic orders voluntarily take upon them-
selves peculiar obligations, and the enforcing of
these by the proper authorities constitutes a
special subdivision of discipline. On the subject
of Monastic and Canonical Discipline, see below.
What has been said applies to the Church in
all ages, whether before or after its connection
with the State. But from the time of Consti-
tution, when the existence of Christianity in the
empire was formally recognised, and the Church
adopted as an institution guarded and respected
by the State, we no longer find its disciplinary
laws solely in its own canons and decrees, nor
its punishments solely spiritual and over persons
who give a voluntary submission. The several
codes of the empire not only recognise gene-
rally the fact that its subjects are Christian, but
frequently adopt and sanction laws enacted origi-
nally by purely ecclesiastical authority; and
in this two ways. In some cases ecclesiastical
laws and principles are simply adopted into the
civil code, and enforced by civil tribunals and civil
sanctions: in others the ecclesiastical authority
[see APPEAL]—generally the BISHOP (p. 231)—is
empowered to call in the secular arm to enforce its
decisions; see, for instance, Justinian's *Code*, lib. 1,
l. 25, *De Epis. Audien.* It is evident that this
change in the relations of Church and State con-
verted many acts, which had previously been dis-
regarded by the civil power, into *crimes*, or offences
against the sovereign authority, and gave a dif-
ferent aspect to many delicts which still remained
in the cognizance of the Church. Discipline was
beneficially enforced partly by the spiritual,
partly by the secular arm; the State reinforced
the Church with more or less vigour according
to the disposition of the rulers for the time
being; and the ecclesiastical authorities made
constant efforts to withdraw the clergy from the
jurisdiction of the civil courts altogether [LITUR-
GIES OF THE CLERGY; JURISDICTION; and
the articles on the several offences which have
been subject to censure or punishment in the
Church]. [C.]

(2.) *Monastic Discipline.*—Monastic punish-
ments were of two kinds, corporal and spiritual,
and, in each kind, more or less severe, according
to the nature of the offence or the founder's
ideas of discipline. Instances of both kinds
occur very early in the history of monasticism.
Thus Basil of Caesarea speaks of various de-
grees of excommunication—from joining in
the chanting, from choir, and from meals
(*Serm. de Leon. Instit.*), while about the same
date Jerome and Rufinus make mention of
fastings as a punishment (Hieron. *Ep. ad Nepo-*
litum; Rufin. *De Verb. Sen.* 29). Augustine
speaks of offending monks (*fratres*) being anathe-
matised, if incorrigible after reproofs, and of
their excommunication by their superiors, and of
higher or lower rank, the excommuni-
cation by the bishop being the severest punish-
ment of all (*De Corrupt. et Grat. ad Valent.*
c. 15). A passage in one of his letters implies
his approval of flogging as a chastisement (*Ep.*
ad Marcellin., 159). In the writings of Cassian,
early in the 5th century, monastic discipline
becomes more closely defined. For slighter
offences, such as coming late to prayers or work,
making a mistake in chanting, breaking any-
thing, or speaking to any other monk than the

one who shares the cell, the offender is to pro-
strate himself in the chapel during divine service
or to make genuflexions till allowed by the
abbot to cease (Cassian, *Inst.* iv. c. 16). Cassian
tells a story of an Egyptian monk doing public
penance for having dropped three peas, while
acting as cook for the week (*Inst.* iv. 20). For
graver offences, as bad language or greediness,
the punishment is flogging or expulsion (*Inst.* iv.
c. 16). For lingering after nocturns instead of
going at once to the cell, a monk is to be ex-
communicated (ii. 15); no one being allowed to
pray with him till he has been publicly absolved
(ii. 16). Cassian speaks of a slap or buffet,
"alapa," as a punishment among monks (*Coll.*
xix. l. cf. Greg. M. *Dist. op.* i. 2, ii. 4). Palladius,
about the same date, in describing the monks of
Nitria, relates that three whips or scourges
hung from a pillar in a part of the church
apparently corresponding to a chapter-house,
one for the correction of robbers, one for un-
ruly guests, one for the monks (*Hist. Laus.* 2).
He speaks also of confinement in a cell (*ib.*
cc. 32, 33). About half a century later the
Council of Chalcedon pronounces anathema on
a monk returning to the secular life (*Conc.*
Chalced., c. 7). Being, as a rule, at that date
still laics, monks thus offending were anathe-
matised, not degraded. Dorotheus, an Archim-
drite in Palestine, very early in the 7th century,
speaks of fasting as a punishment for monks
(*Doctrina*, c. 11, np. Ducaen. *Aucur.* i. 743).
One of the strongest instances of monastic
severity in the East is in the *Scola* of Joannes
Climacus, sometimes called Scholasticus,* of
Mount Sinai, in the preceding century, who
speaks of offenders being dragged by a rope
through ashes, their hands bound behind their
backs, and flogged till those who witnessed the
punishment "howled;" afterwards they were
to lie prostrate at the church-door till absolved
after public confession (*Scola*, c. 4).

In the West, too, prior to the Benedictine rule,
monastic discipline was very rigorous. Each
monastery had its own code; but, probably, in
Southern Europe Cassian's influence was felt
largely. In the *Regula Tarantensis*, the rule (c.
550 A.D.) of a monastery in south-eastern France,
which Mabillon identifies with that of Turnay,
near Vienne (*Annot.*, tom. i. App. ii. Disquis. 5),
a monk who jests is to be chidden (c. 13; cf. Bas.
Constit. Monast., c. 13, on secularity). In the
rule of Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès, in Languedoc,
about the same date, a fast of three days is
imposed for jesting during lections (c. 24), and
thirty days' silence for railing (c. 22). But the
Regula Cujusdam Patris, supposed by Menard to
be the rule of Columba (c. 561 A.D.), is stricter
still, especially against the murmuring or re-
fractory: even a thoughtless word is visited
with imprisonment (c. 8). Columbanus, of
Luxeuil and Bobbio (c. 580 A.D.), trod in the
steps of his ascetic predecessor. Six blows were
to be the penalty for such offences as speaking
at refectory, not responding to the grace, not
being careful to avoid coughing in chanting, &c.
For other similar transgressions the punishment
was the "impositio" of Psalms to be learned by
heart, or the "superpositio," complete silence for

* Not Joannes Scholasticus, of the same date, of Antioch
and Constantinople (Cave, *Hist. Lit.* s. v.).

a time (*Reg. Columban.* c. 10). Darker offences were visited with proportionate severity. Thus, for a perjury the penalty was solitary confinement on bread and water for three years (*Columban. De Penitent. Mensur.* c. 32; cf. *pass.*).

The milder discipline of Benedict gradually extended itself, in the 6th and 7th centuries, from Italy even into parts of Europe already occupied by other rules, as was France by that of Columbannus. He prescribed two reproofs in private, followed by one in public, before proceeding to severer remedies. If these were ineffectual, then ensued excommunication, or for those too young or otherwise disqualified for spiritual censures, corporal punishment (*Reg. Ben.* c. 23). The incorrigible were to be flogged (c. 28); if re-admitted, they were to be placed in the lowest grade (c. 29); cf. *Greg. M. Lib. x. l. iv. Ep.* 39; *Lib. i. Ind. ix. Ep.* 19. A breakage or waste was lightly regarded, unless unconfessed (c. 46); and the confession of secret faults was to be made, not in public, but to the dean [*DECANUS*, § v.] (*seniori suo*, c. 46). Only the contumacious, after four admonitions, were to be subject to the "disciplina regularis," flogging, with, probably, solitary confinement on bread and water (cc. 3, 65).

Where not adopted as a whole, the Benedictine rule was frequently incorporated with other rules. Thus the rule of Isidore of Seville, in the first part of the 7th century, though more minute in its distinctions, resembles the Benedictine code of punishments (*Isid. Reg.* c. 17; cf. *Mab. Ann.* iii. 37, xii. 42). Donatus of Besançon, about the middle of this century, himself a pupil of Columbannus, blended the two rules in one: "disciplina" with him seems to mean flogging or solitary confinement (*Don. Reg. ad Frey.* c. 2); silence or fifty stripes is the penalty for idle words (c. 28). Later in the century, Fructuosus of Braga in Portugal, founder of the great monastery of Alcala (Complutum) near Madrid, borrowed largely from Benedict (*Fruct. Reg.* c. 17; cf. *Mab. Ann.* iii. 37). The Council at Vers, near Paris, 755 A.D., speaks of a prison-cell or flogging-room—"locus custodiae" or "pulsatorium" (*Conc. Vern.* c. 6). The Harmony of Monastic Rules, compiled in the 9th century by the namesake of the founder of the Benedictines, contains a gradation of punishments, which is on the whole equitable, but too minute (*Bened. Anian. Concord. Regul.*). In the 12th century the influence of Petrus Damiani introduced a rigour hitherto unknown within the walls of Monte Casino: each monk, after his confession every Friday, was to be whipped, by himself or by others, in cell, chapter, or oratory (*Altes. Ascet.* vi. 4). In the famous monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, the whip for similar purposes was suspended from a pillar in the chapter-house (*ib.*).

Voluntary flagellations, or self-scourgings, as a recognised part of monastic discipline, began about the middle of the 11th century, at the suggestion of Petrus Damiani (Richard et Giraud, *Bi-dict. Sacr.* s. v.), or according to Mabillon (*Acta SS. Ben. Prælat.*, *Sæc.* vi., i. s. 6), rather earlier (cf. Boitenu, l'abbé, *Hist. Flagell.*, 1700 A.D.). [I. G. S.]

(3.) *Canonial Discipline*.—Though the rule of the Canonici was easier than that of the Monachi,

DISCOMMUNICANTES

their code of punishments was severe. By Chrodegang's rule, any canon failing to make a full confession at stated times twice a year, was to be flogged or incarcerated (*Chrodeg. Reg.* c. 14). Any canon guilty of theft, murder, or any grave offence was liable to both these penalties; he was, besides, to do public penance by standing outside the chapel during the "hours," and by lying prostrate at the door as the others were going in and out, and to practise extraordinary abstinence, until absolved by the bishop (c. 15). Any canon speaking to one excommunicated incurred excommunication himself (c. 16). The refractory or contumacious were, after two reproofs, to do open penance by standing beside the cross; they were to be publicly excommunicated, or, if insensible to such a punishment, flogged (c. 17). Lesser offences, if confessed, were to be treated lightly; if detected, severely (c. 18). The measurement and apportionment of penalties was in the hands of the bishop (c. 19). But certain rules to guide the bishop's subordinates, "prelati inferiores" (perhaps - *deuts*), in the exercise of this discretionary power were laid down by the Council at Aachen, 816 A.D. Boys were to be beaten. Older members of the community were, for more venial faults, as neglecting the "hours," being careless at work or in chapel, late at meals, out without leave or beyond the proper time, after three private admonitions, to be admonished publicly, to stand apart in the choir, and to be kept on bread and water. For a graver fault, "culpa criminalis," unless atoned for by spontaneous penance, they were to be publicly excommunicated, "damnentur," by the bishop, and to be imprisoned, lest they should "taint the rest of the flock" (*Conc. Aquisgr.* c. 134). It is to be noted that it seems customary then to have a prison within the precincts of the monastery or canonry ("ut fit multis in monasteriis"), and that disobedience, rudeness, or quarrelling are not, as with monks, classed among things of a darker die (*ib.*). The same council, in a subsequent session, enacted a similar scale of punishment for nuns, "sanctimonialis," with the same climax of solitary confinement for the incorrigible (*Conc. Aquisgr.* lib. ii. c. 8). The rule was to be recited in chapter very frequently (cc. 69, 70).

For monastic and canonical discipline generally, see *BENEDICTINE RULE*, *CANONIC*, *MONACHISM*. [I. G. S.]

(4.) From the constant use of the rod or scourge in monastic discipline (see above, § 2) the word *disciplina* came itself to mean flogging. In the *Liber Ordinis S. Victoris Paris.*, c. 33 (quoted by Ducange) is a full description of the manner in which a monk ought to take punishment (*disciplinam accipere*). Sometimes *disciplina* is used with a qualifying word, as "discip. flagelli" (*Reg. S. Aurel.* c. 41); "discip. corporalis" (*Reg. Chrodegang.* cc. 3, 4, 14; *Capitul.* A.D. 803, v. 1). [*CORPORAL PUNISHMENT*.] [C.]

DISCOFERAE. In convents of nuns the sisters who bring the dishes to table are sometimes called *discoferae*. Caesarius of Arles (*Ad Oratoriam Abbatissarum*) gives the direction, "aequalia cibaria potionesque communes exhibent discoferae vel pincernae" (Ducange, s. v.). [C.]

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ments was severe. By canon falling to monks twice a year, incarcerated (*Chron. Kep.*), guilty of theft, murder, or liable to both these penalties to do public penance by chapel during the "hours," at the door as the others, and to practise extra-until absolved by the canon speaking to one excommunication him-ractory or contumacious, to do open penance by; they were to be pub-; if inescapable to such a (17). Lesser offences, if treated lightly; if de-

The measurement and ties was in the hands of certain rules to guide es, "praetuli inferiores," the exercise of this dis-aid down by the Council boys were to be beaten, community were, for more ting the "hours," more chapel, late at meals, out d the proper time, after ions, to be admonished In the choir, and to be er. For a graver fault, ess atoned for by spon- were to be publicly ex-entur," by the bishop, lest they should "taut (*Conc. Aquisgr.* c. 134). it seems customary then in the precincts of the "at it multus in monas- obedience, rudeness, or s with monks, classed ker die (*ib.*). The same session, enacted a similar nus, "sanctimoniales," of solitary confinement *mc. Aquisgr.* lib. ii. c. 8). ted in chapter very fre-

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RULE, CANONIC, MON-
[I. G. S.]

ant use of the rod or discipline (see above, § 2) itself to mean flogging, *S. Victoris Pa. is.* c. 33 a full description of the uk ought to take punish-ere). Sometimes descri-ifying word, as "discip. (*c.* 41); "discip. corp-*o.* c. 3, 4, 14; *Capitul.* AL PUNISHMENT] [C.]

a convents of nuns the lishes to table are some- Caesarians of Arles (*Ad* gives the direction, "ae-ue communes exhibent" (*Ducange*, s. v.). [C.]

UNICANTES. The second

council of Arles (c. 10), referring to the eleventh canon of the first council of Nicaea, condemns those who have fallen away under persecution to five years from the catechumens, and two "inter *discommunicantes*, ita in communionem interpenitentes non praesumant." The canon of Nicaea referred to has "ὅσοι ἐγγὺς ἡμεῶν ἁμαρτίας ἠὲ καὶ τῶν προσευχῶν." When all who offered communicated, this was equivalent to a sentence of exclusion for two years from the mysteries, though not from the preliminary prayers. [See COMMUNION, p. 415.] [C.]

DISCUS. [PATEN.]

DISPENSATION. [INDULGENCE.]

DISPUTATIO. In some monastic Rules a discussion on Scripture, called *Disputatio*, is one of the exercises prescribed to the monks. For instance the *Rule of Paphomius* (c. 21) directs: "Disputatio autem Praepositis domorum tertio fit." [Compare COLLOCATION.] [C.]

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ELEMENTS. [COMMUNION, HOLY.]

DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH PROPERTY. [ALMS; CHURCHES, MAINTENANCE OF; CORN, ALLOWANCE OF; DIVISIO MENSURANA; PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.]

DIUS. (1) Saint, in Caesarea; commemorated July 12 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Adonis, Usuardi). (2) Martyr at Alexandria, with Peter, bishop of Alexandria, Faustus the presbyter, and Ammonius, under Maximianus; commemorated Nov. 26 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

DIVINATION. It was all but inevitable in the nature of things that the ineradicable desire to penetrate the secrets of the future should show itself sooner or later in some form of superstition within the Christian Church. Jews and heathens had alike been accustomed to practices of which that desire had been the origin. The decay and disrepute of the older oracles, of which the legend that they ceased at the time of the Nativity of Christ was the representation, forced men back upon the more mysterious and recondite arts by which the secrets of the future were to be unveiled. The mind of the Church was, of course, from the first opposed to such attempts, and taught men to leave the future in the hands of God. But the laws and canons which meet us alike in East and West testify to the strength of the superstition against which the warfare was thus waged. It can hardly be said, looking at Christendom as a whole, to have succeeded in repressing it.

The revival within the Church of the arts of the old Chaldaean soothsayers has been noticed under ASTROLOGERS and CALCULATOIRES. But the elaborate system of divination which was officially recognised in the auguries of the Roman republic and empire, and which had a thousand ramifications in private and local superstitions was even more difficult to cope with. As at the Council of Elvira (c. 62) we find the augur named among those who were not to be admitted to Christian communion unless they renounced their calling.* The Fourth Council of Carthage (c. 59) excommunicated any who addicted themselves to practices that were so essentially

heathen. That of Ancyra (c. 24) condemned the *κατααρτεύομενοι* to five years' penance. See also the 'Penitential' printed in Meard's *Sacram. Greg.* p. 467. The legislation of the emperors was even more stern in its severity; but the sharpness of the law was in this case due, like the old edicts of banishment against the *Chaldaei* under Tiberius, to the influence of suspicious fear. Diviners, who were consulted as to the length of the emperor's life might help to work out the fulfilment of their own predictions. So we find Constantian inflicting the penalty of death on all who were known to consult soothsayers or observe omens. Even the credulous peasants, to whom the cry of a weasel or a rat was a presage of evil, were hunted down and condemned (*cod. Theod.* ix. tit. 16, leg. 4; Ammian. Marcell. xvi. p. 72). Valens, in like manner, half believing in what he sought to repress, having heard that it had been declared as the result of such divining arts (in this case *νεκρομαντεία* is named), that the name of his successor should begin with Θ Ε Ο Δ, not only enforced the law in its fullest severity against the diviner, but sought out and put to death all whom he could find whose names brought them within the range of his suspicion (*Socrates*, II. E. iv. 19). It is probable enough that the widespread belief thus engendered really helped to prepare the way for Theodosius.

It was comparatively easy to condemn art that were manifestly heathen in their nature. It was more difficult when the practice came with Christian associations and appealed to men's reverence for the Sacred Books. The principle of casting lots was recognised in Scripture as an appeal from the ignorance of man to the Providence of God (*Acts* i. 26; *Prov.* xvi. 33; *xviii.* 18 *et al.*). What form of *sortes* could be more certain to direct men in the right path than an appeal to the Written Word? Here, too, both Jewish and heathen influences may have helped to foster the new form of superstition. The Jew had been in the habit of so dealing with the Law, opening it at random, taking the verse on which he lighted as an oracle from God. It was his substitute for the Urim and Thummim, and the utterance of a prophet's voice (*iemar. Hieros. Schubb.* f. 8). The Roman, anticipating the mediaeval belief as to the poet's character, had looked to the Aeneid of Virgil as filling up the gap left by the dumbness of the oracles. The *sortes Virgilianae* were in repute as having predicted the power and character of Hadrian (*Spartian. Vit. Had.* p. 5), and Alexander Severus (*Lamprid. Vit. Alex.* p. 341). So in like manner the Bible, as a whole, or certain portions of it, came to be treated in the 4th century, if not earlier. It appears to have prevailed in the West rather than the East, but was never during the period with which we are concerned in any degree sanctioned by the Church or its leaders. Augustine, who had been consulted by Januarius as to its legitimacy, thought it a less evil than seeking knowledge from demons, but condemned it, as bringing down the Divine Word to base and trivial uses (*Epist. ad Januarianum*, cxix. (*alter* lv.) c. 37). The provincial Councils of Gaul in the 5th century condemned the "sortes divinationis," "sortes sanctorum," and threatened clergy or monks who practised them with severe penalties (*C. Venetic.*

* There is, however, the various reading of "auriga."

c. 16; *Agathens*. 42; *Aurel.* l. c. 30). The practice grew, however, in spite of the prohibition, with the increasing power of the Franks, and Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* lv. 16) describes a scene in which, with great solemnity, in the presence of bishops and priests in the celebration of Mass at Dijon, the volumes of the Epistles and Gospels were thus opened in order to ascertain the fortunes of the son of Clothaire. [E. H. P.]

DIVINE SERVICE. [COMMUNION, HOLY MASS; HOURS OF PRAYER; OFFICE, THE DIVINE.]

DIVISIO APOSTOLORUM. [APOSTLES' FESTIVALS, p. 87.]

DIVISIO MENSURNA. The division of the revenues of a church among the clergy seems commonly to have been monthly; this monthly payment is called by Cyprian "divisio mensurna," and a suspension from this was equivalent to what in later times was called suspension "a ceneficio," which did not necessarily imply suspension from ministerial functions (Cyprian, *Epist.* 34, c. 3). [OMLATIONS; PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.] [C.]

DIVORCE. [MARRIAGE.]

DOCTOR. Besides the general sense of "teacher," this word early acquired certain special significations:—

1. *Doct r Auli n'iu n*, the officer of the church to whom was committed the instruction of CATECHUMENS (p. 319). When we read in the *Pas-ss. Perpetuac et Felice*, (c. 13; Ruinart, p. 99) that Aspasius, "presbyter doctor," stood before the door, we ought probably to understand that he was a presbyter who bore the office of *Doctor audientium*. Cyprian, too, speaks (*Epist.* 29) of "presbyteri doctores," as well as of a reader who held the office of teacher of the catechumens.

2. Persons whose teaching was of special weight in the church were called *Doctores*. The *Decretu* (c. 1) of Celestinus (A.D. 422-432) condemn those who set themselves up against the Doctors, meaning apparently in this case more particularly St. Augustine (c. 2) and the bishops of Rome (c. 3). The same prohibition is repeated in the *Capitularium Car.* M. vii. c. 44.

3. The term *legis doctor* seems to have acquired a technical force at a comparatively early date. Adrevaldus (*De Mirac.* S. Bened. l. 25) speaks of a certain "legis doctor"—clearly a judge—who deferred judgment in consequence of having received a bribe; and a charter of Pipin, mayor of the palace (quoted by Ducange, s. v. *Doctor Legis*), speaks of things decided by "proceres nostri, seu Comites palatii nostri vel reliqui legis doctores," where the doctors are clearly persons who have an official right to expound the law. [C.]

DOCTORS, CHRIST IN CONFERENCE WITH. This subject is represented in a fresco of the first cabinetum of the Callixtine Catacomb. See in Bottari, *tavv.* xv. and *liv.*, also *tav.* lxxiv. Both are conventionally arranged, our Lord being on a lofty seat in the midst, with hand upraised in the act of speaking; the doctors on His right and left, with some expression of wonder on their countenances. The only sarcophagus besides that of Junius Bassus (Bottari, *xv.*), which *indis utabilis* contains this subject, is stated by Martigny to be that in S. Ambrogio

at Milan. (Alleggranza, *Sacra Monim. Ant. ds Milano*, *tav.* iv.) See, however, Bottari, *vol.* l. *tav.* 33. All the surrounding figures are seated in this example, but our Lord is placed above them in a kind of stall or *edicule*, with two palm-trees at its sides. He holds a book or roll in His hand, which is partly unrolled, while the doctors have closed theirs. So also in Alleggranza, *tav.* l., a mosaic from St. Aquilinus of Milan. The Lord's elevated seat is placed on a rock, with the Divine Lamb below, probably in reference to Rev. v. as "able to open the Book." On the right and left, at His feet, are Joseph and Mary in the attitude of adoration.

Perret (i. pl. 1.) gives a copy of a very skillful painting from the catacombs, which places two doctors on the Lord's right hand, who are expressing attention and wonder, and Joseph and Mary on the other, with looks of patient waiting on Him. The figure on the left is so evidently feminine, as to repel the idea that the four evangelists are intended.

The fine diptych of the 5th century at the Cathedral of Milan and that of Murano (Bugati, *Mem. di S. Celso* and Gori, *Theat. Dipt.* viii. *tab.* 8, see woodcut) also represent our Lord sitting,



with the doctors standing before Him. These represent Him of more mature appearance and stature than the account in the Gospels quite warrants. The figure below our Lord's feet is supposed to represent Uranus or the firmament of Heaven (Ps. xviii. 9). [R. St. J. T.]

DOLIUM. This seems to be the most convenient generic term for the various representations of ensks and large vessels which occur frequently in early Christian art, and have symbolic meaning very generally attributed to them. (Boldetti, pp. 164-368; Perret, *iii.* 3; Bottari, *tav.* 155.) As they are generally found on tombs they are taken as empty, representing the body when the soul has fled from it. If the marriage of Cana [see s. v. CANA] can be supposed to be so frequently used on sarcophagi as a symbol of the Resurrection, the cask may be supposed to represent a water-vessel, and be a short-hand symbol of the Miracle. This seems altogether unlikely, and, moreover, in almost all cases the vessels represented are strictly "waterpots of stone" or hydrine. The close juncture of the staves of a cask has been taken to indicate Christian unity.

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The church of
there we find t
peristyle. [Ch
the Rock." at J
rites among me
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be found in th
slovia, 5th cen
in the Haruro,
p. 372.]

The sepulch
Galla Placidia
a small dome.
most remarkab
St. Sophia, both
like manner in
pérs or arches o
dome, east and w

Sacra Monim. Ant. de
 however, Bottari, vol. 1,
 and figures are seated
 or Lord is placed above
 or *Alivide*, with two
 He holds a book or roll
 partly unrolled, while
 theirs. So also in Alle-
 ce from St. Aquinas of
 seated seat is placed on a
 numb below, probably in
 able to open the Book,"
 at His feet, are Joseph
 of adoration.

A copy of a very skillful
 ubs, which places two
 ight hand, who are ex-
 vander, and Joseph and
 looks of patient waiting
 the left is so evidently
 the idea that the four

the 5th century at the
 hat of Murano (Bugati,
 1, *Thes. Dipl.* viii, tab.
 present our Lord sitting,

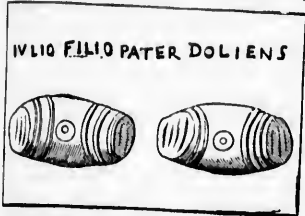


before Him. These re-
 ture appearance and
 in the Gospels quite
 our Lord's feet is
 us or the Firmament
 [R. St. J. T.]

to be the most cen-
 the various representa-
 arts, and have sym-
 ically attributed to them.
 'erret, iii, 3; Bottari,
 ially found on tombs
 representing the body
 in it. If the marriage
 is supposed to be so
 ngi as a symbol of the
 e supposed to repre-
 a short-hand symbol
 s altogether unlikely,
 l cases the vessels re-
 etopots of stone" or
 ure of the staves of a
 icate Christian unity.

DOLPHIN

Martigny conjectures (quoting St. Cyrian, *Ep. xvi. Ad Confess. Rom.* "Vini vice sanguinem funditis") that the form of a ensk has been given to certain small vessels for preserving the blood of martyrs (e. g. Boiletti, pp. 163-4), with allusion to the power of their self-sacrifice in holding the Church together. He concludes, however, on the whole, that the picture of the Dolian was very possibly only a play on words, from its resemblance in sound to dole, and its inscriptions. This seems to be proved by his example from Mamachi (see woodcut)—two dolin, with the inscription IVLIO FILIO PATER DOLIENS.



DOLPHIN [see s. v. Fish]. As in the case of other Christian symbols, the dolphin is used



DOLUS MALUS. [FORAGE.]

DOVE. (Commonly derived from DOMUS Dei, dove being at one time so invariable a part of churches as to usurp their name. Perhaps from *doxa*.) A concave ceiling or cupola, either hemispherical or of any other curve, covering a circular or polygonal area; also a roof the exterior of which is of either of these forms (Parker's *Gloss.* s. v. CUPOLA).

The dome is not usual in churches of the basilica type, though it is sometimes found; in the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme (for instance), we find a dome covering one of the chapels (the south-eastern) by which the apse is enclosed. [CHURCH, p. 370.]

In sepulchral or memorial churches, usually circular, sometimes polygonal in form, the dome, as might be expected, is of frequent occurrence. The church of Sta. Costanza is of this class, and there we find the dome supported on an interior peristyle. [CHURCH, p. 371.] The "Dome of the Rock" at Jerusalem, classed by some authorities among memorial churches, has a dome supported by four great piers. Other examples may be found in the church of St. George in Thessalonics, 5th cent., and the cathedral at Bosrah in the Hauran, of the date A.D. 511. [CHURCH, p. 372.]

The sepulchral chapel built by the empress Galla Placidia at Ravenna has a tower enclosing a small dome. [CHURCH, p. 372.] One of the most remarkable domes in the world is that of St. Sophia, both from its size and from the peculiar manner in which it is supported, not by piers or arches on every side but upon two semi-domes, east and west, by which means a vast unen-

DOMESTICUS

from a very early date in two or more senses, representing either the Lord Himself, the individual Christian, or abstract qualities such as swiftness, brilliancy, conjugal affection, &c. In a painting given by De Rossi (vol. i. tav. viii.), two dolphins bear (apparently) vessels with the Sacramental loaves. It has been suggested, and is not improbable, that the Dolphin embracing the Anchor, so often found on gems, rings, &c. (Mamachi, *intip. Christ.* iii, 23; Lupi, *E. it. top. Serer.* II, 64, note 1), is an emblem of the Crucified Saviour, or, indeed, of the faithful follower. For its use as an emblem of swiftness, see Holdetti, p. 332, where is figured the handle of a pen found in a Christian sepulchre, fashioned into the dolphin-shape, which may indicate, as Martigny supposes, that the occupant was in life a scribe or short-hand writer.—Ps. xlv. 2. The fish with extended fins, or back bent, as if in the act of plunging forward, seems to be used to express speed in pressing forward for the prize of the Christian race. See Lupi, *Epitaph.* Sec. pp. 53 and 185. In the latter he is accompanied by a dove, and both are approaching a vase, which may signify the Living Waters of Baptism or of Truth. See Martigny, s. v. *Dolphin*. The dolphins (see woodcut), placed two close together on each side of the inscription over Valeria or Valeria Labolina, are thought to symbolize conjugal affection. [R. St. J. T.]

cumbered space—200 ft. by 100 ft.—is obtained. [CHURCH, p. 373.] After the time of Justinian churches in the East were almost exclusively built after some modification of the plan of St. Sophia, in which the dome forms so important a feature. The germ of the nearly square ground-plan, with a dome covering the centre, is perhaps to be found in domed oratories or Kalybes of Syria. See woodcut, p. 347.

In the church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, built between A.D. 526 and 547, there is a sort of clerestory, 20 ft. high, below the dome. And after the death of Justinian we find this construction, in which the dome itself is placed on a drum pierced with windows, frequent in the empire. The church of St. Clement, for instance, at Ancona, belonging probably to the latter part of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, had such a dome placed on a low drum. The church of St. Irene, at Constantinople (earlier part of the 8th century), has the dome on a drum of great height; and a similar dome is found in the church of St. Nicholas of Myra, which is perhaps of more modern date. [CHURCH, p. 378.] The Duomo Vecchio at Florence, by some assigned to the 7th century, by others to A.D. 774, is covered by a dome 85 ft. in internal diameter. [CHURCH, p. 380.] [C.]

DOMESTICUS, "belonging to the house or household," has several ecclesiastical senses:—
 1. *Domesticus* are all who belong to the "household of faith;" "omnis congruus honor exhibetur, maxime tamen domesticis fidei" (*Leopold. St. Bened.* c. 53).

2. In the East, the principal dignitary in a church choir after the Protospites. There was

one on each side of the choir, to lead the singers in antiphonal chanting (see *St. Paulus, De Offi.*, c. vi. § 3; *Goar's Liturg.*, pp. 272, 278; Ducauge, s. v.).

3. *Domestica* (*Antonium, d. Augustinus* τὴν *Θορῶν*, the chief door-keeper at Constantinople) (*Goar's, De Off.*, c. i. § 43). [E.]

DOMINICA. [LORD'S DAY.]

DOMINICA, *δομινική*, commemorated Jan. 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DOMINICADIA [DIE IN ADVENTUUM.]

DOMINICALIS or -LE. A fair linen cloth used by females at the time of the reception of the Eucharist. So far all authorities are agreed, but it is a controverted point whether it was a white veil worn over the head, or a napkin in which females received the Eucharist, which they were forbidden to touch with the naked hand. [COMMISSION, HOLY, p. 416.]

The latter view is that which has the greatest currency, and can reckon among its supporters such weighty liturgical authorities as Cardinal Houssier (*Her. Liturg.*, lib. ii. c. 17); Habert (*Archicrit.*, part. v. obs. viii.); Mabillon (*de Liturg. Gall.*, lib. i. c. v. s. xxv.); Maeyer (*Hierol.*, sub voc.); Voss (*Thess. Theol. de Sacram. Euc. Dom.*), and others. It is chiefly based on two canons of the Council of Auxerre, A.D. 578, one (can. 36) forbidding women to receive the Eucharist with the bare hand; the other (can. 42) enacting that every woman when she communicates should have her *dominicad* or else postpone her communion. These two canons are interpreted to refer to the same subject, and the *dominicad* has been thus identified with the fair linen cloth with which the hand was to be covered at the time of communion. This custom is expressly mentioned in a sermon printed among Augustine's, but erroneously ascribed to him, in which we read, "omnes quando communicare desiderant invent manus, et omnes mulieres nitida exhibent linteamenta at Corpus Christi accipiant." It will be observed that nowhere is this napkin expressly called *dominicale*.

The other view—that the *dominicale* was a head-covering, a veil (cf. 1 Cor. xi. 13) is strongly supported by Ducauge (*sub voce*); Labbé (*ad Concil. Antissiod.*); and Baluzius (*Not. in Gratian.*, c. xxxiii. quest. iii. c. 19), and is accepted by our own Bingham (bk. xv. ch. v. § 7). The passage from an ancient MS. Penitential given by Ducauge, forbidding a woman to communicate if she has not her "dominicale" on her head, "si mulier communicans dominicale suum super caput suum non habuerit, &c." is express for this view if it be correctly quoted. The canons cited by Baluzius (apud Bingham, l. c.) from the Council of Mâcon, "in which the *dominicale* is expressly styled the veil which the women wore upon their heads at the communion," do not appear in the acts of either the first or second Council of that name. This, however appears the more probable view. [E. V.]

DOMINICUM. 1. One of the names of a Church (q. v.). Greek *κυριακόν*.

2. Equivalent to *Κοριακὸν θεῖον*. Cyprian, *Epist.* 63: "Numquid ergo *Dominicum* post coenam celebrare debemus?" And the martyrs in Africa, somewhat later, were accused of celebrating "collectam et *Dominicum*," the ordinary

assembly and the Lord's Supper (*Acta Praxena, Saturnini*, etc., c. 5; compare re. 7 and 8). [E.]

DOMINUS or DOMNUS. 1. Equivalent to "Saint" as a title; as "Dominus Johannes" for St. John, in Cyprian's *Life* of Cæsarius of Arles. Sometimes in the form *Domnus*; St. Martin, for instance, is called "Domnus Martinus" in the preface and in can. 14 of the first council of Tours. St. Peter is called "Dominus Petrus Apostolus" (*Conc. Turon. II.*, c. 23); St. Paul, "Domnus Paulus Apostolus" (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, ix. 41). The *Mar* of the Chaldean Christians (as in "Mar Markus") is equivalent to *Dominus*.

2. Bishops are called *Domni*, without any further designation of their episcopal dignity. For instance, a bishop is described by Gregory the Great (*Epist.* lv. 27) as "Dominus Mizanata ecclesiae." *Dominus* in this usage also is frequently shortened into *Domnus*, as, for instance, by Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great; (*Ducauge*, s. v.). [E.]

3. *Domnus* was at first a title of the abbat (*Reg. Benedict.* 63), afterwards of his sub-abbat, and, in the middle ages, of monks generally (Martene *ad loc. cit.*). The word was applied to saints (Sulpic. Sever., *Epist.* 2, 3; Mabill., *Ann.*, t. 8, h. xviii. 9), to bishops (*Conc. Arver.* iii. Subscr.), and to the pope (Ducauge, *Glossar. Lat.*, s. v.). Hence the titles, "Dun," "Don," "Donna," &c. in the Romance, and, in modern French, "Dun," for monks (Ducauge, *ibid.*, s. v. Alard. *Gal. Præf.*, Cassiani's *app.*).

"Donna" was used similarly of nuns. [I. G. S.]

DOMINUS VOBISCUM. 1. The versicle *Dominus Vobiscum*, with the response, *et cum spiritu tuo*, is found in the Gregorian *Synodical* immediately before the *Signum Cordi*, which introduces the CANON.

In the third of the ancient canons read and approved at the First Council of Braga, A.D. 563, (Brunn's *Canones*, ii. 35), it is provided that bishops and priests should not greet the people in different ways, but that both should use the form *Dominus sit vobiscum* (Ruth ii. 4), and the people respond *Et cum spiritu tuo*, the form handed down from the very Apostles, and retained by the whole Eastern Church. The latter assertion does not appear to be founded on fact, for the Eastern Church has constantly used the form "Peace be with you all." [Pax VOBISCUM.] The distinction which the canon notes and forbids between the priest's salutation and the bishop's, was probably that the former used the form *Domnus vobiscum*, the latter, as representing more completely the Lord Himself, the form *Pax vobiscum*. But see Krazer, *De Liturgiis*, p. 399 f.

2. At Prime, in the Daily Office, *Dominus vobiscum*, with the usual response, is said before the Collect.

3. When the *Breviarium Hipponense* (can. 1, al. 6) orders "ut lectores populum non saluent," the meaning probably is, that they were not permitted to use the form commonly appropriated to the higher orders, whether *Dominus* or *Pax vobiscum*. [E.]

DOMIO, bishop of Salona in Dalmatia, martyr, with eight soldiers; commemorated April 11 (*Mart.*, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

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DONATU

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(3) Martyr

Romulus, and

Feb. 17 (16);

Supper (*Act. Procons.* compare vs. 7 and 8). [C.]
 (1) **DOMINUS**, I. Equivalent to "Dominus Joannes" for "Theobaldus of Arles, *Domnus*; St. Martin, for *dominus Martinus*" in the 1st of the first council of called "Dominus Petrus *Don. H. c. 24*); St. Paul, *olus*" (Gregory of Tours, "The *Mar* of the Chaldean or Markos") is equivalent

of *Donatus*, without any of their episcopal dignity. It is described by Gregory as "Dominus Mizenata" in this usage also is *Donatus*, as, for instance, and Gregory the Great. [C.]

first a title of the abbot towards of his sub-colleagues, of monks generally (Marword was applied to saints 3; *Michell. Ann. O. S. B. ange. Auct. iii. Subser.*, *ange. Glossar. Lat. s. v.*, "Don," "Donna," &c. modern French, "Don," *Assess. Lat. n. s. Alard. Ga.*

similarly of nuns. [I. G. S.]

DOMINUS. 1. The versicle with the response, *et cum* in the Gregorian *Sacerdotis* the *Suscum Cordi*, ANON.

ancient canons read and Council of Braga, A. D. 563, 35), it is provided that could not greet the people that both should use the *oscum* (Ruth ii. 4), and *cum spiritu tuo*, the form very Apostles, and re-tem Cl. b. The letter ear to be founded on fact, has constantly used the you all." [Pax Vultus which the canon notes the priest's salutation and ably that the former used *oscum*, the latter, as re-pletely the Lord himself, *om.* But see Kraetz, *De*

The Daily Office, *Dominus* and response, is said before

rium Hippense (can. 1, *es populum non salutet*, is, that they were not form commonly appro-orders, whether *Dominus* [C.]

Salona in Dalmatis, mar-ers; commemorated April [W. F. G.]

DOMITIANUS. (1) Abbot of Lyons; de- position July 1 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Philadelphia in Arabia, with five others; commemorated Aug. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Tel. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) Deacon, and martyr at Ancyra in Galatia, with Eutycus the presbyter; commemorated Dec. 28 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(4) Bishop of Melitene, circa A. D. 570; commemorated Jan. 10 (*Cat. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DOMITILLA, virgin, martyr at Terracina in Campania, under Domitian and Trajan; commemorated May 7 (*Mart. Rom. Tel., Adonis, Usuardi*); May 12 (*Mart. Hieron.*). [W. F. G.]

DOMITUS. (1) Martyr in Syria; commemorated July 5 (*Mart. Rom. Tel., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) In Phrygia, *δωμιόδωτος*, under Julian; commemorated Aug. 7 (*Cat. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DOMINA or **DOMNA**, virgin, martyr with her virgin companions; commemorated April 11 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DOMINIUS. (1) Martyr at Thessalonica with Victor; commemorated March 30 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Julia, under Maximian; commemorated Oct. 9 (*ib.*). [W. F. G.]

DOMUS DEI. (1) Literally, the church as a material building (*Optatus, c. Donat. iii. 17*). Hence Ital. *Duomo*, and Germ. *Dom*.

(2) The Church, as the whole body of Christian people (Lucifer of Cagliari, *Pro Athanasio*, l. 22; *Ducange, s. v.*) [C.]

DONA, DONARIA. These words are not infrequently used by Christian writers in the special sense of offerings placed in churches, particularly costly presents given as memorials of some great mercy received by the offerers (Jerome, *Enst. 27, ad Eustoch.*; *Epist. 13, ad Paulin.*; *Sidonius Apoll. lib. iv. Ep. 18*; *Paulinus of Nola, Sidel. 8, Felicis, 6*). The corresponding Greek word is *ἀνάθημα* (Luke xxi. 5; 2 Maccab. ix. 16), which *Suidas* defines as *πᾶν τὸ ἀφιερωμένον θεῷ*. See, for instance, the account of the offerings of Constantine to the Anastasia at Jerusalem (Euseb. *Vita Constant. iii. 25*). [CORONA ECCLES. VOTIVE OFFERINGS.] [C.]

DONATA, of Scillita, martyr at Carthage with eleven others; commemorated July 17 (*Mart. Rom. Tel., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*) [W. F. G.]

DONATI. [ONATI.]

DONATTIANUS. (1) Martyr at Nantes with Rogatianus, his brother; commemorated May 24 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) Bishop and confessor in Africa, with Praxilla, Manuettus, Germanus, and Foscolus, under Diocletian; commemorated Sept. 6 (*Mart. Rom. Tel., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DONATILLA, virgin, martyr in Africa, with Maxima and Secunda, under Gallienus; commemorated July 30 (*Mart. Hieron., Rom. Tel., Usuardi, Cal. Carth.*) [W. F. G.]

DONATUS. (1) Martyr at Rome with Aquilinus and three others; commemorated Feb. 4 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Concordia with Secundianus, Eomulus, and eighty-six others; commemorated Feb. 17 (*ib.*);

(3) Martyr at Carthage; commemorated Mar. 1 (*ib.*);

(4) Martyr in Africa, with Epiphanius the bishop, and others; commemorated April 7 (*Mart. Usuardi*), April 6 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(5) Martyr at Casarea in Cappadocia, with Polyuctus and Victorius; commemorated May 21 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(6) Bishop and martyr at Aretium in Tuscan; under Julian; commemorated Aug. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Tel., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*).

(7) The presbyter and anchorite in a district on Mount Jura, in Belgic Gaul; commemorated Aug. 19 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(8) Martyr at Antioch, with Restitutus, Valerianus, Fructuosus, and twelve others; commemorated Aug. 23 (*ib.*).

(9) Martyr at Capua, with Quintus and Arcadius; commemorated Sept. 5 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(10) Martyr with Hermogenes and twenty-two others; commemorated Dec. 12 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DOOR (AS SYMBOL). See St. John x. 9. It seems most probable that in the various representations of sheep leaving or entering their fold or house, and so representing the Jewish or Gentile Church (HEBREWEM; GENTILEM), the door may be intended to recall the words "I am the door," to the spectator's mind. In Allegamus, *Mon. de Millus, &c.*, tav. II, the door is seen five times repeated, evidently with this symbolic reference, and on the porch or tympanum of the old basilica of St. Aquilinus in the same city the following verses occur:—

"Janua sum vobis; precor omnia iuxta vestre;
 Per me transibit qui eestis gentia que sunt;
 Virgine qui natus, nullo de parte creatus,
 Infantibus salvat, relictis hinc gubernat."

Lupp. *Diss. e Lat. l. p. 262* gives a bas-relief in gilded bronze, which contains a gate or door, with the Lamb under it bearing the Cross, and the words "Ego sum ostium, et ovile ovium." [R. St. J. T.]

DOORS OF CHURCHES. (*Jonuae, portae, valvae; θύραι, πύλαι*.)

1. The principal outer doors of a church seem to have been in ancient times at the west, if the church was so built that the altar was at the east end, or at any rate in the end facing the altar. In a basilican church of three aisles there were for the most part three western doors:

"Alma domus triphit patescens silentibus arcu."
 (Paulinus of Nola, *l. p. 32, ad Ser.*)

In Constantine's great "Church of the Saviour" at Jerusalem, the three doors faced the east [CHURCH, p. 369]. At these doors stood during service the "weepers" (*προσκυλιότητες*). If there was a NARTHEX, the western doors gave entrance into this, and other doors again from the narthex into the nave. The nave was sometimes again itself divided into chorus and trapeza—the portions for the clerics and the people respectively—by a screen or partition having doors; but more frequently those who entered by the western doors saw before them at once the ICOSOSTASIS, or screen enclosing the sanctuary, with its three doors.

2. The doors in the Icosostasis were known generally as *καγκελλοθυρίδες, πύραι τοῦ ἁγίου*

Bhmaros; the side doors distinctively as *παύλια* or *παροόστια*. The central doors were called the "Holy Doors" (*ἅγια θύρα*) and sometimes the "Royal Doors" (*βασιλικαὶ θύρα*).

3. The great western doors of the nave were called the "Royal Gates" (*βασιλικαὶ πόλαι*); and this term was also adopted by Latin writers, so that "regiae" came to be used substantively for these doors. Anastasius, for instance, says (*Vita Pontif. c. 111*) that pope Honorius (A.D. 626-638) covered with silver plates the great royal—the so-called "Median"—doors at the entrance of a church (regias in ingressu ecclesiae majores, quae appellantur medianae). When the church had a narthex, the western doors of this were also sometimes called the "royal" gates.

4. The great church of St. Sophia at Constantinople had nine doors between the narthex and the nave. As these were covered with silver, not only were they called the "Silver Doors," but the same term came to designate the doors of other churches which occupied the same position.

5. Another term, the application of which cannot be absolutely determined, is the "Beautiful Gates" (*ἄραιοι πόλαι*). These have been supposed to be the gates which separate chorus and trapeza (*Chor*); those which separate nave from narthex (*Ducange*); or the outer gate of the narthex (*Neale*). The latter application is supported by the fact that the term is taken from the "Beautiful Gate" of the temple, undoubtedly an outer gate.

6. The "Angelic Gate" (*ἀγγελικὴ πόλη*) was one which allowed a person to enter the trapeza, so as to draw near the choir. Nothing further is known of it. It is not improbable that it was a local term.

7. The word *θύρα* is consistently used to designate a door within the building, and the word *πόλη* to designate the much larger "gates" which admitted the mass of the congregation from without into the narthex or the nave. Epithets like "royal" and "beautiful" are perhaps not used invariably with a special meaning, but the "Holy Doors" are always the central doors of the Bema, and no other.

8. The Holy Doors were opened at the commencement of the Great Vespers, at all "entrances," whether at Vespers or in the Liturgy; and at the end of the Liturgy, when the people are invited to approach for the purpose of communicating (*Neale, Eastern Church*, Introd. pp. 194-200).

9. The doors of churches were frequently of rich material and workmanship. The outer doors of St. Sophia at Constantinople were of bronze, with ornaments in relief (*CHURCH*, p. 374); and those of the Iconostasis, as well as those between the narthex and the nave, of silver. And elsewhere, as not infrequently in the *Liber Pontificalis*, we read of doors of metal gilt, or of wood richly inlaid or carved. [C.]

DOORKEEPERS (*πυλωπολ, θυραροί, Ostiarii*), an inferior order of clergy mentioned by the Pseudo-Ignatius (*Epist. An'ioch.*), by Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 43), and by Justinian (*Novell.* iii. 1). There is no mention of them in Tertullian or Cyprian, from which Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* i. l. 2, c. 30, § 8) infers that in the early African church their duties were

discharged by the laity. The council of Laodicea (c. 24), speaks of them among the inferior orders of clergy. At the ordination of a doorkeeper, after previous instruction by the deacon he was presented to the bishop who delivered to him the keys of the church, with the injunction to act as one who must render to God an account of the things which are opened by those keys (iv. *Conc. Carth.* c. 19). The 4th council of Toledo (c. 4) provides that a doorkeeper should keep the door of the church at the opening of councils. In the 2nd canon of another council of Toledo, held A.D. 597, it is ordered that a doorkeeper should be appointed by the priest to provide for the cleansing and lighting of the church and sanctuary (*Brun's Canons*, i. 220). In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 25) they are spoken of as belonging to that portion of the clergy which represents the Levites, but in the lowest grade. Their share of the Agapae was the same as that of a Lector or Cantor (*Ibid.* ii. 28); there is no mention of their ordination, and they are named among the clergy who were not permitted to baptize (*Ibid.* iii. 11). They were to stand during the time of service at the door of the part of the church allotted to the men (*Ibid.* ii. 57). They were allowed to marry (*Ibid.* vi. 17). [P. O.]

DORIA, martyr with Chrysanthus, under Numerian; commemorated March 19 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DORMITIO (*κοίμησις*), the "falling asleep," used to describe the state of those who "depart hence in the Lord" (*Cyprinus, Epist.* l. c. 2). More especially it is used to designate the day of the departure or "Assumption" of the Virgin Mary [*MARY, FESTIVALS OF*]; Xanthopoulos, for instance (quoted by Ducange, s. v. *Dormitio*), uses the expression, *κοίμησιν ἄγγελ, τὴν μετὰ στασιν λέγω*. See Daniel's *Codex Liturg.* iv. 239; and Ménard's *Sacram. Greg.*, pp. 411, 707. [C.]

DORMITORIUM. A garment for sleeping in; the "lebiton lineus" of Pachomius (*Vita*, c. 22). The gloss on the *Rule of St. Benedict* explains *Dormitoria* by the Greek word *ἐγκαμῆθρα* (*Ducange*, s. v.). [C.]

DORMITORY (*Dormitorium*). It was the primitive custom for monks to sleep all together in one large dormitory (*Alteser. Asceticon*, ix. 8). Not till the 14th century (*Ducange, Glossar. Lat. s. v.*) was the custom introduced of using separate sleeping cells. By the rule of Benedict all were to sleep in one room, if possible (*Bened. Reg. c. 22*) with the abbat in their midst (cf. *Magistr. Reg. c. 29*; *Bened. Reg. c. 22*) or in larger monasteries ten or twenty together with a dean (*Bened. Reg. ib.*; cf. *Caesar. Arelat. Reg. ad Monach. c. 3*; *Reg. ad Virg. c. 7*; *Amrol. Reg. c. 6*; *Ferreol. Reg. c. 16, 33*). Only the aged, the infirm, the excommunicated were excepted from this arrangement (*Cujusd. Reg. c. 13*). Each monk was to have a separate bed (*Bened. Reg. v. s.*; *Caesar. Arelat. Reg. v. s.*; *Fructuosus, Reg. c. 17*). They were to sleep clothed and girdled (*Bened. Reg. v. s.*; *Mag. Reg. c. 11*; *Cujusd. Reg. v. s.*), the founder probably intending that the monk should sleep in one of the two suits ordered by his rule (*Bened. Reg. c. 55*); but in course of time the words were loosely interpreted as meaning only the woolen tunic (*Marten, ad loc.*

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ty. The council of Laodicea, then among the inferior ordination: a door-instruction by the archdeacon to the bishop who presides of the church, with the one who must render to things which are opened. *Cath. c. 9*. The 4th canon provides that a deacon should be appointed for the cleansing and sanctuary (Brun's *Apostolic Constitutions*) of as belonging to that which represents the lowest grade. Their share of office as that of a lector or there is no mention of them are named among the permitted to baptize (*Utd. stand during the time of the part of the church* *Utd. ii. 57*). They were vi. 17). [P. O.]

with Chrysanthus, under dated March 19 (*Cal. R. G.*)

the "falling asleep," of those who "depart" *Cyprian, Epist. l. c. 2*, used to designate the day of assumption "of the Virgin Mary" (*Xanthopis, for Ducange, s. v. Dormitio, Augustin, rhy nera- tions C. de Liturg. iv. 239; Gregy, pp. 411, 707.* [C.]

A garment for sleeping of Pachomius (*Vita, the Rule of St. Benedict* the Greek word *eyca* [C.]

Dormitorium). It was the monks to sleep all together (Alteser. *Asceticism*, ix. 8). by (Ducange, *Glossar. Lat.* introduced of using separate rule of Benedict all were possible (Bened. *Reg. c. their midst* (cf. *Magist. c. 22*) or in larger money together with a dean (esar. *Arelat. Reg. ad Mo- c. 7*; Anrol. *Reg. c. 6*; *c. 7*). Only the aged, the im- ed were excepted from *ad. Reg. c. 13*). Each monk bed (Bened. *Reg. v. s.*; *s. Fructuos, Reg. c. 17*). and girded (Bened. *11*; Cujusd. *Reg. v. s.*) attending that the monk the two suits ordered by *c. 55*); but in course of loosely interpreted as in tunic (Martena. *ad loc.*

DORONA

at.) was particularly enjoined, puerile as the caution sounds, by Benedict and others, that the monks were not to wear their knives in bed (Bened. *Reg. c. 22*; *Magist. Reg. c. 11*). A light was to be kept burning in the dormitory all night (Bened. *Reg. v. s.*; *Mag. Reg. c. 29*; Cujusd. *Reg. v. s.*). All the monks were to rise at a given signal (*Regg. Monast. passim*). The dormitory was to be kept under lock and key till morning (Mart. *ad Bened. Reg. c. 48*). The sleeping-room for stranger monks was usually close to the great dormitory, and not far from the chapel (Mart. *ad Bened. Reg. c. 53*; cf. *Capitul. Apisyr. 68*).

In the first fervor of monastic zeal it was a common practice to sleep on the bare ground (*gagewia*; cf. *Altes. Ascet. ix. 8*; *Vit. St. Anton. c. 6*; *Theodoret, Philoth. 1, &c.*). Others slept on mats (*quadra, mattae, stramenta*; *Cassian. Collat. i. 23*; xviii. 11; *Rulfin. Verb. Senior. ii. 23, 125*); frequently these were made by themselves (*Vit. Pachomii. 43*), and Augustine speaks of some strict Manicheans as "mattarii" (*Cont. Faustina. v. 5*). The rule of Benedict allows mattress (*sagum*), coverlet (*lucna or lina*), and pillow (*capitule*, v. s.); but in Egypt the mattress was considered a luxury in the 4th century, not permissible except for guests (*Cass. Coll. vi. 6*). Some of the monks of Tabenna slept in their tunics, half sitting, half lying (*Vita Pachomii, c. 14*, in *Roswey's Vit. Patr.*).

The time allowed for sleep was for Egyptian monks in the commencement of monachism very short indeed (*Cass. Instit. v. 20*; *Coll. xii. 15, xiii. 6*). Arsenius is said to have contented himself with one hour only. Rufinus speaks of others who allowed themselves four hours in the night for sleep, assigning four for prayer, four for work (*Verb. Sen. c. 199*). Even Benedict, though far more tolerant, forbade his disciples to retire to rest again after nocturns (*Reg. c. 8*; cf. *Cass. Instit. ii. 12*). But the rule was not adhered to strictly (Martena. *ad Bened. Reg. l. c.*).

The rules of the canonici in the 8th and 9th century were very similar to those of the monks. Chrodegang ordered all to sleep in one chamber, unless with the bishop's licence (*Reg. c. 3*). This was enforced on the canonici in their monasteries and on those dwelling under the bishop's roof, by the council of Tours, 813 A.D. (*Conc. Turon. iii. c. 23, 24*). The council at Aachen, three years later, ordered bishops to see that the canonici slept in one dormitory (*Conc. Apisyr. c. 11, 123*); and in its second session repeated the decree of the council at Châlons 815 A.D., that all nuns, except the sick and infirm, should sleep in one dormitory on separate beds (*Conc. Cabill. c. 59*, cf. *Conc. Mogunt. 813 A.D. c. 9*, cf. *Conc. Twon. ii. 567 A.D., c. 14*). Gratian, in his rule for solitaries, orders that no fancy work is to be allowed on the coverlets.

[I. G. S.]
DORONA, "Indus et Dorona," commemorated Dec. 19 (*Cal. Armen.*) [W. F. G.]

DOROTHEA, virgin, martyr with Theophilus at Casarea in Cappadocia; commemorated Feb. 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

[W. F. G.]

DOROTHEUS. (1) Martyr at Tarsus in Cilicia, with Castor; commemorated Mar. 28 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

DOVE

(2) Bishop of Tyre, martyr under Julian commemorated June 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) Martyr at Nicomelia, with Gorgonius, under Diocletian; commemorated Sept. 9 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DORYMEDON, martyr with Trophimus and Sabbatins, A.D. 278; commemorated Sept. 19 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

DOSSAL (*Dorsale, dorsile pallium*). A curtain hung on the walls of the choir of a church, or other place of dignity, behind the stalls of the clerks, "a dorso clericorum" (Durandus, *Rationale*, i. iii. 23). "Cortina quae pendet ad dorsum" (The Monk of St. Gall, *Vita Car. Mag. i. 4*). Ekkehard the younger (*De Casibus S. Galli*, c. 1), speaks of a place decked "tapeto et dorsili" (Ducange, s. v.). [C.]

DOTALIA INSTRUMENTA. [CONTRACT OF MARRIAGE, p. 458.]

DOVE (AS SYMBOL). Like the mystic fish and lamb, the dove has more than one meaning or train of meaning; it is used symbolically for the Divine Being and for the Christian worshipper; and is also represented simply in its own form on graves and the walls of catacombs. It is used very frequently (see woodcut) with Noah in the ark, in the literal sense; and in all representations of the Lord's baptism



Noah's Dove. From the Catacombs.



Doves on a Tomb. From Arling.



Fresco in the Catacomb of Domitilla, probably second century.

and elsewhere, the dove indicates the presence of the Holy Spirit. In one instance, an Orante surrounded by several doves is opposed on one medallion of the front of a sarcophagus to the Good Shepherd with His sheep on another.

This use of the dove is very frequent in the monuments of Southern Gaul; where, as in the catacombs, the birds which stand on each side of the monograms or crosses are often clearly intended for doves. See Leblant, *Inscr. Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au huitième siècle*, Paris, 1856.

As an emblem of the Third Person of the Trinity, the carved or painted figure of the dove appeared from a very early period in all baptisteries (see Luke iii. 24). One of the earliest examples of this is the baptistery in the cemetery of St. Pontianus (Aringhi, ii. 275). The painting, though considered by Martigny as of later date than the building, is referred by him to the 6th century, and represents the Lord's



Baptismal Dove. Catacomb of Pontianus; seventh century.

baptism in Jordan. The rule and grim figures in this painting remind us of those of the Laurentine and other very early MSS. The symmetrical arrangement is also like early Byzantine work, so called; and the river is a winding trench, with a curious typical resemblance to the actual course of Jordan, which induces us to think the painter had visited it. So also in both baptisteries at Ravenna. The mosaic of St. Mark's preserves this likeness, with the addition of three adoring angels, a star above the dove, fish in the river, and the double axe laid to the root of a tree. This imagery is strictly followed in the wild and powerful painting of Tintoret, in the Scuola di S. Rocco, now scarcely intelligible (Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. ii.). The Turin miniature is remarkable for its topographical accuracy as to two of the sources of Jordan, labelled respectively **FONS YOR** and

FONS DAD. Martigny also mentions

figures of doves on a font or laver of very early date belonging to the church of Gondrecourt (*Revue Archéologique*, v. i. p. 129), where however only birds are said to be drinking from vases, and pecking at grapes. See also Paciandi, *De Cultu S. Joannis Baptistæ*, pp. 58, 69, where copies of a miniature from a MS. in the Royal Library at Turin, and of a mosaic in St. Mark's in Venice, are given, both containing the dove. A golden or silver dove was often suspended above the font in early times. [DOVE, THE EUCHARISTIC.] These sometimes contained the anointing oil used in baptism and extreme unction (Martigny, s. v.; and Aringhi, vol. ii. p. 326, c. 5). On lamps in form of doves, see Aringhi, ii. 325, 1.

As a symbol of the believer, the dove of course has chief reference to two texts of H. S., belonging to different yet harmonious trains of

thought. One is Matt. x. 16, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves;" the other, Ps. lv. 6, "O that I had wings like a dove, then would I flee away and be at rest." The passages in Cant. i. 15, ii. 14, v. 2, vi. 9, refer to the Church, and therefore may be taken as referring simply to all faithful souls. Martigny gives a drawing of a seal with a dove in the centre, surrounded by the words "Veni si amas," an obvious reference to Cant. ii. 10. The dove with the olive or palm-branch, which so often accompanies it; is held equivalent to the form "In Pace." As with other birds, the flying or caged dove has reference to the deliverance of the soul from the flesh in death, or to its imprisoned state in life. [See BIRD.] Aringhi quotes St. Ambrose's sermon on St. Eusebius, "Altiora facilius penetrantur simplicitate mentis, quam levitate penarum;" and St. Augustine on St. Matt. x. to the same purpose. In Aringhi, ii. p. 145, the dove is associated with the peacock; also, p. 139, in a vault of the Catacomb of St. Priscilla. In Bottari, tav. 181, it hovers with the olive-branch above the three holy children in the flames.

Twelve doves, representing the Twelve Apostles, occur in Bottari, i. p. 118, on a mosaic crucifix. See also Paulinus of Nola (*Ep. ad Severum*, xxxi. c. 10). He thus describes a mosaic (musivæ opus) in his church. [CROSS.]

"Pleno comensat Trinitatis mysterio:
Stat Christus agnus: vox Patris cœlo tonat:
Et per columban Spiritus Sanctus fluit.
Crucem coronæ lucido cingit globo:
Cui coronæ sunt coronæ apostoll.
Quorum figura est in columbarum citro.
Hæ Trinitatis unitas Christo colit,
Hæbet et ipsa Trinitate insignita:
Dum revelat vox paterna, et Spiritus:
Successum fatentur crux et aquas victimarum.
Regnum et triumphum purpure et palma indicant
Petram superat ipsa pætra ecclésiæ,
De qua sonori quatuor fontes meat,
Evangelistæ, viva Christi fœtina." [H. St. J. T.]

DOVE, THE EUCHARISTIC. Pyxes or receptacles for the reserved host were not unfrequently made of gold or silver in the shape of a dove, and suspended over the altar. Doves of the precious metals, emblematic of the Holy Spirit, were also suspended above the font in early churches. In the life of St. Basil by the Pseudo-Amphilochius, it is narrated that that father, after a vision that appeared to him while celebrating the Eucharist, divided the water into three parts, one of which he partook of with great awe, the second he preserved to be buried with him, and placed the third in a golden dove hanging over the altar. He afterwards sent for a goldsmith, and had a new golden dove made to contain the sacred morsel (*Amphiloch. Vit. Basil.*, c. 6).

One of the charges brought against the Aephanian heretic Severus by the clergy of Antioch at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 536, was that he removed and appropriated to his own use the gold and silver doves hanging over the sacred fonts and altars, *χρυσᾶς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς περιτεταῖς κρηματῖνας ὑπεράνω τῶν βέλων τοῦ λυβηθρῶν καὶ θυσιαστηρίων . . . ἐσπερειατο* (*Labbe, Concil.* v. 159).

Such doves are mentioned by Anastasius in the *Liber Pontificalis*, c. 9, St. Illar. 70, "columban

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 Nolan. *Ep.* xxxii. Not. 154, p. 910. [E. V.]

DOWRY. [ARRHAE; MARRIAGE.]

DOXOLOGY (Δοξολογία). The term doxology is usually confined (1) to the "Gloria in Excelsis," which is called the greater doxology, and also the Angelical Hymn, from its opening clause recorded by St. Luke as having been sung by the angels who announced the birth of Christ to the shepherds; and (2) to the "Gloria Patri," which is called the lesser doxology. The term is, however, sometimes given to the "Trisagion" (holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory), called also the Seraphic hymn, in reference to the vision of the Seraphim described by Isaiah (c. vi.); and also to the word ALELUIA (q. v.), when repeated again and again as a hymn of praise.

The exact periods of the origin of these doxologies are unknown, owing to the extreme scantiness of early Christian literature. But it may be safely conjectured that, in their earliest forms, they came into use soon after that circulation of the Gospel narratives which must have quickly become general among Christians in proportion to the cultivation of each local church, and its means for communicating with the general body of believers. The extent and rapidity of this circulation being involved in extreme obscurity, so far as contemporary history informs us, the positiveness with which later writers have spoken of the almost Apostolic origin of these hymns must be set down amongst those numerous assumptions which have clouded our real knowledge of primitive Christian life and devotions. The "Trisagion" in all probability is the most ancient of all, as it would be the natural expression of the adoration of the Jewish Christians, who were already in possession of the Old Testament, and who would have been familiar with the book of Isaiah before their conversion to Christianity. The use of the "Gloria in Excelsis," which originally consisted only of its opening sentence, would be equally natural, wherever the narrative of St. Luke was known; and the "Gloria Patri," which originally consisted only of its first clause, would be the result of a familiarity with the last verses of St. Matthew's Gospel.

The "Gloria in Excelsis" is unquestionably of Eastern origin. Liturgical speculators, indeed, have ingeniously discovered a reference to its existence in very early writers. It has been frequently assumed that it was in fact "the hymn," which Christians sang on all solemn occasions, including such as are referred to in Acts xvi. 25; 1 Cor. xiv. 26; and Col. iii. 16. When the author of the dialogue attributed to Lucian speaks of the Christians as watching all night for the purpose of singing hymns, "Gloria in Excelsis." It is also held to have been specially referred to in the famous passage in Pliur's letter to Trajan: "Affirmabant hanc fuisse summam vel culmen suae, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem." In reality, however, we first meet with this doxology, and in something very like its final form, in the book known as *The Apostolical*

Constitutions (vii. 47). It is there described as the "morning prayer," and stands as follows: "Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will towards men (*ἐν ἀσθέρτοις εὐδοκία*). We praise Thee, we sing to Thee (*ὑμνοῦμεν σε*), we bless Thee, we glorify Thee, we worship Thee, through the great High Priest; Thee the true God, the only unbegotten, whom no one can approach for the great glory. O Lord, heavenly king, God the Father Almighty, Lord God, the Father of Christ, the Lamb without spot, who taketh away the sin of the world, receive our prayer, thou that sittest upon the Cherubim! For thou only art holy, thou only, Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, the God of every created being, and our king; by whom unto Thee be glory, honour, and adoration." Unfortunately, the writer of the *Constitutions* was not exempt from the spirit of falsification, which was by no means rare among early religious writers. As it is impossible to believe him when he attributes a liturgy of palpably Oriental character to St. Clement, we cannot be sure that in this record of the great doxology he has not made alterations or interpolations of his own. In the mention of the doxology in the treatise *De Virginitate* (in Athanasius's Works) only the beginning is quoted, and even here it is not identical with that given by the author of the *Constitutions*. Giving directions to the virgins for their morning devotions, Athanasius says, "Early in the morning say this Psalm, 'O God, my God, early will I wake to Thee.' When it is light, say, 'Bless ye the Lord, all ye works of the Lord,' and 'Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth, goodwill towards men. We sing to Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee,' and the rest (of the hymn)" (c. 20; tom. 2, p. 120, ed. Benelict.).

St. Chrysostom, on the other hand, in describing the morning devotions of those who led an austere life, says that they sang, as the angels did "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men"; making no mention of the subsequent additions (*Hon. 69 in Matth.*). How soon the use of the complete hymn became general in the Western Church it is impossible to say. The 4th council of Toledo, A.D. 633, treats of it in its completeness, defends it, as such, against certain rigorists who objected to its repetition on the ground that only its first sentence was of divine origin. "For the same reason," said the fathers of the council (can. 13), "they might have rejected the lesser doxology, 'Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' which was composed by men; and also this greater doxology, part of which was sung by the angels at our Saviour's birth; 'Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace to men of goodwill;' but the rest that follows was composed and added to it by the doctors of the Church."

The period at which this doxology was generally introduced into the eucharistic office in the West is entirely a matter of conjecture. There is no foundation for the common idea that it formed a portion of the early liturgies. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. c. 65) in describing the eucharistic worship of his contemporaries, makes no mention of this hymn. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his 5th catechesis on St. Peter's 1st Epistle, fixes certain details in the eucharistic service, such as the "Sursum corda," &c., gives

no hint of its use. Nor is it found in any of the earliest liturgies, whether Western or Eastern, which are in existence. In the East, it is still used in the non-eucharistic morning services of the Church, being sung on Sundays and the greater festivals, and recited on ordinary days. It was first appointed (according to the *Liber Pontif.*) to be said in the Roman Liturgy by Pope Symmachus, who was raised to the Pontificate in 498, but only on Sundays and the festivals of martyrs, and apparently its recital was held to be a special privilege; for the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (p. 1) gives the following directions concerning it: "Item dicitur *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, si episcopus fuerit, tantummodo die Dominico, sive diebus festis. A presbyteris autem minime dicitur, nisi in solo pascha. Quanto vero letania agitur, neque *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, neque *Alluia* canitur." Pope Stephen the 3rd directed that on the highest festivals it should be sung only by bishops, at least in the Lateran Church. Pope Calixtus 2nd granted, as a privilege to the monks of Tournay, that they should use it on the Feast of the Annunciation; "pro reverentia B. Mariæ semper Virginis, cujus nomine locus vester insignis est, in Annunciatione Domini Salvatoris nostri hymnum Angelicum inter missurum solemnem abbatu et fratribus pronuciare concedimus" (Calixti *epist. ad Franconem Abbatem monasterii Trenorchensis*). From the Mozarabic ritual it seems to have been about this time recited in Spain on Sundays and certain festivals, in the eucharistic office; but in the Gallican Church it appears even when introduced to have been for a long time only sung on public days of thanksgiving. Its ultimate gradual adoption throughout the Western Church was no doubt due to the increasing influence of the example of Rome. At the same time our modern desire for uniformity in religious worship was unknown in the early ages of Christianity, not merely because our ideas on disciplinary organization were as yet undeveloped, but because the facilities for communication, both personally and by letter, were comparatively slight, and local customs were preserved, as almost sacred in the eyes of those who had received them from their fathers. [GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.]

2. The origin and history of the "Gloria Patri," or lesser doxology, is even more obscure than that of the "Gloria in Excelsis," and in its present shape it is the result of the Arian controversies concerning the nature of Christ. It is quite impossible to trace its use to the three first centuries; it was really known to the primitive Christians, it probably arose, as has been already suggested, from the juxtaposition of the three persons of the Trinity, in the command given by the Lord to his Apostles to teach and baptize all nations. For several centuries, the clause "As it was in the beginning, &c.," was certainly unknown in many parts of Christendom. The 4th council of Toledo, A.D. 633, makes no mention of this clause, and at the same time gives a version of the first portion which is not identical

* Tournay was an abbey in Burgundy, on the Saône, between Mâcon and Châlons; and the privilege granted by Stephen is remarkable as one of the earliest instances in which the bishop of Rome claimed a right over the public forms of prayer in local churches.

with that which subsequently became universal, reading it thus: "Gloria and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end, Amen." In the old Spanish liturgy, known as the Mozarabic, supposed to be of a little later date, it occurs in the same form as in the decree of Toledo. In the treatise of Walafridus Strabo *De rebus ecclesiasticis* (c. 25), the different usages of different countries are particularly specified. "Dicensunt," he says, "de hymno, qui ob honorem sanctæ et unice Trinitatis officis omnibus interseritur, eum à sanctis patribus aliter atque aliter ordinatum, Nam Hispani sicut superiores commemoravimus, ita eum dici omnimodo voluerunt. Graeci autem, 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.' Latini vero eodem ordine et eisdem verbis hunc hymnum decantant, addeutes tantum in medio, 'Sicut erat in principio.'" The writer of the treatise *De Virginitate*, which is often placed among the works of Athanasius, gives the "Gloria Patri," as "Glori be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end, Amen."

The addition of the second clause is enjoined in the year 529, by the 2nd council of Vaison, which at the same time asserts that it was already universal among the Greeks. "Quia non solum," says the council, "in Sede Apostolica, sed etiam per totum Orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, quæ Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore fuisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post *Gloria*, sicut erat in principio dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita esse dicendum decrevimus." From which decree it appears certain that the use of the additional clause was at the least not general in Gaul at that time, though it is likely that it had gradually been introduced from Italy. It is remarkable, indeed, as the new addition was adopted with the direct object of repudiating the Arian doctrine, that it should not have spread more rapidly eastward, after the decisive action of the council of Nice in asserting the orthodox faith.

From the writers of the Arian period, again, it would seem that there were important variations in the traditional forms of the first clause, to which great significance was attached by the adherents of the opposing doctrines. One of these forms stood thus: "Glori be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost;" and another, "Glori be to the Father, in or by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost." Sozomen asserts (*H. E.* iii. 20) that the form "Glori be to the Father through the Son" was adopted by the Arias as distinctly implying the subordination of the Son to the Father; and Valesius believes that the *ἀπορελεύτρία* which the Arians used in their chanting (*Ἰβ. viii. 8*), composed to support their own views (*πρὸς τὴν ἀντὶν δόξαν*), were doxologies. On the other hand, Philostorgius, himself an Arian, alleges that the ancient form was really that which the Arians preferred, and that Flavian of Antioch was the first person who introduced the form now used, every one before him having said either "Glori be to the Father by the Son," or "Glori be to the Father in the Son." It is to be noted, also, that St. Basil was accused of having introduced a novelty,

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DRAMAS, CHRISTIAN. As works of literature, dramas such as the *Xpianós pároxy* ascribed to Gregory of Nazianzus, do not come within the scope of this Dictionary. Nor have we any sufficient evidence that sacred dramas were ever acted till after the time of Charlemagne, which forms the chronological limit of its archaeology. All that can be said, therefore, is to note the fact that there is no proof of the practice of dramatic representations of sacred history prior to that period, but that probably those which soon afterwards became very popular were not entirely novelties, and, as the present writer has noticed elsewhere (*Dict. of the Bible*, s. v. *Magic*), that names and descriptions like those which Bede gives of Gaspar, Melchior, and Belthasar (*de Cal. et. lxx.*), appear to imply a dramatic as well as pictorial representation of the facts of the Nativity. [E. II. 1.]

DREAMS. It does not appear that the attempt to foretell the future by the interpretation of ordinary dreams was condemned by the early Church; rather it was acknowledged that dreams might be made the vehicle of divine revelation. But some of the old heathen practices by which men sought to acquire supernatural knowledge in dreams, such as sleeping in an idol's temple wrapped in the skin of a sacrifice (Virgil, *Aeneid* vii. 88), or under the boughs of a sacred tree, were distinctly condemned. Jerome (*in loco*) takes Isaiah lxx. 4 to refer to such practices. There was no impiety, he says, which Israel in those days did not perpetrate, "sitting or dwelling in sepulchres, and sleeping in the shrines of idols; where they used to pass the night (incubate) on skins of victims laid on the ground that they might learn the future by dreams, as the heathen do in certain temples even unto this day" (Wetzer and Welte, *Kirchenlex.* xi. 172). [C.]

DRESS. This article relates to the ordinary dress of Christians, and the dress of the clergy in civil life. For the ministerial dress, see VESTMENTS.

1. *Dress of Christians generally.*—In the earliest days of the Church Christians probably took little thought for raiment; yet even in the first century "gay clothing" was found in Christian assemblies (St. James ii. 2) as well as in kings' palaces. For Christians wore the ordinary dress of their station and country; neither in speech nor in manners did they differ from other men; whether in cities of the Greeks or cities of the Barbarians they followed the customs of the place in dress and manner of life (*Epist. ad Diognetum*, c. 5; Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. 42). Here and there a convert adopted or retained—as Justin did—the *apless cloak (χιτών)* which was characteristic of the philosopher, and especially of the Cynic; but this did not distinguish him from the heathen, but from those who made no profession of philosophy or asceticism. There is no reason to doubt that those converts who had a professional dress—as civil and military officials—continued to wear it whenever duty required.

But if the Christian was not in early times

distinguished from the heathen by his garb there was always in the Church—as there could not fail to be—a strong feeling against luxury, display, and immodesty in apparel. Clement of Alexandria, who represents a somewhat ascetic tendency, condemns (*Stromata*, ii. 10, p. 232 ff.) all kinds of dye for that which is but the covering of man's shame, all gold and jewelry, all over-nice plaiting of the hair or decoration of the face; he seems even to imply that there is no reason why men's dress should differ from that of women, as in both cases it serves but the same purpose of covering and protecting from the cold. He will none of cloth of gold or Indian silk, the product of a poor worm turned to purposes of pride; still less of those fine materials which display what they seem to cover. Let the stuffs which Christians wear be of their natural colour, not dyed with hues fit only for a Bacchic procession. It is permissible to wear stuffs soft and pleasant to wear, not gaudy so as to attract the gaze. The long train which sweeps the ground and impels the step is an abomination to him, as also the short immodest tunic of the Laconian dæmnel. In a word, he urges simplicity and modesty in all points.

Clement's invective probably implies that luxury in dress was not unknown among the faithful in his time; this is certainly the case with that of Tertullian, whose denunciations are expressly addressed to Christians. In his treatise on women's dress, he charges on the "sons of God," who lusted after the daughters of men, the invention of the adventitious aids of feminine beauty—the gold and jewels, the brilliant dyes, the black powder with which the eyelids were tinged, the arguent which gave colour to the cheek, the wash which changed the hair to the fashionable yellow, the towers of false tresses piled upon the head and neck (*De Cultu Feminarum*, i. 2, 6, 8; ii. 5, 6, 7). Why, he asks, should Christian women clothe themselves in gold and jewels and gorgeous dyes, when they never displayed their charms in processions, as the heathen did, and needed not to pass through the streets except when they went to church or to visit a sick brother—not occasions for gorgeous apparel (*ib.* ii. 11)? Why should they imitate the Apocalyptic woman that was "arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls?" (*ib.* ii. 12). He does not object to seemly and becoming dress (*cultus*), and approves attention to the hair and skin, but he inveighs against such decoration (*ornatus*) as seems intended to attract notice (*ib.* i. 4; ii. 2). The wrist accustomed to a bracelet would hardly bear a chain, the leg adorned with an anklet would scarcely bear the fetter; some necks were so loaded with pearls and emeralds as hardly to afford room for the headsman's sword (*ib.* ii. 13). Virgins ought always to cover their faces when they had occasion to go abroad (*De Virginitate*, *passim*).

Nor does the vehement African spare the men; he speaks with contempt of their foolish efforts to please the other sex by artistic clipping of the beard, by dressing the hair, by dyeing white locks, by singeing the down from the skin, even by using the feminine aids of paint and powder on the face (*De Cultu Fem.* ii. 8). To the same effect Cyprian speaks (*De Habitu Virginitatis*, c.

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From such passages it is evident that Chris-
tians in the latter part of the second and the
beginning of the third century, both men and
women, followed the fashion of the world, though
not without strong remonstrance from those who
took a more serious view of their Christian call-
ing. The only exception probably was in the
case of some decoration which implied, or was
thought to imply, participation in idolatry (Ter-
tullian, *Ve Idololatrid*, c. 18). It was indeed a
part of the torture applied to Christians to com-
pel them to put on garments distinctly indicat-
ive of such participation (*Acta of Perpetus and*
Felicitas, c. 18, in Ruinart, p. 100, ed. 2). A
series of passages in denunciation of luxury in
dress might be produced from the early fathers;
see, for instance, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* IV,
p. 94, ed. 1641; Basil, *Reg. Josias Tract.* Interrog.
22; ii. 366, ed. Bened.

Some canonical decrees on the subject relate
to the assumption by one sex of the dress of the
other; since for women to wear the dress of men
was sometimes represented as meritorious
asceticism. Eusebius, for instance (quoted by
Bingham, xvi. xi. 16) taught his female disciples
to cut off their hair and to assume the habit of
men. But the council of Gangra (A.D. 370), in
canons 13 and 17, condemns both these practices
in the following terms:—"If any woman, under
pretence of leading an ascetic life, change her
apparel, and instead of the accustomed habit of
women take that of men, let her be anathema."
And, "If any woman, on account of an ascetic
life, cut off her hair, which God has given her as
a memorial of subjection, let her be anathema,
as one that annuls the decree of subjection."
These decrees are manifestly founded upon Deut.
xiii. 5 and 1 Cor. xi. 6 respectively. Cyprian
(*Ep.* 2, c. 1, *ad Eucratium*) and Tertullian (*de*
Spe. sac. c. 23), and other writers (see Prynne's
Historia stric), apply the Mosaic prohibition to
the interchange of clothing by men and women
in stage plays, which they condemn for this rea-
son among many others.

Under the Frankish emperors the Mosaic pro-
hibition (Deut. xxii. 11) of wearing a garment of
woollen and linen was re-enacted (*Capitularium*,
vi. c. 46).

The civil code under the empire attempted to
repress luxury by specific enactments (*Code*,
Justinian, lib. xi. tit. 8), which seem however
to contemplate, at least in part, the preservation
of an imperial monopoly and of the sanctity of the
imperial insignia. [COMMERCE, p. 409.] It was
utterly forbidden to manufacture cloth of gold
or edgings (paragundas) of silk and gold thread
for male attire, except in the imperial factories
(*agnæcuriis*); nor was any male to wear such
decorations, except imperial officials. No woollen
garments were to be dyed so as to imitate the
imperial purple, the blood of the sacred marex.
No one was to wear imperial insignia, nor to
manufacture privately any silk tunics or pallia.
There was probably a demand for silk and cloth
of gold for male attire, when so strict laws were
made against their use.

2. *Civil Dress of the Clergy.*—It is certain that
during the first five Christian centuries the
clergy in general were distinguished from the
laity, in ordinary life, neither by the form nor

the colour of their garments, but only by their
sober and unobtrusive style (Thomassin, i. ii. 43).
The lacerna, byrrus, and dalmatic which Cyprian
took off before his martyrdom (*Acta Procons.*
c. 5) seem to be the ordinary dress of a citizen
of that period. So far were the clergy commonly
from adopting a peculiar dress that pope Celest-
tinus (A.D. 428) sharply blamed certain Gallian
bishops who had chosen to make themselves con-
spicuous by a dress different from that of the
laity about them (*Epist.* 2, in Binius' *Concilia*,
i. 901). These bishops, it appears, had been
monks before they were promoted to the ep-
iscopate, and retained as bishops the pallium and
girdle of the monk, instead of taking the tunic
and toga of the superior layman. Yet Con-
stantinus (*Vita Germani*, in Surius, iv. 360) says
that bishop Amator, when he ordained Germanus
(1448), afterwards bishop of Auxerre, put upon
him "habitu religiosum," an expression which
in all probability designates the monastic dress;
and other ecclesiastics of special austerity no
doubt wore the rough dress of the monk, as St.
Martin did (Salpicius Severus, *Vita B. Martini*,
c. 10; *Dialoquus* li. c. 1), but the very fact that
this costume was specially noticed shows that it
was not the common attire of the clergy.

Nor do the clergy of the East, more than those
of the West, seem to have adopted a distinctive
dress in early times, unless they were members
of monastic bodies, or remarkably austere in life.
If Heraclius (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 19) wore the gown
of the philosopher, this distinguished him not
from the laity but from the unphilosophical,
whether lay or clerical. The dress of the bishops,
whom Constantine assembled round his table
(Euseb. *Vita Constant.* i. 42) seems to have had
no distinctive character except simplicity. Sis-
tinnius, a Novatian bishop (Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 22),
incurred the reproach of ostentation by wearing
a white robe, which contrasted with the more
usual sober colour of episcopal garments. But
there are indications at a later date among the
orthodox, that a somewhat splendid vesture was
thought to become high station in the hierarchy.
John Chrysostom, for instance, a short time before
his death, adopted the more splendid attire suited
to his position; and Gregory Nazianzen declares
that his own simple life and mean dress was one
of the reasons for his expulsion from Constan-
tinople—implying that something more distin-
guished was looked for.

St. Augustine too (*Sermo* 50, *De Diversis*),
apparently still a priest, says that a valuable
byrrus might befit a bishop, which would by no
means suit a poor man like Augustine. That
the byrrus was the common, as opposed to the
ascetic, dress of Christians, is shown by the 12th
canon of the council of Gangra (A.D. 358), in
which those who wore the ascetic gown (*περι-*
βόλαιον) are warned not to despise the wearers
of the byrrus. Augustine objects only to wear-
ing one more valuable than became his station.

The account also of Euthymius (*Life*, by Cyril,
in Surius, Jan. 20) saluting Anastasius as Patri-
arch, shows that a dignity of that eminence
was generally distinguished by the splendour of
his attire.

We conclude then generally that no especial
style of dress was prescribed for the clergy
within the first five centuries, but that during
the latter part of that period it was usual for

monks who became bishops to retain their monastic garb, and for the higher dignitaries—especially the Patriarch of Constantinople, connected as he was with a splendid court—to wear such garments as befitted a person of rank.

The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the Pseudo-Dionysius (*Hierarch. Eccl.* c. 5), in describing the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons, probably in the 5th century, says not a word of any change of dress, though he is careful to mention it in the case of monks.

In the 6th century the civil dress of the clergy came to differ from that of the laity, mainly because the latter departed from the ancient type to which the former adhered; for the clergy, in the empire of the West, retained the long tunic and toga (or pallium) of the Romans, while the laity adopted for the most part the short tunic, trousers, and cloak of the "gens braccata," the Teutonic invaders. It was probably in consequence of this change of dress that the compilation of canons sanctioned by the second council of Braga, A.D. 572 (c. 66; Bruns's *Canones*, ii. 56), especially desired the clergy to wear the long dignified tunic (talarem vestem). Gregory the Great constantly assumes the existence of a distinctive clerical habit. He speaks, for instance (*Epist.* iv. 22), of men assuming the ecclesiastical habit and living a worldly life. And John the Deacon (*Vita Gregorii*, ii. 13) directs especial attention to the fact, that the great Pontiff himself tolerated no one about him who wore the barbarian dress; every one in his household wore the garb of old Rome (trabenta Latinitas), then almost synonymous with the clerical habit.

And from the beginning of the 6th century we find canons forbidding clerics to wear the secular dress. They are not to wear long hair, nor clothes other than such as befit "religion" (*Conc. Agathen.* c. 20); nor a military cloak, nor arms (*C. Matiseon.* c. 5); nor purple, which rather befits the great ones of the world (*C. Narbon.* c. 1). And again, in the 8th century, priests and deacons are desired not to wear the laic *sagum*, or short cloak, but the CASULA, as becomes servants of God (*C. German.* i. A.D. 742, c. 7),—where the expression "ritu servorum Dei" probably does not mean "like monks" (Marriott, *Vest. Christ.* 201, n. 416)—and generally not to wear ostentatious clothes (pompatico habitu) or arms (Boniface, *Epist.* 105). Yet about the same time pope Zachary, writing to Pipin, mayor of the palace (*Conc. Gallicæ*, i. 563), desires bishops to dress according to their dignity, and parish priests (presbyteri cardinales) to wear in preaching a better style of dress than that of the people committed to them; warning them at the same time that not the dress of the body but the state of the soul is the important thing.

Yet even in the latter part of the 7th century Bede tells us (*Vita Cuthberti*, c. 16) that St. Cuthbert wore ordinary clothes (vestimentis communibus),* neither splendid nor dirty, and that after his example the monks of his monastery continued to wear garments of undyed wool.

The course of events in the East, in respect of clerical dress, was not very different from that in the West, except that as the settlements of the barbarians were less numerous, the distinc-

tion between layman and cleric was less obvious, both wearing the long tunic. A law of Justinian (*Nov.* 123, c. 44) protected monastic dress from profane uses, but says nothing of any other dress peculiar to clerics. The council in Trullo, however, A.D. 691, expressly enacted (c. 27) that no one on the roll of the clergy should wear an unprofessional (*ἀσκητικόν*) dress, whether in the city or on a journey, but should use the robes (*ἑσθῆς*) prescribed for those who were enrolled among the clergy, under pain of excommunication for a week. From this point the difference between clerical and lay dress may be considered established, though a series of enactments throughout the middle ages shows that the clergy were constantly in the habit of assimilating their dress to that of the laity.

Pope Zachary's decree (A.D. 743) that bishops, priests, and deacons should not use secular dress, but only the sacerdotal tunic; and that when they walked out, whether in city or country—unless on a long journey—they should wear some kind of upper garment or wrapper (peripetium).^b

The second council of Nice, in the year 787, condemns (c. 15) bishops and clerics who distinguish themselves by the richness and brilliant colours of their dress. So Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople (†806), bade his clergy abstain from golden girdles, and from garments bright with silk and purple, prescribing girdles of goats' hair, and tunics decent but not gorgeous (*Life*, c. 14, in Surius, Feb. 28).

The council of Aix, in the year 818 (c. 124), inveighs against personal ornament and splendour of dress in the clergy, and exhorts them to be neither splendid nor slovenly. It seems to be presumed that the proper form of the clerical dress was well known, for nothing is said on this point. It further (c. 25) forbids secular or canonical clerks to wear hoods [CRELLA], the peculiar distinction of monks. A somewhat later council (*C. Metens.* A.D. 888, c. 6) forbids the clergy to wear the short coats (*cuttes*) and mantles (*mantellos*) of the laity, and the habit to wear the copes (*cappas*) of the clergy. Early in the 9th century also, presbyters were enjoined to wear their stoles *always*, as an indication of their priesthood (*Conc. Mayenz.* A.D. 813, c. 28; *Capitularium*, lib. v. c. 146).

We may conclude then, generally, that the clergy wore in civil life, during the first eight centuries of the church, the long tunic which was the dress of decent citizens at the time of the first preaching of Christianity. This was at first generally white [Alba], afterwards of sober colours, though not seldom—in spite of canons—of more brilliant hue. To this was added in early times the dignified toga; afterwards the cappa [COPE; CASULA, p. 294], or pluviale, not then appropriated as a vesture of ministration only. The long tunic, under whatever name, has continued to be the ordinary dress of the clergy to this day, wherever they have worn a peculiar dress.

Literature.—Bingham's *Antiquities*, VI. iv.

^b The word rather suggests a covering for the head; but it is difficult to understand why a man taking a long journey should be excused from wearing a head-covering, while it is easy to imagine that he might not wish to wear a cumbersome cappa or casula in the climate of Italy.

* This may mean, however, that Cuthbert as abbot did not assume a dress different from that of his monks.

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DROCTOUEUS, abbot, disciple of Germaas the bishop; deposition at Paris, March 10 (*Mon. Usardi*).

[W. F. G.]

DROMIC. In the Oriental Church churches of the basilican form, i. e. parallelograms, with the length considerably exceeding the breadth, and terminating in a semicircular apse, were called "dromic" (*δρωμικαί*), from the similarity of their plan to that of a *δρῶμος* or "stadium." The notion of Leo Allatius (*de Templis Græcæ. Recent.* Ep. ii. § 3), and Suicer (*sub voc. vabz*, adopted by Bingham; *Origines*, bk. viii. ch. iii. § 1) that they were so styled from having "void spaces for deambulatoria" within their roofs on the upper side of the flat ceilings, is quite unfounded. Theol. Zygomalas *apud* Suicer correctly derives the name "dromic" from the form, the length much greater than the breadth, like a "narthex" or wand: *δρωμικὸν δὲ κτὸν νάρθηκος πᾶν δρωμικὸν παρῆξ λέγεται*. Of this plan was the original church of St. Sophia at Constantinople: *ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας δρωμικὴ τὸ πρότερον ὄνομα* (Cotin. *Orig. Constantinopol.* 72), and that of St. Anastasia in the same city: *ὁ δὲ ναὸς τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστασίας ἐστὶ δρωμικός* (Constant. *de Admin. Imp.* 29). Existing examples of dromic churches in the East are those of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica (Texter, *Archit. Byzant.* 157), St. Philip, and the Virgin of the Grand Monastery at Athens (Conchaud, pl. 2, 4), and St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, built by Justinian.

[E. V.]

DRUNKENNESS. Of the prevalence of this vice in the Roman world in the early ages of Christianity it would be needless to speak. That it became peculiarly shameless about the very opening of the Christian era, we infer from Pliny's observation that under Tiberius men first began to drink fasting, *jejuni* (bk. xiv. c. xxviii.). The neighbouring races to the Roman empire were not more temperate than the Romans themselves. To the east, the same Pliny records that the Parthians were great drunkards. Of the Germans, Tacitus says that to drink through a whole day and night was considered no disgrace (*de Mor. Germ.* c. xxxii.).

It is not necessary to go here into the denunciations of drunkenness contained both in the Old and New Testament. It will be enough to say that St. Paul expressly includes "drunkards" among those who shall not "inherit the Kingdom of God" (1 Cor. vi. 10). Early Church writers follow the same line, see Clement *ad Cor.* Ep. i. c. 30; *Apost. Const.* ii. c. 25; v. c. 10; vii. c. 6; and particularly viii. c. 44. The *Apost. Const.* and *Constitutions* there warn against giving relief to gluttons, drunkards, or idlers, as not being fit for the Church (bk. ii. c. 4). Drunken habits were to afford a presumption against a person accused before the Church Courts (*ib.* c. 43). The oblations of drunkards were not to be received (bk. iv. c. 6). The true rule of Christian temperance is given in one of the later constitutions (bk. viii. c. 44): "Not that they should not drink, for this is to condemn that

which is made of God for cheerfulness, but that they should not drink to excess." The *Apostolic Canons* in like manner make drunkenness a ground of exclusion from communion for bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, readers or singers, and also for laymen (c. 35, otherwise numbered 41, 42, or 42, 43).

Still the vice flourished, as may be seen for instance from the injunctions of Jerome to Nepotianus "never to smell of wine," since "wine-bibbing priests are both condemned by the apostle and forbidden by the old law" (*Ep.* 2); or to Eustochium, that "the spouse of Christ should flee wine as poison." In some countries drunkenness was even made an accompaniment of the most solemn services of the Church. Augustine complains (*ad Aur. Ep.* 22, otherwise 64) that in Africa "revellings and drunkenness are deemed so allowable and lawful that they take place even in honour of the most blessed martyrs," even in the cemeteries [CELLA MEMORIAE], as appears from the sequel to the passage. And so rooted does he consider drunken habits to be in his flock that he advises them to be dealt with gently, rather by teaching than by command, rather by warning than by menace.

For a long time, however, clerical discipline in respect of this vice seems rather to have been enforced, or attempted to be enforced, through the well-known prohibition to clerics to enter taverns. [CAUTION.] Except in the *Apostolic Canons*, the first distinct Church enactment against drunkenness appears to be that of the 1st Council of Tours, 461. "If any one serves God in whatever clerical office shall not abstain from drunkenness according to the order of his estate, let a fitting punishment be awarded to him" (c. 2). In 1vo the same canon appears in an altered form as directed especially against clerical tavern-keepers, who sold wine in their churches, so that where nought should be heard but orisons and the word of God and his praise, there revellings and drunkenness are found. Such excesses are forbidden, and the offending presbyter is ordered to be deposed, offending laymen to be excommunicated and expelled (see also c. 3, of same). No doubt the vice was highly prevalent in France, for a few years later we find the Council of Vannes also enacting that "above all things should drunkenness be avoided by clerics . . . therefore we decree that he who shall be ascertained to have been drunk, as the order suffers, shall be either excluded for thirty days from communion or given over to corporal punishment" (c. 13). The same canon was re-enacted by the Council of Agde in 506 (c. 41). Somewhat later in the century, the *Constitutions* of King Chillicbert, after ordering the abolishing of certain remains of idolatry, lament the sacrileges committed, when for instance all night long men spend the time in drunkenness, scurrility, and singing, even in the sacred days of Easter, Christmas, and the other feasts; and enacts for penalty 100 lashes for a servile person, but for a freeborn one strict imprisonment (districta inclusio) and penance, that at least by bodily torments they may be reduced to sanity of mind. In the East even, at the Council of Constantinople in 536, we find mention of a letter of the clergy of Apamea against one bishop Peter (deposed for

cleric was . . . obvious, tunic. A law of Justinian protected monastic dress by nothing of any other . . . The council in Trulle, . . . enacted (c. 27) that clergy should wear an dress, whether in the should use the robes . . . those who were enrolled . . . pain of excommunication . . . in this point the difference . . . lay dress may be regarded as a series of enactments . . . ages shows that the habit of assimilating the habit of the laity.

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is a covering for the head; . . . why a man taking a long . . . in wearing a head-covering, . . . that he might not wish to . . . in the climate of Italy

heresy) who used to make drunk persons coming to baptism (see Labbé and Mann's *Councils*, vol. vii. p. 1104).

The West, however, seems to have been the chief home of gluttony and drunkenness. A canon of the Council of Autun (A.D. 870 or thereabouts) enacted that no priest stuffed with food or crapulous with wine should touch the sacrifice, or presume to say mass, under pain of losing his dignity. In a work of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, *De Remedii Peccatorum* (end of 7th century), it is laid down that a bishop or other ordained person who has the vice of habitual drunkenness must either amend himself or be deposed. The Council of Berkhamstead, in the 5th year of Withræl king of Kent (A.D. 897), enacts that if a priest be so drunk that he cannot fulfil his office, his ministry shall cease at the will of the bishop (c. 7). Gildas (*De Penitentiâ*, c. 7), lays down that if any one through drunkenness cannot sing the psalms, he is to be excluded from communion. Some extracts from a certain "Book of David," supposed, like that of Gildas, to have been received by the Irish Church, make some curious distinctions. A priest drunk through ignorance is to be subject to 13 days' penance; if through negligence, to 40 days; if through contempt [of discipline?] to thrice forty. He who for civility's sake (*humanitatis causa*) compels another to get drunk is to do penance as for drunkenness. But he who through the effect of hatred or luxuriousness, that he may shamefully confound or mock others, compels them to get drunk, if he has not sufficiently repented, is to do penance as a killer of souls (c. 1).

Gregory III. (731-41) in his *Excerpts* from the Fathers and the Canons, mentions the habitual drunkenness of a bishop, priest, or deacon as being a ground of deposition, if he do not amend himself (c. 8). An epistle of Boniface himself to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, read at the Council of Cloveshoe, A.D. 747, bears further testimony to the prevalence of drunkenness in Britain: "It is said also that in your parishes drunkenness is a too common evil, so that not only do the bishops not forbid it, but themselves, drinking too much, become intoxicated, and compel others to become so, offering them larger beakers." And the Canons of the Council bear "that monks and clerics should not follow or desire the evil of drunkenness," but should avoid it; "nor should they compel others to drink immoderately." If they have no infirmity, they should not before the third hour of the day indulge in potations after the manner of drunkards (c. 21). So again the *Penitential* of archbishop Egbert repeats, with slight variation of language, the canon of the Council of Vannes as to the inflicting of 30 days' excommunication or corporal punishment on the cleric proved to have been drunk (bk. ii. c. 9); increasing the punishment to three months on bread and water to the cleric or monk who is given to drunkenness (c. 10). And the canons of the same on "the remedies for sin," reckon among capital crimes habitual drunkenness (c. 5), and impose three years' penance for it (c. 7),—such penance being apparently in addition to the three months' bread and water above referred to. A "faithful" layman making another drunk must do forty days' penance (c. 11). A definition is

given of drunkenness, which is also found elsewhere: "when the state of the mind is changed, and the tongue falters, and the eyes are troubled, and there is dizziness and distension of the belly followed by pains." Clerics guilty of such excess must do 40 days' penance; a rule followed unintelligibly by the enjoining for the same offence of 4 weeks' penance for a deacon or priest, 5 for a bishop, 3 for a "prelate"; the penance to be without wine or flesh-meat (c. 12).

Drunkenness must have been widely spread over the Continent also in the 8th and 9th centuries. The same Boniface in a letter to Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741-51), complains, among other scandals of the contemporary Romish Church, of its drunkard deacons; and the pope in reply only says that he does not allow such deacons to fulfil sacred offices or touch the sacred mysteries. The 3rd canon of the Council of Friuli (A.D. 791) is severe against drunkenness, referring to the passages of the subject in Titus I., Rom. xiii., Epil. v., Luke xii. The *Capitularies* of Theodulf, archbishop of Orleans, to his clergy (797) enjoin on these both to abstain themselves from drunkenness and to preach to their flocks that they should likewise abstain (l. c. 13); but recks among minor sins the intoxicating others for the sake of mirth (ll.). The 26th of Charlemagne's *Church Capitularies* (810) directs in like manner the elder clergy to forbear the vice themselves and offer to the younger an example of good sobriety; the first capitulary of 802 contains repeated injunctions against drunkenness among monks (c. 17), nuns (c. 18), and canons (c. 22); the Council of Mayence (812), speaking of drunkenness as "a great evil, whence all vices are bred," directs all to be excommunicated who do not avoid it, until they amend their ways (c. 46); the 2nd Council of Rheims (same year) declares that the bishops and ministers of God should not be too much given to feasting (violentibus; c. 18); the Edict of Charlemagne in 814 forbids clerics "nourishing" drunkenness and ordering others to become intoxicated (c. 14). See also the first capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle of 802, c. 35; a capitulary of 803 (bk. vii. c. 218, and again at greater length, c. 270) repeating at the close the 15th canon of the Council of Vannes, but extending the period of suspension from communion to 40 days; the *Additio Quarta* to the capitularies, c. 46; the 3rd Council of Tours, A.D. 813, c. 48; and the 2nd Council of Chartres (same year), c. 10.

The above canons and rules relate chiefly, though not exclusively, to the clergy, or if to the faithful generally, only in respect to Church discipline. In the Carolingian era, however, civil penalties or disabilities began to be inflicted for drunkenness. In a capitulary of 803, added to the Salic law, it is enacted that no one while drunk may obtain his suit in the mall nor give witness; nor shall the count hold a plea unless before breaking his fast; nor may any one compel another to drink (cc. 15, 16; and see also General Collection, bk. iii. c. 38, and bk. vi. 232-3). The latter injunction is thus developed in a capitulary of 813: "That in the host none do pray his peer or any other man to drink. And whoever in the army shall have been found drunk, shall be so excommunicated that in drinking he use only water till he know himself to have acted evilly" (bk. iii. c. 72). Another

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capitulary, relating however to the clergy, enacts that priests who against the canons enter taverns and are not ashamed to minister to feasting and drunkenness, are to be severely coerced (bk. v. c. 325; see also c. 102, which however only pronounces excommunication).

The data for the above statements are taken, except in the first few centuries, exclusively from the legal records of the Church, or those of a period when it was almost identified with the state. They might be abundantly illustrated from contemporary writer, century by century. But they suffice to show that the vice in question was never absent from the Church nor from its clergy, and that it attained enormous proportions among the latter in our own islands, and in the 8th and 9th centuries on the Continent also. (See also CAUCRO.) [J. M. L.]

DRUSUS, martyr at Antioch, with Zosimus and Theodoros; commemorated Dec. 14 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DUCKS. It is quite uncertain why this bird is represented in early art, but it occurs repeatedly in the bas-reliefs of the Duomo at Ravenna, on the great piers at the east end, and in the church of St. Giovanni Evangelista in the same place. It is also drawn with great spirit and evident enjoyment by the monk Rabula, who twice indulges in an archivolt pattern of ducks and eggs (Assemani, *Catolog. Bibl. Med. Tavv. xviii, xix*); besides single representations of various species. The bird may have been domesticated in monasteries, &c., and have been a favourite subject of illumination from its pretty colouring. It occurs in the Lombard bas-reliefs at Verona. [R. Sr. J. T.]

DUEL (*Duellum*). The notion of deciding a matter in dispute, after ordinary means had failed, by a single combat between the parties or their champions, came into the empire with the Teutonic tribes, who were accustomed to settle by arms their private as well as public disputes.

The earliest formal recognition of the judicial combat as an institution seems to be in the laws of the Burgundians (Caucian, *Ley. barbar.* iv. 25; A.D. 502), which provide (tit. 45) that a man who declines to clear himself by oath is not to be denied his right of challenge to combat. Afterwards the duel is referred to in many barbarian codes, as *Leyes Aleman.* tit. 44, § 1; *Baiuar.* tit. 2, c. 2; *Loujvard.* lib. 1. tit. 9, § 39, &c.

It was only under the formal sanction of a court, and as a kind of appeal to a higher tribunal, that such combats were held to be legal.

The further development of the system, and the canonical precepts relating to it, belong to the Middle Ages (Selden, *T e Duello or Single Combat*, in *Works*, vol. 3; Ducange, s. v. *Duellum*). [C.]

DULA, martyr at Nicomedia; commemorated March 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

DUMB. The 49th (otherwise 56th) of the *Apostolical Canons* enacts excommunication against any cleric who should make a mock of the deaf, dumb, or blind. By the 69th (otherwise 77th), the deaf, the dumb, and the blind were excluded from the episcopate, not as defiled, but that the proceedings of the Church should not be hindered.

The capacity of the dumb to receive the sacraments or accept a penance was the subject of some controversy. A whole work of Fulgentius (*De Baptismo Aethiops*) is devoted to the question of the validity of the baptism of an Ethiopian catechumen after the loss of his voice, and he concluded that it was entitled to the same validity as that of an infant. This view prevailed in the Church. Amongst other canonical authorities, the 1st Council of Orange, A.D. 441, enacted that a person suddenly losing his voice might be baptized or accept a penance, if his previous will thereto could be proved by the witness of others, or his actual will by his nod (c. 12). The 38th canon of the 2nd Council of Arles (452) is to the same effect as regards baptism.

According to one of Ulpian's *Fragmenta* (t. xx.) the dumb could not be a witness, nor make a testament, the reason assigned in the latter case being that he could not pronounce the "words of nuncupation" technically required for the purpose. And by a constitution of Justinian, A.D. 531 (*Code*, bk. vi. tit. xxii. l. 10) deaf-mutes were declared incapable of making a will or codicil, constituting a donation *moris causa*, or conferring a freedom, unless the infirmity should not be congenital, and they should have learned to write before it occurred, in which case they could exercise all these rights by writing under their own hand. The dumb were in all cases allowed to do so by such writing. It was, however, held by the old law that the dumb, as well as the deaf and blind, could lawfully contract marriage, and become subject to dotal obligations (*Dij.* bk. xxiii. tit. iii. l. 73). Deaf-mutes were held excused from civil honours, but not from civil charges (*Ibid.* bk. l. tit. ii. l. 7). But the dumb might lawfully decline a guardianship or curatorship (*Code*, bk. v. t. lxxvii.; *Const. of Philip.* A.D. 247). [J. M. L.]

DUODECIMA, the twelfth hour, or vespers [HOURS OF PRAYER]. "Duodecima, quae dicitur Vespera" (*Regula S. Benedicti*. c. 34; *Martene, De Rit. Monach.* i. x. 6). [C.]

DÜREN, COUNCILS OF (*Duricense*), at Düren, near Aix-la-Chapelle; (i.) A.D. 748, under Pipin, a "placitum," which commanded a synod to be held, for restoration of churches, and for the causes of the poor, the widow, and the orphan (*Labb.* vi. 1880); (ii.) A.D. 761, a national council under Pipin, in the tenth year of his reign, called by Regino a "synod" (*ib.* 1700); (iii.) A.D. 775, under Charlemagne (*ib.* 1821); nothing more is known of these two assemblies; (iv.) A.D. 779, under Charlemagne, of bishops, nobles, and abbats, passed 24 *Capitula* upon discipline, one of which enforces payment of tithes (*ib.* 1824-1826). [A. W. H.]

DURIENSE CONCILIIUM. [DÜREN, COUNCILS OF.]

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EAGLE. It is probably an instance of careful exclusion of all Pagan emblems or forms which had been actual objects of idolatrous worship, while merely Gentile or human tokens and myths were freely admitted, that the form of the eagle appears so rarely in Christian orna-

mentation, at least before the time of its adoption as the symbol of an evangelist. [EVANGELISTA.] Ariaghi (vol. ii. p. 228, c. 2) speaks of the eagle as representing the Lord Himself; and this is paralleled by a quotation of Martignac from a sermon of St. Ambrose, where he refers to Ps. cii. ("Thy youth is renewed like the eagle's") as foreshadowing the resurrection. Leblant (*Étude Chrétienne de la Bible*, l. 147, 45), in illustration gives a palm between two eagles, and Bottari a plate of a domed ceiling in the sepulchre of St. Priscilla, where two eagles standing on globes form part of the ornamentation. It refers evidently to some buried general or legionary officer (vol. iii. tav. 160). Triumphant chariots fill two of the side spaces, but they and the eagles can hardly be considered Christian emblems, though used by Christians.

[R. St. J. T.]

EBRULFUS, abbot and confessor; commemorated Dec. 29 (*Mart. Usardi*). [W. F. G.]

EARS, TOUCHING OF. 1. *In Baptism.* As by the influence of the Holy Spirit men's hearts are opened to receive the wondrous things of God's law, so there was a symbolic opening of the ears in the baptismal ceremony (Ambrose, *De Mysteriis*, c. 1; Pseudo-Ambrosius, *De Sacramenti*, l. 1; Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* 52; see also the ancient *Expositio Evangeliorum in curium apertione* in Martene, *De Rit. Ant.*, l. i. 12). Thus in Magnus's directions for the preliminaries of baptism (Martene, *u. s.* art. 17), drawn up by command of Charles the Great, we read, after the instruction in the Creed: "tanguntur aures et nares de sputo, et dicitur *Ephata* [Ephphatha], id est, aperire." In order that the ears may listen to the wholesome teaching of the Christian faith and reject the sophistical pleadings of the devil. Similarly in the ancient baptismal *Ordines* of Gemblours and of Rheims (*ib.* art. 18).

2. *In Holy Communion*, it seems to have been the custom to touch the organs of sense (*αἰσθητήρια*) with the moisture left on the lips after receiving the cup (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Myst.* v. 22; see **COMMUNION, HOLY**, p. 413). [C.]

EARTHQUAKE. The great earthquake which befel Constantinople in the year 758 is commemorated Oct. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [C.]

EAST, PRAYER TOWARDS. Praying towards the East, as the quarter of the rising sun, the source of light, a natural symbolism common to nearly all religions, was adopted by the Christian church from its commencement, in accordance with the very wise rule which accepted all that was good and pure in the religious systems it came to supplant, breathing into the old ceremonies a new and higher life. One of the earliest testimonies to the prevalence of this custom among Christians is that of Tertullian, c. 205 (*Apolo.*, c. xvi.; *cont. Valentini*, c. iii.), who refers to the suspicions entertained by the heathen that Christians were sun worshippers "because they were well known to turn to the East in prayer," being "lovers of the radiant East, that figure of Christ." The *Apostolical Constitutions* also direct that the whole congregation "rise up with one consent, and looking to the east, pray to God

"eastward" (lib. ii. § vii. c. 57). The same rule is mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stramata*, vii. 7), who says that "prayers are made looking towards the sunrise in the east." Basil, c. 374, testifies to the universality of the custom (*De Sp. Sanct.* c. 27), and Augustine speaks of it as a general usage (*De Serm. in Monte*, lib. ii. c. 5). To take one later instance out of many, Joannes Moschus, c. 600, records an anecdote of a certain abbot Zacharius of Jerusalem, who, when praying, "turned to the east and remained about two hours, without speaking, his arms stretched out to heaven" (*Prat. spirital.* § 102). The chapter of Joannes Damascenus (*De Orthod. Fid.* iv. 13) "concerning worshipping to the east," proves the prevalence of the custom.

The true reason for this custom is doubtless that already alluded to, that, to adopt the language of Clemens Alex., "the east is the image of the day of birth. For as the light which there first shone out of darkness was brighter, so, like the sun, the day of the knowledge of truth has dawned on those immersed in darkness" (Clem. Alex. *u. s.*) In close connection with this is the reference to Christ as the "Day-spring from on high," the *ἀνατολή*, the "Light of the World," which the early writers delight to recognise (Chrys. *Homil.* in *Zach.* vi. 12). Other reasons for, or more properly speaking, deductions from the practice, are given by other writers, one of the most frequent and beautiful of which is that in praying to the east the soul is seeking and sighing for its old home in Paradise, to which it hopes to be restored in Christ, the second Adam (Basil *De Sp. Sanct.* *u. s.*, *Const. Ap. st.*, *u. s.*; Greg. Nyss. *Homil. V. de Orat. Domin.*; Chrys. *ad David.* vi. 10; Gregentius *Discipul.*, cum *Herb.* Jul. p. 217). Another cause assigned is that Christ when on the cross looked towards the west, so that in praying to the east we are looking towards Him (Joan. Damasc. *u. s.*, Cassiod. *ad Ps.* lxxvii.), and that as He appeared in the east, and thence ascended into heaven, so He will there appear again at the last day, the coming of the Son of Man being like "the lightning that cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west" (Matt. xxiv. 27), so that in prayer Christians are looking for their Lord's return (Hilar. in *Ps.* lxxvii.). We learn from St. Cyril of Jerusalem and others that the Catechumen at Baptism turned from the west, the place of darkness, to the east, the home of light, and to the site of Paradise which by that sacrament was reopened to him (Cyril *Catech.* xix. 9; Hieron. in *Amos.* vi. 14; Ambros. *De Inimicis*, c. 2; Lactant. lib. ii. c. 10; Pseudo Justin. *Quest. ad Orthod.* 118). (Bona *De Divin. Psalmod.* c. vi. § 2; Bingham *Ory.* xi. 7, 4; xiii. 8. 15.) [E. V.]

EASTER-EVE. [**EASTER, CEREMONIES OF.**]

EASTER. The Teutonic name of the church fest of our Lord's resurrection (A.-S. *ostre*, Germ. *ostern*). Bede (*De Temp. Rat.* c. xv. *De mensibus Anglorum*), gives as the name of the fourth month, answering nearly to April, *Eostur-monath*, and adds: "Eostur-monath, qui nunc Paschalis mensis interpretatur, quoniam a Dea illorum quae Eostre vocabatur, et cui in illo festa celebrabant, nomen habuit: a cuius nomine nunc Paschale tempus cognominant, con. uct

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Instance, that it was originally on the 25th March, which was true indeed of the *mean* vernal equinox, but never of the true vernal equinox. This misconception is probably due to the fact that the 25th of March was marked as the vernal equinox in the calendar of Julius Coesar, according to the testimony of Varro, Pliny, and Columella. We have thought it worth while to calculate, for the purpose of this article, and now to state, the principal positions of the vernal equinox (true) since the Julian era.

Dates of (true) Vernal Equinox for the Meridian of Alexandria.

B.C. 45. Mar. 23 (civil) 4^h 34^m A.M.
Range from Leap-year to Leap-year.

Earlier Limit. B.C. 45. Mar. 23 (civil) 4^h 34^m A.M.
Later Limit. B.C. 42. Mar. 23, 10^h 1^m P.M.

A.D. 29. Mar. 22, 9^h 18^m P.M.
Range from Leap-year to Leap-year.

Earlier Limit. A.D. 28. Mar. 22, 3^h 29^m P.M.
Later Limit. A.D. 31. Mar. 23 (civil) 8^h 55^m A.M.

A.D. 325. Mar. 20, 2^h 17^m P.M.
Range from Leap-year to Leap-year.

Earlier Limit. A.D. 324. Mar. 20 (civil) 8^h 28^m A.M.
Later Limit. A.D. 327. Mar. 21 (civil) 1^h 54^m A.M.

Clavius, misled by the tables which he used (*Tabulae Nicenae Coenaculi, sive Prutenicae*) placed the Vernal Equinox at the Nicene Council, A.D. 325, or March 21st, 6^h P.M. nearly 28 hours too late (*Op. tom. v. p. 72*). The 20th and 21st are the very days to which the equinox was brought back at the Gregorian correction of 1582, when it stood at Mar. 11th (civil) 2^h 10^m A.M., the earlier limit being Mar. 10th, 2^h 32^m P.M., and the later Mar. 11th (civil) 8^h A.M.

The connection of the passover with Easter is through that particular passover at which our Lord suffered, but so few are the chronological details in the gospels, that it is impossible to fix with absolute certainty either the year or the day of the year, or perhaps even of the month on which our Lord suffered. The full investigation of the subject would be beyond the scope of this article.

The points which are beyond doubt are these:
I. Our Lord's death took place under the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate: that is to say, between the limits A.D. 28 and A.D. 33 inclusive.
II. It took place at the passover.

III. All the gospels agree that it took place on the *παρασκευή*, that is, on a Friday. In St. John (ix. 14), the *παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα* probably means (like *πρωτομαρτία* in the *Chronicon Paschale* i. 15) the day before the 15th Nisan, which was in a double sense that year a Sabbath (John ix. 31), but the word was in common use to designate the eve before the Sabbath, and came afterwards to mean simply "Friday."

Astronomy, while furnishing valuable suggestions on this important subject, is not competent to decide absolutely, either for the particular year, or between the advocates of the 14th and of the 15th Nisan.

The history of the paschal observance in the apostolic and early post-apostolic times is extremely obscure, and has been very variously represented. There is no evidence in the New Testament that it existed at first as an institution. The ecclesiastical historian Socrates is no

doubt right when he says (v. 22): "The Saviour and His apostles have enjoined us by no law to keep this feast . . . The apostles had no thought of appointing festival days, but of promoting a life of blamelessness and piety. And it seems to me that the feast of Easter has been introduced into the Church from some old usage, just as many other customs have been established." It appears (from Acts xviii. 21; xx. 6, 16) that the Jewish Christians and even St. Paul still observed the Jewish feasts, and there can be no doubt that the memory of the Lord's death would be with them the main thought of the passover-night, and would gradually supersede for them all other associations. On the other hand, the passover meal had no place amongst the habits of the Christians of Gentile descent, and their anniversary naturally attached itself to the first day of the week, which was observed both by Jewish and Gentile Christians as the weekly festival of the Lord's resurrection. When the time of the passover came round, the first day of the week seemed to be the actual day of the resurrection, and this day, taken together with the preceding Friday, as the day of the crucifixion, seemed the proper representations of the great act of our redemption. Amongst the Gentile Christians these institutions, with their accompanying rules of fasting, &c., were apparently very gradually developed, and the conflict between the two usages was slow in coming. When it came, we find the cardinal point to be the *ἡ ἡμέρα* (with the Asiatic Christians), or the *ἡ ἡμέρα* (with the Westerns), the 14th of the moon (Nisan), and afterwards along with this, and connected with it, the correct determination of the 14th of the moon. The point insisted on most emphatically by the Alexandrians (whom the Westerns followed), was, that it must not precede the equinox.

When the Western view ultimately prevailed in the church, those who obstinately persevered in the Asiatic custom, and were condemned as heretics, were called Quartodecimans, and it is usual and convenient to give the same name by anticipation to those who observed the 14th day of the moon in the earlier controversy.

The chief information we have is derived from Eusebius, from several passages of Epiphanius, treating in his work on all heresies of certain Quartodeciman sects, and from several fragments preserved in the *Chronicon Paschale*, a work of about 630 A.D.

The following conclusions of Bueherius from a passage in Epiphanius (*Haer. lxx.*), will express the probable course of events. "From this I gather three things: First, that so long at least as the first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem (those of Jewish descent) continued, the pascha was celebrated everywhere by all Christians, or by a great majority of them, according to the lunar computation and method of the Jews. But they continued until the year 136 A.D., or to the end of the reign of the emperor Hadrian, when Mark was first taken from the Gentiles to be bishop (Euseb. v. xii.) Secondly, that then began a time of dissension, as Epiphanius a little before more plainly testifies (see below). Thirdly, that a more general method then came in, whether the eighty-four years cycle, or the octasters (amended), otherwise that approach was unmeaning which the Auditor launched against the

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ancient custom," &c. We subjoin the earlier part
of the chapter which is here alluded to.

"For even from the earliest times various
controversies and dissensions were in the church
concerning this solemnity, which used yearly to
bring laughter and mockery. For some, in a
week, some after the week, some at the begin-
ning, some in the middle, some at the end. To
sary in a word, there was a wonderful and la-
borious confusion. Nor is it unknown to
learned men, how often, at the various times
of this feast, there have arisen from the ob-
servance of a different ecclesiastical discipline,
tumults and contentions, especially in the time
of Polycarp and Victor, when the Easterns and
Westerns would receive no mutual letters of
peace. Which also happened in other times, as
in that of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and
Crescentius, how they wrote against each other
and bitterly fought. Which disputes began to
beagitated from the very times of the bishops who
had been converted to Christ from the circumci-
sion and from the sect of the Jews, even to our own
times, on which account those who had gathered
from all sides to the Nicene council, the matter
having been accurately known, with common
agreement from all, and with fitting computation
and calculation of times, order it to be kept."

Eusebius (*H. E. v. 24*) gives in a letter of
Irenaeus the following account, relating to the
events about A.D. 160.

"When the blessed Polycarp was at Rome in
the time of Anicetus, and they had also some
little difference of opinion with regard to other
points, they immediately came to a peaceable
understanding respecting this one, for they had
no love for mutual disputes. For neither could
Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe (*καθ*
ἡμέραν, i.e. the 14th Nisan) inasmuch as he had
always observed it with John the disciple of our
Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had
associated; nor could Polycarp persuade Anicetus
to observe (*ἡμέραν*) for he said that he ought to
follow the custom of the presbyters before him."

Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna in Asia Minor,
and there can be no doubt that he expressed in
these words the custom of the Asiatic churches,
which was *ἡμέραν*, whilst that of the Westerns
was *καθ' ἡμέραν*. That we ought to supply after
ἡμέραν, the 14th Nisan, we learn from c. 23
(referring to about A.D. 190).

"There was a considerable discussion raised
about this time, in consequence of a difference of
opinion respecting the observance of the paschal
season. The churches of all Asia, guided by
ancient tradition, thought that they were bound
to keep the 14th day of the moon, on the occa-
sion of the feast of the Saviour's passover,
that day on which the Jews had been commanded
to kill the paschal lamb, it being necessary for
them by all means to regulate the close of the
fast by that day, on whatever day of the week
it might happen to fall; while it was the custom
of all the churches of all the rest of the world,
which observed in this respect an apostolic tra-
dition that has prevailed down to our own time,
not to celebrate it in this manner, it being
proper to close the fast on no other day than
that of the resurrection of our Lord."

"The bishops, however, of Asia" (he continues

in the 24th chap.) "persevering in observing the
custom handed down to them from their fathers,
were headed by Polycrates. He, indeed, had
also set forth the tradition handed down to
them, in a letter which he addressed to Victor
and the church of Rome. 'We,' said he, 'there-
fore observe the genuine day: neither adding
great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise
again in the day of the Lord's appearing . . .
All these observed the 14th day of the passover
according to the gospel, deviating in no respect,
but following the rule of faith; so also do I,
Polycrates, who am the least of all of you, and
whom I have followed. For there were seven of
my relatives bishops, and I am the eighth; and
my relatives always observed the day when the
people (i.e. the Jews) threw away the leaven.'
"Upon this, Victor, the bishop of the church
of Rome, forthwith endeavoured to cut off the
churches of all Asia, together with the neigh-
bouring churches, as heterodox, from the com-
munion and unity. And he publishes abroad by letters,
and proclaims that all the brethren there are
wholly excommunicated."

Many bishops, however, remonstrated, amongst
others Irenaeus, who wrote an epistle, in which
he maintains the duty of celebrating the myste-
ry of the resurrection of our Lord, only on the
day of the Lord; but admonishes Victor not to
cut off whole churches of God, who observed the
tradition of an ancient custom.

In chap. xxv. Eusebius explains that the bishops
of Palestine agreed with the decree, and stated
that they observed the same day with the church
of Alexandria, an important point, for Alexandria
is to be looked on, along with the churches of
Rome and Asia Minor, as the third, and alti-
mately the most important, influence in regulat-
ing Easter.

Considering how much has been written re-
specting the Asia Minor controversies in modern
times, it is material to observe that the state-
ments of Eusebius and the whole course of the
controversy, leave no doubt of the observance of
the 14th day of the moon. No other day comes
into consideration. Thus the facts are settled;
to judge of the motives from which the day
was kept is, however, more difficult. Various
reasons might easily be alleged for the observa-
ance of this day: those who thought that our
Lord died on the 14th Nisan, might keep it (as
we believe) as the anniversary of our Lord's
death, or even if they desired to keep the anni-
versary of the last supper, knowing that that
supper, which was by intention a passover, was
only anticipated in point of time by necessity,
whilst those who thought that our Lord died on
the 15th Nisan, might yet keep the 14th (as Baur
and Hilgenfeld allege) in memory of the supper.

That St. John found at Ephesus a festival on
the 14th and joined in it, and gave it the weight
of his authority, in no way militates, then,
against his authorship of the gospel, that fixes
the 14th Nisan for the crucifixion, even though
it were true that the other chronology had
originally prevailed there.

The argument of Baur, and all the members
of the Tubingen school, is as follows:—the
Asiatics celebrated the 14th Nisan by an ad-

ministration of the Lord's supper, in commemoration of the passover which Jesus had on that same day, immediately before his death, eaten with his disciples. The Asiatic church, therefore, believed that Jesus ate on the evening of the 14th, and that he died on the 15th, and it believed this, according to unimpeachable testimony, on the authority of the apostle John. But now, what says the 4th gospel? According to it, the celebration of the last supper by our Lord took place, not upon the 14th Nisan, but upon the evening of the day previous, the 13th, while Jesus dies upon the cross upon the 14th, and therefore before the passover of the law could have been partaken of. The conclusion is obvious. The apostle who is the great authority for the Asiatic, cannot possibly be the author of the gospel, which speaks unmistakably for the western practice.

There is a simplicity and coherence in the Tübingen theory, as expanded at length in Hilgenfeld's *Paschastritt der alten Kirche*, which gives it a very strong hold upon the mind. But it rests upon more than one untenable assumption. Thus it assumes that the Asiatic Christians kept the 14th evening as the anniversary of the last supper. There is not, however, any hint of this in the most important narratives of the controversy, and the plain natural view is that the 14th Nisan was observed in Asia by fasting in memory of the death of Jesus; while a communion feast in the evening commemorated a completed redemption. The fact of the fasting, to which both Irenæus and Eusebius bear witness, is of itself a testimony that it was the solemn memory of the death of our Lord that was observed. Fasting in anticipation of the eucharist, belongs altogether to a later period, as is truly observed in Steitz's article in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*. [COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 417.]

Between these controversies, that of Antæus and Polyerat (about 160 A.D.), and that of Victor and Polyerates (190 A.D.), there occurred another in Laodicea (between 170 A.D. and 177 A.D.), which has become of late the very turning-point of the whole discussion, but about which Eusebius affords us no further information than what follows (*H. E.* iv. 26). "Of Melito, there are the two works on the passover. . . . In the works on the passover he shows the time in which he wrote it, beginning with these words:—When Servilius Paulus was præconsul of Asia, at which time Sagaris suffered martyrdom, there was much discussion in Laodicea respecting the passover, which occurred at that time in its proper season, and in which also these works were written." This work is also mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, in his own work on the passover, which, he says, he wrote on occasion of Melito's work (*ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς τοῦ Μελιτάνου γράφης*)."

But with this dispute are connected, probably rightly, the two following fragments of Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, given in the *Chronicon Paschale*:

1. "There are some who now, through ignorance, love to raise controversy about these things, being guilty in this of a pardonable offence, for ignorance does not so much deserve blame as need instruction. And they say that on the 14th the Lord ate the lamb with his disciples, but that He himself suffered on the

great day of unleavened bread; and they interpret Matthew as favouring their view, from which it appears that their sentiments are not in harmony with the law, and that the gospels seen, according to them, to be at variance."

Again, "The 14th is the true passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice, instead of the lamb the Son of God, . . . who was lifted up upon the horns of the unicorn, and was pierced in his sacred side, who shed out of his side the two cleansing elements, water and blood, word and spirit, and who was buried on the day of the passover, the stone having been placed upon his tomb."

We know very little of Apollinaris. Eusebius tells us that he was the author of an *Apology for the Christians*, addressed to the emperor, and that he was an eloquent writer against the Phrygian, Cataphrygian, and other Montanists, and wrote two works against the Jews; but we are left to conjecture who these opponents were against whom he was arguing in the work from which these fragments are taken.

With these fragments are associated quotations from Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria:—

"Hippolytus, the witness of religion, who was bishop of the so-called Portus, near Rome, has written literally thus in his *Treatise against all the Heresies*: 'I therefore see that there is a contentiousness in this affair. For he (i.e. the adversary, the Quarto-deciman) says thus: Christ celebrated the passover on that very day, and suffered: I therefore must also do as the Lord did.' But he is wrong from not knowing that, when Christ suffered, he did not eat the passover according to the law. For He was the passover that had been foretold, and which was accomplished on the day appointed."

And again the same (Hippolytus) says in the *Treatise on the Passover*: "He did not eat the passover, but he suffered (i.e. as the passover) οὐκ ἔφαγεν, ἀλλ' ἔπαθεν."

Another passage from Clement of Alexandria, in his work concerning the passover: "In the preceding years then the Lord keeping the passover ate that which was slain by the Jews; but when he proclaimed himself to be the passover, the Lamb of God, led as a sheep to the slaughter, immediately he taught his disciples the mystery of the type on the 13th, on which also they ask of him, Where wilt thou that we make ready to eat the passover, . . . but the Saviour suffered on the next day, being himself the passover. . . ." See also *Philos. phenomena*, 274-5.

These fragments are given because they offer almost the entire evidence on which we have to fix the place of the Laodicean interlude. Hilgenfeld views Apollinaris as a representative of the West, through whom Western influence has gained a footing in the heart of Asia. His opponent is directly Melito, but Melito as the representative of the whole body of Asiatic Christians.

Now that Apollinaris is in the greatest harmony with the Roman and Alexandrian writers whose fragments are associated with him in the *Chronicon Paschale*, is manifest: there is great probability also in the conjecture that he, like Clement, wrote on the occasion of Melito's work, and the absence of his name from the list of Polyerates suggests some discordance between his views and those of Polyerates. But he writes against certain persons who are creating a disturbance, not against the quietly existing

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h is the true passover of the rifices, instead of the lamb the who was lifted up upon the and, and pierced in his sacred of his side the two cleansing blood, word and spirit, and the day of the passover, the placed upon his tomb."

tle of Apollinaris. Eusebius is the author of an *Apostoly* for pressed to the emperor, and eloquent writer against the rgian, and other Montanists, as against the Jews; but we are who those opponents were as arguing in the work from uts are taken.

ents are associated quotations Clement of Alexandria— witness of religion, who was led Portus, near Rome, has us in his *Treatise against* therefore see that there is n this affair. For he (*Ge. Quarto-decimans*) says thus: e passover on that very day, efore must also do as the is wrong from not knowing uffered, he did not eat the o the law. For He was the een fore-aid, and which was day appointed."

e (Hippolytus) says in the over: "He did not eat the fered (*Ge. as the passover*) *aber*,"

om Clement of Alexandria, ng the passover: "In the pre Lord keeping the passover s slain by the Jews; but himself to be the passover, as a sheep to the slaughter, ut his disciples the mystery ou, on which also they ask of that we make ready to . . . but the Saviour suf- being himself the passover *illos phumena*, 274-5.

re given because their offer ence on which we have to iudiccan interlude. Hilgen- as a representative of the m Western influence has e heart of Asia. His oppo- , but Melito as the repre- body of Asiatic Christianis. is is in the greatest har- and Alexandrian writers associated with him in the is manifest; there is great e conjecture that he, like occasion of Melito's work, is name from the list of some discordance between of Polyerates. But he persons who are erating iust the quietly existing

ancient custom, nearly universal around him: he seems to observe the 14th himself, and when we notice the characteristics of his writings are directed against the Phrygians, Cataphrygians, and other Montanists, and against the Jews (*Joseph. H. E. iv. 27*). We may see ground for suspecting that his real antagonist was such a man as Blastus (perhaps the very man) who, about 180, carried Montanism from Asia Minor to Rome and there provoked the opposition of the church, which is extremely likely to have stirred up Victor's crusade against the customs of Asia Minor. We know that Hippolytus, as well as Irenaeus, wrote against Blastus, and that of Apollinaris, Eusebius would hardly have noticed them together, as he does, as fellow-workers in the church, if they occupied so marked an antagonistic position as has been supposed.

We have already seen from Epiphanius that a diversity of usages continued to prevail until the Nicean council. At that council the Western usage may be said to have established its victory, and those who still persisted in the Asiatic practice fell into the position of heretics. We find in the letter of the emperor Constantine to the churches after that council (*Soer. H. E. i. 9*): "There also the question having been considered relative to the most holy day of Easter, it was determined by common consent that it would be proper that all should celebrate it on one and the same day everywhere." Also that "it seemed very unsuitable in the celebration of this sacred feast, that we should follow the custom of the Jews," . . . who, labouring under a judicial blindness, "even in this particular do not perceive the truth, so that they, constantly erring in the utmost degree, celebrate the feast of passover a second time in the same year." This of course refers to the error of celebrating before the equinox. "Consider how grievous and indecorous it is, that on the same days some should be observant of fasts, while others are celebrating feasts; and especially that this should be the case on the days immediately after Easter. On this account, therefore, Divine Providence directed that an appropriate correction should be effected, and uniformity of practice established, as I suppose you are all aware." (This refers to the determination of the equinox, which was settled to be on the 21st March, although, as we have shown above, the 20th was the proper day, as it only happened once in four years on the 21st, and then at 2 A.M.) "And since the order is a becoming one, which is observed by all the churches of the western, southern, and northern parts, and by some also in the eastern: from these considerations all have on the present occasion thought it to be expedient, and I pledged myself that it would be satisfactory to your prudent penetration, that what is observed with such general unanimity of sentiment in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, Africa, all Egypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya, the whole of Greece, and the dioceses of Asia, Pontus and Cilicia, your intelligence would also concur in." The epistle of the synod to the church of Alexandria speaks in the like terms (*see Soer. i. 9*): "We have also gratifying intelligence to communicate to you relative to the duty of judgment on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter: for this point also has been

happily settled through your prayers; so that all the brethren in the East who have heretofore kept this festival when the Jews did, will henceforth conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who from the earliest time have observed our period of celebrating Easter." (*See also Euseb. Life of Constantine.*)

It is to be noted that no rule is here given for determining Easter; the churches are referred to the ancient rule of the West.

It has been often stated that the council established a particular cycle, that of nineteen years, but this is a mistake.

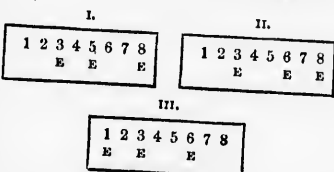
Epiphanius mentions three different sets of so-called heretics, who persisted in the Quarto-decimans usage, viz. the Andiani (*Haeres. lxx.*), the Alogi (*li.*), and the Quarto-decimans (*l.*), the last being orthodox in all respects except this.

It is unnecessary to follow out further the history of the decline of the Quarto-decimans.

We must now give some brief account of what is known respecting the various astronomical cycles employed for the determination of Easter.

The use of cycles was very familiar to the ancients astronomers. It arose out of the necessity, when lunar months were in use (as at Athens) of linking together in some manner all the changes of the moon and the sun. They all rested upon the mean motions of the moon, which was not only all that could be exactly calculated in the state of their astronomical knowledge, but which is in fact all that can be used with advantage for the arrangement of ceremonies and festival-days. The object was to find a period which should contain an exact number of lunations and also of tropical years—the former consisting of 29 d. 5305887 or 29 d. 12 h. 44 m. 2s. '865.

1. The most ancient cycle was the Octaëteris, or cycle of 8 years. It depends on the fact, that 8 tropical years are nearly equal to 99 lunations. The 99 months contained 2922 days, three of the 8 years having embolisms or intercalary months, as follows. The first year of the period seems to have been variously taken: I. being the arrangement given by Geminus; II. by Epiphanius; whilst III. is that adopted in Scaliger's account of this cycle, the letter E denoting the embolism.



The months were full (30 days) and hollow (29) by turns, except the intercalary, which were always full. This is exactly 8 years of 365 1/4 days. But neither the lunation nor the year is here taken at its true value, and the 6 years really fall short of 99 lunations by 1 d. 14 h. 10 m.—an error which would soon accumulate and make the cycle useless.

Cleostratus, Eratosthenes, and others made various changes for the correction of this cycle, which still however remained imperfect. 2. A great improvement upon this was the

cycle of 19 years ascribed by Geminus to Enctemon, but generally to Meton, about 432 B.C. This rests on the extremely close relation between the length of 19 years and 235 lunations, since

$$\begin{aligned} 19 \text{ years} &= 6939 \cdot 60256 \text{ days,} \\ 235 \text{ lunat.} &= 6939 \cdot 688348 \text{ days,} \end{aligned}$$

a difference of about 2 h. 3 m. The actual arrangement was that out of 235 months 110 were hollow, making 6940 days, being in excess of 235 lunations by 7½ hours. In the course of 4 Metonic periods the accumulation of errors would be 30 hours, and accordingly Calippus proposed then to leave out 1 more day. There was then an excess of 6 h. only in 76 years or of 1 day in 310 years. This period of 76 years is called the Callippic period.

The first Paschal cycle in use seems to have been the Octaëteris. Epiphanius refers to it (*Haer.* lxxv.), and appeals to it in his argument with the Auliani in such a manner as to imply that they were right in holding this to be the ancient church cycle: on which account he would rather rest his argument upon it than upon the superior cycle of 19 years, which must have been familiar to him. Eusebius also mentions (vii. 20) that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in one of his Paschal letters gives a canon for 8 years, seeming to imply the use of the Octaëteris (about 250 A.D.).

The Paschal cycle of 112 years of St. Hippolytus attained some celebrity and was inscribed on the chair of his statue, discovered at Rome in 1551, and now in the Vatican. It was based on a double Octaëteris of 16 years, repeated 7 times; St. Hippolytus having observed that by using 16 years, instead of 8, the week-days recurred in succession, though in their natural order reversed. It extends from A.D. 222 to A.D. 333, and was evidently constructed about 222 A.D. and was based upon the period of years 215 to 222 A.D. for which period it is correct. Beyond this its defective nature soon appears, and after another period it would be found to be worthless. It may be seen in Fabricius's *Hippolytus*. See also Ideler, ii. 222, and *Ordo Saeculorum*, p. 477.

The Paschal canon of St. Cyprian, called the *Computus Paschalis*, which is extant, but without the table, was a repeat of St. Hippolytus, with a new start from A.D. 242, based on the 16 years from 228 to 243.

3. When the Western church discovered the defective nature of the Octaëteris, they took up or perhaps returned to a cycle of 84 years, which was employed by, according to Epiphanius and Cyril's Prologue in Bucherius, the Jews (perhaps after the fall of Jerusalem), then probably by some Quarto-decimans, and also by some Latins, for Cyril in his Prologue implies that the 84 years cycle was forsaken for that of Hippolytus, saying, "pejus aliquid addiderunt."

The 84 years cycle may be regarded as consisting of a Callippic period of 76 years (with the correction of 1 day) and a single Octaëteris: and as their errors are in opposite directions, it has a less error in 84 years than the Octaëteris had in 8. Both Epiphanius and Cyril ascribe it to the Jews, and the fact that, 84 being a multiple of 7, the Calendar moons would recur on the same days of the week in each period, would doubtless give it a value in their eyes. However

this may be, it became undoubtedly the great cycle of the Latin church, for more than two centuries, till it was superseded by the cycle of Victorius of 532 years, published in the year 457. An 84-year Easter-table of the Latin church may be seen in Ideler, ii. 219, constructed from a "Fasti Consulares," discovered by Cardinal Noris, and beginning with the year 298. Muratori published another in his *Anecdota ex Ambrosiani Bibliothecae Codicibus*. In both these it appears that the Epacts are 1 week-days of the 1st January were employed for the determination of Easter. Bucherius also gives 'The Latin or Prosper's cycle of 84 Years,' beginning at 382. Since 84 Julian years contain 30681 days, and 1039 lunations 30682 d. 6 h. 48 m., the 84-year cycle gives at its conclusion the new moon 30 hours too early.

It may be right here to mention the fact that Epiphanius, believing that the Jews had this 84 years cycle at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion (for which there is no evidence in Jewish writers), argues at length (*Haer.* li.) that, this cycle being shorter than the moon's true cycle (he means probably the Alexandrian) the Jews anticipated the proper time of the passover by two days in the year of the Passion, and Bucherius believes that he is in the main right, and reasons quite correctly from his premises that, if the Alexandrian cycle and 84-year cycle started together A.C. 161, the latter was 3 days in advance of the moon and the former 1 day. And Bucherius holds, in agreement with Petavius, that there was a division amongst the Jews as to these two calculations, the Pharisees and priests keeping the passover one day later than our Lord and his disciples and a great part of the nation.

There is, however, a great fallacy in these calculations. The cycles give, of necessity, not the true moon of the heavens, but the mean moon, and it does not at all follow that, because on the whole they give a good representation of the mean moon, that therefore they give the true mean moon in any particular year. On the contrary, they all go by fits and starts, according as the embolism has just taken place or not; and it requires not a general calculation, but an exact knowledge of the state of the cycle, starting from some absolutely certain date, before we can argue with any certainty from such cycles. We have above expressed the belief that the Jews, having been for many centuries accustomed to the feasts of the New Moon, did not allow any cycle to carry them away from a close adherence to the actual phase of the moon. And we may add that having examined the three best attested dates—that of the taking of Jerusalem by Pompey, A.C. 64, on the day of the Fast (10 Tisri) according to Josephus, and according to Dion Cassius, on a Sabbath; the setting of the Temple on fire, the 9th Ab or 10th A.D. 70, a Sabbath; and the taking of Jerusalem by Titus on the 8th Gorpiaeus, or Elul, according to Josephus—again a Sabbath, according to Dion Cassius, we find that the phase of the moon gives in each case, without any ambiguity and without any doubt, these very days, viz. A.C. 64, Oct. 4, Saturday; Aug. 4, A.D. 70, Saturday, and September 1, A.D. 70, Saturday. The investigation of a few such cases creates a vivid impression that we are on firm ground. A number of other cases, of a more conjectural

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character, may be seen in Browne's *Ordo Saeculorum*, p. 538.

The following results are taken from the 84-year cycle in Ideler, ii. 249, already referred to.

1	2	3	4	5
A.D.	Easter Day.	Tabular Age of Moon.	A.D.	Real Age of Moon (by Phase) on Friday.
448	4 Apr.	XVI	29	XIX
449	27 Mar.	XIX	29	XXI
450	16 Apr.	XX	30	XXII
451	1 Apr.	XVI	31	XVIII
452	23 Mar.	XVIII	32	XX
453	12 Apr.	XIX	37	XXII

Thus whilst the 3rd column is correct for the years A.D. 448-453, it is erroneous by 4 or 5 days for A.D. 28-33. It is remarkable that it gives Mar. 25 for Good Friday A.D. 29, like Hippolytus's cycle.

We have now to trace the history of the 19-years or Metonic cycle in the church, and its final triumph.

The Metonic cycle and the Calippic period had long been known to the Alexandrians, and had been in use in Syria and adjacent countries, so that it is remarkable that we hear of the Octaeteris rather than this cycle as having been first in use, even at Alexandria.

Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea about 284, by birth an Alexandrian, enjoys the credit, on the authority of Eusebius (vii. 32) of having been the first to arrange the 19-years cycle for ecclesiastical purposes. But the passage has greatly perplexed the commentators, and has called forth elaborate attempts at explanation or emendation from Petavius and others. For Anatolius declares that the sun "is not entering the first segment (of the zodiac) on the 22nd March, where he places the New Moon of the 1st year of the cycle, but is already on the fourth day passing through it. By this segment they generally call the first decanemorion, and the equinox, and the beginning of the months, &c." Unless we are to reject all that is said about Anatolius's knowledge and ability, we must take him to mean that the equinox fell on the 22nd, but that the sun was not then at the beginning of the zodiacal sign, but four days advanced in it. This is quite in consonance with the statements of Ptolemy (viii. c. 25) and Columella (ix. 13), who after Eudoxus place the equinoxes and solstices at the 8th part of the signs. But the account respecting Anatolius is further complicated by the existence of a Canon Paschalia attributed to him, which exercised great influence in the British church, but which, if it is identical with that given in Bucherius, was certainly forged. It is strange, too, that so little is heard of the cycle for some time afterwards. But the 19-year cycle probably gradually made its way at Alexandria, only it was found that something more than a cycle was wanted to insure uniformity. An actual catalogue of results was necessary. So Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria (385-412) framed at the command of Theodosius a cycle (or actual calendar) of 418 years (19 x 22), which St. Cyril, who succeeded him in that see in 412, shortened into a cycle of 95 years (19 x 5) for convenience's sake. Part only of St. Cyril's *Computus Paschalis* remains, but his *Prologue* survives in a Latin translation (in Bucherius). Theophilus had laid

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down distinctly the rule that when the xv of the moon falls on Sunday, Easter day is the Sunday after; and Cyril states distinctly that Easter may fall on any of the 35 days from March 22 to April 25, our modern mode. In fact, the two chief sources of discrepancy after the Nicene council were these: the Latins often celebrated on the Sunday on which the xv fell, while the Alexandrians waited a week; and the Latins made the 18th March the first day on which the xv could fall, whilst the Alexandrians made their limit the 21st March. They both agreed that as the passover was to be kept in the first month, Easter was to follow the same rule; but the Latins made (as Bucherius, &c. think the Jews did) the 5th March the earliest possible day of the 1st month, whilst the Alexandrians, holding firmly the doctrine that the xv must not fall before the equinox, that is, according to their rules, the 21st March, made the 8th March the 1st possible day of the month. The Alexandrian rules, as we shall see, ultimately prevailed.

It seems to be now the time to explain the actual method employed by the Alexandrians.

The years of the cycle of 19 years being numbered in order, the number of any given year was called the Golden Number. So also the letters A B C D E F G being written against all the days of the year in succession, the letter A being placed against the first of January, the same letter will stand against any given weekday throughout the year, except in Leap-year, when a change will take place after the intercalary day. The letter which stands against all the Sundays is called the Sunday Letter.

Again, the day on which the 14th of the equinox moon falls is called the Easter Term. As the Easter Terms recur every 19 years, the knowledge of the Golden Number gives the Easter Term, and if we know the Sunday Letter we can pass on from the Easter Term, its letter being known, to the next Sunday, which will be Easter Day.

Rule 1. To find the Golden Number. Add 1 to the numeral of the year, and divide by 19. The remainder is the Golden Number; when there is no remainder, 19 is the Golden Number.

Rule 2. To find the Sunday Letter. To the numeral of the year, add its quotient on dividing by 4, and also the number 4; divide the sum by 7, and subtract the remainder from 7. This will designate the place of the Sunday Letter in the alphabet. Ex.: 395 + 81 + 4 = 410; 410 ÷ 7 leaves remainder 4; the 3rd letter 'C' is the Sunday Letter. In Leap-year the earlier two months of the year have the letter next succeeding.

The following Table will now suffice to find the Alexandrian Easter (old style).

Golden Nos.	Easter Terms.	Golden Nos.	Easter Terms.
1	5 Apr. D	11	15 Apr. G
2	28 Mar. G	12	4 Apr. C
3	13 Apr. E	13	24 Mar. F
4	2 Apr. A	14	12 Apr. D
5	22 Mar. D	15	1 Apr. G
6	16 Apr. B	16	21 Mar. C
7	30 Mar. E	17	9 Apr. A
8	18 Apr. C	18	29 Mar. D
9	7 Apr. F	19	17 Apr. B
10	27 Mar. B	20	5 Apr. D

Ex.—A.D. 29. Golden number=11. Sunday Letter B Easter Term, 15th April. Easter Day=17th April.

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It must not be supposed, however, that the subject was always regarded from this simple point of view. It was approached with old traditional notions, so that the 19 years was spoken of as made up of 8 and 11—and the years were thought of as lunar years with embolisms—and as it happened that the Latins began their cycles 3 years later than the Alexandrians, and so inserted embolisms in different years, this again was a cause of discrepancy.

Alexandrian cycle:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
E E E E E E E E E E

Western cycle:

17 18 19 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
E E E E E E E E E E

We give at the same time the order of the cycle of Victorius:

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
E E E E E E E E E E

During the pontefice of Leo the Great doubts occurred, in the year 444 A.D., and 455 A.D., as to the proper day of celebrating Easter. Leo wrote to St. Cyril to enquire respecting 444, who answered that the day was April 23, propter rationem embolismi anni (not 26 March, as the Latins made it). It was 8 of the lunar cycle of the Alexandrians, 18 of Victorius' cycle. Leo acquiesced.

In 455 the contention was greater. Here it was not a question of a month, but of a week. The Latins by the 34-year cycle made it April 17; the Alexandrians April 24.

Leo then wrote to Martinian, emperor of the East, and to Eudocia Augusta, in which he asks them to interfere that the Alexandrians may not name April 24, alleging that the viii. kal. Maii is beyond the ancient limits. The emperor made enquiry of certain eastern bishops and of the Alexandrians, and Leo finally yielded for the sake of peace. In the matter of these limits the Alexandrians were always firm, allowing the 14th of the moon to range from March 21 to April 18, Easter-day from March 22 to April 25; while the Westerns had shown much vacillation. Their old 14th day limits were March 18 and April 21, then the council of Caesarea (A.D. 195) laid down as the limits of Easter-day March 22 and April 21, alleging that the crucifixion was on March 22. This authority, together with that of the Nicene council, ordering that Easter should not be kept before the equinox, led the Latins to yield the first limit; then Leo extended the 2nd limit two days, by understanding April 21 of the crucifixion, thus getting March 22 to April 23, 33 days. Finally the Latins had to yield 2 days more. But the Latins would only keep Easter from the 16th to the 22nd of the moon, so that the passion might be on the 14th, whereas the Alexandrians often kept Easter on the 15th. In the year 463 Victorius (or Victorinus) of Aquitaine, an abbot at Rome, was employed by pope Hilary to correct the calendar, and he was the real author of the cycle of 532 years, found by multiplying together 19, the cycle of the moon, and 28, the cycle of the sun. Thus, on the supposition of the perfect accuracy of the 19-years cycle, all full moons, days of the week, &c., would recur in the same order from cycle to cycle, for ever. The cycle is given in Bucherius: it begins at A.D. 239 and ends 770. Some days

are marked, as differently taken by the Alexandrians and Latins, for Victorius commenced the cycle at the 11th year of the Alexandrian cycle, and also still adhered to the above-mentioned Latin rules.

There were many errors in his tables, and the revision of it by Dionysius Exiguus obtained for it the name of the Dionysian cycle, transferring to Dionysius most of the merit which belonged to Victorius.

But what Dionysius really did was to continue the 95-year cycle of St. Cyril, and he also induced the Italians to accept fully the Alexandrian rules. He also abandoned the era of Diocletian, and was the first to introduce the modern Christian era, reckoning from the supposed date of the birth of Christ. Victorius had made his cycle begin from the baptism, A.D. 28.

But the Easter table of Victorius long held its ground in Gaul. In the council of Orleans (541) it was ordered that all should observe Easter according to the laterculus Victorii, and Gregory of Tours says of A.D. 577: "In that year there was a doubt about Easter. In Gaul we, with many other cities, celebrated Easter on the 14th Calends of May; others with the Spaniards on the 12th Calends of April. The former was Victorius's date; the Alexandrians kept Easter a week later, the Spaniards four weeks earlier." It is only at the end of the 8th century that traces of such differences disappear in Gaul. (Isidore, iii. 294.)

The 84-years cycle lasted longer in Britain than elsewhere: and the bitter controversies which were carried on for a long time between the new English church, founded by the mission of Augustine, and the ancient British church were entirely due to the persistence of the British clergy in clinging to the old cycle of 84 years (see the letter of Althelmus Anglus Episcopus, about 700 A.D. in Bucherius) and old traditional maxims respecting the paschal limits.

They kept the festival from the 14th of the moon to the 20th; they placed the equinox on the 25th March, and would keep no festival before it, and they used as the later limit of the festival the 'old limit of the Latins, the 21st April.

For these rules they appealed to tradition and the example of St. John, and also repeatedly to the authority of Anatolius. The discussion almost always turns in Bede's narrative, and in the letters preserved, on this point:—Is the festival to be kept from the 14th to the 20th of the moon (with the British church), or from the 15th to the 21st (with the Roman)? And as the battle turned so largely on the 14th of the moon, the partisans of the Roman use tried to fix on the British clergy the name of Quartodecimans, and so the stigma of heresy. But they were in no real sense Quartodecimans. They observed the Easter festival on a Sunday and kept the Friday before it, not keeping, as did the Christians of Asia Minor, the 14th of the moon, fall when it might: nor is there any ground for connecting them, on the supposition of their being Quartodecimans, with Asia Minor. As we have mentioned before, the spurious canon of Anatolius, given in Bucherius, was perhaps designed to support the cause of the British Christians. And there is some ground for supposing that the laterculus of 100 years, given in Bucherius, may have be-

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77: "In that year there
ster. In Gaul we, with
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of the 8th century that
ces disappear in Gaul.

asted longer in Britain
the bitter controversies
for a long time between
, founded by the mission-
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olmus Anglus Episcopus,
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al from the 14th of the
y placed the equinox on
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t:—Is the festival to be
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t they were in no real
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we have mentioned before,
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designed to support the
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using that the laterculus
Bucherius, may have be-

EASTER, CEREMONIES OF

longed to the British church, as it falls in with
their principles.

Frequently as the differences respecting Easter
are mentioned in Bede (*Ecc. Hist.*), there are
unfortunately no dates given which can throw
further light on these discrepancies; but the
statement respecting Queen Eanleda and her fol-
lowers as still fasting and keeping Palm Sunday,
when King Oswy had done fasting and was keeping
his Easter, must refer to some year not far from
651; and the xiv of the moon fell on Sunday in
645, 647, 648, and 651.

The Roman use finally prevailed in England,
Archbishop Theodore, A.D. 669, is believed to
have arranged everything according to Roman
customs, and from that time general uniformity
existed. Nothing further of importance occurred
respecting Easter until the Gregorian reformation
of the calendar, by which time the accumulated
errors arising from the 1 1/2 hrs. excess of the
19-years cycle made the calendar moon about
four days later than the real moon. [L. H.]

EASTER, CEREMONIES OF. The season of
Easter, as the epoch of the great redemptive acts
by which the salvation of mankind was consum-
mated, was from a very early period observed
with special solemnity by the Christian church.
The Paschal season originally extended over fifty-
two days, of which Easter Day was the central
point, commencing with Palm Sunday and ter-
minating with Low Sunday. The first week
was known as *πάσχα σταυρώσεων*, the second
week as *πάσχα ἀναστάσεων* (Suicer, *sub voc.*).
Leaving to other articles the solemnities of the
former period [PALM SUNDAY: GOOD FRIDAY]
we propose to speak of those of the period of
Easter, properly so called.

Easter Eve.—This day was known by a variety
of titles in the early church—*τὸ μέγα σάββατον*,
τὸ ἄγιον σάββατον, *νύξ ἀγγελικὴ* (Pallad.). *Σάββα-
τον Ἀλεξάνδριαι*, *Νύξ Ἰγλιουρίου Πασχαί*. (Hieron.),
ἡμέρα τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ πάσχα παννυχίδος (Euseb.,
vi. 34). It had a double character, penitential
and jubilant; as the conclusion of the great
Lenten Fast, and as the prelude of the Festival
of the Resurrection. This was the only Sab-
bath in the whole year on which fasting was
permitted (*A. Cost. Con. tit. vii. 23*). The fast of
Easter Eve was of the strictest character, and
was prolonged at least till midnight, Good Friday
and Easter Eve being a continuous fast, in sup-
posed obedience to our Lord's words (Matt. ix. 15).
The *Apostolical Constitutions* enjoin fasting till
cockcrow (*Ap. Const. v. 18*). The synod of
Auzerre, A.D. 578 (*Can. xi.*) forbids the breaking
of the fast till the second hour of the night.
The 89th Trullan canon (*C. conc. Quinisext. Labbe*,
vi. 1180) limits the fasting at midnight. Jerome
assigns as a reason for the congregation not being
dismissed on Easter Eve till after midnight, that
even as the Paschal deliverance of Israel took
place at midnight (Exod. xii. 29) it was the
expectation of the church, according to ap-
ostolical tradition, that Christ would return to

* The earliest instance of the use of this designation for
Easter Eve is in the letter of the church of Smyrna de-
tailing the martyrdom of Polycarp (Euseb. iv. 15. 12).
The day on which Polycarp was apprehended is described
as "the Great Sabbath"—*ἡνὸς σαββάτου μεγάλου*. The
term is evidently borrowed from Jobo xix. 31. *ἦν γὰρ
μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη τῶν σαββάτων*.

EASTER, CEREMONIES OF 595

accomplish the redemption of His church and
triumph over her enemies at the same hour.
That hour being passed, the awe with which the
Lord's coming was anticipated being relieved, the
Easter Feast was celebrated with universal joy
(Hieron. *In Matt. xxv. 6*). The same belief is
mentioned by Lactantius (*In Inst. vii. 19*), when
he speaks of the night being passed in watchful-
ness on account of the coming of our King and
God. We have evidence that in Tertullian's time
it was spent in public worship, when he speaks
of the difficulty which would be caused by the
absence of a Christian wife from her heathen
husband during the whole night at the time of
the paschal solemnities (Tert. *ad Exem. ii. 4*). As
the night advanced and Easter drew nearer all
sign of mourning was laid aside for the highest
festal jubilee. One special solemnity indicating
the festal character of this night was the light-
ing of lamps and candles, a custom which is
repeatedly referred to by writers from the 4th
century downwards. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his in-
trodutory Catechetical lecture (§ 15), speaks of
"that night, that darkness that shows like day,"
and Eusebius records (*De Vit. Const. iv. 22*) that
Constantine observed Easter Eve with such pomp
that "he turned the sacred or mystical vigil into
the light of day" by means of lamps suspended
in every part, and setting up huge waxen tapers
as big as columns (*κερῶν κίονας ὀψιλοτάτους*),
through the whole city. We find a reference to
the same custom in Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.*
xlii. *De Pasch.*), who speaks of persons of all
ranks, even magistrates and men and ladies of
rank, carrying lamps, and setting up tapers,
both at home and in the churches, thus turning
night into day; and again (*Orat. xliiii.*) describes
this *ἡμέρα νύξ*, as a "torch-bearing" (*ἡσθουσία*),
being as it were a *πρόδρομος* or forerunner of
the rising of the great light, Christ. Gregory
Nysse also describes the brilliancy of the illu-
mination as a cloud of fire mingling with the
dawning rays of the sun, and making the eve and
the festival one continuous day without any inter-
val of darkness (*In Christ. Resurr. Orat. v.*) From
the poem of Prudentius (*Hymn. v. ad Incensum
ceteri Paschalis*, 141-148) we learn that the church
was illuminated with lamps depending from the
roof, reminding the spectator of the starry firmament.
In later times one special wax taper of
large size was solemnly blessed, as a type of
Christ's rising from the dead to give light to
the world. The institution of this custom was at-
tributed to pope Zosimus A.D. 417 [PASCHAL TAPER].

The latter hours of the evening and the night
were spent by the assembled congregations in
united prayer and supplication, the singing of
psalms and hymns, reading the Scriptures, and
in hearkening to the exhortations of the bishop
and presbyters (*Apost. Constit. v. 19*; Greg. Nysse,
Orat. iv. in Christ. Resurrect.).

Easter Eve was the chief time for the baptism of
catechumens. The first seventeen catechetical
lectures of St. Cyril were delivered during the weeks
before Easter to those who were preparing for
baptism at the ensuing Easter Eve, on which day
the eighteenth was pronounced (*Catech. xvii. 20*,
xviii. 32, 33). The nineteenth, on Easter Monday,
explains "the deep meaning of what was done
on the evening of their baptism" (xix. 1). On the
Easter Eve which succeeded Chrysostom's dep-
osition, no fewer than three thousand catechumens

the joyous crowds who, by their attendance at church, at the festival. All labour suspended, the husbandman and plough and put the very tavern-keepers' roads were empty of carriages. The mother came alone and her children and the whole family. All Christians assembled of one family. The rich, and the rich wore none of their neighbours; the very poor in the joy of the new clothes (Greg. Nyssen, *Lectures*). Evangelical the assembled congregation the whole history of the new through on successive *Temp.* 137, 140), and directing the people how to *ἀδελφός* (Athanas. *Epist.*). When the emperors, beginning with Justinian, testified to the universal the prisons, and granting a *Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 38, leg. 3, b. l. tit. 4, leg. 3; Cassiod. *Epist.* 33 (14)), debtors unannounced, all actions at in some special cases *l. 12, leg. 3; Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 35, leg. 7), and the poor. In the words (u. s.) "every kind of grief, nor is there any one as not to find relief of this feast. Now the debtor is forgiven, the one who continues a slave games or public spectacles being inconsistent with the *l. 1, c. 1, de rebus, d. lib. xv. tit. 5, leg. 5).* of Easter Day may be following, which, together before, was considered of the festival. The cons ordain that slaves rest from their work "all *l. 1, c. 1, de rebus, d. lib. xv. tit. 5, leg. 5).* The purpose religious edification. St. *H. mil. 34 De Resurrect.* ten days sacred assemblies is preached. The council of *n. ii.;* Labbe, v. 981) also for six days, during which ree times a day for worship, s, and offering their daily an emous (*Can. 86;* Labbe, vn that the faithful ought through the whole week in themselves to psalms, reading the celebration of the

—*Octo dies neophytorum ad Januar. c. 17*—closed Sunday (*Nov Sunday* with titles of *ἀντιπάροχα, ἡ καιρὸς*

ἐκκλήσια, ἀνακαινίσθητος, Dominica in Octavis Pasche, Pascha Clivium; also with reference to the white dresses of the newly baptised, *ἡ κυριακή ἡ λευκῆ, Dies Neophytorum, Dominica in Alpis.* The appellation *Quintidies geniti,* derived from the introit (1 Pet. ii. 2), is of later origin. In the Greek church it has been known as the *κυριακή θώρα, ἡμέρα ἀποστόλων,* with reference to the gospel for the day (John xx. 19-23), and the appearance of Christ to Thomas on this day (*ii. 26-28*). The special solemnity of this Sunday was the laying aside by the newly baptised of their white baptismal robes, to be deposited in the sacristy of the church. St. Augustine refers to the appearance of the neophytes in church in their white robes (*Serm. de Temp. 162;* Dominica, in Octav. Pasche). "Iodile vitali lavacro resurgens Dei populus ad instar Resurrectionis ecclesiam nostram splendore nivei candoris illuminat." The white bands that were wrapped round the heads of the newly baptised infants were also removed on this day, which from this custom sometimes bore the name of *octavæ infantium:* "infantes vocantur et habent octavas hodie recludenda enim sunt capita eorum" (*Aug. Serm. de Temp. 160*). We learn from Rabanus Maurus (*De Cleric. Inst. li. 38*) that in his time the seven days after Easter Day were known as *Dies Albe,* because those who had been baptised on the holy night wore their albs and assisted at the holy mysteries in that dress, till the following Sunday, when the bishop's hand was laid upon them in confirmation. Gregory of Tours mentions processions—*rogationes*—being made every year at Easter tide (*Greg. Turon. Vit. Patr. c. vi. p. 1175*). [E. V.]

ECCIDICI (Ἐκκιδικοί or ἐκκλησιέκδικτοι), certain officers appointed, in consequence of the legal disabilities of clergy and monks, to represent the church in civil affairs; see ADVOCATE OF THE CHURCH, DEFENSOR. The place where they met officially was called *ἐκδικεῖον*. [C.]

ECONOMUS. [ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ.] **ECPHONESIS** (Ἐκφώνησις) denotes that portion of an office which is said audibly, in contrast with that said *αυστικῶς*; especially the exology, with which the secret prayers generally conclude. [C.]

ECTENE or **ECTENIA** (Ἐκτενή or ἐκτενία). Omitting from consideration certain preparatory prayers, the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom begin with a litany, known as *Ectene, Synapte, Diaconicæ, or Eirenice.* The name *Ectene* may refer to the length or (more probably) to the earnestness of the supplication. Litanies of a similar form are also found in the Hour-offices. See further under LITANY. [C.]

ECHTESIS (Ἐχθesis), a doctrinal formula, or "setting forth" of a CREED. Thus Theodoret (*Ibid. Eccl. ii. 17*) speaks of the statement of doctrine put forth by the "concilium" of Rimini as an *echthesis.* The same word is again used by the same historian in speaking of the creed of Enoimius (*H. F. ii. 23*). [C.]

ECTYPOMATA. [DONA; VOTIVE OFFERINGS.]

ECUMENICAL COUNCILS. [COUNCILS.] **ECCLESIA** (Ἐκκλησία). The principal senses of the word Ecclesia with which we are concerned are the following:—

I. The congregation or gathering together of the faithful. "Ecclesia est convocatus populus per ministros ecclesie ab eo qui facit unitatem habitare in domo. Ipsa domus vocatur Ecclesia, quia Ecclesiam continet" (Amalarius, *De Eccl. Off. lii. 2*).

II. As indicated in the extract above from Amalarius, the word came to designate the building used for the Christian assembly [CIVICUM]; as in 1 Cor. xi. 18: "Appellamus Ecclesiam basilicam quâ continetur populus" (Augustine, *Epist.* 157). The principal designations of churches of different kinds are the following:—

1. Ἡ ἐκκλησία is used absolutely to designate the principal church or "cathedral" of a city; as by Procopius (*De Bella Persæ, li. 9*), to designate the cathedral of Antioch.
2. *Ecclesia Baptismalis*, a parish church—to use the modern term—in which baptisms are celebrated. Walafrid Strabo (*De Reb. Eccl. c. 30*) speaks of "presbyterii plebium qui baptismales ecclesias tenent et minoribus presbyteris præsentur." [COMPARE PARISH.]
3. *Ecclesia Cardinalis*. This was also a designation of parish churches. [CARDINAL.]
4. *Ecclesia Cathedralis*, a church in which a bishop set up his throne. [CATHEDRA; CATHEDRAL.]
5. *Ecclesia Catholica*. [CATHOLIC.]
6. *E. Diocesana* (*Leges Wisigoth., lib. iv., tit. 5, c. 6*) is equivalent to *proconialis*. [DIOCESE; PARISH.]
7. *E. Mater, Matricialis, Matrix, Matricula*, may designate either a cathedral, as distinguished from its subordinate churches; or a parish church, as distinguished from mere oratories.
8. *Ecclesia Plebialis* or *Plebiana*, the church of a Plebs, or Parochia; that is, a parish church. See the quotation above (li. 2), and Ducange's *Glossary*, s. v. *plebs*.
9. *Ecclesia Principalis*, a cathedral (*Leg. Wisigoth. iv. 5, c. 6*).
10. *Ecclesie Patriarchales*, in the Roman church, are those subject to the immediate authority of the pope.
11. *Ecclesia per se*, a church having its own priest, and not dependent (as an oratory would have been) upon another church (Hincmar, *Epist. ed. Labbe*, quoted by Ducange). [C.]

ECCLESIAE MATRICULA. [MATRICULA.] **ECCLESIAARCH** (Ἐκκλησιάρχης), in the Eastern church, was the sacrist, who had general charge of the church and its contents, and summoned the people to service by the bells or other means of giving notice. The minor officials of the church were under his authority. The *Typicum* of Sabas (c. 1) represents the Ecclesiarch as giving a rubrical direction in the same way that the deacon commonly does: *ἐτα ἄρχεται δὲ ἐκκλησιάρχης, δεῖτε, προκινύσασθαι* (Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v.; Daniel's *Codex Lit. iv. 700*). [C.]

ECCLESIASTICAE LITERAE. [COMMENTATORY LETTERS; DISSIMY LETTERS.] **ECCLESIASTICAE RES.** I. The term *res ecclesiasticæ* is used, in a wide sense, to denote all matters belonging to the church, as opposed to *res seculares, terreneæ*, matters belonging to the world. Things ecclesiastical are again divided into *res spirituales*, functions or objects which belong solely to the

priesthood, as the sacraments and the altars; and *res temporales*, which contribute to the welfare rather of the body than the soul (Ambrose, *Epist.* 33, *ad Morce lucum*).

Again, of *res spirituales* some are immaterial (incorporeales), some material (corporeales). To the former belong the invisible gifts and graces bestowed on the soul by God; to the latter, the outward acts or objects connected with such gifts or graces, that is, the sacraments; certain "*res sanctae, sacrae, sacrosanctae*," as churches, the vessels used in the eucharistic or other rites of the church, and the vestments of its ministers; and certain "*res religiosae*," such as foundations or institutions for purposes of piety and beneficence over which the church claims jurisdiction. The molestation or injury of ecclesiastical things is SACRILEGE.

2. In a narrower sense, the term *res ecclesiasticae* designates the PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH. (Lancelotti *Instit. Juris Canon.* li. 1; Jacobson in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* s. v. *Kirchenwesen*.) [C.]

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS. [BISHOP; DISCIPLINE; JURISDICTION.]

ECCLESIASTICAL LANGUAGE. [LITURGICAL LANGUAGE.]

ECCLESIASTICAL LAW. [CANON LAW.]

ECCLESIASTICUS. 1. A member of the Catholic church, as opposed to a heretic or schismatic (Jerome, *Epist.* 62, c. 1; in *Ruffinum*, li. 4).

2. Any person in orders, whether major or minor. Thus the first council of Vasu (c. 3) desires presbyters not to send for the chrism by the hands of any servant of the church (per quemcumque ecclesiasticum), but by the hands of a subdeacon at least. The word is similarly used in the Theodosian code.

3. Isidore of Seville (*De Eccl. Off.* ii. 3) speaks of a clerk occupying his due position in the hierarchy as "clericus ecclesiasticus," in contradistinction from accephali, or irregular clerks.

4. Those who were in any way the "men" of a church, so as to be unable to leave its territories or its service, were called in a special sense "homines" or "viri ecclesiastici" (Car. Magni *C. p'v'.* iv. 3). "Homines ecclesiastici seu fiscalini" are mentioned, and their duties to their lord prescribed, in Car. Mag. *Cyp'v'.* v. 303. They are distinguished from *servi* (*Conc. Sussion.* ii. c. 12). [C.]

EDESSA. The translation of the Holy Icon (or picture) of Christ from Edessa is commemorated Aug. 16 (*Cl. Byzant.*). A great festival (Daniel's *Coder*, iv. 244). [C.]

EDILTRUDIS. [ETHELDREDA.]

EDUCATION. [SCHOOLS.]

EGARA. COUNCIL OF (*Egarense concilium*), held A. D. 615 at Egara, now Terrassa, in Catalonia: to confirm what had been enacted at Osea or Ilesca seventeen years before. Twelve bishops, whose sees are not given, and a presbyter and deacon representing two more, subscribed to it (M. i. x. 531). [E. S. F.]

ET DUNUS, presbyter, martyr at Nicorædia with seven others; commemorated March 12 (*Mart. Adonis Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EGESIPPUS. [HÆGESIPPUS.]

EGYPT. The entrance of Christ into Egypt is commemorated Gubot 24 = May 19 (*Cl. Ethiop.*); the flight of Christ from Melita to Baskama in Egypt, Hedar 6 = Nov. 2 (*Cl. Ethiop.*). [C.]

EGYPT, FLIGHT INTO. It is difficult, if not impossible, to name any earlier representation of this event than the bronze existing on the doors of St. Zenae at Verona, which is at all events one of the earliest known of Christian works in metal, and may date from the original fabric of the 9th century. [R. St. J. T.]

EGG. There seems some diversity of opinion as to the use of the egg as a Christian symbol. Boldetti (p. 519) speaks of marble eggs found in the tombs of St. Theodora, St. Balbina, and others; these were of the size of hen's eggs. Eggshells are occasionally found in the loculi of martyrs, and Raoul Rochette refers them to the agapae so frequently celebrated there. [See EUCCHARIST.] But Martigny, with the Abbé Cavedori (*L'auguglio crit. dei Mon. m. dele Arti Crist.*) is inclined to think that the egg signified the immature hope of the resurrection. "Restat spes, quae quantum mihi videretur, ovo comparatur; spes enim nonnullum pervenit ad rem" (Augustine, *Sermon.* cv. 8, *Opp.* t. v. 379). The use of eggs at Easter has no doubt reference to this idea; but whether the idea was really attached to the object or not, is a generally symbolic sense, seems still a dubious matter. For Eggs and Ducks see the *Medici MSS.* in Assmann, *Catalog. Bibl. Med.* [R. St. J. T.]

EILETON (Εἰλητόν). After the ephraensis of the prayer of the catechumens, and immediately before the deacon warns the catechumens to depart (*Lit. Chryso.*, Daniel iv. 34) the priest unfolds the eileton, or CORPORAL, on which the chalice and paten are afterwards placed. What this signifies is explained by Germain of Constantinople (*Theoria Myst.* p. 153, ed. Paris, 1560) thus: "The eileton represents the linen cloth in which the body of Christ was wrapped when it was taken down from the cross and laid in the tomb" (Suicer's *Theaurus*, s. v.). [C.]

EIRENICA (Εἰρηνικά). (1) The earlier clauses of the great litany in the Greek liturgies are frequently called *eipnικά*, as being for the most part prayers for peace. Thus the great litany in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom (c. 14, p. 340, Daniel) begins with "Let us beseech the Lord in peace; for the peace which is from above; . . . for the peace of the whole world." (2) See PACIFICAE. [C.]

EISODOS. [ENTRANCE.]

ELASIPPUS, martyr at Ferrara, with Speusippus and Melasippus, under Aurelian; commemorated Jan. 17 (*Mart. Adonis Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

ELDERS (Seniores). There are some traces of elders recognised in the church, yet distinct from the clergy. Augustine addresses his epistle to the church at Hippo (*Epist.* 137) to the clergy, the elders, (senioribus), and all the people. In another place (*Contra Crescon.* iii. c. 29), he mentions bishops, presbyters, deacons, and elders, (seniores). Optatus (i. c. 41) says, that when Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, was

forced to under Diocletian and under the faithful appear in council office of the magistrates (C. appear to position, church.

Edic. (p. 100), that was bishop who were public, ecclesiastics, in one place another of the deca 419, ment appear to council (C. Curia.

ELEAZAR (memorated Arca).

ELEAZAR (eight children Aug. 23 (A.

ELEEM 2. The word the distrib person dece Thus Grego speaks of carnis ne s a saint (Du

ELECT. Lt. i. xvi. 4 to be divide Substrati c

Electi: the actually ins to baptism. the electi th though he n of *εθνοει* are of doubt Aut. I. i. 6.

ELECTI (ordel elect Apostles, w los. But t been followe Clemens that in the appointed th Spirit, bisho join the fait were appoi (*ἀρχιεπισκοπ* whole church (*Epist. ad Jac* (Euseb. H. E.

entrance of Christ into Egypt about 24 - May 19 (Cal.) of Christ from Melita to 4, Hader 6 = Nov. 2 (Cal.) [C.]

INTO. It is difficult to name any earlier represent than the bronze egypt of the size of hen's eggs. Zenone at Verona, which is the earliest known of Christ, and may date from the 9th century. [R. St. J. T.]

Some diversity of opinion egg as a Christian symbol, speaks of marble eggs found in Theodora, St. Balbim, and of the found in the local of Rochefort refers them to the ly celebrated there. [See Martigny, with the Abbé io crit. dei Mon. m. della ed to think that the egg ve hope of the resurrection. quantum nihil videtur, ova enim nonlum pervenit ad vera. cv. 8, Opp. t. v. 379.] aster has no doubt reference whether the idea was really ject or not, in a generally still a dubious matter. For the Medici MSS. in Asses. Med. [R. St. J. T.]

After the ephesus catechumens, and immanecan warns the catechumens yssos, Daniel iv. 349) the ton, or CORPORAL, on which ten are afterwards placed. is explained by Germanus Theoria M. st. p. 153, el. The eileton represents the h the body of Christ was was taken down from the tomb" (Suicer's Theoremis, [C.]

(1) The earlier litany in the Greek liturgies iphruca, as being for the for peace. Thus the great of St. Chrysostom (c. 14, is with "Let us besech the the peace which is from face of the whole world..." [C.]

FRANCE.] martyr at Ferrara, with lassippus, under Aurelian; 7 (Mart. Adonis, Usuardi.) [W. F. G.]

There are some traces in the church, yet distinct gustine addresses his epistle Hippo (Epist. 137) to the (seniorities), and all the place (C. nra Cres. iii. bishops, presbyters, deacons,). Optatus (l. c. 41) says, bishop of Carthage, was

freed to leave his diocese in the persecution under Diocletian, he committed the ornaments and utensils belonging to the church to the faithful elders (fideliibus senioribus). These appear in some cases to have been merely the leading men of the congregation. Thus the council of Carthage, A.D. 419, committed the office of meeting the leaders of the Donatists to the magistrates and elders of the several districts (ad. Eccl. Afric. c. 91). But there also appear to have been others who had a special position, and probably special duties, in the church. Thus, in the Gesta Purpurat. (Cecili. et Edic. p. 283, in Optatus, ed. Paris, 1676) it is said, that in the business of enquiring into certain disputes there were associated with the bishop and clergy certain elders of the people, who were also officers of the church (seniores pibis, ecclesiasticis viros). Compare ECCLESIASTICS. In the same tract mention is made in one place of the clergy and elders, and in another of bishops, priests, deacons, and elders. In the decrees of the council of Carthage, A.D. 419, mention is made of certain elders, who appear to have been sent as delegates to the council (Cod. Eccl. Afric. cc. 85, 100). Compare CHURCHWARDENS: ELECTORAL COLLEGES.

[P. O.]

ELEAZAR, teacher of the Maccabees, commemorated Aug. 1 (Cal. Byzant.); July 29 (Cal. Armena). [W. F. G.]

ELEAZARIUS, martyr at Lyons, with his eight children and Minervius; commemorated Aug. 23 (Mart. Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

ELEEMOSYNARIUS. 1. See ALMS, p. 52. 2. The word is occasionally used to designate the distributor for pious uses of the effects of a person deceased, i. e. the "executor" of his will. Thus Gregory of Tours (De Vitis Patrum, c. 8) speaks of one from whose executors (elemosynariis) no small sums were received in honour of a saint. (Ducange, s. v.) [C.]

ELECTI. Some writers (ns Boan, De Reb. Lit. l. xvi. 4) consider the CATECHUMENS [p. 317] to be divided into the four classes of Audientes, Substrati or Genuflectentes, Competentes, and Electi; the latter being those whose names were actually inscribed in the church-list with a view to baptism. Bingham (Antiq. X. ii. 1) considers the Electi to be identical with the Competentes, though he also makes four classes by adding one of ἱερωσύνη. But both these classifications are of doubtful authority. (See Martene, De Rit. Ant. l. i. 6.) [C.]

ELECTION OF CLERGY. The first recorded election of clergy is in the Acts of the Apostles, where Matthias was chosen by casting lots. But this example does not appear to have been followed.

Clemens Romanus (Epist. Cor. i. c. 42) says that in the early days of the church the apostles appointed their first-fruits, proving them by the Spirit, bishops and deacons of those who should join the faith; and that afterwards the ministers were appointed by other men of consideration (ἐπισημοὺς ἀλλοτρίων) with the consent of the whole church (c. 44). Compare Pseudo-Clemens (Epist. ad Jacob. i. c. 3). Clemens Alexandrinus (Euseb. II. E. iii. c. 23, § 6) says that St. John

ordained such clergy as were pointed out by the Spirit.

It appears to have been sometimes held that the bishop had the right of selecting the inferior clergy. Cyprian (Ep. 29, ed. Hartel) says that he had appointed Saturnus as a lector and Optatus as a subdeacon, insisting that he has not acted arbitrarily, but carried out the wishes of the church in general. Ambrose (Epist. 82 ad Verceil.) speaks of bishops as admitting other clergy to orders and benefices, and (Offic. i. c. 18) of a certain person who was refused admission into the clerical order (in clerum), by himself. Jerome (Comm. in Tit. i. 5) speaks of bishops as having power to appoint (constituendi) priests in every city, and again (Epist. ad Nepot.) of their selecting (eligendi) priests, and (ibid.) of their being entrusted with the power of placing in office whom they would. Philostorgius (H. L. iii. 17) speaks of Leontius bishop of Alexandria appointing Aetius as a deacon. In the Life of John Damascene, it is said that the bishop of Jerusalem, acting by divine inspiration, sent for him and ordained him to the priesthood (Vita Joann. Dam. scen. per Joann. Episcop. Hierosolym. Inter opp. Joann. Damasc.). Gregory the Great, while strenuously asserting the right of the clergy and people to the free election of bishops, was equally firm in reserving to the bishops the power of selecting parish priests and deacons, on the ground that in choosing a bishop, the clergy and people transferred to him all rights of election to the inferior offices (Thomassin, 1. et. et Nov. Eccl. Dis. ip. ii. 7, c. 34, § 10). The council of Laodicea (c. 13) forbids the election to the priesthood (ἐκς ἱερατείου) to be entrusted to the multitude (ταῖς ὄχλοις). But this is sometimes referred to the election of bishops. The 4th council of Carthage (c. 22) provides that a bishop shall not ordain any without the advice of his clergy, and shall also seek not only the testimony, but the assent (conventiata), of the people. A decree of the council of Merida (Conc. Emerit. c. 19) speaks of a parish priest as having been put in charge of his church, by the appointment (per ordinationem) of his bishop. Another decree of the same council (c. 18) ordains that all parish priests shall provide a supply of inferior clergy from the household (familia) of the church. The 6th canon of Theophilus of Alexandria associates the clergy with the bishop, providing that at every ordination all the clergy shall exercise the power not only of assent, but of choice (consentiat et eligat), and that the candidate selected by the clergy shall be ordained in presence of the people, and that the bishop shall enquire of them whether they also can bear testimony of his fitness.

In these instances it appears that the right of election rested with the bishop, or with the bishop and clergy, and that the people only consented. There is evidence, however, that in many cases the people not only bore witness to the fitness of the candidates, but had themselves a share in the election. Cyprian (Ep. 67, cc. 3 and 4) speaks of the people as having the greatest power of choosing worthy bishops, since by their presence the merits of the candidates will be known, and the election be just and legitimate as confirmed by the general suffrage and assent. He adds that this was the apo-

stolice rule not only in the election of bishops and priests, but also in that of deacons. Jerome (*Epist. ad Rusticum*) appears to assert that either the bishop or the people had power to elect the candidates for ordination, "vel populus vel pontifex elegerit." And, in another place (*Comm. in Ezek. c. 33, v. 8*) speaks of either a bishop or a priest being a watchman, "speculator," of the church, because of his election by the people, "quia a populo electus est." Siricius (*Epist. l. ad Himerium Taracon. c. 10*) speaks of elevation to the office of priest or bishop as depending on the choice of the clergy and people. Chrysostom (*περὶ Ἱεροῦ. iv. c. 2, § 370, 379*) speaks of the electors to the office of the priesthood (τοὺς ἱερωτάτους) as quite distinct from the bishop who ordains. Of these electors he speaks as being the elders (τῶν πατρῶν, *ibid. i. c. 3 § 29*) or the leading (ἀρχαίων) members of the congregation (*ibid. l. c. 14 § 39*). He also speaks of the election as being decided by a majority of votes (*ibid. iii. c. 4 § 171*). Sometimes indeed the people appear to have brought a candidate to the bishop and insisted on his immediate ordination, as is said to have been the case with St. Augustine (*Possid. Vita Augustini, c. 4*).

The 1st council of Orange (c. 10), provides that when a bishop is the founder of a church in another diocese, he may select the clergy to officiate in it. Justinian (*Novell. 123 c. 18*) allows the founders of private oratories to select their clergy, but if any unworthy were chosen, the bishop was to have the power of selecting those whom he thought fit. [P. O.]

ELECTORAL COLLEGES. The evils of a popular election of bishops and other clergy in a great city, such as Constantinople, were so manifest (Chrysostom *de Sacerd. iii. 15*), that attempts were sometimes made to commit the choice of ministers to a select body or committee. We find perhaps a trace of this in the earliest times, when Clement of Rome (*ad Cor. i. 44*) speaks of the successors of the apostles being chosen by men of consideration (ὁσὶ ἐλαγχύμων ἀνδρῶν) with the assent of the church. The council of Laodicea (c. 13) clearly desires that the clergy should be chosen by some definitely organized body, and not by a mere mass-meeting (τοῦ ὄχλου) [ELECTION OF CLERGY]. In spite of this ordinance, however, there are only too many instances in later times of the choice of clergy by meetings which can only be called mobs. (See Augustinus, *Epist. 155*; Synesius, *Epist. 67*; Baronius, an. 303, § 22 ff.; Baluze, *Miscell. ii. 102 ff.*) Yet, generally, the influence of the principal men in a city could not be ignored, and when Justinian (*Novell. xxiii. c. 1*; see Bishop, p. 216) definitely enjoined that the clergy and chief men of a city (πρωτοὶ τῆς πόλεως) should nominate three for a vacant see, he probably did but confirm an existing practice. From the three thus nominated, one was to be chosen by the consecrator (τοῦ χειροτονούντος), generally the metropolitan.

If the "chief men" had been defined, we should have had here an "Electoral College" of clergy and notables; as they were not, this system generally led to a struggle between the clergy and the civil government. [C.]

ELEMENTS. The two parts of the outward and visible sign in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

1. *Names.*—The Latin word *elementa* does not appear to have been used in this technical sense in the early ages of the church, though it is a very natural word to express the component parts of any thing. Possibly the use arose from the analogy of baptism, where the outward sign would naturally be spoken of as the "element" of water, as, for instance, in the following passage from St. Augustine, where, in speaking of baptism, he says, "Take away the word, and what is the water but water? The word is added to the element, and it becomes a sacrament, itself as it were a visible word" (accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum, Augustinus in *Journ. XI. 1-3, Tract. lxxx. 3*). Gregory of Tours (*De Vita Patrum, c. 15*) uses the word of both bread and water, "Num esset illi panis tantum horraceus erat et aqua, de utrisque elementis libras singulas per dies singulas sumens." Words denoting sacrifice or offering were constantly used of the elements; τὰ ἅγια ἄρα, as in the Liturgy of St. James, ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐχαριστῶν τὰ ἅγια ἄρα; or simply τὰ ἅγια, as in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom and elsewhere; so the Latin *Sancti*,* as in *Ord. Rom. II. c. 8* (see Madelin, *Comment. Præc. p. xxxvi*); or again, simply τὰ ἄρα. Προσφορά was also generally used for the Elements placed on the altar. So the Latin *oblatus* and *oblata* as in the *Ordo Romanus II.* (c. 9), "Archidiaconus suscipit oblatus datus de oblationibus . . . et ponit [scilicet] super altare iuxta oblationes pontificis." The word *Hostia*, "the Victim," expresses a somewhat different aspect of the sacrificial conception.^b

The unconsecrated Elements on the altar are called in Eastern liturgies "the Mysteries," the bread alone the "Seal" (σφραγίς), from its being divided by lines in the form of a cross (see below). In certain Arabic rubrics (Hennaut, *Lit. Orient. ii. 62*) the Elements are called *Barcolia*, a corruption of the Greek ἀραρχή.

In Syriac they bear the name of *ἁγία ἄρα*, corresponding nearly to the Greek ἄρα and προσφορά and the Latin *oblata*; the bread is simply "Bread of the Sacraments," or "of the Mysteries."

When the Elements have been placed on the altar, they acquire other names having more distinct reference to sacrifice, as "the Lamb," or "the First-born." The Syrians too call the portion impressed with a cross "the Seal." Other names are given to the various particles after division (*Ren. n. s. l. 189*; ii. 62) [FRAGMENT].

Again, the Elements were called σμῦβόλα, πύσι, forms *aspectuales*, as outward representations of inward and spiritual grace. The word *species*, often supposed to have the same force, probably in its origin meant no more than "fruits of the earth"—a sense which it is well known to bear in later latinity, especially with the jurists (Ducange, s. v.).

* By the *Sancti*, however, we ought probably here to understand the consecrated Host reserved for a previous celebration.

^b See on these names the essay on sacrificial terms in *Memorials of the Rev. Whiston B. Marriott* (London, 1873).

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of the sacrificial character of the elements on the altar are "the Mysteries" of the (εὐχαριστία, from its being form of a cross (see below), rubrics (Benedict, *Lit.* elements are called *Barcolin*, οὐκ ἄρα φησὶ. the name of *Κωνσταντίνου*, the Greek ἄζυμα and ἁγιασμάτι; the bread is simply elements," or "of the Mys-

have been placed on the other names having more sacrifice, as "the Lamb," or the Syrians too call the "cross" the "Seal." After the various particles after 89; ii. 82) [FACIUM]. ts were called ἁγιασμάτια, "bless, as outward representing spiritual grace. The supposed to have the same origin meant no more than a sense which it is well latinity, especially with v. c.).

ever, we ought probably here to Host reserved from a pre-

the essay on sacrificial terms in *Byzantine B. Marriot* (London,

II. What were the Elements?

Throughout the universal church bread and wine have always been the recognised elements in the eucharist, with but few and slight exceptions which may be described in a few words. There was an obscure sect called the Artotyritae who added cheese to the bread. St. Augustin (*de Hæres.* c. xlviii.) says "the Artotyrites are so called from their oblation, for they offer bread and cheese, saying that the first oblations which were offered by men, in the infancy of the world, were of the fruits of the earth and of sheep." There were also sects which used no wine but water alone, and some who did not use wine in their morning services, though they did in the evening (see below, § VI.)

III. Composition of the Bread.

With regard to the element of bread, whatever may have been the practice of certain sects, there is entire agreement in the church that it should be made of wheat-flour. The mystical allusions to the superiority of wheat in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 11, p. 787) and Origen (*Hom. in Gen.* xii. c. 5, p. 247, Würzburg, 1780) strongly indicate, what indeed there is no reason to doubt, that wheaten bread and (ordinarily) no other, was used in the mysteries. Alcuin (*Epist.* 80) speaks specially of the "grana tritici," from the flour of which the bread is to be made. The great controversy in the matter has been: Should the bread be leavened or unleavened?

A. The principal evidences bearing on this question are the following:

1. It has generally been assumed in the West that the Last Supper was eaten at the foot of the Passover, and that therefore the bread used was the unleavened bread which the Jews were alone allowed to eat at that time. But it is contended by some writers of the Greek church that the Last Supper was held on the 13th Nisan, when leavened bread was still used; and there is no direct statement either in the New Testament or in the writings of the Early Fathers to indicate that *azyme*, or unleavened bread, was used; on the contrary, the fact that only "bread" was mentioned would lead to the inference that only common bread was meant. The *Acts of the Apostles* simply speaks of "breaking bread" as a solemn rite, or meeting together to "break bread." Justin Martyr simply speaks of bread, and as he is giving a particular description of the Christian rites, it seems most probable that he would have mentioned the fact had any particular kind of bread been used.

2. It is said that as the element of bread was taken in the early ages from the offerings of the people [OBULATION], which served also for the support of the ministers and dependents of the church, it must have been ordinary, that is, leavened bread. But this argument is by no means so conclusive as at first sight it appears; it is good for the age of Justin Martyr; but in later times there are evident traces of a double offering; one of ordinary food, for the use of the dependents of the church, and one of bread and wine for the altar. The council of Nantes (c. 8, quoted by Martene) clearly distinguished between the *o latium* which were intended for consecration, and the *panes*, or loaves, offered for the use of the church [EUCLOGIÆ]. So Hincmar (*Capitul.*

l. 16). And when such a separation was made between the offerings for the ministers and the offerings for the altar, the latter were probably specially prepared, whether leavened or not. The woman who smiled when Gregory the Great (Joannes Diaconus *Vita Greg.* ii. 41) offered her in the eucharist that which she had herself prepared, need not be supposed of course to have taken the oblation from her household loaf.

3. Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 30, c. 16) says that the Ebionites, in imitation of the saints in the church, celebrate mysteries yearly in the church with unleavened cakes (ἄζυμα), using water for the other element in the sacrament. Here the *azymes* seem to be mentioned, like the water, as a departure from Catholic practice; but Epiphanius does not in terms reckon the use of *azymes* among the heretical practices of the Ebionites, so that it is possible that their departure from orthodoxy may have consisted in their annual, instead of more frequent, celebration, and in their use of water for wine.

4. The words of the Pseudo-Ambrosius (*De Sacram.* iv. 4). "tu forte dicis, meus panis est usitatus; sed panis iste panis est ut verba sacramentorum; ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi," are generally thought to imply that the bread used for consecration was leavened. But the opposition in the writer's mind is between "common bread" and "the Body of Christ," not between "common" and "leavened" bread, nor is such an expression as "panis usitatus" absolutely conclusive, though it is in the highest degree probable that it designates leavened bread, such as was everywhere most commonly used.

5. A custom of the Roman church, mentioned by the *Liber Pontificalis* (cc. 33, 55) in the lives of Melchisedes and Siricius, is thus referred to by Innocent I. (*Epist. ad Decentium*, c. 5). Writing to the bishop of Gubbio, he says that his correspondent had no need to consult him about the "fermentum" which on Sundays (Innocent) sent to the parish churches (titulos), because that was a custom confined to the city of Rome, intended to prevent the parish priests [see CARDINAL], who were detained in their own churches by their proper duties, from feeling themselves cut off from communion with the mother church [EUCLOGIÆ]. Even in Rome it was only sent to the "tituli" proper, not to the presbyters of other churches. It has been supposed (e.g. by Bonaf) that the eucharistic bread which was sent by the pope was called "fermentum" as being made of leavened bread; but, unless the bread commonly consecrated in the churches was unleavened, this supposition does not furnish a reason why these particular oblates should be called "fermentum" by way of distinction, as they certainly appear to be; and the conjecture of Sirmond (adopted by Mabillon) seems by no means improbable, that this "fermentum" was so called as being intended to leaven the whole mass of the Roman church. Certainly the expressions used in the lives of Melchisedes and Siricius, "quod declaratur, quod nominatur, fermentum," seem to imply that the term is used in an improper, not a strict, sense.

6. The sixth canon of the 16th council of Toledo (A.D. 693) is to this effect. It having been brought to the notice of the council that in

some parts of Spain priests do not offer on the Table of the Lord clean loaves, specially prepared (panes mundos et studio preeparatos), but take off a piece to form a round disc (crustulam in rotunditatem) from loaves prepared for their own use, and offer it upon the altar with the wine and water; a thing contrary to all precedent; . . . the council decides unanimously, that no other kind of bread be placed on the altar of the Lord, to be hallowed by priestly benediction, but such as is whole and clean and specially prepared (panis integer et nitidus qui ex studio fuerit preeparatus); nor is anything of large size to be offered, but only cakes of moderate size, according to ecclesiastical custom (neque grande aliquil, sed modica tantum oblata, secundum quod ecclesiastica consuetudo retenant).

This canon has been claimed by the advocates both of the leaven and of the azymes; but in fact it is not conclusive for either. It is decisive as to the fact that in the Western church in the 7th century oblates were specially prepared, and were not portions of a loaf, but "integra;" but it is not proved that the words "nitidus" and "mundus" necessarily imply the absence of leaven.

7. The tenth canon of the council of Chelsea (*Conc. Celest.* A.D. 787; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 452) enjoins that the oblations be cakes or loaves, not pieces of bread (panis, non crusta). Probably the same distinction is intended as that laid down by the 16th council of Toledo, between a whole cake prepared for the purpose, and a piece taken from a loaf. The passage determines nothing as to the use of leaven, for "panis" may be used either of leavened or unleavened bread, as in "panes azymi et crustula absque fermento" (*Exod.* xxix. 2).

8. Another point of which much has been made in the discussion is this: that Photius of Constantinople (A.D. 867) never mentioned the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist as one of the Latin errors, while Michael Caerularius, also patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 1054), gave it a prominent place; it has thence been inferred that the use of unleavened eucharistic bread was introduced between the years 867 and 1054. This is however by no means a certain inference; Photius may have omitted to mention azymes among the points of difference between the Greek and the Latin churches, because he was content to leave the question of leaven or no leaven undetermined, like the Greeks of a later age at the council of Florence. All that can be certainly inferred from the silence of Photius is, that either the use of unleavened bread was unknown to him, or he regarded it as a thing indifferent. It is extremely difficult to suppose that Leo IX. would have written so strongly as he did to Michael Caerularius (*Epist.* ii. 24; vi.) as to the immemorial use of azymes among the Latins; if that use had arisen since the time of Photius; i. e. not more than a century before his own birth.

There is in fact positive evidence—if the documents be genuine—as to the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist in the Western church before that date.

9. Cyprian (*Epist.* 63, c. 13) says, that, as the chalice is composed, not of wine alone, nor of water alone, but of the union of the two: so the Body cannot be meal alone, nor water alone, but

the union of the two into one loaf. This is repeated in the same words by Isidore of Seville (*De Div. Off.* i. 18). It is difficult to imagine that Cyprian, and Isidore after him, omitted all mention of so significant an ingredient as leaven, if it was used in the eucharistic loaf. Moreover, Aleuin (*Epist.* 90 [al. 69] ad *Fructos Lugdunenses*, p. 107) writing about A.D. 790, uses the very same expression as to the composition of the bread, "ex aqua et farina panis fit qui consecratur in corpus Christi;" and adds, that it should be perfectly pure, "non leaven or "ferment" of whatever kind (absque fermento ullius alterius infectionis debet esse mundissimum). Somewhat later, A.D. 819, Rabanus Maurus (*De Cleri. Inst.* i. 31, p. 319, Migne) lays it down that the eucharistic bread should be unleavened, after the manner of the Hebrew offerings (*Lev.* viii. 2), and holds that the bread which the Lord blessed in the Last Supper was undoubtedly unleavened.

10. John Maro (quoted by Martene), writing at any rate before the Trullan council, says that those who made the eucharistic offering in leavened bread reproached the Western churches, the Armenians, and the Maronites, with offering azymes, which were not bread at all; a clear proof that the Western churches generally, in the 7th century, were thought to agree with the Maronites and the Armenians in this respect.

11. Again, allusions to "common" or "leavened" bread would scarcely have been introduced into the CANON OF THE LITURGY (p. 272), as is done, for instance, in the liturgies of James Baradaï and Mathew the Pastor, if the compilers had not known of some who used *unleavened* bread.

12. On the whole, then, there is distinct evidence that unleavened bread was used in the eucharist by the Latins, and by some Eastern sects, in the 7th and 8th centuries; and there is probable evidence that it was used in the 3rd. In the orthodox Eastern church, there can be no doubt that leavened bread has been used from a very early period indeed; if not from the very first, at any rate from the time when Judaizing sects insisted on using unleavened cakes, like those of the Passover, in the Lord's Supper.

B. *Mixture of Oil and Salt.*—The Syrian Christians, besides the leaven which is common to almost all oriental communions, mix with the bread a little oil and salt—a practice which they defend by many mystical reasons (Rennaudot, *Litt. Orient.* i. 191). The mixture of oil—perhaps taken from *Lev.* ii. 4, etc.; compare Justin Martyr, *Diad. v. Trypho*, c. 41—was probably always a singularity of a small sect; that of salt was more general and more hotly defended. Thus Aleuin (*Epist.* 90 [al. 69] ad *Fructos Lugdunenses*) reprehends certain persons in Spain for insisting, against the custom of Rome and the church in general, that salt should be put into the eucharistic bread; and adds mystical reasons why three things only, flour, water, and wine should be offered in the Mass. The modern Greeks eagerly defend the mixture of salt, which (they say) represents the life, so that a sacrifice

* The genuineness of this treatise is doubted by Baranovius. See Cave, *Hist. Lit.* s. v. Isidore.

* There seems no reason to doubt (with Renaudot, *De Rit. Lit.* i. xxiii. 7) the genuineness of this passage.

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into one loaf. This is same words by Isidore of i. 18). It is difficult to, and Isidore after him, of so significant an ingre- used in the eucharistic in (*Epist.* 90 [al. 69] ad p. 107) writing about A.D. ame expression as to the read, "ex aqua et farina ur in corpus Christi," and be perfectly pure pan of whatever kind (some- ins infectious debet esse what later, A.D. 819, Ra- *levis, Inst.* i. 314, p. 319, after the eucharistic bread v. viii. 2), and holds that Lord blessed in the Last lly unleavened. Martene, writing noted by Trullan, council, says that eucharistic offering in leaved the Western churches, the Maronites, with offering not bread at all; a clear rn churches generally, in thought to agree with the anians in this respect, are to "common" or "lea- scarcely have been intro- OF THE LITURGY (p. 272), e, in the liturgies of James the Pastor, if the compilers some who used *unleavened*

then, there is distinct evel bread was used in the ins, and by some Eastern 8th centuries; and there is at it was used in the 3rd, erna church, there can be no read has been used from eed; if not from the very e in the time when Judaizing ng unleavened cakes, like in the Lord's Supper.

Oil and Salt.—The Syrian e leaven which is common munionns, mix with the salt—a practice which they cal reasons (Renaudot, *Litt. e mixture of oil—perhaps 4, etc.; compare Justin *Apol.* c. 41—was probably of a small sect; that of 1 and more hotly defended. 90 [al. 69] ad *Traves Lug-* certain persons in Spain the custom of Rome and the hat salt should be put into ; and adds mystical reasons flour, water, and wine n the Mass. The modern l the mixture of salt, which the life, so that a sacrifice*

This treatise is doubted by Bar- L. s. v. Isidore. on to doubt with Bona, *De Rū-* neness of this passage.

without salt is but a dead sacrifice; and one of the reproaches commonly directed against the Armenians was, that they used oblates containing neither salt nor leaven (Martene, A. R. i. iii. 7, § 1).

IV. Preparation of the Bread.

The more minute directions for the preparation of the eucharistic bread belong to a later age than that with which we are concerned. Those which fall within our period are principally these.

The canon already quoted of the 16th council of Toledo makes it certain that special preparation of the eucharistic bread was enjoined in the 7th century. So long as people actually offered, they probably themselves prepared the oblates for the altar. Thus the emperor Valens is said to have prepared with his own hands the gifts^a which he offered for the altar (Gregory Nazianz. *Enchiridion on St. Basil*, c. 52, p. 809); and the Roman matron mentioned by Joannes Diaconus (u. s.)—probably a person of rank, or she would not have received the bread from the pope—had herself prepared that which she received. And it seems that not unfrequently noble ladies undertook the preparation of the oblates as a meritorious work; Canthia, wife of Trajan, a priest, prepared bread for oblation from flour which she had ground with her own hands (Martene, A. R. i. iii. vii. 24); so did St. Eusebius († 367), distributing the oblates to different churches (*Life* by Fortunatus, in *Acta SS. Bened.* i. 320). And this task was not unfrequently undertaken by nuns. Theodulph of Orleans, however (c. A.D. 797), desired that duty to be discharged by the presbyters themselves or their "boys"^b in their presence, in the following terms: "panes quos Deo in sacrificio offertis aut vobis ipsis aut a vestris peers coram vobis nitide et studiose fiant" (*Cytil.* 5). And since that time the oblates have generally been prepared by priests or "religious" persons. See BETHELEHEM. For further particulars of the preparation of the sacramental bread in various places, see Martene, A. R. i. iii. 7, §§ 23–25; Renaudot, *Litt. Orient.* i. 183; ii. 63 ff. ed. 1716.

V. Form of the Bread.

The loaf used by the Jews of Palestine seems commonly to have been round, somewhat less than an inch thick, and six or eight inches in diameter. In order that it might be more readily broken, it was scored with lines, frequently two lines at right angles to each other, so as to form a cross, dividing the loaf into four portions (Arianchi, *Leona Subter.* II. v. 9, p. 278, quoted by Probst, *Sacramente*, p. 201). And such was probably the form of the eucharistic loaf in the early Christian church (see woodcut). The *Liber Pontificalis* (p. 98A, ed. Muratori) attributes to Zephyrinus (pope 197–217) the order, that presbyters should distribute round cakes (coronns) blessed by the bishop—a statement probably of no great authority. In the 4th century Epiphani-

^a The word *δωρεα* commonly refers to the Elements; in this place however, Nicetas takes the "gifts" for golden vessels which Valens had made (*ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἑτοίμασθε ἅρ.*).

^b Meaning, probably, those devoted to the service of the church—"oblats."

nus (*Ancoratus*, c. 57) and Cassarius, brother of Gregory Nazianzen (*Dial.* iii. *quest.* 169), speak of the bread as round. Gregory the Great (*Dialo-* *gus*, iv. 55) speaks of a certain presbyter

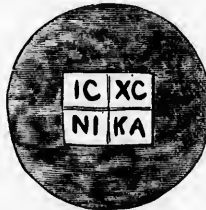


On an ancient tomb. (From Martigny.)

bringing "duas oblationum coronas," then the usual form of oblation. These are explained by Joannes Diaconus (in Martene, A. R. i. iii. vii. 26) to be cakes made of a handful of fine flour, and in form like a crown (ex pugilla similis et ad speciem coronæ); that is, round, whatever else may be intended by the comparison. And the evidence of pictorial representations agrees with this so far as it goes. Whenever in ancient representations the form of the bread is distinguishable, it is round. See CANISTER, p. 264; EUCHARIST, p. 627.

A passage quoted by Martene (u. s.) from a treatise of Iblephonsa, a Spanish bishop, describes the form and composition of the eucharistic bread in the beginning of the 9th century thus: "mensura trium digitorum anguli in rotundam panis azymi sic compositus est;" i. e. the azymes for the eucharist were made in the form of a circle of three "fingers" radius. The same authority mentions that the oblate from which the priest was to communicate was larger than those intended for the people.

That it is an ancient custom to impress the oblates with a cross is probable from the words of Chrysostom (*Quo Christo v. st. Icus*, 571 A, ed. Ben.), where he says, "on the Table is the Cross . . . in the mystic Supper the Cross of Christ shines forth with the Body of Christ." The woodcuts represent the forms of the Greek and



Greek Oblate.

Coptic oblates, which may probably be of considerable antiquity. The former bears the inscription "IC XC [Ἰησοῦς Χριστός] ΝΙΚΑ;" the latter, "ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Ζαβαβῶν." It is evident from what has been said above, that from a comparatively early age a strong

^a Somewhat less than three inches.

objection was felt to the practice of consecrating a portion of a loaf in the eucharist; a whole loaf cake was always to be employed.



Coptic Oblate.

VI. Composition of the Cup.

With regard to the element of Wine there has been less controversy, though it is an interesting and unsettled question whether the cup was mixed at the institution of the sacrament by our Blessed Lord himself. Pfall (after R. Oh, de Battenora and Maimonides, in *Mishwan de Benedict*, c. 7, § 5) asserts that the Jews as a rule mixed water with the wine in their Cup of Blessing. Lightfoot (*Temple Service*, i. 691) says that he that drank pure wine performed his duty; so that, although it seems probable that our Lord used the mixed cup, yet it is not certain that he did so. Buxtorf (*De primæ Coenæ Ritibus et Forma*, § 20) says that it was indifferent whether the cup was mixed or not; and in his *Synagoga Judaica*, where he gives full details of the Passover, does not mention a cup of wine diluted with water. Again, the Babylonish Talmud calls water mixed with wine "the fruit of the vine;" but it would appear that the same term is used for pure wine in Isa. xxxii. 12; Hab. iii. 17; so that nothing positive can be ascertained from the use of that term. On the whole it seems probable that our Lord used a mixed cup, but there is no conclusive evidence on the point.

It is acknowledged on all hands that, with the exception of a few heretics, the church used for many centuries wine mixed with water. Justin Martyr, the first after the apostles who gives any account of the celebration of the eucharist, says, "There is then brought to the brother who presides a cup of water and mixed wine" (*εὐχαριστος*). And afterwards he tells us that "the deacons distribute to each one present that he may partake of that bread and wine and water which has been blessed by thanksgiving;" and this food, he says, is called Eucharistia (*Apol. i. ch. 65*). Irenæus also (*adv. Hæres.* lib. v. c. 2, p. 294) speaks of the mixed cup (*κεκραμένον ποτήριον*). And again (lib. v. c. 36) of the Lord's promise to his disciples, "that he would drink the mixture of the cup (mistonem calicis) new with them in the kingdom," which shows that he thought the fruit of the vine and the mixed cup the same thing. Cyprian (*Epist. 63, ad Cæcilianum*) has several passages bearing on this question. He says: (c. 2) that to mix wine with water is to follow the Lord's example; and again (c. 13): "Thus in sanctifying the cup of the Lord, water cannot be offered alone, as neither can wine be offered alone; for if the wine be offered by itself the blood of Christ begins to be without us, and

if the water be alone the people begins to be without Christ."

The third council of Carthage (c. 24) orders, "that in the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, nothing else be offered but what the Lord himself commanded, that is bread, and wine mixed with water." The African code, both Greek and Latin, has this same canon, with further directions added (*Col. Can. African.* c. 37). All the ancient liturgies either contain a direction for mixing water with the wine, or else in the canon the mixing is alluded to. Thus in the Clementine Liturgy (*Const. Apost.* viii. 12, § 16), in reciting the words of Institution the priest says: "Likewise also mixing the cup of wine and water (*ἐξ ὄνου καὶ ὕδατος*) and blessing it, He gave it to them." The Liturgies of St. James and St. Mark contain like words, while the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom order the deacon to put wine and water into the cup before the priest places it on the altar. In like manner, in some form or another, the mixing is mentioned in the Liturgies of Ethiopia, Nestorius, Severus, of the Roman and the Gallican churches. In most liturgies, when the water is mixed with the wine, some reference is made to the blood and water which flowed from the Lord's side; as (e. g.) in the Ambrosian rite: "De Intere Christi exivit sanguis et aqua pariter." Similarly the Mozarabic and the Roman.

A peculiar rite of the Byzantine church is the mingling of hot water with the wine. In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (c. 34), after the fraction of the oblate, the deacon, taking up the vessel of boiling water (*τὸ βῆρ*), says to the priest: "Sir, bless the boiling water;" the priest then says: "Blessed be the fervency (*ζέως*) of thy saints for ever, now and al ways, and for ages;" then the deacon pours a small quantity of the boiling water into the chalice, saying, "The fervency of faith, full of the Holy Spirit. Amen."

Various mystical reasons have been given for the mixture of water with the wine. That of Cyprian has been already quoted. Genadius (*De Eccl. Dogmat.* c. 75), besides the fact that our Lord used the mixed cup at the first institution, alleges as a further reason that blood and water flowed from His pierced side. The same reason is given by the Pseudo-Ambrosius (*De Sacram.* v. 1), and generally by the liturgies. In the comment on St. Mark, ascribed to Jerome, another is given; that by one we might be purged from sin, by the other redeemed from punishment (*in Mark. XIV*). Alecia (*Epist.* 90) finds in the three things, water, flour, and wine, which may be placed on the altar, a mystical resemblance to the Three Heavenly Witnesses.

The principal deviations from the received practice of the church in this matter have been the opposite usages of the Aquarians, who used no wine at all in the eucharist, and of the Armenians, who mixed no water with the wine, claiming the authority of John Chrysostom. Both these are censured by the council in Trullo (c. 32). These Aquarians or Hydropostatæ probably abstained from wine as a bad thing in itself, like the Ebionites and the Tatianists or Encratites described by Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 39).

^a See Acts xvii. 25; Rom. xii. 11

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ELESB emperor J May 15 (C

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Carthage (c. 24) orders... of the body and blood... to be offered but what the... that is bread, and wine... the African code, both... this same canon, with... (Col. Can. African... liturgies either contain... water with the wine, or... being is alluded to. Thus... (Constt. Apost. viii... the words of Institution... likewise also mixing the... (ἐξ ὀψωυ καὶ ὄζωυ)...

Byzantine church is the... with the wine. In the... (c. 34), after the fra... deacon, taking up the... (τὸ ζῶον), says to the... boiling water;" the priest... the fervency (ἐστὶν) of... w and al rays, and for ages... pours upon a small quantity... of the chalice, saying, "The... of the Holy Spirit. Amen."... reasons have been given for... with the wine. That of... Genadius quoted. Genadius... (c. 475), besides the fact that... cup at the first institu... whether reason that blood and... is pierced side. The same... the Pseudo-Ambrosius (De... generally by the liturgies... Mark, ascribed to Jerome... that by one we might be... of the other referred from... (c. 1174). Alcuin (Epi... things, water, flour, and... placed on the altar, a mys... the Three Heavenly Wit...

of the received... in this matter have been... of the Aquarians, who used... eucharist, and of the Arme... water with the wine... of John Chrysostom... ed by the council in Trullo... arians or Hydrophobistas... from wine as a bad thing in... ates and the Tatianists or... by Epiphanus (Hærec. 39,

viii. 26; Rom. xii. 11

16; 46, 2; 47, 1); but others in early times, though they partook of the mixed cup in the evening, used water only in the morning, lest the smell of wine should bring scandal upon them, and betray their celebration of the mysteries to heathen persecutors. This practice is noticed and reprehended by Cyprian (Epist. 63, c. 16).

Some in the 7th century offered milk for wine in the eucharist; others communicated the people not with wine pressed from grapes, but with the grapes themselves (oblativ uvis) (Conc. Bæac. iii. c. 1); errors severely censured by the ecclesiastical authorities, who constantly insisted on the offering of wine, water, and bread only.

A peculiar instance of an addition to the cup is the dropping of milk and honey into it, according to the Roman rite, on Easter-Eve (Martene, A. R. IV. xxiv. 32), the great day of baptism. [BAPTISM, p. 164.]

The Colour of the Wine.

The wine in use in the church has in general been red, apparently from a desire to symbolise as much as possible the blood of our Lord. According to the Talmud red wine was offered at the Passover. Irenæus indeed (Hærec. bk. i. c. 16) says that Marcus (a heretic) claimed to perform the eucharistic ceremony over certain mixed juices, and to make them appear red and purple, which would lead to the supposition that the wine had been originally white. But Cyprian (Ep. 63, c. 7) speaks as if the Eucharistic wine was blood-red; and Chrysostom (Hom. 82 in Matt. xxvi. 34, 35) speaks of the tongue being empurpled with the blood of Christ in the eucharist. Later in the history of the church many of the synods have ordered red wine to be used; and although there is no necessity in the matter, it certainly seems the most appropriate.

Literature.—Bona, *Remum Liturgiarum Libri* ii.; Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*; Kræzer, *De Antiquis Ecclesie Occidentalis Liturgiis*; Bingham's *Antiquities*; Vossius, *Theses Theol.*; Brett on the *Liturgies*; Neale's *Eastern Church*; Vogan's *True Doctrine of the Eucharist*. On the special question of Azymes, see, against the antiquity of unleavened cakes in the eucharist, Sirmond's treatise *De Azymo* (1651); on the other side, Mabilion, in the preface to Saec. iii. of the *Acta SS. Bened.*, and in a special treatise *De Azymo et Fermentato*. [G.W.P. and C.]

ELESBAAN, king, monk in the time of the emperor Justin; commemorated Ginbot 20 = May 15 (Cal. Ethiop.). [W. F. G.]

ELEUTHERIUS. (1) Bishop, and martyr at Messina, with his mother Anthia or Evanthia; commemorated April 18 (Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vd. Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Bishop, at Antesiodorum (Auxerre); commemorated Aug. 26 (Mart. Usuardi).

(3) Martyr at Nicomedia under Diocletian, "cum aliis innumeris"; commemorated Oct. 2 (Mart. Hieron., Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi).

(4) Deacon, martyr at Paris with Dionysius the Bishop and Rusticus the presbyter; commemorated Oct. 9 (Mart. Hieron., Bedæ, Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi).

(5) Bishop of Illyricum, martyr A. D. 290; commemorated Dec. 15 (Cal. Byzant.). [W.F.G.]

ELEVATIO (in a Liturgical sense).

(1). *Eastern Church*.—In all early Oriental liturgies an elevation of the bread by the celebrating priest is prescribed contemporaneously with the proclamation *ἄγια ἄγιοι*, and before the Fraction. Thus, in the liturgy of St. Chrysostom "the priest, elevating the holy bread, exclaims 'Holy things for holy persons;'" of St. James: "then he elevates the gifts, and saith 'Holy things, &c.;" of St. Basil, "the priest, elevating the holy bread, exclaims 'Holy things, &c.;" the Armenian, "the priest lifts up the sacrifice before his eyes, and saith 'the Holy of holies.'" The original intention of this rite was clearly not that the host might be adored by the people, for it took place within the Bema, the doors of which being closed and the curtains drawn, it could be only seen by the attendant ministers. This is acknowledged by Goar; "Non ita tamen ut a populo conspiciatur Dominicum corpus elevat Græcus sacerdos" (*Eucholo*, p. 145, note 158, cf. pp. 84, 151); he adds that there is no allusion to eucharistic adoration in the earlier ritualists: "De majoris hostie, a populo, completa consecratione, per elevationem conspiciendæ, nihil apud antiquos rituum existimatores." The authority of St. Basil, *ita ut τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἄρματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναδέξεως τοῦ κρούου τῆς εὐχαριστίας τὴς τῶν ἁγίων εὐργασίας ἵδωυ καταλέλοιπεν*; (*De Sp. Sanct.* c. 27), is erroneously urged by Bellarmin (*De Eucharist.* ii. 15), and Bellarmine (*De Concil. Antioch.* p. 219), and Bona (*lit. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. 13, § 2), in support of the later practice of elevating the eucharist to show it to the people. For the word *ἀναδέξις* has been abundantly proved by Albertinus, quoted by Bingham (*Orig. Eccl.* lib. xv. c. 5, § 4), and is acknowledged by Renaudot (i. 270), to be used here in its classical sense of "dedication," "consecration," not that of "displaying." The authorities alleged in support of the early introduction of the practice of displaying the eucharist to the people prove very weak on examination. The Pseudo-Dionysius, whose writings cannot be placed earlier than the 5th or 6th century, when speaking of the priest "showing the gifts," (*τὰς δωρεὰς τῶν θεωρητῶν ὁποδείξας*), before proceeding to communion (*De Eccl. Hierarch.* c. iii. § 11) does not in any way assert that it was to the people that he showed them. The example of St. Euthymius, adduced by Martene (p. 423), is little more to the point. All that is said is, that after the *εὐχολοία*, "stretching forth his hands to heaven, and as it were displaying to them the mystery administered for the sake of our salvation," (*καὶ εὐερε αὐτοῖς ὁποδεικνὺς τὸ εὐκοσμηθῆν τῆς σωτηρίας χάριν τῆς ἡμετέρας μυστήριου*), "he cried with a loud voice, τὰ ἅγια τοῦ ἁγίου" (*Cyrl. Scythopol. Vita S. Euthym.* apud Coteler. *Eccl. Græc. Monum.* vol. ii. p. 268, § 81). The passage quoted from Germans, and accepted by Bingham as coming from the patriarch of Constantinople of that name, A. D. 715, is from a work, *Theoria Kerua Diacorum*, correctly assigned by Cave to his namesake and successor five centuries later, A. D. 1222. The most apposite passage is that given by Renaudot (i. 267) from James bishop of Edessa, c. 651, which, if correctly quoted, prescribes that the priest, after uttering the *ἄγια ἄγιοι*, "shall lift the sacraments and show them to the whole people as for

a witness," "tum elevat et ostendit sacramenta universo populo tanquam in testimonium."

(2) *Western Church*.—Obscure and vague as is the date of the introduction of the elevation of the eucharist in the Oriental church, there is still greater uncertainty when it became the practice of the West. Gear humbly confesses his ignorance (*Us. hist.* p. 146, § 158), and Bona acknowledges the same (*Ver. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. 13, § 2), and professes his inability to discover any trace of the practice in the ancient sacramentaries or the codices of the *Ordo Romanus*, or in any of the ancient ritual writers, Alenit, Amalarius, Walafrid, &c. Indeed there is little doubt, as is acknowledged by all learned and candid Romanists, that the elevation owes its introduction to the spread of the tenets of Berengarius, c. 1050, against which it was regarded as a public protest (Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* i. 227). This practice was the natural consequence of the mediaeval doctrine of Transubstantiation, though it had little or no authoritative sanction before the 13th century. Although from its late date the Latin practice does not belong to the period embraced in this Dictionary, we may mention that the position of the elevation in the Roman canon differs essentially from that of the Greek church, not taking place until after the fraction and consecration instead of before it.

(Binterim, *Lehrbüch.* vol. iv. p. 3, pp. 432, sq.; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. xv. c. 5, § 4; Neale, *Eastern Ch.* vol. i. p. 1, p. 516; Bona, *Ver. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. 13, § 2; Gear, *Eu. doct.* p. 145 sq.; Martene, *De Eccl. Lit.* vol. i. p. 423; Renandot, *Liturg. Orientale Collect.* i. 265-271, ii. 82, 572, 608; Scudamore, *Nativity Eucharist.* ch. vi. § 10, p. 546 sq.; ch. viii. § 7, p. 584 sq.) [E. V.]

ELIBERITANUM CONCILIUM. [ELVIRA, COUNCIL OF.]

ELIGIUS, bishop and confessor, "gloriosus in miraculis," at Noyon; commemorated Dec. 1 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

ELIJAH, the prophet; commemorated July 4 (*Cal. A. new.*), July 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*), Takas 1 = Nov. 27 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [W. F. G.]

ELISHA, the prophet; commemorated Senno 20 = June 14 (*Cal. It. iop.*, *Cal. Byzant.*), Oct. 12 (*Cal. Armen.*); also Tekent 19 = Oct. 16 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [W. F. G.]

ELIZABETH. (1) Mother of John the Baptist; commemorated Jakatit 16 = Feb. 10 (*Cal. Et. iop.*).

(2) *Θαυματουργός*, commemorated April 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

ELODIA, virgin, and martyr with Nunilo at Osea; commemorated Oct. 22 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

ELPIDIOPHOS, and companions, martyrs in Persia, A.D. 320, commemorated Nov. 2 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

ELPIS (Hope), daughter of SOPHIA (Wisdom), is commemorated with her sisters, Faith and Love, Sept. 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [C.]

ELVIRA, COUNCIL OF (*Eliberitanum* or *Ilberitum concilium*), held at Elvira in Granada. There was another Elvira in Catalonia. The date assigned to it in its own acts is **ERACCLXII = A.D. 324**. But it has been referred to **A.D. 305, 313, and even 335** by moderns. As

Hosius of Corduba is placed second of the nineteen bishops attending it, its date cannot well have been earlier than 313, nor later than 324. And, in either case, its canons which would find their counterpart in those of Ancyra or Nicea. Perhaps the later date, besides being that of its own acts, would accord best with the reference to it by Hosius himself in the 11th Sardinian canon, which Baluze points out. Its own canons, all on discipline, seem to have amounted to fourscore and one; but Gratian and others cite several more not now found in its acts. Among the former, absence from church for three consecutive Sundays is punished by the 21st. Superstitious fasts—on which see Bingham xxi. i. 25—to be observed in all other months, are relaxed in July and August by the 23rd. Bishops, priests, and deacons cohabiting with their wives are threatened with deprivation in the 33rd, lights in cemeteries are forbidden during the day by the 34th, and pictures in churches by the 36th. A huge dissertation on this council, in three books, addressed to Clement VIII. by Mendoza, may be read in Mansi, ii. 58 and seq. [E. S. FC.]

EMANCIPATIO, in a special sense, is the setting free of a monk, chosen to an ecclesiastical dignity, from the obedience which he owes to his superior. This was done by letters under the hand of the abbat, called *emancipatorie littere*. A form of such letters is given by Petit in his edition of Theodore's *Præsentia*, p. 143. [C.] (change, s. v.)

EMBALMING. There are many testimonies to the observance of this custom among the Christians of the early centuries. That it was practised in the case of martyrs appears from the instance of Tharucus (*Acta Tharuci*, ap. Baron. an. 290, n. 21), to whom it was denied by his persecutor Maximus, and his body sentenced to burning, in contempt of the doctrine of the resurrection. But embalming was not confined to martyrs; it was a reproach cast upon Christians generally by the heathen interlocutor in Minucius Felix (*Octav.* c. 12, § 6), that "using no perfumes for their bodies in life, they required all costly ointments for their funerals." Tertullian also (*Apol.* c. 42) is a witness to the general observance of the custom: "Let the Sabæans know that more of their costly wares is spent in the burial of Christians than in offering incense (fumigandis) to their gods."

The practice was doubtless derived from the Jews. In the Old Testament the only recorded examples are those of Jacob and Joseph (Gen. i. 2, 26) in conformity with Egyptian usage; but it would seem to have been observed more or less generally during their later history; and in St. John's description of our Lord's burial, we read that Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus "took the body of Jesus and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury." Our Lord's interpretation of the pious offering of Mary to His person (Mark xiv. 8), "She hath anointed my body to the burial" (*ἀναθήσασθαι*) implies the use of unction as a recognized practice. Various spices were employed for the embalming, especially myrrh; so Prudentius (*Cathemerin.* hym. 4)—

* *Asperaque myrrha Sabæo
Corpus medicamine crvat.*

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a special sense, is the
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 I *encyclicalis littere*,
 s given by Petit in his
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 [C.]

re are many testimonies
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ble's derived from the
 ment the only recorded
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 n observed more or less
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 Lord's burial, we read
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 the use of unction as a
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 hym. 4) —

yrths Sabao
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Although the custom of embalming was com-
 mon to Christians and heathens, there was an
 essential difference in the purpose for which it
 was practised. As a pagan ceremony it was
 intended to facilitate cremation; with the Chris-
 tians, on the contrary, to whom "the old irre-
 verence of burning" was always abhorrent, its
 object was to preserve the body from corruption.
 It was doubtless the expression of that reverent
 feeling for the body, as having been the temple
 of the Holy Ghost, and as destined for restora-
 tion to an imperishable existence, by which the
 Christian faith was exclusively characterised
 among all the religions of the world. [D. B.]

EMBER DAYS (*jejunia quatuor temporum*).
 From the Latin title has been derived the name
 of these seasons in most European languages,
 whether by translation [e. g. the French *les*
Quatre-Temps, or the Swedish *de fyra faste-*
tider], or by a corruption of the original [e. g.
 the German *Quatember*, Dutch *Quatertemper*, or
 Danish *Kvædember*]. Hence too, if we consider
 the wide-spread use of the expression is a
 probable derivation of the English *Ember*;
 though two others have been proposed, one
 connecting it with embers in the sense of ashes,
 for which little can be said, and the other
 identifying it with the Anglo-Saxon *ymbren*, a
 revolutio or circuit, to which it has been
 objected that all church seasons are necessarily
 recurrent. [In favour of this last view, how-
 ever, may be cited the phrases *ymbren dagis*, etc.,
 and such notices as the canon of the English
 council of Aenham, given below.] On the suppo-
 sition that the derivation from the Latin is
 the true one, it is interesting to note the Danish
 form *Tamperdag*, as marking an intermediate
 stage between that of the German and of the
 English. An exception to the above rule is the
 Welsh name, *Withnos y Cydyorïau*, week of the
 united choirs or processions.

Whatever may have been the origin of the
 solemnity of the Ember Fasts, we find them at
 an early period associated with the invoking of
 God's blessing on each of the four seasons as
 it came round in its turn, and the special
 striving by prayers and fasting to merit such
 blessings. Still, on the earliest occasion on
 which we meet with a mention of these fasts,
 this idea does not seem to have been present to
 the mind of the writer. The passage in question
 occurs in the treatise *de Inverisibus* of Philas-
 tris, bishop of Brixia, in the middle of the 4th
 century. As the passage is of some importance,
 we think it well to quote it at length. After
 citing Zech. viii. 19, as referring to the
 subject, he proceeds " . . . ut mysteria Chris-
 tianitatis ipsius quatuor jejniis nuntiata cognos-
 ceremus. Nam per annum quatuor jejunia in
 ecclesia celebrantur; in Natali primum, deinde
 in Pascha, tertium in Epiphania, quartum in
 Pentecoste. Nam in Natali Salvatoris Domini
 jejunandum est, deinde in Paschae Quadragesima,
 Pascha in Ascensione itidem in cœlum post
 octava quadragesimo, inde usque ad Pente-
 costen diebus decem: id quod postea fecerunt
 beati Apostoli post Ascensionem jejniis et
 circumspectis insistentes." (*Haeres.* 119, in *Patrol.*
 xii. 1286.) It seems certain here, whatever the
 explanation may be, whether of a false reading
 in the text, or of an unusual meaning of the

word, that, as Fabricius (*not. in loc.*) suggests,
 the fast in *Epiphania* refers to the season of the
 Ascension, both from the position assigned to it
 between Easter and Pentecost, and from the
 subsequent reference to the Ascension.

We now pass on to the first definite mention of
 these fasts as associated with the beginnings of
 the four seasons. Among the works of Leo I.,
 are found numerous sermons for each of the
 fasts, which are spoken of as the fast *de ini-*
menis (*Serm.* 12-20), the fast in *Quadragesima*
(Serm. 39-50), the fast in *Pentecoste* (*Serm.*
 78-80), and the fast *septimi mensis* (*Serm.*
 85-94) respectively; and in one passage (*Serm.*
 19, c. 2; vol. i. p. 59, ed. Ballerini), he thus
 associates the fasts with the seasons they
 introduce, "jejunium vernum in Quadragesima,
 aestivum in Pentecoste, autumnale in mense
 septimo, hiemale autem in hoc qui est decimus
 celebramus." Further, he appears to speak of
 this practice as resting on apostolical authority
(Serm. 80, c. 1; p. 316), meaning, probably, that
 resting on the authority of his church, they
 claimed the respect due to apostolic ordinances.
 The autumnal fast does not seem to be mentioned
 before the time of Leo I., for it will have been
 observed that the arrangement in Philastrius
 is different. Perhaps, however, Leo or some of
 his predecessors may have added to three existing
 ancient fasts this fourth one, and then associated
 the four seasons of the year with these four regu-
 larly recurring fasts.

The particular days on which it was incumbent
 to fast at the Ember seasons according to the
 Roman rule were Wednesday, Friday, and
 Saturday; thus Leo (*Serm.* 30, c. 4, p. 320)
 enjoins "Quarta et sexta feria jejunemus,
 Sabbato autem apud beatissimum Petrum Apo-
 stolum vigiliis celebremus." Augustine (*Epist.*
 36, ad *Casulanum*, c. 8; vol. ii. 105, ed. Goume)
 seems to speak simply of the particular days of
 the week on which the local Roman church fasted
 in its ordinary practice.

It has been said that Leo (*Serm.* 18, c. 2; p. 57),
 asserts that the fasts of the four seasons were
 celebrated "in universa ecclesia;" but an
 examination of the passage will show that he is
 referring to the institution of fasts generally.
 Indeed, there can be little doubt that the fasts of
 the four seasons were at first only observed in
 that part of the church in immediate dependence
 on Rome. The language of Augustine will not
 allow us to suppose that the same state of
 things prevailed in Africa; the church in north
 Italy differed, at any rate in not making Satur-
 day a fast. (Amorose apud August., *Epist.* 86 ad
Cusulanum c. 32; *ed. cit.* 120.)

In the eastern church there is no trace what-
 ever of an observance of the Ember seasons. The
 passage of Athanasius, which some have quoted
 in support of a different conclusion (*Apol. de syn.*
 c. 6; vol. i. p. 323, ed. Bened.), merely proves
 the existence of a fast at Pentecost. With this
 may be compared an allusion in the *Apostolic*
Constitutions (lib. v. c. 20).

Not only is there thus a lack of evidence
 to establish the existence of the usage in early
 times as ought but a local Roman custom, but
 we find Jerome protesting against the multiply-

* See on this point Quenell's sixth Dissertation ap-
 pended to his edition of Leo I.

ing of obligatory fasts, and clearly recognizing no fast but Lent as of universal obligation (*Epist.* 41 ad Marcellam c. 2; vol. i. 185, ed. Vallarsi; cf. vi. 750).

Nor if we take illustrations from a somewhat later period shall we find the practice uniformly established. Thus the rule of St. Benedict (ob. circa 542 A.D.), carefully specifies the fasts which the orler is to observe, but ignores the Ember seasons altogether, and indeed, his rule is hardly compatible with the existence of the latter (*Regula S. Bened.* c. 41; p. 88, ed. Venice, 1723).

Later still Isidore of Seville (ob. 636, A.D.), speaks of the four fasts which are to be observed in the church, "secundum Scripturas sacras," mentioning those in Lent, Pentecost, the seventh month, and (on the authority of Jeremiah xxxvi. 9), the Calends of November (*de off. Eccl.* i. c. 36 sqq.). He afterwards mentions in addition to these four, that on the Calends of January and others.

As regards the Gallican church, the Ember seasons do not seem to have been established much before the time of Charlemagne. The second council of Tours (567 A.D.) in prescribing the fasts to be observed by monks, makes no mention whatever of the fasts of the four seasons—the various Gallican Liturgies published by Mabillon equally ignore them; and the language of the council of Mainz [813 A.D.], in ordering their observance, seems to imply a recently established institution, "Constitutum ut quatuor tempora anni ab omnibus cum jejuniis observarentur, hoc est in mense Martio hebdomada prima, et feria quarta, et sexta, et Sabbato. . . . similiter in mense Junio hebdomada secunda, in mense Septembris hebdomada tertia, in mense Decembris hebdomada prima, quae fuerit plena ante vigiliam Nativitatis Domini sicut est in Romana Ecclesia traditum." (*Concil. Mogunt.* can. 34; Labbe vii. 1249). We also meet with capitularies of the Carolingian kings to the same effect (see e. g. lib. v. 151; vol. i. p. 854, ed. Baluzius. See also one of 769 A.D., i. p. 192).

To return now to the Roman church properly so called, it will be seen that there is reason to doubt whether even there the spring fast was not at first really Lent itself, and not the three special days. It is pointed out by Muratori (see below) c. 3, that while Leo in his sermons on the summer, autumn, and winter fasts, alludes to the three days Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday; he yet in his sermons on the spring fast in no way refers to them, and indeed it is difficult in any case to see the meaning of a fast within the limits of another fast, except it were meant to be of a more rigorous kind, of which in the present case we have no evidence.

Some would attempt to solve this difficulty by supposing that the Ember seasons were originally instituted as times for ordination, but it certainly appears that this theory cannot be borne out by facts (see e. g. Amalarius Fortunatus, *de Eccl. Off.* ii. 2, and cf. Muratori c. 3). Everything points to the conclusion that the solemnity attaching to the seasons led to their being chosen as fitting times for the rite. The theory of Muratori seems very probable, that the spring fast is really Lent itself, and that the fixing of the three days is due to a later development.

Among other evidence referred to by him is the fact that in some ancient Roman sacramentaries, when notice is appointed to be given of the fasts of the fourth, seventh, and tenth months, no mention is made of the spring fast, Lent being assumed to be known from other sources. (For instances of this see Cardinal Bona, *Rerum Liturg.*, lib. ii. c. 16; vol. ii. p. 343, ed. Ang. Taur. 1753; and Thomasius, *Colices Sacramentorum*, lib. i. c. 82; p. 113.) We may further refer to the rule of the English council of Cloveshoe (747 A.D.), which orders that no one should neglect "jejuniorum tempora id est, quarti, septimi et decimi mensis," and that due notice should always be given of each (*Concil. Cloves.* can. 18; Labbe vi. 1578). It is interesting to add here that the introduction of the fasts of the four seasons is referred by a later English council (that of Aethelm [1009 A.D.], the locality of which appears to be unknown) to Gregory the Great, "et jejania quatuor temporum, quae *lubra* vocant et cetera omnia prout sanctus Gregorius imposuit genti Anglorum, conservantur" (*Concil. Aethelm.* can. 16; Labbe ix. 792).

Among other evidence in favour of this theory may be mentioned an epistle in the Fulda Decretals bearing the name of pope Callistus (ob. 223 A.D.), which orders that to the three already existing fasts, a fourth should be added. Now it may be reasonably argued that the author, Isidore, put the matter in accordance with what he himself believed to be the state of the case, and that thus we obtain an insight into the tradition existing in his time (circa 800 A.D.). A similar remark as to Callistus, occurs in a MS. of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in the Ambrosian library. Although the statement is of course false, still the origin of the forgery may have been that the writer wished to embody what he himself believed to be the fact, namely, that the fourth (spring) fast was added on later. A capitulary also of Ahyto or Atto, bishop of Vercellae about 945 A.D., mentions the three fasts in a similar way (*Patrol.* cxxiv. 43).

Not only does this doubt exist as to the origin of the spring fast, but there seems much reason for supposing that at one time it did not necessarily fall in Lent at all, but was fixed in the first week in March, though afterwards as a matter of convenience it was fixed within Lent always; also the summer fast was at one time placed in the second week of June, and therefore did not necessarily fall at Pentecost. The council of Mainz, it will have been observed, speaks of the fast as occurring in the first week of March, Lent not being mentioned at all; similarly also for the summer fast. So too the *Ordo Romanus*, "in primo mense (i.e. March) quarta et sexta feria et Sabbato in prima hebdomada ipsius mensis primum jejunium celebratur. Secundum in quarto mense (i.e. June) in secunda hebdomada ipsius mensis. Tertium jejunium septimi mensis, id est Septembris, tertia hebdomada ipsius mensis. Quartum decimi mensis, id est Decembris, quarta hebdomada ante Nativitatem Domini" (i. 33, ed. Hittorp; cf. also Rabanus Maurus *de Inst. Cler.* ii. 24; and Amalarius *de Eccl. off.* ii. 1). Again in many ancient sacramentaries we have many things pointing to the same result; e.g. in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, we find a notice "laetae orationes esse

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in favour of this theory *ste in the Enls Decree* of pope Callistus (ob. that to the three already should be added. Now argued that the author, accordance with what e the state of the case, in an insight into the *time* (circa 800 A.D.). Callistus, occurs in a *thecharius,* in the Amberg the statement is of *gin of the forgery* may *fer wished to embody* to be the fact, namely, *fast was added on later* *tyto or Atto,* bishop of *d,* mentions the three *ntrol.* cxxiv. 43).

bt exist as to the origin ere seems much reason e time it did not necess- l, but was fixed in the ough afterwards as a was fixed within Lent r fast was at one time ek of June, and there- fall at Pentecost. The- ill have been observed, ring in the first week of mentioned at all; simi- r fast. So too the *Ordo* nse (i.e. March) quarta o in prima hebdomada jejunium celebratur. se (i.e. June) in secunda is.

Tertium jejunium eptembris, tertio hebdomatum decimi mensis, hebdomada ante Natalem *atorip;* cf. also Rabanus ii. 24; and Amalarius again in many ancient many things pointing to the *Galasian Sacra-* e "Iste orationes omnes

sequuntur primo Sabbato in mense primo sunt dicendum" (*Vat. of.* lxxiv. 1069, and cf. others cited by Muratori, p. 261). One more example may suffice: the council of Aix la Chapelle (817 A.D.), orders that no fast should be in the week of Pentecost, "nisi statuti fuerint dies jejunii" (*Conc. Aquisgran.* can. 51; Labbe viii. 1511). Consequently, while the summer fast might fall in the week of Pentecost, it did not necessarily do so. It seems therefore not unreasonable to infer that at one time the church celebrated the fasts of the four seasons according to this rule, a change being subsequently made to the present plan.

We must now refer to the Ember seasons as times specially fixed for the ordinations of the clergy. We have before said that they were in all probability fixed at these times from the solemnity attaching to them, and it is noticeable that we find no trace of such a connexion earlier than the time of Gelasius, who enjoins "ordinationes etiam presbyterorum et diaconorum nisi certis temporibus et diebus exercere non debent, id est quartis mensis jejunio, septimi et decimi, sed et etiam Quadragesimalis initii ac mediæ Quadragesime die sabbati jejunio circa vesperam poterit celebrandas" (*Epist.* 9 ad *Episcopos Iacnie et Bruttiorum,* c. 11; *Patrol.* lix. 52). It will be observed that two periods in Lent are specified here, a piece of evidence in favour of Muratori's view that the spring fast is Lent itself.

The *Galasian Sacramentary* also furnishes a form for this ordinance, which is headed, "Ordo qualiter in Romana sedis apostolicæ ecclesiæ presbyteri, diaconi vel subdiaconi eligendi sint, mensis i. iv. vii. et x. Sabbatorum die in xii. lectionibus . . ." (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1069). Again, the *Gregorian Sacramentary* enjoins that the greater orders are to be conferred only "in Sabbatis hinc inde lectionum per quatuor tempora" (*Gre. Sac.* 213, and cf. Menard's note). The same order is laid down in the Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York from 732-766 A.D. (p. 8, ed. Surtees Society).

The irregularity as to the time of the Ember seasons evidently continued down to a late period. Thus the plan laid down by the council of Mainz is repeated two hundred and fifty years after (1072 A.D.), by a council of Rouen (*Council. Rothom.* can. 9; Labbe ix. 1227); and the frequency with which conciliar rules occur on the subject prove how unsettled the matter was. (See e.g. the regulations of the council of Seligenstadt [1022 A.D., can. 2; Labbe ix. 845], of those of Clermont [1095 A.D., can. 14; *ib.* x. 504], and of Placentia [can. 27; *ib.* 508], and even of Oxford [1222 A.D., can. 8; *ib.* xi. 274], in the very last of which we still meet with the mention of *Matii prima hebdomada*.) The system followed in later centuries is ordinarily referred to the rule as laid down in the councils of Placentia and Clermont.

It may be well very briefly to sum up our results. The observance of the Ember seasons is purely a western institution, there being no certain trace of it whatever in the eastern church. It was doubtless at first a rite merely of the local Roman church, whence it gradually spread throughout the west, and established itself in Gaul and Spain by the eighth century, and in England possibly earlier, through its special connexion with Gregory.

CHRIST. ANT.

It is perhaps not impossible that the development of the practice in the Roman church may have been something to this effect. Fasts at the times of Lent, Pentecost, and the Nativity, are certainly very ancient; the periods of these would roughly correspond with three of the four seasons, and thus some bishop of Rome, Leo or one of his predecessors, may have conceived the idea of making them symbolize the return of the seasons, and so added the one necessary to complete the four. It would soon come to pass then that they would be spoken of as originally ordained with that view. The length of each fast having been more or less settled, and the fasts being now more specially associated with the seasons, the spring and summer fasts would come more and more to be viewed independently of Lent and Pentecost, and hence they would fall occasionally outside these seasons. Finally, the inconveniences arising from such irregularities may have caused the ultimate settlement of the matter in its present form.

For the matter of the foregoing article, I am especially indebted to Muratori's *De iis Temporibus jejunii dispositio* (in his *Anecdota*, vol. i. 246-260; Mediolani 1697); also to Bingham's *Antiquities of the Church*, book xxi. ch. 2, and Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. v. part 2, 133 sqq. Reference may also be made to Valfredus, *De usu et institutione jejunii quatuor temporum*, Bononiæ, 1771. [R. S.]

EMBLEM. [SYMBOL.]

EMBOLISMUS, also EMBOLIS, EMBOLUM, (1) an inserted or intercalated prayer; the name given to the prayer which in almost all ancient liturgies follows the Lord's Prayer, founded on one or both of the two last petitions. It is so called because it is interposed here, and what had been already asked in the Lord's Prayer is expanded, and it is more clearly expressed what evils we seek to be delivered from, viz. past, present, and future, together with the saints by whose intercession we strengthen our prayer, viz. the B. V. Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew (Bona, *Lev. Liturg.* ii. c. 15 § 2). Amalarius (A. D. 810) says of it, "in consummatione orationis venit clausula universas petitiones et preces nostras collecta brevitate concludens" (*Amalarius. De Eccl. offic.* iii. 29). The *Embolismus* was usually repeated by the priest in a low voice, symbolizing the silence during the period that our Lord lay in the grave; but in the Ambrosian rite it was always pronounced aloud (*Macri, Hierolec.* s. v.). This practice, which has left very faint traces in the Western church, being reduced in the Roman and Ambrosian rites to "Libera nos quesumus Domine ab omni malo," holds a more important place in Oriental liturgies. The *Embolismus* is not, however, found in the liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, but appears in those of St. James, St. Mark, and Theodore the Interpreter, as well as in the Armenian, Mozarabic, and Coptic St. Basil. As examples of the shorter *Embolismus* we give that of the church of Jerusalem, "And lend us not into temptation, O Lord, the Lord of Hosts, who knowest our infirmity; but deliver us from the Evil One, and his works, and every assault and will of his, for the sake of Thy Holy name which is called upon our lowliness" (*Assesman.* vol. v. p. 51), and the Syriac St. James,

"O Lord our God, lead us not into temptation which we devoid of strength are not able to bear, but also with the temptation make a way of escape, that we may be able to bear it, and deliver us from evil through Jesus Christ," &c. *Renaud*, vol. ii. p. 40).

(Noble, *Eastern Church*, part i. 1, p. 513; 2, pp. 627-629; *Sculanore*, *Notit. Euchar.* p. 572; *Binterim*, *Dontward* iv. 3, p. 465; *Maeri*, *Hierolex.*; *Ducange*, *Glossar.* s. v.) [E. V.]

(2) *Embolisus* also designates the excess of the solar year over twelve lunar months, commonly called the *EPACT*. See *Durandus*, *Ratione*, viii. 10. (*Ducange*, s. v.) [C.]

EMBOLOS. A covered portico or cloister; in ecclesiastical language a cloister surrounding the external walls of a church, serving as an ambulatory in hot, rainy, and dirty weather, and also affording a convenient passage for the priests and ministers of the church from the *bema* and *ávonon* to the *narthex*, used at Constantinople by the patriarch when he proceeded to wash feet in the *narthex*. *Codinus* speaks of these cloisters being vaulted, and Goar of their walls being ornamented with mosaic pictures. Such porticos ran along the N. and S. sides of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople (*Ducange*, *Constan. Christiana*, lib. iii. c. 16), and surrounded the churches of St. Michael at Anaplus, and the Deipara at Jerusalem, on all sides but the east (*Procop.* *de Aedific.* lib. i. c. 8, lib. v. c. 6). It was in "the right *embolos*" of St. Sophia — that the summary of the proceedings of the so-called eighth general council, that of Constantinople in 870, were drawn up (*Labbe*, *Concil.* viii. 1421). In *Moschus* (*Prat. Spiritual.* § 86 apud *Cotel.* *Ecdl. Græc. Monum.* ii. 390) we read of an archimandrite named George, who buried in "the right *embolos*" of a church he was erecting, the body of an ascetic who had appeared to him in a dream and warned him where he would find his corpse.

(*Goar*, *Eucholog.* p. 627; *Allatius*, *de Templis*, *Epist.* ii. § 4; *Ducange*, *Gloss. Græc.*) [E. V.]

EMERENTIANA, virgin, martyr at Rome; commemorated Jan. 23 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Belæe*, *Adonis*, *Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EMERITENSE CONCILIIUM. [MERIDA, COUNCIL OF.]

EMILIANUS. (1) Martyr in Lower Armenia with Dionysius and Sebastian; commemorated Feb. 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Hieron.*, *Adonis*, *Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr in Numidia, with Agapius and Secundinus, bishops; commemorated April 29 (*Mart.* *Adonis*, *Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr at Dorostorum; commemorated July 18 (*Mart.* *Usuardi*).

(4) Deacon, martyr at Cordova with Hieremius; commemorated Sept. 17 (*Mart.* *Usuardi*).

(5) Presbyter and confessor in Tarragona; commemorated Nov. 12 (*ib.*)

(6) Confessor in Africa; commemorated Dec. 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Adonis*, *Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EMILIUS. (1) Martyr in Africa, with Castus; commemorated May 22 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Belæe*, *Adonis*, *Usuardi*, *Cal. Carth.*).

(3) Martyr in Sardinia; commemorated May 28 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Adonis*, *Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr at Cypua; commemorated Oct. 8 (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Adonis*, *Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EMITHERIUS, martyr with Celestinus at Chalagurris; commemorated March 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Adonis*, *Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EMPHIOTION (*Ἐμφύσιος*) is one of the names for the white robe (*ἀναβάλας*) with which persons were invested at baptism. The name is no doubt derived from the "enlightening" attributed to the baptismal ceremony. See **BAPTISM**, pp. 156, 163. [C.]

EMPHYTEUSIS (*Ἐμφυτεύσις*), a manner of letting real property, at first confined to waste lands requiring much outlay to bring them under cultivation, but afterwards applied to any real property.

Emphyteusis is a contract by which the beneficial ownership of real property (*res immobilis*) is transferred by the proprietor to another, either for a term of not less than ten years, or for a life or lives, or in perpetuity, in consideration of an annual payment. It differs from mere letting (*locatio*), in that by emphyteusis beneficial ownership is transferred for the term, while by letting only the use and enjoyment of produce is transferred; in that its use is confined to real property; and in that it cannot be for a less term than ten years. It differs from feudal tenure (*feodum*), in that it requires periodical payments, not personal service, to be given to the lord or proprietor.

Emphyteusis is either ecclesiastical or lay. Ecclesiastical emphyteusis is a contract by which property belonging to a church, monastery, or other religious foundation, is granted. This differs from lay emphyteusis [See **SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQ.** s. v.] principally in that it requires the assent of the bishop, and must clearly be for the benefit of the church or foundation which grants it; a provision no doubt intended to check the alienation of church property by ecclesiastical persons. [ALIENATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY; PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.]

(*Ferraris*, *Prompta Bibliotheca*, s. v. "Emphyteusis.") [C.]

EMPRESMUS (*Ἐμπρησμός*), the great conflagration; commemorated Sept. 1 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EMUNITAS. [IMMUNITIES.]

ENAFOTA, ENAFODIA (*Ἐναφότα*). In the *Liber Pontificalis*, we read that pope Paschal gave to a church "canistra enafota ex argento duo, pens. lib. x." two coronae of nine lights, weighing ten pounds. And Valentine II. gave "canistra enafodia duo pens. lib. xv." Compare **CANISTER**, **CORONA**, **EXAFOTA**. (*Ducange*, s. v.) [C.]

ENCAENIA. [DEDICATION-FESTIVAL.]

ENCHANTMENT. [MAGIC.]

ENCHEIRION (*Ἐγχέριον*), the napkin with which the priest wipes his hands, worn at the girdle. Towards the end of the letter of Nicephorus of Constantinople to pope Leo (in the *Acta Conc. Ephes.* p. 313, ed. *Comandini*, 1591), we read of a stole and an encheirion embroidered with gold. It is described by *Germanus* of Constantinople (*Theoria Myst.* p. 150,

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ICATION-FESTIVAL.]
[MAGIC.]

Εγχείριον), the aspin
wipes his hands, worn at
the end of the letter of
niple to pope Leo (in the
13, ed. Comanella, 1591),
and an encheirion em-
It is described by Ger-
le (*Theoria Myst.* p. 150,

ed. Paris, 1560) thus: "The encheirion, which
hangs to the girdle, is the napkin which wipes
his hands; and to have a napkin at the girdle is
typical of him who washed his hands and said,
'I am innocet' (Matt. xxvii. 24)." [Suicer's
Theaurus, s. v.] [C.]

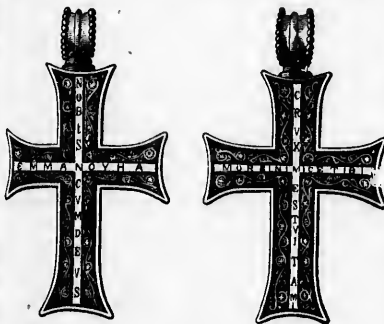
ENCOLPION (Εγκόλπιον, that which is
worn on the breast), the name anciently given
to small caskets worn round the necks of the
faithful, containing usually either relics or a
copy of the Gospels.

The use of these portable reliquaries is of
the highest antiquity; Chrysostom (*Quod Christus
ut Deus*, p. 571 E, ed. Ben.) speaks of particles
of the true Cross being suspended from the
necks both of men and women, enclosed in gold.



In 1571 two such reliquaries, made of gold,
were found in tombs belonging to the ancient
cemetery of the Vatican; they are square in
form, and are furnished with rings which indi-
cate their use; on one side they bear the mono-
gram of Christ, between the A and Ω (see
woodcut). These probably date from the 4th
century.

The pectoral cross worn by bishops was also
called encolpion. The oldest specimen now



existing is one which was found not long since
upon the breast of a corpse in the basilica of St.
Laurence, outside the walls. It came to light in
clearing the interior of that church, and we are
indebted to De Rossi for a careful drawing of it
(*Bulletino*, Apr. 1803). On one side it bears
the inscription, EMMANOVHA [Emmanuel] NO-
BISCVM DEVS; on the other, the following

words, addressed apparently to Satan: CRVX
IST VITA MIHI ¶ MONS INIMICE TUI; a cavity
closed by a screw appears to have been intended
for relics. Reliquaries in the form of a cross
are first mentioned by Gregory the Great. He
sent one of them to queen Theodelinda with a
fragment of the true cross; this still exists at
Monza, and is used by the provost of the
ancient church in that city when he officiates
pontificaly. An engraving of it may be found
in Frisi's *Memoire della Chiesa Mon ace* (p. 52).
Two amulets given to this princess by the
same pontiff for the use of her children are still
preserved among the celebrated treasures of
Monza, one of which contains a piece of the true
cross, the other a fragment of the Gospels. Greg.
Magn. Epist. xiv. 12). Engravings of these ob-
jects are given by Mozzoni (*Tavole cron. della
stor. eccl.* vol. vii. p. 79). The same volume of
the same work also contains (pp. 77 and 81)
drawings of other reliquaries of the highest
interest—namely, some of the vases in which
oil from the sacred lamps of the tombs of the
martyrs had been sent by Gregory to Theodelinda.
[AMPULLA.]

From the same pope we also learn (*Epist.* l.
36; vii. 26) that filices from St. Peter's chains
were sometimes enclosed in small golden keys.
He himself had sent one of these consecrated
keys to Childebert, king of the Franks, to
wear hung from his neck "as a protection
from all evils" — "Claves sancti Petri, in
quibus de vinculis catenarum ejus inclusum
est, excellentiae vestrae direximus quae collo-
vestro suspensae a malis vos omnibus tuentur"
(*Epist.* vi. 6). An illustrious Gaul named Din-
muis also received, from the same pontiff,
a small cross of gold, containing a similar relic
(*Epist.* iii. 33).—"Transmissimus autem B. Petri
apostoli benedictionem crucem parvulam, cui de
catenis ejus beneficia sunt inserta." [ELOGIAR.]
Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople († 828),
speaks of an encolpion set in gold, one side of

which was formed of crystal, the other
of enamel (εικονισμένη δὲ ἐγκόλπιας);
containing another encolpion, in which
fragments of the true cross were ar-
ranged in a pattern (εἰστυπωμέναι),
(*Acta Conc. Ephes.*, pp. 312, 313, ed.
Commelin, 1591).

The whole subject of these reliquaries
might receive abundant illustration
from the records and the remains of
medieval antiquity, were that period
within the scope of the present work.
[See AMULET.]

(Meursius's *Glossarium* and Suicer's
Theaurus, s. v. ἐγκόλπιον; De la
Cerde, *Adversaria Sacra*, c. 36 § 7;
Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.*) [C.]

ENCYCLICAL LETTERS

(Ἐπιστολαὶ ἐγκύκλιαι, γράμματα
ἐγκύκλια). Letters of a circular na-
ture, not addressed to a particular
person or community; as, the Catholic Epistles
(Oecumenius on St. James 1). The letters in
which the members of a council signified their
conclusions to all the churches were called en-
cyclical; and Nicephorus Callisti (*Hist.* xvi. 3)
speaks of the encyclical letters (ἐγκύκλια
γράμματα) which the emperor Basiliscus wrote
against the fourth council (Chalcedon, A. D.

451), addressed to all the bishops of the church. The same writer (c. 4) speaks of divine and apostolic encyclics (ἐγκύκλια). The circulars of Basiliscus just referred to are styled by Evagrius (*H. E.* iii. 4) ἐγκύκλιοι συναλαλαί; an encyclical letter of Photius is mentioned (*l. c.* v. 2).

It is to be observed, that the phrase ἐγκύκλια γράμματα sometimes (as Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 18) denotes those subjects which the Greeks included in the "circle of the sciences," or encyclopædia. (Sulzer's *Theor. artis*, s. v. Ἐγκύκλιος.) [C.]

ENDOWMENT. The property given by the founder of a church for the maintenance of the edifice and of the clerks who served it was called *dos ecclesiæ* or endowment. Justinian (*Novel* 47), compelled those who built churches also to endow them; and without a competent provision for their maintenance, no clerks were to be ordained to any church (*Conc. Episc.*, A. D. 517, c. 25); whoever desired to have a parish church (diocesan) on his estate was to set apart a sufficient landed endowment for its clerks (*Conc. Arel.* iv., A. D. 541, c. 33); a bishop was not to consecrate a church until the endowment of it had been regularly secured by a deed or charter (*Conc. Bragan.* ii. [iii.], A. D. 572, c. 5); founders of churches were to understand, that they had no further authority over property which they had given to the church, but that both the church and its endowment were at the disposition of the bishop, to be employed according to the canons (*Conc. Tolet.* iv., A. D. 633, c. 33).

In the ninth council of Toledo, A. D. 655, a special provision was made (c. 5), that a bishop was not to confer on any monastic church which he might found within his diocese more than a fiftieth part of the funds at his disposal; nor on any non-monastic church, or church destined for his own burial-place, more than one hundredth part of the revenues of the diocese.

If one who held a "fiscus," or fief, from the king, built and endowed churches, the bishop was desired to procure the royal confirmation of the gift (*Conc. Tolet.* iii., A. D. 589, c. 15).

See ALMS; BENEFICE; CHURCHES, MAINTENANCE OF, p. 388; PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.

During the period with which we are concerned, the BISHOP [p. 233], with the advice and assistance of his presbytery, took charge of church endowments.

(Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchen-Lexicon*, s. v. *Dotulaut*; DuRoi, s. v. *Dos Ecclesiæ*.) [C.]

ENERGUMENI. [DEMONIACS.]

ENOCH, the patriarch, translation of; commemorated Ter 27 = Jan. 22 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); July 19 (*Cal. Copt.*). [W. F. G.]

ENTALMA (Ἐντάλμα, ἐντάλματα γράμματα), the document by which a bishop confers on a monk the privilege of hearing confessions (Daniel, *Codex*, iv. 588). The form of such a letter is given by Gear, *Euchology*, p. 300. [C.]

ENTHRONIZATION. 1. The solemn placing of a bishop on his throne. See BISHOP, p. 224.

2. The word ἐθρονιάζειν is also used to designate the placing of "enthroning" of relics of the saints in the altar of a church on consecration [CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES]. Hence *vobis ἐθρονιάσμενος* designates a regularly consecrated church and not a mere oratory. Thus Germa-

nus (in Daniel's *Codex*, iv. 701) speaks of a church as dedicated in the name of martyrs and consecrated over (or by virtue of) their holy relics (ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτῶν λειτουργοῦσθεσθαί).

3. The word ἐθρονιάσμενος is perhaps sometimes used to designate the installation of a presbyter in his church (Reiske on Constant. Porphyrogen. *De Cerim.* 617). [C.]

ENTHUSIASTÆ (ἑνθουσιασταί). Those who pretended to prophesy by the motion of an indwelling daemon which they thought to be the Holy Spirit (see Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 11; Suidas, ἑνθουσία; Biogham, *Anal.* iv. 5, 4).

In A. D. 428 Theodosius and Valentinian ordained that these heretics (with many others) "nuscquam in Romano solum conveniente oratione habeant facultatem." This constitution was inserted in the Theodosian Code (16, 5, 25), and in that of Justinian (1, 5, 5), but with the reading (if it be the correct one) "nuscquam in Romanum locum conveniente oratione habeant facultatem." The same exclusion is decreed in general terms by Justinian in his 37th *Novel*, "nulla omnino lucretis domum aut locum orationis habeto." [L. B.]

ENTRANCE (Ἐισόδος). Two of the most remarkable ceremonies of Eastern liturgies are the Lesser and the Greater Entrance—that of the Word and that of the Sacrament.

1. *The Lesser Entrance* is the bearing in of the book of the gospels in solemn procession. In the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom* (c. 17, p. 343, Daniel) after the prayer of the third antiphon (our "Prayer of St. Chrysostom") the rubric runs: "Then the priest and the deacon, standing before the Holy Table, make three genuflections (προσκυφήματα): Then the priest, taking the Holy Book of the Gospels gives it to the deacon; and so, going out by the north side, with lights going before them, they make the Lesser Entrance." That is, the deacon and priest pass from the sanctuary into the chapel of the prothesis, which is to the north of it, and so out into the body of the church, where, by a devious path, they return to the Holy Doors, which are open; the volume, often decorated with great magnificence, is laid on the Holy Table, where it is again taken to the ambo when the gospel is to be read.

The rubric in St. Mark's liturgy (Dan. iv. 142) is simply, "καὶ γίγνηται ἡ εἰσόδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου."

This "Entrance" corresponds to the carrying of the gospel by the deacon to the ambo or roofoft in the Western church, once a rite of great importance; for the book was preceded not only by tapers but by a crucifix (Durandus, *Rationes*, iv. 24, 16). Compare ALLELUIA, GRADUAL.

In the Coptic St. Basil, the Greater Entrance precedes the Lesser. See below.

2. *The Greater Entrance.*—This ceremony has probably, like others, been developed from simple beginnings into very great prominence and magnificence.

The liturgy of St. James (c. 17, Daniel iv. 93) simply alludes in passing to the bringing in of the elements: "the priest bringing in the Holy Gifts says the following prayer." St. Mark (c. 10, Dan. iv. 148) is even more vague: "In

Holy This sanctuary, Similarly the choir places on the prayer (Dan. iv. 4) the altar this rite of the of the creation (N

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In the C made at th directions "The pries from which p. 600), loc in it. . . W lamb, the the lamb b Christ the before He w then he sha hands, as L at last the and shall pl the cradle; as the Vir Litt. Orient borne the es Compare

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er, iv. 701) speaks of a the name of martyrs and by virtue of their holy *αἰθρῶν ἀειψάτου ἑθέρου-*

αὐδῆ is perhaps sometimes installation of a presbyter on Constant. Porphyrog. [C.]

ε (ἐθουσιασται). These obey by the motion of an which they thought to be Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 20; Bingham, *Ant. In-*

osis and Valentinian or- eties (with many others) a solo convenienti cran- tem." This constitution neodosian Code (16, 5, 25, an (1, 5, 5), but with the correct one) "nuscquam convenienti morandique

The same exclusion is rms by Justinian in his unino hæresis domum aut [I. B.]

odos). Two of the most of Eastern liturgies are greater Entrance—that of the Sacrament.

ance is the bearing in of els in solemn procession, *Chrysostom* (c. 17, p. 343, er of the third antiphon (Chrysostom's) the rubric at and the deacon, standing make three genuflections in the priest, taking the els gives it to the deacon; e north side, with lights they make the Lesser E- deacon and priest pass o the chapel of the pro- north of it, and so out urch, where, by a deacon the Holy Doors, which are ten decorated with great in the Holy Table, where e ambo when the gospel is

ark's liturgy (Dan. iv. 142) *εταί η̄ εἰσόδου τοῦ εὐαγ-*

corresponds to the carrying deacon to the ambo or rood- hurch, once a rite of great ook was preceded not only eifix (Durandus, *Ratione* de ALLELUIA, GRADUAL Basil, the Greater Entrance See below.

rance.—This ceremony has been developed from simple great prominence and mag-

ames (c. 17, Daniel iv. 33) sing to the bringing in of priest bringing in the Holy wing prayer." St. Mark is even more vague: "the

Holy Things (τὰ ἅγια) are brought into the sanctuary, and the priest prays as follows." Similarly the Mozarabic (Dan. i. 67), "while the choir chants *Alleluia*, the priest offers [*i. e.* places on the altar] the Host and Chalice, with the prayers following," in the Armenian rite (Dan. iv. 440) the celebrant lies prostrate before the altar while the Great Entrance is made; in this rite (anomalously) the elements are spoken of as the body and blood of Christ before consecration (Neale, *East. Ch. Int.* 428).

In the much more developed rite of Constantinople (*Lit. Chry. ost.* Neale, n. s. 373), after the chanting of the Cherubic Hymn, the ceremony proceeds as follows. During the previous part of the eucharistic office, the elements have remained on the table in the chapel of the prothesis. At the proper point, the deacon censes the altar and the sanctuary, and then goes before the priest into the prothesis. The priest then lifts the "ser," or covering, from the chalice and paten, and lays it on the deacon's shoulder, and then places upon it the paten, covered with the ASTERISK and veil. The deacon takes hold of these with his left hand, bearing the censer in his right; the priest takes the chalice and follows the deacon, and so, preceded by tapers, they move round to the Holy Doors, as in the Lesser Entrance. In great churches, where there are dignified clergy and many attendants, this procession is one of great magnificence. Where there is but a single priest and no deacon, he bears the paten on his shoulder, supporting it by his left hand, and the chalice in his right hand before his breast.

In the Coptic St. Basil, the Great Entrance is made at the very beginning of the liturgy; the directions for it are very curious and minute. "The priest goes to the Takaldemet [Prothesis] from which he shall take the lamb [ELEMENTS, p. 600] looking attentively that there be no flaw in it. . . . When he hath all that he needs, the lamb, the wine, and the incense, . . . he takes the lamb in his hand and wipes it lightly, as Christ the Lord was first washed with water before He was presented to Simeon" the priest; then he shall bear it round to the altar in his hands, as Simeon bare Him round the Temple. At last the priest shall lay it down on the altar and shall place it on the paten, which signifies the cradle; and shall cover it with a linen cloth, as the Virgin did at His Nativity" (Renoulet, *Lit. Orient.* i. 186). A deacon seems to have borne the cruet.

Compare INFROIT.

[C.]

ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. This event in our Lord's life is very frequently represented in the earlier art of the Christian Church, occurring on some of the first sarcophagi, though not, as far as the present writer knows, in fresco or mosaic in the catacombs or elsewhere, excepting in an ancient mosaic of the Vatican (Bianchini *Demonstr. Hist. Sac. Sæc.* i. tav. 2, No. 17), and one from the basilica at Bethlehem, reproduced by Martigny (p. 331) from Count de Vogué (*Les Églises de la Terre Ste.* pl. v.). The earliest MS. representation of it is probably that in the Rabala or Laurentian Evangelary. The treatment is almost always the same; the Lord is

* There is an evident confusion here between Simeon and the high-priest.

mounted on the ass, sometimes accompanied by her foal, and the multitude with their palm-branches follow, or lay their garments before Him (Arlingh t. i. pp. 277-329; ii. p. 159 and *passim*; Bottari, tav. xxi.). His right hand is generally raised in the act of blessing. The



From the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

multitude frequently raise their hands in thanksgiving. In one of the oldest MSS. of the New Testament in existence, the Gregorian Evangelary of St. Cuthbert (*Palæographia Sacra*) the Lord is represented mounted on an ass, and bearing a large whip—evidently with reference to the scourge of small cords used in the expulsion of buyers and sellers from the temple. There is a certain variety in the examples taken from different carvings. In Bottari (i. tav. xvi. xxii. xxxix.) Zaccheus is represented in the "fig or sycamore tree" behind the Lord, as if to call attention to the beginning of His last journey at Jericho. In the last example the sycamore and palm branches are carefully and well cut. In i. tav. 40, garments are being strewn before the Lord (as in the others). See also vol. ii. tav. 88, 89; iii. tav. 143. In one instance, without Zaccheus, the colt accompanies the ass (iii. 134). The small stature of Zaccheus is often dwelt on. Or the figure may represent a person in the act of cutting down branches. [R. Sr. J. T.]

ENVY—HOW CENSURED. Envy was always reckoned a diabolical sin, and one of the first magnitude (Chrys. *Hom.* 41 in *Matth.*; Cyprian, *De Zelō et Livore*, p. 223); but there are no distinctive penalties attached to it, inasmuch as before it could bring a man under public discipline, it required to be displayed in some outward and vicious action, which received its appropriate punishment (Bingham, *Ant.* 16, 14, 1; Thom. Aq. *Summa* 2, 2, qu. 36). [I. B.]

EPACT, *ἐπακτα*, *sc. ἡμέρας*; Lat. *epactæ*; in Mediaeval writers, *adjectiones Lunæ*; the number of days required to make up the lunar year to the solar;—and so the numeral of the moon's age on the 1st January. Or we may say, with Senliger, on the 1st March, which

comes to the same thing, and has the advantage of escaping the ambiguity of Leap year. In the Easter canon of Dionysius Exiguus, the epact meant the numeral of the moon's age on the 22nd March.

The old Latin cycles of 84 years, of which we have an example in Heiler, ii. 240, indicated Easter by means of the epacts of the 1st January, and the day of the week on which the 1st January fell.

The method of determining the months (lunar), was as follows. For the first month of the year that month was taken, whose age was expressed by the epact. The day of December on which it commenced is found by subtracting the epact (when more than one) from thirty-three. The first month was always counted full, then hollow and full succeeded by turns, so that the last month in the year in a common lunar year was hollow, in an intercalary year full. From the last begins the new moon of the following year.

The Easter new moon being found, Easter-day was, according to the Latin rules, that Sunday which fell on or next after the 16th of the moon, not therefore later than the 22nd of the moon. The choice of the month was determined thus. New moon must not be earlier than the 5th March, and full moon not later than the 21st; the first of these rules sometimes having to give way, to save the violation of the latter.

The following rule is given for the 1st January epact, viz., multiply the Golden Number by eleven, and divide the product by thirty, the remainder is the epact. But this rule will not give the epacts mentioned above, which were constructed as we have just described—with a saltus lunae, or addition of twelve after the 19th year of the cycle, &c.

For the determination of Easter according to the Alexandrian rules, with which the later Roman rules agreed, see under EASTER.

The elaborate system of epacts afterwards devised by Illius, and Clavius, belongs to the system of the Gregorian calendar. [L. H.]

EPAGATUS, martyr at Lyons, under Marcus Aurelius, with Photinus bishop, Zacharias presbyter, and others; commemorated June 2 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EPAPHRAS, bishop of Colossae, and martyr; commemorated July 19 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EPAON, COUNCIL OF (*Epaonense concilium*), held A.D. 517 at a town in Burgundy, whose name is thought to have been preserved in the modern village of Lens on the Rhone. It was attended by twenty-five bishops at the joint summons of Avitus, bishop of Vienne, and Viventolus, bishop of Lyons, who presided. Forty canons on discipline are given to it in its acts; but two more, called canons of Epæon by Egbert of York, and by Gratian, are not among these. By the 4th of them, bishops priests and deacons are forbidden to keep hawks or dogs for hunting. By the 9th, no abbot may preside over two monasteries. By the 26th no altar, not of stone, may be consecrated with chrism. By the 39th slaves, taking sanctuary, that have committed heinous crimes, are only to be let off corporal punishment. Most of these regulations had previously become law elsewhere (Mansi, viii. 555 and seq.). [E. S. F.]

EPARCHIA. [PHOVINCK.]

EPARCHIUS, monk, confessor at Angoulême commemorated July 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EPARECHIUS, commemorated with Severianus Oct. 29 (*Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

EPENDYTES (*ἑπένδυτες*). The ependytes, the "fisher's coat" of St. Peter (John xii. 7), was a kind of cloak used especially by monks, and, as the etymology would seem to indicate, worn over another garment. Thus e.g. in the Græco-Latin Glossary cited by DuRoi (s. v. *epidiceen*), the Greek word is rendered *Isidya* (leg. *Isistrata* or *Isistia*) *hæc supererit*. Also Augustine naturally enough speaks of *ἑπένδυμα* as equivalent to *superincumbentium* (*Quest. in Jud.* 41; iii. 938, ed. Gaume). Suidas also observes this distinction (*ἑπένδυτον τὸ ἰσάρεον ἱμάτιον, ἑπένδυτον δὲ τὸ ἐπῶμα*). It is thus surprising that some should have taken it to mean an undergarment, as e.g. the Lexicon of Zonaras (col. 788, ed. Tittmann), which defines it as *τὸ ἰσάρεον ἱμάτιον, ὃς καὶ ὑποκάμισον λέγεται*. Athanasius mentions this dress as worn by St. Antony (*Vita S. Anton.*, c. 46; l. 831, ed. Bened.), and Jerome refers to it in the case of Hilarion (*Vita S. Hilar.* c. 4; ii. 15, ed. Vallarsi). It appears, at any rate in the east, to have been made of skins; thus the *ῥησάρις* of St. Antony is frequently mentioned, and Jerome describes that of Hilarion as *pelliviscus*. For other references to the dress, see Pseudo-Athanas, *de Virginitate*, c. 11 (ii. 116), and Basil of Seleucia, *De vita S. Theodae*, l. 62 (*Patrol. Gr.* lxxxv. 516).

The ependytes would appear to be the dress worn by the two figures (ADDON AND SENSEY, victims of the Decian persecution) who are being crowned by the Saviour in a fresco in the cemetery of Pontianus, on the *Via Forthensis*, near Rome. [See p. 8.] [R. S.]

EPIHEMERIS. [CALENDAR, p. 258.]

EPIHESUS (COUNCILS OF)—(1) A.D. 197, under Polymeres its bishop, on the Easter question. His letter to Victor and the Roman church is in part preserved by Eusebius (v. 24), shewing that it had been customary there, down from the days of St. John the Apostle, to keep Easter day on the 14th of the moon (Mansi, l. 719-24). The interest of this fragment is enhanced from its having been translated by Rufinus and St. Jerome.

(2) A.D. 245, otherwise called Asiatic, against the errors of Noëtus (Mansi, l. 789-90).

(3) A.D. 431, the third general, held in the church there dedicated to St. Mary, soon after the feast of Pentecost in the month of June, to sit in judgment on Nestorius patriarch of Constantinople, who contended that while the blessed Virgin might with propriety be styled the mother of Christ, she could not and ought not to be styled the mother of God (Theotocus). In other words he looked upon Christ as a compound of two persons, as well as two natures, instead of two natures, the Divine and Human, hypostatically joined together in the single Person of the Son of God. The controversy on this point culminated in the celebrated letter addressed by St. Cyril in synod to Nestorius, ending with twelve anathemas, to which he is called

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προδότης). The epiphany, of St. Peter (John xxi. 7), used especially by monks, would seem to indicate argument. Thus *e.g.* in the cited by Duane (s. v. word is rendered *ἰσχυρὰ ἴθα*) *ἵνα supererit*. Also enough speaks of ἐπίθουα *ἐπιθύνουσαν* (*Quart.* in Gaume). Sulpicius also ob- (ὁμοδοτήν τὸ ἰσάρον ἰ τὸ ἐπίαν). It is thus should have taken it to ent, as *e.g.* the Lexicon of

Tittmann), which defines ἀπίου, ὅς καὶ ὁμοδοτήτων mentions this dress as (*Vita S. Anton.*, c. 46; I. Jerome refers to it in the *S. Hier.*, c. 4; in il. 15, ed. at any rate in the east, to us; thus the *μυλοτύρι* of ly mentioned, and Jerome ion as *pellicus*. For other ss, see Pseudo-Athanas, *de* (110), and Basil of Seleucia, i. 62 (*Patrol. Gr.* lxxxv.

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CALENDAR, p. 258.]

SCENTS OF).—(1) A. D. 197, bishop, on the Easter ques- Victor and the Roman served by Eusebius (v. 23). en customary there, down John the Apostle, to keep t of the moon (Mansi, l. rest of this fragment is aving been translated by

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third general, held in the d to St. Mary, soon after in the month of June, to estorius patriarch of Con- tended that while the blessed propriety be styled the could not and ought not to of God (Theodoret). In ed upon Christ as a com- s, as well as two nities, s, the Divine and human, together in the single Per-

The controversy on this the celebrated letter ad- synod to Nestorius, ending as, to which he is called

upon to subscribe (Mansl, iv. 1067-84), and the twelve counter anathemas which formed his only reply to it (*i. e.* p. 1069).

To end the dispute, the emperors Theodosius the Younger and Valentinian issued orders for the meeting of a general council, to which the letter summoning St. Cyril himself is still extant. It is dated Nov. 19, A. D. 430, and directs him to repair to Ephesus by the Feast of Pentecost ensuing. It forbids the introduction of any innovation privately till then, and directs that all the disputes that have produced so much strife shall be there settled canonically. Copies of this letter had been sent to all metropolitans. The council met accordingly for its first session June 22, as is stated in its sentence deposing Yesterly (comp. Bev. ii. 103) which was the first thing done: St. Cyril heading the list of the bishops present, as bishop of Alexandria first, and then as vice-governor of the archbishop of Rome, Celestine; Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem came next; Memnon of Ephesus followed. About 180 were there when they commenced: 198 subscribed.

It met for its sixth session, July 22, to which what it had defined on doctrine. First received the Nicene Creed; secondly, those passages from the fathers which had been quoted in its first session; and lastly, its own definitive sentence, that no other profession of faith but that of Nicaea should be framed or propounded to any desirous of coming over to the communion of the church from Paganism, Judaism, or any heresy whatsoever. Bishops and clergy framing or propounding any other were deposed, and laymen anathematised. What induced the council "to define" this, was a case just then brought under its consideration by Charisius, steward and priest of the church of Philadelphia, shewing that two priests who had come thither from Constantiaople had been procuring subscriptions to a formula purporting to be the doctrine of the church, but in many respects heterodox. The council condemned all who approved of it. At the seventh and last session, held August 31st, on the petition of Rheginus, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, and two of his suffragans, complaining of attempts made by the bishop of Antioch to ordain in their island, contrary to the canons and established custom, a no less stringent rule was laid down on discipline: "that no bishop may act in any province which has not always been subject to him. . . ." [BISHOP, p. 234; DOCESEK.]

In most of the Greek collections eight canons are attributed to this council; but only seven by Photius and John Scholasticus, and none at all in the Latin collections. Beveridge shews conclusively (ii. 104) that they were not in fact published as separate canons. The first six, as he points out, form part of a synodical letter addressed by the council to all bishops, presbyters, deacons, and laymen, on the defection of John of Antioch, and were caused by it; being directed against all deserters or despisers of the council, whether favourers of Nestorius, or Celestius the Pelagian, and upholding all who had been deposed by them. Where this letter should come in the acts he omits to explain. It is placed by Mansi without comment at the end of them (iv. 1469-74). Its proper place doubtless is at the end of the fifth session, to the final proceedings of which (ib.

1323) it is in effect a corollary. Then the business of the sixth session led to the "definition," since termed improperly the seventh canon; and that of the seventh session to the decree since termed with less impropriety the eighth canon. Most of the principal documents relating to this council are to be found in Mansi, iv. 577 to the end, and v. to p. 1040, too numerous to be specified. Some few more are supplied by Marius Mercator (*opp.* P. II. (*Patrol.* xviii. p. 699 and seq. ed. Migne) Cassian *de Incarn.* (ib. l. p. 10 and seq.) Soc. vii. 20-34. Evng. l. 2-7, with Garnier's five Diss. on Theodoret (*Patrol.* lxxxiv. 89-864).

(4) A. D. 440, under Basil: reversing the appointment of Bassianus to a distant see by Memnon his own predecessor, and giving him episcopal honour and rank at home (Mansi, v. 1199-1204).

(5) A. D. 447 under Dioscorus of Alexandria, when Bassianus its bishop was deposed and Stephen appointed in his room. The council of Chalcedon, however, on considering their case, decided that neither had been canonically consecrated, Oct. 30, A. D. 451 (Mansi, vi. 493-4, and then vii. 271-94).

(6) A. D. 449, Aug. 10, under Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria, convened by the Emperor Theodosius like the last general council, and held in the same church of St. Mary where the last had been; but its acts having been reversed in the first session of the council of Chalcedon, where they are recited at length, it was designated the "robbers' meeting" (*Latrocinialis*, see the title to c. 9, B. I. of Evagrius) and abandoned. It was inspired throughout by the eunuch Chrysophilus, who patronised Eutyches and was hostile to Flavian. There are three letters from the emperor to Dioscorus in reference to its composition. First he was to bring with him ten of his own metropolitans, and ten other bishops distinguished for their learning and orthodoxy, but not more; others having received their summons from the emperor himself similarly. Next he was told that Theodoret had received orders not to appear there, unless invited unanimously by the council when assembled. Another letter bade him admit the archimandrite Barsumas to sit in it as representing all the eastern archimandrites. A third letter assigned him the first place in it, with the archbishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea to support him. St. Leo was likewise summoned from Rome, and sent three representatives, one of whom Julius, bishop of Puteoli, seems to have sat next after Dioscorus. Altogether 128 bishops were present, but several confessed to subscribing through others as being unable to write. Eutyches having been introduced, made profession of his faith, and complained of the treatment he had received from Flavian in the council of Constantiaople condemning him. The acts of this council, as well as of the council held five months afterwards to reconsider its sentence, were read out next; his acquittal and restoration followed. Afterwards a petition was received from some monks of his begging that his deposer might be deposed. On this the acts of the sixth session of the third general council were recited, and both Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Flavian of Constantiaople deposed, as having contravened the definition respecting the creed that was laid down there.

Flavian who was present said at once that he appealed from their sentence. Hilary, the deacon from Rome, "contradicted" it; others accepted it only through misapprehension, as they affirmed at Chalcedon on recanting. Ibas of Edessa, Theodoret of Cyrus, Domnus of Antioch, and several more, were similarly deprived of their sees, as we learn from Evagrius. Liberatus adds (Brev. 12) that great intimidation was practised by the soldiers and monks present, that Eusebius and Flavian were both given into custody, and that the latter died of the injuries which he there received (Mausi, vi. 503-8, and then 587-936). [E. S. F.]

EPHEBUS, the Seven Holy Children of, or SEVEN SLEEPERS, are commemorated Aug. 4 (Cal. Byzant.). [C.]

EPIORI. [BISHOP, p. 210.]

EPIPHATHA. [EARS, OPENING OF.]

EPHRAEM, EPIHRAIM, or EPHREM.

(1) Syrus, deacon of Edessa, Holy Father; commemorated Ter 7=Jan. 2 (Cal. Ethiop.), Jan. 28 (Cal. Byzant.), Hamle 15 = July 9 (Cal. Ethiop.), Feb. 1 (Mart. Adonis, Usuardi); deposition, July 9 (Mart. Bedae).

(2) Bishop and martyr, A.D. 296; commemorated March 7 (Cal. Byzant.); one of the martyrs of the CHERSONESUS. [W. F. G.]

EPICLEISIS ('Επίκλησις) = "invocation," generally; but specially the invocation of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the elements displayed on the Holy Table, occurring in Eastern liturgies after the recitation of the Words of Institution.

The evidence of Irenaeus in the second, Firmilian in the third, and of Cyril of Jerusalem and Basil in the fourth century, as to the practice of the church with regard to the Epiclesis, has been already quoted [CANON OF THE LITURGY, p. 269]. To this may be added Chrysostom, *Hom. In Coenae-torio* (Opp. ii. 401, ed. Ben.), where is described the priest standing before the table, invoking (καλών) the Holy Spirit to descend and touch the elements.

Of the liturgical forms, we may take the Clementine (*Const. Apost.* viii. 12, § 17) as an early example. The priest beseeches God to send down His Holy Spirit upon the sacrifice, "that He may dect.re [or make] * (αποφύη) this bread the Body of Thy Christ, and this cup the Blood of Thy Christ, in order that they who partake of it may be confirmed in piety, obtain remission of their sins, be delivered from the devil and his deceits, be filled with the Holy Spirit, be made worthy of Thy Christ, obtain eternal life. Thou being reconciled unto them, O Lord Almighty." Compare the liturgy of St. James, c. 32.

The Epiclesis in the Byzantine liturgy (Chrys. c. 30; Daniel, *Codex Lit.* iv. 359, 360), after praying God to send down the Holy Spirit on the gifts and the worshippers, proceeds, "and make (ποίησον) this Bread the precious Body of Thy Christ, and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing them (μεταβαλῶν) by Thy Holy Spirit."

* Neale (*Nitraglogia*, p. xv.) compares, for this sense of the word, Plato's *Prolog.* 349 A. See also von Drey, *Ueber die Const. Ap. stul.* p. 110; and Hefele, *Beiträge zur Archäol.* ii. 56.

St. Mark (c. 17; Dan. iv. 162) has: "Send forth . . . Thy Holy Spirit upon us, and upon these loaves, and upon these cups, that He may sanctify and consecrate (τελειώσῃ) them, as God Almighty, and may make (ποίησῃ) the bread the Body and the cup the Blood of the New Covenant, of the very Lord and God and Saviour, our Almighty King, Jesus Christ."

Several of the Mozarabic *Post Secreta* contain similar invocations of the Holy Spirit; for instance, that for the second Sunday after Epiphany (Neale, *Eastern Ch.*, Introd. 499) has the following: "We thy servants beseech Thee, that thou wouldest sanctify this oblation by the permixture of Thy Holy Spirit, and wouldest conform it, with full transmutation, to the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that we may merit to be cleansed from the pollution of our sins by this sacrifice, whereby we know that we were redeemed."

"The Syrian churches postponed the oblation until after the invocation of the Holy Spirit; while in the Jerusalem, Alexandrian, and Constantinopolitan offices it precedes that prayer." (Neale, *u.s.* 500.)

The question, whether the consecration is complete without the Epiclesis, has been much debated in modern times; but for our purpose it is sufficient to observe that an Epiclesis is universal in Oriental liturgies, and common in liturgies influenced by the East, as the Mozarabic; while in liturgies of the Roman type it is altogether wanting. [C.]

EPICTETUS, and companions, martyrs at Rome, A.D. 296; commemorated Aug. 22 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EPIGONATION (ἐπιγονάτιον; also γονάτιον, ὑπογονάτιον). This ornament, peculiar to the Eastern church, consists of a lozenge-shaped piece of some stiff material, hanging from the girdle on the right side as low as the knee, whence its name. It seems to have been at first, like the maniple in the West, merely a handkerchief, and it apparently continued in this form in the patriarchate of Antioch, as late as the 11th century (Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. r. ὑπογονάτιον), and in the Armenian church it has remained thus to the present day (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 311). Writers who delight in finding symbolical reasons for the use of vestments, have connected it either with the towel with which our Lord girded Himself, or more generally with the sword and Christ's victory over death; in connection with which latter idea, Psalm xlv. 3, 4, is repeated on assuming this ornament (*Liturgia S. Chrysostomi*; Goar, *Euchologion*, pp. 59, 60). The epigonation is properly part of the episcopal dress, but is allowed by the rubric in this place to be worn by other ecclesiastics of a certain rank . . . εἰ ἐστὶ πρωτοσύγκελλος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἢ ἄλλος τις ἔχω ἀξιώτητά τινα (Goar, *l. c.*, and see his note, p. 112; cf. also the rule as laid down at a much later period by Symeon Thessalonicensis in the 15th century, where the wearing of the epigonation by priests is spoken of as granted κατὰ διαρῆν ἀρχιερατικῆν; Marriott, *Festivarium Christianum*, p. 171). In one form given by Goar of the consecration of a bishop in the Greek church, we find a mention of this ornament as given to him immo-

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Dnn. iv. 162) has: "Send Holy Spirit upon us, and upon those cups, that He may come (τελειώσει) them, as Godly make (ποιήσει) the bread cup the Blood of the New Lord and God and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

Mozarabic Post Secreta contain of the Holy Spirit; for in second Sunday after Epiphany (Introd. 499) has the following: beseech Thee, that thou give us this oblation by the permission of the Holy Spirit, and wouldst conform it to the Body and Blood of Christ, that we may merit to be cleansed from the pollution of our sins by the grace of the Holy Spirit, by which we know that we were

Archbishop postponed the oblation of the Holy Spirit; in the Mozarabic, and in the Cones it precedes that prayer."

Whether the consecration in the Epiclesis, has been much times; but for our purpose it is true that an Epiclesis is unnecessary, and common in liturgies of the East, as the Mozarabic; and of the Roman type it is altered. [C.]

and companions, martyrs at Alexandria, commemorated Aug. 22 (Mart. Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

AN (Ἐπιφάνιος; also γέννησις). This ornament, peculiar to the Eastern Church, consists of a lozenge-shaped material, hanging from the neck, and seems to have been at first, in the West, merely a handkerchief, and recently continued in this form of Antioch, as late as the 17th century, Glossarium, s. r. ὑπόκοπος. Armenian church it has the present day (Neale, Eastern Church, p. 311). Writers who delight in tracing the reasons for the use of the word Epiphany, connected it either with the Lord girded Himself, or with the sword and Christ's baptism; in connection with which (xiv. 3, 4), it is repeated on the monument (Litturgia S. Cyrilli, p. 59, 60). The very part of the episcopal rubric in this place is derived from the ecclesiastical of a certain Greek ecclesiastic of the 12th century, and at a much later period by the Council of Trent in the 15th century, of the epignation by priests appointed κατά δωρεάν ἀρχιεπισκόπου Christianorum, p. 171). By the Council of the consecration of the Greek church, we find a rubric which seems to have been inserted as given to him immo-

EPILEPTICS

diately after a declaration of his faith and the subsequent benediction by the presiding bishop (Gear, p. 310). [R. S.]

EPILEPTICS. The 11th council of Toledo (A.D. 675), after mentioning the case of those possessed with demons [DEMONIACS], who are excluded altogether from the service of the altar, speaks separately (c. 13) of the case of those who sometimes fall to the earth from bodily disease, who are excluded from ministering until they can show that they have passed a whole year without such attacks; and desires (c. 14) that persons liable to such attacks should (if possible) not be left alone in the performance of divine offices. These provisions clearly refer to the case of those who are afflicted with epilepsy or (to use the old English name) "falling sickness." [C.]

EPIMACHIUS, martyr at Alexandria, with Alexander; commemorated Dec. 12 (Mart. Rom. Ed., Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EPIMACHUS. (1) Martyr at Rome, with Gordianus, under Julian; commemorated May 10 (Mart. Rom. Vcl., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

(2) Martyr A.D. 255; commemorated Oct. 31 (Cal. Byzant.). [W. F. G.]

EPIMANIKION. [MANIPLE.]

EPINIKION. [SANCTUS.]

EPIPHANIUS. (1) Bishop, and martyr in Africa, with Donatus and thirteen others; commemorated April 6 (Mart. Hieron.), April 7 (Mart. Usuardi).

(2) Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, A.D. 402; commemorated May 12 (Mart. Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Cal. Byzant.), June 17 (Cal. Armen.). [W. F. G.]

EPIPHANY, FESTIVAL OF (ἡ ἐπιφάνια, τὰ ἐπιφάνια, ἡ θεοφάνεια, τὰ θεοφάνια; τὰ φῶτα, ἡμέρα τῶν φῶτων, τὰ ἅγια φῶτα τῶν ἐπιφάνων; τὰ φαγιφάνια—Ἐπιφάνια, Theophania, Apparitio, Manifestatio, Acceditio, festum trium regum (magorum, sapientum), festum stellae; dies benedictus; festum lavandi; Bethphani, dies in die virtutum Domini. The names of this festival in European languages are mainly either (1) as in the case of those of Latin derivation and others, mere reproductions of the Latin name or renderings of it; or (2) refer to the manifestation to the Magi as the three kings, as the Dutch Drie-konigen-dag, the Danish Helligtre-koningsdag, and an equivalent form in Breton; also the Welsh Ystyll, if, as is not improbable, it is a corruption of the Latin stella; or (3) indicate it as the final day of the Christmas festival, as in the familiar English Twelfth-day, the old German der Zwelfte, Dreizehnde, or the Swedish Trettondag).

1. History of Festival.—It has already been shown in a previous article [CHRISTMAS] that the festival of the Epiphany was originally viewed in the Eastern church as a commemoration of our Saviour's manifestation to the world in a wide sense; including, that is, His Nativity, or His manifestation in the flesh, together with the manifestation of the Trinity at His baptism. In the Western church, on the other hand, so far as the matter can be traced back, the Nativity appears to have been always celebrated as

EPIPHANY, FESTIVAL OF 617

a separate festival, and in their commemoration of the Epiphany it is the manifestation to the Magi that is mostly dwelt on; and further, Christ's manifestation in yet another sense is associated with these, His Divine power and goodness, as shown in His miracles; primarily the turning of water into wine at Cana of Galilee, and sometimes the feeding of the five thousand. Thus there are, besides the Nativity itself, three manifestations commemorated, variously dwelt on and variously combined in different branches of the church.

In the Eastern church till nearly the end of the 4th century, we find, as has been said, a combined celebration of Christ's Nativity and Baptism on January 6. The date of the severance of the two can be approximately fixed, for Chrysostom refers to it as a matter of merely a few years' standing, in a sermon probably delivered on the Christmas day of 386 A.D. How far back we are to refer the origin of this twofold festival it is not easy to determine, the earliest mention of any kind being the allusion by Clement of Alexandria to the annual commemoration of Christ's baptism by the Basilidians (Stromata, lib. i. c. 21). At any rate by the latter part of the 4th century the Epiphany had become one of the most important and venerable festivals in the Eastern church.

It may not unreasonably be assumed that the festival of the Epiphany first took its rise in the east and then passed into the west. This may be argued (1) from the comparatively very early date at which we find a trace of it in the east; (2) from the Greek name by which the Western church as well as the Eastern knows it, while Christmas is designated there by a Latin name; (3) from the nature of the earliest allusions to the existence of a festival of the Epiphany in the west. These it may be well to state somewhat fully.

The earliest instance of all is the reference by Ammianus Marcellinus to the emperor Julian's visit when at Vienne in Gaul to a church, "terrarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani Epiphania dicitant" (lib. xxi. c. 2); and we find Zonaras, apparently alluding to the same event, speak of it as happening τῆς γενεθλίου Σωτήρος ἡμέρας ἐφεστηκυίας (Annal. xiii. 11). Now if it is remembered that this took place in Gaul, where the church had close affinities with the east, we are perhaps not claiming too much in assuming that the Gallican church at this time celebrated Epiphany and Nativity together on January 6; and we shall subsequently find a confirmation of this view from an ex-

* In a passage in one of the spurious sermons once wrongly ascribed to Chrysostom is a mention of the Epiphany as celebrated on the 13th day of the 4th month, κατά Ἀσιανοῦς (1 pp. vol. vii. App. p. 275). It is not stated who these Asiae were, but the explanation of the reckoning may probably be found in a comparison with that given by Epiphanius (Haer. ii. 24).

† Neander (Church History, i. 316, trans. Rose) considers it probable that this Gnostic sect derived the practice from the Judaean-Christian churches in Palestine.

‡ Besides the instances given above, an early allusion to the Epiphany is found in the Acta of Philip, bishop of Hieracia (in Ruinart's Acta Primorum Martyrum), who suffered early in the 4th century. It would be unsafe, however, to argue from a passage in a document itself of doubtful date.

mination of the Gallican liturgy, where it is rather the manifestation at the Baptism than that to the Magi that is dwelt on. Again we find a mention of the emperor Valens, in the course of his futile attempt to overawe Basil of Caesarea, entering the church in that place with a great train on the festival of the Epiphany (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii. 52). Another early allusion may be mentioned: Augustine (*Serm. eccl.* § 2; vol. v. 1328, ed. Gaonic) speaks of the Donatists as refusing to join in the celebration of the Epiphany, "quia nec unitatem amant, nec orientali ecclesie . . . communicant," obviously pointing to an eastern origin of the festival. We may take this opportunity of remarking that there is no mention of the Epiphany in the Calendar of Bucerius, but in the Cal. Carthaginense we find *viii. Id. Jan. Sanctum Epiphani* (*Patrol.* xiii. 1227).

On these grounds we think it probable that while on the one hand the Eastern church, at first commemorating Nativity and Epiphany as one festival, afterwards in compliance with western, or perhaps, more strictly speaking, Roman, usage, fixed the former on a separate day; so too, the Western church, at first celebrating the Nativity alone, afterwards brought in from the east the further commemoration of the Epiphany, but with the special reference somewhat altered. For the early history of the Epiphany in the Eastern church, and the gradual severance from it of the Nativity, we must again refer to the discussion already given [CHRISTMAS], and it may now be desirable briefly to review further historical notices, arranging them according to the special manifestation of Christ to which they mainly refer.

a. *Manifestation of the Baptism.*—This manifestation of our Saviour as Messiah and as God is the prevailing idea dwelt upon throughout the Eastern church, though in the Western church as a rule this commemoration has been quite secondary to the manifestation to the Magi. References are continually met with in the writings of Chrysostom and others of and after his time to this idea of the festival. Thus Chrysostom, in a homily apparently delivered on December 20, 386 A.D., and therefore after the western plan of celebrating Christmas separately had been introduced, speaks of the Nativity as in a certain sense the parent of all the other great festivals, for, to take the case of the Epiphany, had He not been born—ὄνκ ἐν Ἰβαντιοθῆ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ θεοφάνια (*Hom. 6 in B. Philagoriam*, c. 3; l. 497, ed. Montfaucou). So also in a homily probably delivered on the following Epiphany, 387 A.D. (*Hom. de Baptismo Christi*, c. 2; ii. 369). In another place (*Hom. de Sancta Pentecoste*, c. 1; ii. 458) he says, τοὺν πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἡμεῶν (i. e. in the order of the year) τὰ Ἐπιφάνια, where Montfaucou (*Monitum in Hom.*) gives the probable explanation that Chrysostom is speaking according to the old-fashioned way. Reference may also be made to an oration of Gregory of Nazianzum, spoken apparently on the Epiphany of 381 A.D. (*Oratio 39 in Syneca Luminata*, c. 1; i. 677, ed. Bened.), and to one of Gregory of Nyssa (*Orat. in Bapt. Christi*, iii. 577; ed. Migne).

From this view of the Epiphany it naturally became one of the three great seasons for baptism, and on this day was the solemn consecra-

tion of water for the rite (*infra*). Hence the origin of the names for the day, τὰ φῶτα, ἡμέρα τῶν φῶτων, referring to the spiritual illumination of baptism. It is needless to say that to explain the name by a reference to the free employment of lighted candles in the solemnities of the day in the Greek church, is a simple inversion of cause and effect. For the strange mistake of some writers who have supposed that "the day of lights" is to be interpreted of Candlemas day, see Suicer's *Theaurus* (s. v. φῶς, § 12) and Bingham's *Antiq. Vices* (xx. 4, 7).

In the west also, this manifestation of Christ, though not the one most dwelt on, is still occasionally referred to, as by Maximus Taurinensis (*Hom.* 22, 23, 29, 32, 33, &c., where see the prefatory remarks in the Roman edition), and Jerome, "quintam autem diem mensis adiungit, ut significet baptismum, in quo aperti sunt Christo caeli, et Epiphaniarum dies hucusque venerabilis est, non ut quidam putant, Natalis in carne, tunc enim absconditus est et non apparuit" (*Hom. in Ezech.*, lib. i. c. 1, v. 3; v. 6, ed. Vallars). To the allusions in the Gallican liturgy already mentioned we shall again refer, and it will be remembered that our own church makes the Baptism of our Lord the subject for the second lesson on the evening of the Epiphany.

Further, the association of this day with the administration of baptism occurred also in the west, for we find Himerius, a bishop of Tarraco, in Spain, complaining to pope Damasus (ob. 384 A.D.) of the practice of baptizing on the Epiphany; and the latter having died, his successor, Siricius (ob. 389 A.D.), enters his prohibition against it and restricts baptism as a rule to Easter and Pentecost (*Epist. l. ad Himerium Tarracensem Episc. symm.*, c. 2; *Patrol.* xiii. 1134); and somewhat later, Leo I. speaks of it as "irrationabilis novitas" (*Epist.* 16, ad Sicirium episcopum, c. 1; i. 715, ed. Ballerini). The same prohibition was laid down at a still later period (517 A.D.) by the Spanish council of Gerunda (can. 4; Labbe iv. 1568). See also *Coder veterum can. Eccl. Hispaniae*, lib. iv., tit. 28 in Cajetan Cenni's *De antiqua Eccl. Hisp. i.*, xviii., where reference is made to Leo's injunctions. Further, Victor Vitensis alludes to this as the practice in the African church (*de persecutioe Vandulicis*, lib. ii. c. 17; *Patrol.* lviii. 216). See also Pamelius's note to Tertullian's *de Baptismo*, c. 19.

b. *Manifestation to the Magi.*—It has been on this idea that the Western church has specially dwelt, with the exceptions mentioned above; but even in these, save perhaps in the Gallican liturgy, the manifestations at the Baptism and at Cana of Galilee are brought in as subsidiary to the main topic. Hence has arisen one common western name for the day, *festum trium regum*, in accordance with the legend by which the wise Magi of the east became exalted into kings and their number restricted to three. We shall speak briefly hereafter of the origin and growth of this wide-spread legend (below, § 3). We have numerous homilies of the Latin fathers, dwelling mainly, or exclusively (as c. g. eight by Leo I.), on this aspect of the day.

γ. *Manifestation at the Marriage in Cana of Galilee.*—The manifestation of Christ's Divine power by His first miracle of turning the water into wine is not infrequently dwelt on in decu-

the rite (*infra*). Hence the for the day, τὰ φάρα, ἡμέρα to the spiritual illumination is needless to say that a reference to the five candles in the solemnities of the church, is a simple inference. For the strange mirrors who have supposed that "is to be interpreted of Suicer's *Theaurus* (s. v. *Ann's Antiq. Vies* (xx. 4, 7). This manifestation of Christ, most dwell on, is still common, as by Maximus Taurinensis 2, 33, &c., where see the pre-Roman edition), and Jerome, mensis adjungit, ut signum aperti sunt Christo caeli, et hucusque venerabilis est, ant, Natalis in carne, tunc et non apparuit" (*Hom.* 1, v. 3; v. 6, ed. Vallarsi). The Gallican liturgy already again refer, and it will be our own church makes the the subject for the second of the Epiphany. The occasion of this day with the baptism occurred also in the merius, a bishop of Tarraco, to pope Damasus (no. 384) of baptizing on the Epiphany having died, his successor, (s. v.), enters his prohibition priests baptism as a rite to st. (*Epist.* 1. *ad Himerium* *capitulum*, c. 2; *Patrol.* xiii. at later, Leo I. speaks of it (*Epist.* 16, *ad Sicivium*, 5, ed. Ballerini). The same down at a still later period Spanish council of Gerona (*Missionale*, lib. iv., tit. 26 in *Antiqua Eccl. Hisp.* i., xviii., made to Leo's injunctious, sens alludes to this as the can church (*de prescentine* 17; *Patrol.* lviii. 216). See to Tertullian *de Baptismo* to the Magi.—It has been on eastern church has specially mentioned above; but perhaps in the Gallican manifestations at the Baptism and are brought in as subsidiary. Hence has arisen one common for the day, *festum triana* with the legend by which he east became exalted into ber restricted to three. We hereafter of the origin and spread legend (below, § 3), homilies of the Latin fathers, exclusively (as e. g. eight by of the day. at the Marriage in Cana of vation of Christ's Divine miracle of turning the water frequently dwell on in docu-

ments of the Western church. Thus Maximus Taurinensis, to whom we have already referred, associates this with the two previous manifestations. See e. g. *Hom.* 29, "ferunt enim hodie Christum Dominum nostrum vel stella duce a gantibus adoratum, vel invitatum ad nuptias aquas in vino vertisse, vel suscepto a Joanne baptisate consecrasse fluenta Jordanis." Hence he speaks of the day as *victu um (Domini) not ulis*. From this cause comes the later name *Bethphani* (see Ducauge, s. v.). Cf. also Gregory of Tours (*de miraculis S. Martini*, ii. 29).

We find in the Eastern church too traces of an association of the miracle at Cana with this season, for Epiphanius (*Haeresis* li. c. 30; i. 451, ed. Petavius) speaks of it as happening about Tybi 11 (= Jan. 6), and adds, doubtless in perfect good faith, that sundry fountains and rivers (e. g. the Nile) were changed into wine on the anniversary of the miracle.

3. *Manifestation at the Feeding of the Five Thousand*.—Less frequently met with than any of the preceding is the commemoration of the above act of miraculous feeding, which may be specially associated with the one preceding. Under this point of view the day was known as *παρεσφάνα*. We have mentioned below a reference to this in the Gallican use.

The first three of these manifestations are all referred to by Isidore of Seville (*de off. eccl.* ii. 24), and the *Ordo Romanus* also adds the fourth. We may also mention here a passage in a sermon once attributed to Augustine, but palpably not his, in which all the four manifestations are alluded to (*Serm.* 136 in *Appnd.*; v. 2702, ed. Gambe).

For the special association of the festival of the Innocents with that of the Epiphany reference may be made to the article on the former.

Before we proceed to speak briefly of the various liturgical forms for this day, we may remark that it was usual to give notice on the Epiphany of the day on which the Easter of the ensuing year would fall. Letters were sent about this time by metropolitans to their provincial bishops (*epistolae Paschales, heortasticae*), in which at the end of a discourse of a more general kind was given the requisite information. An allusion to the existence of this practice in Egypt is found in Cassian, "intra Aegypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniarum die . . . epistolae pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur ecclesias, quibus initium Quadragesimae et dies Paschae . . . significantur" (vol. x. 2; *Patrol.* xlix. 820). Instances of such letters are those by Dionysius of Alexandria (referred to by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 20), Athanasius (fragments of whose once numerous series were first brought to light in a Syriac version by Mai, *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum*, vi. 1-168), Theophilus of Alexandria (three of which were translated into Latin by Jerome, and are included among his works, *Epp.* 95, 68, 100, ed. Migne), and Cyril, no less than thirty of whose are still extant (vol. v. part 2, ed. Aubert); and besides these purely Egyptian examples we may further cite those of Innocent I. (*Ep.* 14 *de ratione Paschali*; *Patrol.* xx. 517), and Leo I. (*Ep.* 138 *ad episcopos Gall. et Hispan.* l. 1283, ed. Ballerini). We find traces of the custom as existing in Spain, but there the notice was to be given on Christmas day, according to

the third council of Braga, 578 A.D. (*Conc. Bracar.* iii. can. 9; Labbe v. 898).

This duty is insisted on by several early councils (e. g. *Conc. Arelat.* l. can. 1; *Conc. Carth.* iii. can. 1, 41; *Conc. Carth.* v. can. 7; Labbe, l. 1427; ii. 1167, 1173, 1216), and we cite especially the fourth council of Orleans (541 A.D.), which after enjoining that Easter is to be kept uniformly according to the Paschal table of Victorius, adds "quae festivitas annis singulis ab episcopo Epiphaniarum die in ecclesia populis denuntietur" (*Conc. Arelat.* iv. can. 1; Labbe, v. 381. See also *Conc. Antiskal.* [578 A.D.], can. 2, *op. cit.* 937). The form of the announcement as given in the Ambrosian liturgy, under the Epiphany, runs thus: "Noverit claritas vestra, fratres charissimi, quod annuente Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi misericordia, die tali mensis talis Pascha Domini celebrabimus" (*Pamolius, Liturg. Lat.* ii. 314).

2. *Liturgical Notices*.—It need hardly be said that the festival of the Epiphany is recognised in some form or other in all liturgies both of the west and the east. The earliest form of the Roman liturgy, the Leonine, is defective for this part of the year, but it cannot be doubted that a service for the Epiphany entered into it; the more so that no less than eight homilies for this festival are found in the works of Leo. In the next form, the Gelasian, we find a mass both for the festival of the Epiphany itself, and for the vigil. Throughout the service for both days the only Manifestation of our Lord referred to is that to the Magi (*Patr. Lat.* lxxix. 1062).

In the Gregorian Sacramentary we find the further addition of a form for the Octave, though it should be added that both this and that for the vigil are wanting in some MSS., as the *Calce Rodradi* (*Greg. Sac.* 15), and the same remark is true for the *Liber Antiphonarum* (i. 660). In this last-named book the seventy-second psalm is largely used, and very probably the poetic imagery of this psalm suggested the special form of the legend of the *facta trium regum* (Ps. lxxii. 10). In this Sacramentary also, from which, it may be remarked, the collect for the day in our own prayer-book is derived, the reference is solely to the manifestation to the Magi; except in the solemn eucharistic benediction, where a mention of the manifestation both at the baptism and at the marriage in Cana of Galilee is added, ". . . qui super Unigenitum suum Spiritum Sanctum demonstrare voluit per columbam, eoque virtute mentes vestrae exercere ad intelligenda divinae Legis arcanam, qua in Cana Galilaeae lympha est in vinum conversa" (ib. 751), and see also the *Liber Responsorialis* (b. 751). The *Ordo Romanus* prescribes three lectures for the vigil from the prophet Isaiah (lv. ix., li. 10-lxiv. 4), as well as some homilies.

The Ambrosian liturgy contains forms for the vigil and the festival; the manifestation to the Magi is the only one dwelt on, except in the preces for the two days, in the former of which the three manifestations are alluded to, and the latter of which refers solely to the baptism, mentioning also the solemn consecration of the water; "susceperunt hodie fontes benedictionem tuam et abstulerunt maledictionem nostram" (*Missae Ambros.* in *Pamolius' Liturg. Lat.* l. 315).

We may refer next to the liturgies of the old Gallican church, and here as before we find a recognition of the festival and its vigil. In the ancient lection³ published by Mabillon (*de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. ii. pp. 116, 117), the lection for the vigil introduces the reference to the Magi, while on the day itself the prophetic lection, the epistle, and the gospel, are respectively Isaiah lx. 1-16; Titus i. 11-ii. 7; Matt. iii. 13-17; Luke iii. 23; John ii. 1-11, where it will be seen that the gospel is compounded of passages from three of the evangelists (as on Good Friday it is compounded of all the four), dwelling on the baptism and the miracle at Cana of Galilee. In the so-called Gothico-Gallic Missal, we first meet with a number of different prefaces and collects for the vigil in which all the three manifestations are referred to, but that to the Magi most frequently, and also the manifestation of the Divine power in the miraculous feeding of the five thousand (lib. iii. pp. 207 sqq.). In the actual masses given for the vigil and the festival, we find that in the case of the former the baptism is referred to in the preface and the collect, the miracle of Cana in the preface, and the manifestation to the Magi in the *collectio ad pacem*, while the benediction, as in the Gregorian Sacramentary, embraces all three. In the latter, the baptism forms the special subject of the *collectio ad pacem* and the *contestatio*, the miracle of Cana that of the *collectio post nomina*, and the manifestation to the Magi that of two other prayers; while in the benediction, besides the manifestation at the baptism and at Cana, that at the feeding of the five thousand is also referred to. The same blending of references characterizes also the Gallican Sacramentary edited by Muratori (*Patrol.* lxxii. 471).

We pass on next to the Mozarabic or Spanish Missal. Here, as well as in the Breviary, we find a mention first of a Sunday before Epiphany, and next comes a mass "in jejuniis Epiphaniæ," that is a fast for January 1-5, a relic doubtless of the earlier state of things when the subsequent festival of the Circumcision was observed as a fast.⁴ [CIRCUMCISION.]

For the Sunday referred to, the prophetic lection, epistle, and gospel are respectively Isaiah xlix. 1-7, Heb. vi. 13-vii. 3, John i. 1-18; and for the following fast are Ecclesiasticus iv. 23-34, Numbers xxiv.-xxvi. with omissions, 1 Cor. xv. 33-30, John i. 18-34 (p. 58, ed. Leslie).

The mass for the festival itself is headed *In Apparitione seu Epiphaniæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, the title in the Breviary being *In festo Apparitionis Domini*. The prophetic lection, epistle, and gospel are Isaiah lx. 1-20 (with omissions), Galatians iii. 27-iv. 7, Matt. ii. In the prayers, &c., there are passing allusions to the baptism (as in the *Officium*, Rom. vi. 3) and the miracle in Cana of Galilee, but, as in the various Roman liturgies, it is the manifestation to the Magi that is mainly referred to. In one passage of the mass (p. 63), as well as in the Breviary, is an allusion to a name of the festival evidently in use among the Visigoths in Spain,

acceptio, an obvious reference to Christ's acceptance of the first fruits of the Gentiles. We may take this opportunity of remarking that in Spain the Visigoth law enjoined a total cessation of legal business on this festival (*Codex leg. Visigoth.* lib. ii. tit. 1, lex 11; lib. xii. tit. 3, lex 6; in *Hispania Illustrata*, iii. 863, 1004; ed. Frankfurt, 1606. See also *Cod. Justin.* lib. iii. tit. 12, lex 7), and the Code of Theodosius forbade the public games on this day (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. xv. tit. 5, lex 5 [where there is no allusion to Christ's baptism], v. 353, ed. Gothofredus, whose note see *in loc.*). It may be added that the Apostolic Constitutions (viii. 33) enjoins upon masters the duty of giving their servants rest on the Epiphany, in memory of the great events commemorated. For additional remarks as to the vigil of the Epiphany, reference may be made to those on the vigil of the Nativity. [CHRISTMAS.]

The practice of the Greek church of making the Epiphany one of the solemn seasons for baptism and of the holding a special consecration of the water has been already referred to. The prophetic lection, epistle, and gospel for this latter rite are respectively Isaiah xxxv. lv., xii. 3-8; 1 Cor. x. 1-4, Mark i. 9-11 (*Goar, Euchologion*, pp. 453 sqq., and see his remarks, p. 467); the epistle and gospel at the liturgy are respectively Titus ii. 11-14, iii. 4-7, and Matt. iii. 13-17.

We find this practice of consecrating the water, which was done at night, alluded to by Chrysostom (*supra*, ii. 369), who speaks of people taking home with them some of the consecrated water and of their finding it to keep good for a year, or even three years. This nocturnal ceremony of consecrating the water is referred by Theodorus Lector to Peter Gnapheus, who pointed out *την ἐπι τῶν ὕδατων ἐν τοῖς θεοφάνειοις ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρῃ γίνεσθαι* (lib. ii. p. 566; ed. Valesius; and see also Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* i. 530, ed. Bekker; and Nicephorus Callist., *Hist. Eccles.* xv. 28; ii. 634, ed. Ducaeus). It is however justly remarked by Valesius (*not. in loc.* p. 169) and Goar (*Euchologion*, p. 467), that since we find Chrysostom at an earlier period alluding to this practice as a familiar one, all that Peter Gnapheus can have done must have been to transfer the consecration from midnight to evening. (For remarks on the ceremony at a later period, see Georgius Codinus, *de off. c. viii.* [c. vi.], and refer to Gretser's and Goar's observations, pp. 303 sqq. ed. Bekker. See also Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 754, for remarks as to the superstitious ideas connected with this water in Russia at the present day.)

Gregory of Tours mentions that on this day those who lived near the Jordan bathed in the river in memory of Christ's baptism and of their cleansing through him (*De gloria martyrum*, i. 88).

Two miscellaneous notices may be added here as illustrative of the ideas with which the festival was viewed. Chrysostom censures those who communicating on the Epiphany did so because it was the custom rather than after due consideration (*Hom.* iii. in *Eph.*; xi. 25, ed. Gaume); and we learn from a decree of Gelasius that the consecration of virgins took place especially on this day (*Epist.* 9 ad *episc. Lucaniae*, c. 12; *Patrol.* lix. 62).

3. Legend of the Three Kings.—We have al-

⁴ For an earlier allusion to the festival of Epiphany in the Spanish church reference may be made to a canon of a council of Saragossa (381 A.D.) evidently aimed at the Priscillianist practice of fasting at the Lord's Nativity (*Concil. Cæs.* Aug. can. 4, Labbe ii. 1010).

ready allusion to the festival of the Saviour, them with been fixed were king trary Inte lar passag tullian, ad Oriens" (enough th which vis of the numbe or number of tristic virg other spec under this the Trinity the t'recfo which is al sentations tana, if r this point Not only d the Magi, These are v ceived form which are a sage of Beo point, Mr. K the appare sun (*Gnosio* Merely to sufficient, an firmly believ Magi, were Constantino great honou transferred Eustorgius, h they were ag derick Barba remnin, and i which they Kings of Col legend is beye may be mad Magr, and b tioned, a vast subject may Gentiana seu Colon. Agr. 10 4. *Literatur Martene, de A el. Venice, 17 Christian Chur wädigkeiten a pt. I, pp. 31 the Church, pp Theaurus, s. v. vria; besides article. The Hindler, Do Hebenstreit, L Gentiles of Ch bsch, Antiqu (also in Valbu 1846, unno. 10*

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[CHRISTMAS.]
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Kings.—We have al-

ready alluded in passing to the title of *festum trium regum* given in the Western church to the festival of the Epiphany, viewed as a commemoration of the visit of the three Magi to the infant Saviour. Whence then has tradition invested them with royalty, and why has their number been fixed as three? The idea that the Magi were kings, probably first suggested by an arbitrary interpretation of Psalm lxxii. 10 and similar passages, was early believed in. Thus Tertullian, after alluding to the above-mentioned Psalm, adds: "Nam et Magos reges fere habuit Oriens" (*ado. Juliano*, c. 9), though curiously enough the apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy, which gives a somewhat lengthy account of the visit of the Magi, is silent as to this point. The number three is not improbably due to the number of the recorded gifts, though early patristic writers have thought it to symbolize other special reasons. Thus some believed that under this number was implied the doctrine of the Trinity, and others saw in it an allusion to the trifold division of the human race, an idea which is also referred to in sundry early representations of the Magi. See e.g. Bede's *Collectanea*, if indeed the work is really his, where this point seems referred to (*Patrol.* xciv. 541). Not only did early tradition fix the number of the Magi, but it also assigned them names. These are variously given, but the generally received forms are Caspar, Melchior, Baltazar, which are apparently first met with in the passage of Bede referred to above. These names point, Mr. King thinks, to a Mithraic origin, from the apparent reference in their etymology to the sun (*Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 50, 133).

Merely to fix the names, however, was not sufficient, and accordingly we find that bodies, firmly believed at the time to be those of the Magi, were brought by the empress Helena to Constantinople, where they were received with great honours. These remains were subsequently transferred to Milan through the influence of Eustorgius, bishop of that see; and in 1162 A.D. they were again removed by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa to Cologne, where they still remain, and hence has arisen the appellation by which they are so commonly known, the Three Kings of Cologne. A further discussion of this legend is beyond our present scope, and reference may be made to the 'Bible Dictionary,' s. v. MAGI, and besides the authorities there mentioned, a vast mass of information on the whole subject may be found in Crompton's *Primitive Gentium seu Historia SS. trium regum majorum*, Colonia, Agr. 1654.

4. *Literature.*—Reference has been made to Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, iii. 42 sqq., ed. Venice, 1783; Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. xx. ch. 4; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, v. pt. 1, pp. 311 sqq.; Guericke's *Antiquities of the Church*, pp. 163 sqq. (Eng. Trans.); Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. 'Επιφάνεια, &c.; Ducange's *Glossaria*; besides other authorities cited in the article. The following may also be consulted: Kandler, *De Epiphania*, Vitebergue, 1684; Hebestreit, *De Epiphania et Epiphaniis apud Gentiles et Christianos*, Jenae, 1653; Blumenbach, *Antiquitates Epiphaniarum*, Lipsiae, 1737 (also in Volbeing, *Thesaurus*, i. 1, Lipsiae, 1848, ann. 10); Wernsdorf, *Tà 'Επιφάνια 'Ε-*

torum, ad illustrandum Hymnum: Was fürchst du Feind Herodes sehr. Vitebergat, 1759.

[R. S.]

EPIPODIUS, martyr at Lyons under Antoninus and Verus; commemorated April 22 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EPISCOPIA, the wife of a bishop. The second council of Tours (c. 13) expressly forbids a bishop who has no wife (episcopum) to surround himself with a set of women. [C.]

EPISCOPALIA, the ring and pastoral staff, the distinctive marks of the authority of a bishop. Thus Gerbod is said (*Cytilit. Francofurt.* A.D. 794, c. 8) to have received his *Episcopalia* from Maguard his metropolitan (Ducange, s. v.). [C.]

EPISCOPATE. [BISHOP.]

EPISCOPI CARDINALES. [CARDINAL.]

EPISCOPI SUFFRAGANEI, VACANTES. [BISHOP, p. 240.]

EPISCOPUS EPISCOPORUM. [BISHOP, p. 210.]

EPISTEME, martyr, with Galaction, A.D. 285; commemorated Nov. 5 (*Cod. Biz. mt.*). [W. F. G.]

EPISTLE. Lectures from Holy Scripture form part of every known liturgy. These lectures, as we learn from Justin Martyr, were originally taken from the Old as well as from the New Testament. The *Apostolical Constitutions* speak of "the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and of the Epistles, and Acts and Gospels" (*Ap. Const.* viii. 5; ii. 57). Tertullian mentions that the African church understood the reading of the Law and the Prophets with that of the writings of the evangelists and apostles (*De Præscript.* 30). St. Augustine repeatedly refers to the first of the lectures being taken from the Prophets: "primum lectioem Isaiæ prophetæ" (*Serm.* 45, ed. Bened. vol. v. p. 218), "lectio prima prophetica" (*Serm.* 47, v. 268), though, as we shall see, this was not universally the case. In comparatively early times the Old Testament lecture in many places dropt out of use on ordinary occasions, and the first Scripture lecture in the liturgy was that generally known as the *Epistle*. The most ancient designation was the *Apostle*, the lectures being almost universally taken from the writings of St. Paul. Thus we find, "Apostolum audivimus, Psalmum audivimus, Evangelium audivimus" (*Aug. Serm. de Verb. Apost.* 176, vol. v. p. 796), "sequitur apostolus" (*Sacram. Gregor. Menard*, p. 2); ἀγαγιώσκαται ἰσοτολος (*Liturg. Cyrill.*); "in quibusdam His, nigrum ecclesie laudes post apostolum decantantur" (*Concil. Tolot.* iv., A.D. 643, can. xii.; Lubbe v. 1700); "Statim post Apostolum id est post Epistolam" (*Hincmar, Opusc.* vii. vol. ii. p. 149); κατέργειν . . . ψαλτήριον διδάξαι με καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον (Cyrill. Scythop. *Vit. S. Sa'ae*).

In all ancient Sacramentaries of the Western church the *Epistle* succeeds the *Collect*. This is not the case in the Eastern liturgies. In the liturgy of St. Chrysostom we find a PROKIMENON (προκείμενον), or short anthem preceding the *Epistle* as its epitome, consisting of a verse and response, generally, but not always, taken from

the Psalms. Before the epistle the deacon imposed silence (*ἠπαύσωτες, attendamus*), "not," observes St. Chrysostom, "as doing honour to the reader but to Him who speaks to all through Him." *Homil. lvi., l. 2* Thess. After the Epistle is read, the priest says, "Peace be to thee," which is technically called *εἰρηνεύειν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*. Instead of this "Thanks be to God" follows in the Mozarabic liturgy. In the Western church the anthem epitomizing the Epistle, taken from the Psalms, followed instead of preceding it. From being sung on the steps of the ambo, it was called the *Gradual* [ALLELUIA: GRADUAL]. St. Augustine frequently alludes to its position between the Epistle and Gospel, e.g. "Primum lectioem audivimus apostoli. . . deinde cantavimus psalmum. . . posthæc evangelica lectio" (*Aug. Serm. de Verb. Apost. 176; Sermon. 45, ib. 49, u.s.*). Neither in the Eastern nor the Western church was the Epistle always selected from the writings of the apostles. We find it sometimes taken from the Acts and the Revelation, and in the Western, but never in the Eastern church, even from the Old Testament. Several of the Oriental liturgies present more than one lection in the place of the Epistle. In the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil there is first a lection from an epistle of St. Paul, then the *Catholicos*, i. e. a lection from one of the Catholic epistles, then a lection from the Acts, each followed by an appropriate prayer; a psalm is then sung, and the Gospel is read (Renaudot, i. pp. 5-8). The *Liturgy Communis Athiopum* gives the same five lections in the same order (*ib. pp. 507-510*), in which they also stand in the Syrian liturgies (*ib. ii. p. 68*). Canons of the Coptic church ordaining these five lections—the psalm being counted as one—are given by Renaudot (*ib. i. p. 203*). The last lection is always the Gospel.

The origin and place of the arrangement of these Scripture lections will be more properly discussed when the early lectionaries are treated of [LECTIONARY]. Binterim carries them back as early as the 3rd century (*Denkwürdigk. l. iv. 1. 228-230; 2. 323*). If the ancient *Lectionarium* of the Roman church, known by the title of *Comes* [COMES], in which we find the epistles and gospels very much as they stand in the English liturgy at the present day, were really drawn up, as is asserted, by Jerome, we should have certain evidence of their arrangement at least as early as the 5th century. But the authorship of the *Comes* rests only on the authority of writers of the 11th and 12th centuries, and though accepted by Bona (*Res. Liturg.*, lib. iii. c. 6, p. 624) and Binterim (*u.s.*), must be regarded as exceedingly questionable. The fact, however, that the same lections were employed by the fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries as the subjects of their homilies proves the very early date of their assignment to particular days (cf. the examples given by Augusti, *Handbuch d. Christ. Arch.* bk. vi. c. 8, vol. ii. p. 239).

* "Catholicos. Ita vocatur apud orientales Epistola Jacobi, Petri, Joannis et Judæ, quæ Catholice appellantur, quia etiam scriptæ sunt, ex quibus volumus constare quod Catholicos dicitur. Itaque cum Theodoretus laudat aliquam ex istis Epistolis sicutum dicitur Jacobus in *Catholico*, Petrus, &c." Renaudot, l. 210. [CATHOLIC.]

According to the Eastern ritual the Epistle was read by the Reader, standing at the Royal Doors. In the Western church it was read in the 8th century from the ambo by the subdeacon standing on the second step, the Gospel being subsequently read by the deacon from the third step. Anularius (*De Offic. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 11) expresses his surprise that this office is assigned to the subdeacon, since it is not mentioned in the commission at his ordination; but the 4th canon of the council of Rheims, A. D. 813, after directing that "the Apostle" should be read by the subdeacon, all sitting, adds "qualiter subdiaconal ministerium est apostolum legere" (Augusti, *Adhæc.*; Binterim, *Denk-würdigk.* Bingham, *Orig.*; Pena, *Res. Liturg.*; Martene, *de Eccl. Rit.*). [L. V.]

EPISTOLÆ CANONICÆ, COMMENTARIÆ, COMMUNICATORIÆ, ECCLESIASTICÆ, FORMATÆ, PACTIFICÆ, SYSTATICAL. [COMMENTARY LETTERS: FORMAT.]

EPISTOLÆ DIMISSORIAE. [DIMISSORY LETTERS.]

EPISTOLÆ ENTHRONISTICÆ. [BISHOP, p. 224.]

EPISTOLÆ SYNODICÆ. [SYNODICAL LETTERS.]

EPISTOLÆ TRACTORIÆ. [TRACTORIA.]

EPISTOLIUM. A term used (*II. Conc. Turon.* c. 6) for the literate formate the granting of which is expressly limited to bishops. See COMMENTARY LETTERS: DIMISSORY LETTERS. [C.]

EPITAPH. [CATACOMBS, p. 308: INSCRIPTIONS.]

EPITRACHELION. [STOLE.]

EPOCH. [ERA.]

EPOLONIUS, martyr at Antioch, with Babylon the bishop, under Decius; commemorated Jan. 24 (*Mart. Bedæ, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EPOMADION (Ἐπωμάδιον), the cord or ribbon by which a pectoral cross or ENCOLPION is suspended from the neck. (Suidas; *Daniel's Codex*, iv. 702.) [C.]

EQUI CURSUALES. [CURSUALES EQUI.]

ERA. A succession of years, reckoned on some common principle from a specified event, or date, called its epoch. The terms era and epoch are frequently used as synonymous.

The Julian Period.—1. To compare dates belonging to different eras, there is no method more useful than to refer them all to the Julian period, a period introduced or revived by Scaliger. It consists of 7980 years, that number being formed by multiplying together $28 \times 19 \times 15$, the respective periods of the cycle of the sun, of the cycle of the moon, and of the indiction, the last being a period used in the administration of the Roman empire. It is the only cycle in which the solar, lunar, and indictional cycles synchronize, after the completion of 285 cycles of the sun, 420 of the moon, and 532 of the indictions. The great cycle then recurs as before. No two years in the same period agree in all the three numerals of

Eastern ritual the Epistle reader, standing at the Royal era church it was read in the ambo by the subdeacon and then, the Gospel being read by the deacon from the third *de Offic. Eccl.* (lib. i. c. 11) that this office is assigned; and it is not mentioned in his ordination; but the 4th of Rheims, A.D. 813, after the Apostle "should be read by the subdeacon, adding 'qualiter subdeacon est apostolum legere'." *Interim. Vetus iudithica; Bing. Rec. Liturg.; Martene, de Lit. V.*

ANONICAE, COMMEN-
TARIATAE, FACI-
LITICAE. [COMMEMORATIVE]

DISMISSORIAE. [DIMISSORY]

ANTHRONISTICAE. [ANTHRONOSTIC]

ANODICAE. [SYNOICAL]

TRACTORIAE. [TRACTORY]

A term used (*II. Conc. Lateranense*) for the granting of a dispensation limited to bishops. See *DISMISSORY LETTERS*. [C.]

INSCRIPTIONES. [INSCRIPTIONS]

STOLE. [STOLE]

Antioch, with under Decius; commemorated, (Ustardi). [W.F.G.]

Ερωδίων), the cord or sash, or ENCLOPION of a neck. (Suidas; Daniel's). [C.]

LES. [CURSUALES EQU]

of years, reckoned on from a specified event, or from the terms era and epoch. [C.]

synonymus.
1. To compare dates in different eras, there is no method of referring them: all to the Julian era introduced or revived by Julius in 780 years, that is, by multiplying together the respective periods of the cycle of the moon, and of the year, being a period used in the Roman empire. It is which the solar, lunar, and lunar, and chronize, after the completion of the sun, 420 of the moon, and the great year. No two years in the all the three numerals of

the subordinate cycles, so that by naming them all, the year is completely designated.

2. The first year of the current Julian period, in which each of the subordinate cycles had the numeral one, was the year 4713 B.C., and the noon of 1st January of that year, for the meridian of Alexandria, is its chronological epoch.

The years are Julian years, i.e., of 365 days in common years, 366 in leap year, which is every fourth year, that year in fact whose date-numeral being divided by four, leaves the remainder one.

3. To find the place of any specified year of the Julian period.—Divide its numeral by the respective divisors 28, 19, 15. The respective remainders give the years in the several cycles. The remainder 0 is to be construed 28, 19, 15.

4. To determine the year of the Julian period from the numerals of the three cycles.—Multiply the numeral of the solar cycle by 4845, that of the lunar by 4200, and that of the indictio by 6916, and divide the sum of these products by 7980. The remainder is the year sought.

5. To find the day current of the Julian period of any date in the Julian period.—Subtract one from the numeral of the year-day, and divide the remainder by four, calling Q the integer quotient, R the remainder. Then will Q be the number of entire quadriennia of 1461 days each, and R the residual years, the first of which is always a leap year. Convert Q into days by taking the right multiple of 1461, and R by using the annexed table; then add the days for the current day of the given year, remembering February 29th in leap year.

Residual Year	0	1	2	3
Day . . .	0	366	731	1096

6. To convert a year of the Julian period into the year B.C., or A.D.—If the numeral be less than 4714, subtract it from that number, the difference will be the year B.C. If the numeral be greater than 4713, take that number from the numeral, and the difference will be the year A.D.

The Olympiads.—1. The era used in Greece, instituted in 776 B.C. (3938 J. P.) consisting of four years. July 1st A.D., is considered to correspond with the commencement of the first year of the 195th Olympiad.

2. To reduce any given year of an Olympiad to the Christian era, multiply the Olympiad immediately preceding the one in question by four, and add to the product the number of years of the given Olympiad. If before Christ, subtract the amount from 777; if after Christ, subtract 776 from the amount, and the remainder will be the beginning of the year required, commencing from July.

3. For an exact calculation of days tables are required, showing the order of the months in the different years of the Metonic cycle. These may be found in *Ideler* i. 386.

4. The fathers of the Greek church and the ecclesiastical historians, as Eusebius and Socrates, use the era of the Olympiads in a peculiar manner. It would have been natural to begin them with the commencement of their civil

year, September 1st, or ten months too early, but they really commence them a year earlier, still, or nearly two years too early. The same reckoning is used in the Chronicon Paschale. It is necessary to add one year and ten months to their date to make them accord with the common era of the Olympiads.

Era of the Building of Rome.—Amongst the variety of dates assigned to this event, the Varroian epoch is adopted, being April 22nd, B.C. 753, or 3961, J. P. The consular year began on the 1st January.

To reduce the year of Rome, to the year before or after Christ.—If the year of Rome be less than 754, deduct its numeral from 754; the difference is the year before Christ. If the year of Rome be not less than 754, deduct 753 from it, and the remainder will be the year after Christ.

Era of the Seleucidæ.—The era of the Seleucidæ, also called the era of the Greeks, was widely used in Syria, and by the Jews from the time of the Maccabees. It is used in the book of the Maccabees. It is still used by the Arabs. Its epoch is October 1st, B.C. 312, or 4402 J. P.

Julian Reformation of the Calendar.—This took place 707 U.C., or January 1st B.C. 45, 4689 J. P.

The Christian Era.—The Christian era was first introduced by Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian abbot in Rome, in the 6th century, and gradually superseded the era of Diocletian, which had been used till then. It was first used in France in the 7th century, but was not universally established there till the 8th century, after which time it became general. Great diversity, however, long subsisted as to the day on which the year should be considered to commence.

It commenced on the 1st day of January, in the middle of the 4th year of the 194th Olympiad, the 753rd U.C., and the 4714th of the Julian period. It is now generally acknowledged not to be the true year of the Saviour's birth, but its use as a chronological epoch does not allow of its being altered.

The era of Diocletian.—This era was prevalent till the adoption of the Christian era; its epoch was 29th August, A.D. 284. It was introduced in Egypt by Diocletian, after the siege of Alexandria, and gave the Egyptians, for the first time, the advantage of a fixed year. The first month, the beginning of the Egyptian year, was August 31st, and it is supposed that a change was made from a moveable to a fixed year, after the lapse of five years. This era is still used by the Copts. To reduce this era to the Christian era add 283 years and 240 days, and as the intercalation was made at the end of the year, in the Diocletian year next after leap year, add one day, from the 29th August to the end of the ensuing February.

The era of Constantinople.—The era of Constantinople, or the Byzantine era, first appears in the Chronicon Paschale. It fixed the creation of the world in the 5508th year before Christ, so that A.D. 1, fell in the 5509th year of this era. The Russians followed this calculation till the time of Peter the Great, having received it from the Greek church, by whom it is still used. The year began on the equinox, March 21st. It was afterwards made to begin, for civil purposes, on September 1st.

The Alexandrians had used an era of the creation, fixed at 5502 years before Christ; but in A.D. 285, they reduced the date by ten years.

To pass from the year of our Lord to the era of Constantinople, or conversely, add or subtract 5508 from January to August, and 5509 for the rest of the year.

The Jewish era.—The Jews never reckon by the year of the world, and they place the creation 3761 B.C.

By adding 952 to the numeral of the Jewish year we get its date in the Julian period; and by subtracting 952 from the year of the Julian period we get the Jewish ate.

For the Christian era we must subtract 3761, and add the same for the converse process. The Jewish year begins in the autumn.

The following results are selected from a Table in Sir J. Herschel's 'Outlines of Astronomy.'

INTERVALS IN DAYS between the Commencement of the JULIAN PERIOD and that of some principal Chronological Eras.

Names by which the Era is usually cited.	First Day current of the Era.	Chronological Designation of the Year.	Current Year of the Julian Period.	Interval Days.
Julian Period	Julian Dates			
Olympiads (mean epochs in general use)	Jan. 1	B.C. 4713	1	0
Building of Rome (Varroian epoch, U.C.)	July 1	776	3928	1,438, 171
Era of the Seleucidae (or Era of the Greeks)	Apr. 22	763	3961	1,446, 502
Julian reformation of the Calendar	Oct. 1	312	4402	1,607, 739
Spanish Era	Jan. 1	43	4669	1,701, 947
Actian Era in Rome	Jan. 1	38	4670	1,707, 514
Actian Era of Alexandria	Jan. 1	30	4684	1,716, 466
Byzantine or Christian Era, "of our Lord"	Aug. 29	30	4684	1,716, 706
Era of Maccleian	Jan. 1	A.D. 1	4714	1,724, 421
	Aug. 29	284	4997	1,825, 630

[L. II.]

ERACLEAS. [HERACLEAS.]

ERACLIUS. [HERACLIUS.]

ERASMUS. (1) Bishop, and martyr in Campania, under Diocletian; commemorated June 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr at Antioch; commemorated Nov. 25 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

ERASTUS and Olympus and companions, "Apostle;" commemorated Nov. 10 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EREMITES. [HERMITS.]

ERENAEUS. [IRENÆUS.]

ERENACH, or HERENACH, a term applied to a class of officials who appear prominently in the annals of the Irish church prior to its reconstitution in the 12th century, after which time the word was used to denote an ecclesiastic having a position akin to that of archdeacon.

In its earliest use the Erenach, or *Airchinneach*, appears to have been hereditary steward and tenant of the lands granted by temporal chiefs to the church-founding abbots of Ireland; his duties being to superintend the farmers or tenants of the church or monastery—according to Colgan, "Omnium colonorum certi districtus praepositus seu prae-fectus." [J. S.—T.]

ESICHIUS or ESICIUS. [HESYCHUS.]

ESPOUSALS. [ARRHAË: BENEDICTION, NUPTIAL: BETHROTHAL: MARRIAGE.]

ETHELDREDA or EDILTRUDIS, virgin-queen, martyr in Britain; commemorated June 23 (*Mart. Bedae*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

ETHERIUS, bishop; deposition at Auxerre July 27 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

ETHIOPIAN MONKS. Monasticism spread rapidly from Egypt into Ethiopia, and gained as strong a hold there as in Egypt or Syria, if not a

stronger. Helyot (*Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, i. xi.) speaks of all the monasteries in Ethiopia as professing to obey the so-called "Rule of Antony," but with different observances. An attempt at reformation, such as invariably recurs in the life of a monastic order, was made in the 7th century; Tecla-Haimanot, as Helyot writes, it, being the second founder or Benedict of Ethiopian monasticism. He endeavoured to consolidate the system under a Superior-General, second in ecclesiastical rank only to the Patriarch of Ethiopia, who was to visit and inspect the monasteries personally or by proxy. Several of them, however, preferred to retain their independence, like congregationalists. Monks swarmed in Ethiopia, according to Helyot, long after the first fervour of asceticism; and the constitution of the Ethiopian church was monastic (Robertson, *Church Hist.* i. 300). The story of a military order of monks, like the knight-templars, originating in the 4th century is purely fabulous (Helyot, *u. s. l.* xlii.). [I. G. S.]

EUCHARIST (*Εὐχαριστία*). This article treats of the use of the word *Eucharistia*. For the nature of the offices accompanying the sacrament, see LITURGY, and the several articles on its component parts, especially CANON OF THE LITURGY and COMMUNION, HOLY.

1. The primary meaning of the word *εὐχαριστία* seems to be a feeling of thankfulness or gratitude (2 Macc. ii. 27; Sirac. xxviii. 11; Acts xxiv. 3).

II. The expression of the feeling of gratitude: 1. In words = thanksgiving; 2. In act = thank-offering.

1. *Εὐχαριστία*, the sense of thanksgiving, occurs frequently in the New Testament; it is used for the thanksgiving in public worship (1 Cor. xiv. 16; 2 Cor. iv. 15, etc.), and for the expression of thankfulness generally.

2. Philo uses *εὐχαριστία* in a wider sense.

the numeral of the Jewish in the Julian period; and from the year of the Julian ... we must subtract 4761, to the converse process. The ... the autumn. ... are selected from a Table ... outlines of Astronomy.

Table of some principal

Current Year of the Julian Period.	Interval Days.
1	0
3923	1,438,171
3961	1,446,502
4402	1,607,739
4669	1,701,967
4676	1,707,514
4684	1,716,466
4684	1,716,700
4714	1,721,424
4997	1,825,630

[L. H.]

histoire des Ordres Monac... to obey the so-called "Rule... different observances. An... such as invariably recurs... order, was made in the... Helyot writes... founder or Benedict of... I have endeavoured to con... der a Superior-General... rank only to the Patriarch... to visit and inspect the... or by proxy. Several of... red to retain their int... onalists. Monkswarmed... to Helyot, long after the... ism; and the constitution... ch was monastic (Robert...). The story of a milk... like the knight-templars... century is purely fabulous... [L. G. S.]

εὐχαριστία). This article... the word Eucharistic. For... as accompanying the sacra... and the several articles on... especially CANON OF THE... ON, HOLY.

meaning of the word εὐχαρισ... feeling of thankfulness or... 27; Sircu. xxxvii. 11;

of the feeling of gratitude:... living; 2. In net = thank-

the sense of thanksgiving... the New Testament; it is... giving in public worship... iv. 15, etc.), and for the... less generally.

εὐχαριστία in a wider sense.

He speaks, for instance (*De Victimis*, c. 9), of εὐχαριστία as including hymns, prayers, and sacrifices; of τὰς διὰ θεοῦ εὐχαριστίας (*Ib.*, c. 4); and of giving thanks (or thank-offering, εὐχαριστήρια τῆν εὐχαριστίαν) to God for the creation of the world—a phrase noteworthy as suggesting one of the aspects of the Christian eucharist (Irenæus, *Hæres.* iv. 18, 4). The word does not occur in the LXX, though it is used by Aquila.

III. We have to consider the application of the word εὐχαριστία to the Supper of the Lord, or the elements used in it.

1. The verb εὐχαριστέω, like the corresponding substantive, means both to feel thankfulness and to express it. The use of the word εὐχαριστήσθαι, in 2 Cor. i. 11, implies further that εὐχαριστέω might be used with an accusative of the object for which thanks are given.

The Lord in the Last Supper gave thanks after taking the Cup (θεξόμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν, Luke xxii. 17; λαβὼν ποτήριον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας, Matt. xxvi. 27); and before breaking the Bread (εὐχαριστήσας ἔλασεν, 1 Cor. xi. 24; Luke xxii. 19). Compare Matt. x. 36; Mark viii. 6; John vi. 11, 23. So the disciples of the 2nd century gave thanks over the Bread and the Cup in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as we see from the description of it in Justin Martyr.

2. From this uttering of thanksgiving over the elements of Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, the word εὐχαριστέω came to mean, to bless, hallow, or consecrate by the utterance of the proper form of thanksgiving (Grimm, *Lexicon Novi Test.*, s. v.). Thus Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65) speaks of the Bread and Wine and Water which had been made eucharistic (εὐχαριστήθησας ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος), immediately after mentioning the thanksgiving (εὐχαριστίαν) of the president for God's mercy in granting us the blessings of creation and redemption. Ana again (c. 66), he speaks of τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχαριστήθεισαν τροφήν [CANON OF THE LITURGY, p. 268]. Compare "panem in quo gratiæ actus sint" (Irenæus, *Hæres.* iv. 18, 4).

By an easy transition the εὐχαριστήθεισα τροφή or consecrated elements came to be called simply εὐχαριστία (*Ib.* c. 66). Similarly in the Ignatian letter *ad Smyrn.* 7. Irenæus (*Hæres.* iv. 18, 5) says that the Bread after the EPICLESIS is no longer common bread, but eucharistia, consisting of two parts, an earthly and a heavenly.

3. But the conception of thank-offering is also found in the word eucharistia and its corresponding verb, when applied to the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. § 132, p. 623) speaks of the martyr's blood poured out as a thank-offering (εὐχαριστήθεινός αἵματος [Dindorf's text: vulg. εὐχαρισθέντος]); and we might interpret Justin's εὐχαριστήθεισα τροφή in the same way were it not for its close connexion with εὐχαριστία, where the latter evidently means thanksgiving. In the *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 117), when Justin speaks of the Christian sacrifice which takes place (he says) ἐπὶ τῆ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, it is evident that he regards the Bread and the Cup as being themselves made a thank-offering or eucharistia. And again, when (c. 41) he refers to the leper's offer-

ing of fine flour as a type of the eucharistic bread (τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας) which the Lord commanded us to offer (ποιεῖν) in thanksgiving (ὡσα εὐχαριστώμενος) for the blessings of creation and redemption, he regards the elements as themselves an expression of thankfulness; i. e. as a thank-offering. When Celsum objected to the Christians that they were ungrateful in not paying due thank-offerings (χαριστήρια) to the local deities, Origen replied (*c. Celsum*, viii. 37; pp. 415, 416, Spencer) that the bread called eucharistia (ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος) was the symbol or outward token of thankfulness towards God (τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστίας); that is, he regards the bread itself as of the nature of a thank-offering.

4. Whether the original meaning was, "that over which thanks have been given," or "that which has been made a thank-offering," the word eucharistia came to be simply equivalent to "the consecrated elements of bread and wine," or sometimes of bread alone. Thus Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. § 5, p. 318) speaks of the ministers distributing the eucharist (τῶν εὐχαριστίαν διανεμάντες), i. e. the elements, to the communicants; and the epistle to Victor (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24, § 15) of sending the eucharist to neighbouring churches. [Compare EULOGIAR,] Cyprian (*Epist.* xv. c. 1) explains eucharistia by the words, "id est, Sanctum Domini Corpus."

5. The eucharist (i. e. the consecrated bread) was employed in the following ways, besides that of ordinary administration. It was taken home and preserved in a casket [ANCA]; it was sent by bishops to other churches as a token of Christian brotherhood [EULOGIAR]; it was before the pope at a pontifical mass (*Ordo Rom.* i. c. 8; see Martene, *R. A. L.* iv. 2, § 2); it was reserved in churches [DOVE; RESERVATIÖN]; it was enclosed in altars at consecration [CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES]; it was carried on a journey (Ambrose *De O'ia Satyr.* iii. 19); Gregory the Great *De Off.* iii. 36; *Diad.* c. 37); it was sometimes worn suspended from the neck in an ENCOLPION (Giraldus Cambren. *Topograph. Hibern.* Dist. ii. c. 19); it was used in the cure of disease (Augustine, *c. Julian.* iii. 162); it was placed in the mouth of the dead [BURIAL OF THE DEAD]; and the administration of the eucharist was one of the forms of ordeal (Martene, *De Rit. Antiq.* l. v. 4).

IV. The Greeks interpret the εὐχαριστία of 1 Tim. ii. 1 to be hymns or canticles sung to the honour and glory of God (Daniel, *Codex Liturg.* iv. 406). [C.]

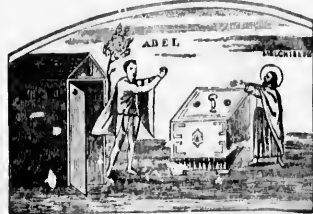
EUCCHARIST (IN CHRISTIAN ART). The earliest eucharistic representations, as may be expected, seem to refer principally to the agape, or suppers which preceded the actual eucharistic breaking of the bread in the earliest times (1 Cor. xi. 20.) It is to be presumed at least that the order of the Lord's Supper itself was followed, and that the celebration, or symbolic breaking of the bread, took place after, or towards the end of, the meal. (St. John xiii. 2-4.) In the earliest days of persecution they naturally began to be celebrated in the catacombs

* The writer wishes to acknowledge his obligation to the Rev. F. J. A. Hort, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for several suggestions on the matter treated in this article.

or near the tombs of martyrs. [CELLA MEMORIALIAE.] It is the business of the present writer to trace the connexion of the arrangements for public celebration of the eucharist and Christian rites in general with the ancient usages of funeral rites. But those usages were so familiar to the early church, that it is not to be wondered at that the agape at least is so frequently represented and the eucharist so distinctly implied in the various catacomb paintings. Dr. Mommsen (*Contemp. Revue*, May 1871, 164 and 171) mentions an agape with bread and fish in that very ancient crypt of Domitilla on the Ardeatine Way, which De Rossi refers to Flavia the granddaughter of Vespasian.* The bread and fish occur again repeatedly in the Callistine catacomb, with a man in the act of blessing the bread; seven, eight, or more baskets of bread are placed near a table at which seven persons are sitting. The table is round, and fishes are also placed on it. The use of the vine is frequent in the oldest work, as in the Domitilla vault, where boys are gathering the grapes, and the art is quite of Pagan hands. A parallel work in mosaic, of later though still very early date, exists in the church of Stn. Constantia at Rome [VINE]. (Parker, *Ancient Mosaics at Rome and Ravenna*.) A connexion must always have existed in the Christian mind between the last supper at Jerusalem, the bread and wine, and the last repast of the Lord with His disciples, the bread and fish by the sea of Galilee (John xxi.). And His words on the former occasion cannot have been unconnected with this discourse of Himself the bread of life in St. John vi. 58 sqq. But the earlier representations of a memorial banquet seem to point rather to the agape or commemorative repast, than to the breaking of the bread and pouring forth of the wine in commemorative sacrifice. A sense of mystery and

treated by M. Raoul Rochette (*Mém. de l'Institut, des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres*, t. xlii. 775, &c.). They may, he thinks, account for the relics of cups and platters, knife-handles, and egg-shells [see Egg] found in the Christian sepulchres (Boidetti, lib. ii. xiv. tav. 5, 59 and 60, and *passim*). Though there can be no doubt, as he implies, that old Etruscan (or indeed human) custom or instinct, made survivors bury many objects used in life along with their dead.

One of the earliest known representations of the eucharistic offering is that of the mosaic in St. Vitale at Ravenna, dating from the 6th century. (See woodcut.) On one side Abel is repre-



sented as standing with hands raised in prayer, clad in cloak and short tunic, and just issued from a house; it is possible that this, with the streaked sky of the mosaic, may indicate a morning or evening sacrifice. At all events the presence of Abel connects the other figure of the priest and king Melchisedech, with the idea of the sacrifice of the lamb, and therein of the death of the Lord. Melchisedech is standing before an oblong altar-table, on which is a chalice and two loaves of bread; his hands are raised in prayer, not in the act of blessing, and he is clad in the penula or cloak over a long tunic and girdle.



Agape from an ancient sculpture in the church of St. Ambrogio at Milan.

awe, a pious reticence which appears for the present almost erased, in the Christian consciousness, seems to have prevented representation of the Lord's act of typical sacrifice of Himself; as representation of His actual death by crucifixion was also long delayed. [CRUCIFIX.] The subject of the agape, and the disorders to which they sometimes gave occasion, is admirably

This mosaic is an important illustration of the fundamental principle of Christian symbolic ornament, which appears to have been from the earliest times devoted, as a central object, to displaying the fulfilment of the Old Testament by the New. In the Laurentina MS., A.D. 556, our Lord is represented as administering a small rounded object, evidently bread, to one of eleven standing figures. (See woodcut.)

* This vault is mentioned in Boidetti (p. 551); it is called the Sepulchre of SS. Achilles and Nerus, the relics of those martyrs having been conveyed there. Of its date he says only, "tempo vicino agli Apostoli."

The frequent introduction of the fish in the various representations of eucharistic repasts, which are found particularly in the Callistine catacomb, is connected of course with the

agogram
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connexion
Galilee
the word



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hette (*Mém. de l'Institut*, t. xlii. 775, &c.). They are used for the relief of eye ailments, and egg-shells (See *Christian antiquities* (Baldetti), vol. 60, and *passim*), though they imply, that old Etruscan custom or instinct, made of objects used in life along

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EUCHARIST (IN CHRISTIAN ART)

agrammatic meaning of the word *ixôth*, as well as with the miracles of the bread and fish, or the Lord's words in John vi. The occasion of the last repast by the sea of Galilee with the last supper is expressed in the words of Bede, *In Joann.* xli. "Piscis assus,



Christus passus." It is no part of our duty to pursue it here, except in its frequent illustrations on the walls of St. Callixtus. These will be found in De Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea*, and the author refers them, from the beauty of their execution, to an early period of the 3rd century. It cannot be denied, however, that a certain uncertainty and suspicion of repainting attaches more particularly to this catacomb in the minds of many antiquarians. Nevertheless, if, as Mr. Parker thinks, the most extensive paintings and repaintings took place in the time of St. Pauline of Nola, a highly respectable antiquity still belongs to these subjects. We have given a woodcut [CANISTER, p. 264], of the most important of these paintings. Its subject is the mystic fish bearing loaves on his back; they are not decussated or crossed, as is most frequently the case where they are represented [ELEMENTS, p. 603], but bear a central mark, which, as Martigny thinks, connects them with Eastern and Jewish offerings of cakes made from fruits of corn (called *mamphala* or Syrian bread). The fish bears them in a basket, which has in it besides another object. This is supposed to represent a vessel of wine, but, as he admits, it is not very easy to decipher in the original, and the lithograph in De Rossi is somewhat of a restoration. What it is like in the actual fresco must be very difficult to determine. But his reference to St. Jerome (*Ep. ad Rustic.* c. xx.), "Nihil illo ditius qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro," corresponds with great exactness and very impressively with this painting. In any case there can be no doubt whatever that it represents the Lord offering the bread of life to mankind. These paintings are in the crypt named from St. Cornelia; another represents seven persons at a table with bread and fish, with seven baskets of decussated loaves at hand, referring, of course, to the Lord's miraculous reproduction of them. Without disputing that the anagrammatic fish is a symbol of the

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greatest antiquity for our Lord, and that it associates itself naturally in the mind with the two miracles, the repast of Tiberias, &c., it should not be forgotten that the anagram is not a scriptural emblem. Our Lord never likened Himself to fish as to bread, and His own use of the fish in parable makes them represent mankind and not Himself. Nevertheless, His act of blessing and breaking the fish on three distinct occasions must always connect them in our minds with the eucharistic banquet.^b (See woodcut.)



From the Cemetery of St. Tricilla.

Representations of other events or objects symbolic of the body of the Lord, or anyhow to be connected with Him as the bread of life, have of course a relation to the eucharist. The decussated loaves are offered to Daniel by Habbauc, on a sarcophagus found near the altar of St. Paul without the walls of Rome (Martigny, *Art. Sarcophages*, with woodcut), and the author refers to the custom of sending a portion of the eucharist round to imprisoned confessors in time of persecution. The manna and the rock cloven for the life of the people are naturally connected with John vi. 59. [ROCK.] The latter is frequently in bas-relief; the former appears to occur only in one unmistakable example, though those in Bottari, tav. 164, from the cemetery of St. Priscilla, and tav. 57 from the Callixtine, are probably connected with it.

The miracle of Cana has been held in art to possess an eucharistic signification, at all events since Giotto's fresco in the Arena chapel at Padua. Ruskin, in *Arundel Society's* account of that building. But in the earliest examples, very frequent as they are on the bas-reliefs, the Saviour does not raise his hand in the act of blessing, as the artist might be expected to represent him, had he designed to connect the miracle with the last supper. Nor is He so depicted on the tablet of the Duomo at Ravenna (Baldini *In tab. eburneam.* Florence, 1746), nor on the beautiful silver urceolus supposed by Blanchini (Not. in Anastas. in Vit. St. Urbani) to be of the 4th century. [CANA, MIRACLE OF.]

In treating of representations of the eucharist in Christian art, it is not necessary for our

^b Martigny gives (a. v. 'Messe') a woodcut of a fresco from the Callixtine catacomb, where the bread and fish are apparently under the act of consecration by a man in a pallium which leaves his right arm and side bare, while a woman prays with uplifted hands. She may be the attendant of one of the tombs near which the fresco is placed, or may represent the church. The date of this work seems opposed to that uncertainty which hangs over so many of the catacomb paintings, more particularly those of the Callixtine cemeteries.

purpose to consider anything beyond their expressed meaning—that is to say, beyond the meaning which the artist or inspirer of the work distinctly meant to convey. The further ideas he may have suggested to fervent imaginations, or to minds predestined to read meanings of their own into his work, are not his or our affair, though they may often be ingenious and beautiful, and even right and true as matter of spiritual thought.

[R. Sr. J. T.]

EUCCHARISTIA. [MAUNDY THURSDAY.]

EUCHELAION (Εὐχέλαιον) is the "prayer-oil," blessed by seven priests, used in the Greek church for the unction of the sick; see **SICK, VISITATION OF: UNCTION** (Sulzer's *Theophrastus*, s. v.; Daniel's *Codex Liturg.*, iv. 503, 606). [C.]

EUCHEBIUS, bishop of Lyons, and confessor; commemorated Nov. 18 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUCHOLOGION. The most comprehensive and important Service-Book of the Eastern church corresponding to the Western *Sacramentarius*, and *Liber officiorum* of the Latins. In its simplest state the *Euchologion* includes the liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil, and that of the Presanctified, which for no very certain reason bears the name of Gregory the Great. To these are usually added the offices of administration of the other sacraments and other forms of prayer, and benedictions. It cannot be affirmed with any certainty that the present *Euchologion* existed previous to A. D. 800, though the Eastern church cannot fail to have had an office book, or books more or less corresponding to it. The edition of the *Euchologion* with learned notes by James Gear, Paris, 1645, frequently reprinted, is the standard authority on the subject. (Binterim, *Denkwürdig.* iv. 1, 274; Neale, *Eastern Church*, i. 2, 828). [E. V.]

EUDOCIA, *δοκίμαρος*, A. D. 160; commemorated March 1, Aug. 4 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUDOCIMUS, Martyr under Theophilus the Iconoclast; commemorated July 31 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUGENDUS, abbot at the monastery of the Jurenses in Celtic Gaul; commemorated Jan. 1 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUGENIA. (1) Virgin, martyr at Rome under Gallienus; commemorated Dec. 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi); *δοκίμαρος*, commemorated Dec. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) and Bagan, virgins; commemorated Jan. 22 (*Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

EUGENIANUS, martyr; commemorated Jan. 8 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUGENIUS. (1) martyr with six others in Africa; commemorated Jan. 4 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Neocesarea with three others; commemorated Jan. 24 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr in Syria, with Paulus, Cyrillus, and four others; commemorated March 20 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(4) Martyr at Tibur in Italy, with Sympho-

rosa, his mother, and her six other children; commemorated June 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*); July 21 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(5) Bishop of Carthage, and martyr with his 500 companions, or more ("universi clerici ecclesiae ejusdem"); commemorated July 13 (*Ib.*).

(6) Bishop of Toledo, and confessor; commemorated Nov. 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(7) Martyr at Paris; commemorated Nov. 15 (*Ib.*).

(8) Martyr with Candidus, Valerianus, Aeylas, A. D. 292; commemorated Jan. 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(9) Bishop, and martyr A. D. 296; commemorated March 7 (*Ib.*).

(10) Martyr, with four others, A. D. 290; commemorated Dec. 13 (*Ib.*).

(11) and Macarius; commemorated Aug. 5 (*Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

(12) Invention of the relics of those who were martyred with Eugenius (*ἐν τοῖς Εὐβρυτίοις*); Feb. 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [C.]

EUGRAPHIUS or **EUGRAPHUS**, martyr with Menas (or Menas) and Hermogenes, A. D. 304; commemorated Dec. 10 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Dec. 3 (*Cal. Armen.*).

EULALIA. (1) Virgin, martyr at Barcelona in Spain, under Diocletian; commemorated Feb. 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*); Dec. 10 (*Mart. Bedae*).

(2) Virgin, martyr at Merida in Spain; commemorated Dec. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi, Cal. Carthaj.*). [W. F. G.]

EULAMPPIA, martyr with **EULAMPIUS**, her brother, A. D. 296; commemorated Oct. 10 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EULOGETARIA (Εὐλογητόρια) are certain antiphons occurring in the Greek Morning Office, so called from the frequent repetition in them of the words *εὐλόγητος εἰ, Κύριος*. (Daniel, *Codex Lit.* 304, 703; Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. 919.) [C.]

EULOGIAE in an eucharistic sense. (1) *Eulogii* was used down to the middle of the 5th century as synonymous with *εὐχαριστία* for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This signification was naturally derived from St. Paul's words, *τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ἢ εὐχαριστίας* (1 Cor. x. 16). In commenting on this passage Chrysostom's language shows that the word was beginning to be used in this restricted sense, *εὐλογία ἢ ἕνα εἶναι πάντα ἀνατίσσει τὸ τῆς εὐλογίας τοῦ Θεοῦ θυσιασθῆναι, κ. τ. λ.* (Chrys. *Homil. xxiv. in 1 Cor. x. 16*), in which it is of constant occurrence in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, sometimes by itself (*Lit. v. c. 2 in Joann. vi. p. 260; ib. 364; Caleni ad Joann. iii. 27. p. 343, &c.*); sometimes with a qualifying epithet, *μυστικὴ εὐλογία* (*lib. Olymper. in Levit. pp. 351, 367; in Deut. p. 414; de Adorat. lib. ii. p. 80*); *εὐλ. πνευματικὴ* (*ib. lib. vi. p. 177*); *εὐλ. ζωοποιός* (*ib. lib. vii. p. 231*). To this we may add "tunc *eulogii*, non alioquin celebratur" (*Aug. Ep. 88 Cmsul. presb.*).

(2) *Eulogia* then came to be used specifically for that portion of the eucharist, ἡ εὐχαριστικὴ τροφή (Just. *Mart. Apolof. § 67*), which was conveyed in the primitive church by the hands

and her six other children; com-
27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis
1 (*Mart.*, Bedae).

Barthage, and martyr with his
or more ("universal clerical ecle-
commemorated July 13 (*B.*).

Teledo, and confessor; comine-
(*Mart.*, Usuardi).

Paris; commemorated Nov. 15

h Caudilus, Valerianus, Acylas,
commemorated Jan. 21 (*Urb. Byzant.*).

with four others, A.D. 290; com-
3 (*B.*).

rius; commemorated Aug. 5
[W. F. G.]

of the relics of those who were
Eugenius (*Ev τῶν Ἐθνησίων*);
ant.). [C.]

IS or EUGRAPHUS, martyr
(Menas) and Hermogenes, A.D.
commemorated Dec. 10 (*Urb. Byzant.*;
n.).

1) Virgin, martyr at Barcelona
Eucletian; commemorated Feb.
(*Urb. Adonis, Usuardi*); Dec. 10

martyr at Merida in Spain; com-
10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis
Urb.). [W. F. G.]

martyr with EULAMPUS,
290; commemorated Oct. 19
[W. F. G.]

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from the frequent repetition in
Ἐδολογίας εἰ, Κόρις. (Daniel,
703; Neale, *Eastern Church*,
[C.]

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n the writings of Cyril of Alexan-
by itself (*Lib.* iv. c. 2 in *Joan.*
4; *Catenæ ad Joan.* iii. 27,
metimes with a qualifying *εὐ-*
λογία (*lib. Glaphir.* in *Leit.*
Dent. p. 414; *de Adorat.* lib. ii.
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art. *Apology*, § 67), which was
primitive church by the hands

of the deacons to those who were absent as
well as for that sent by the bishops, notably
those of Rome, to their daughter churches,
and to foreign bishops and churches, as a
symbol of Christian love and brotherhood.
It seems to be the earliest authority for this
practice, which he speaks of as long estab-
lished. In his letter to Victor bishop of Rome,
at the end of the 2nd century, in which he
entreats him not to make a difference as to
the time of the celebration of Easter for
branches of communion, he refers to the
example of his predecessors, who, notwith-
standing this difference, were in the habit
of sending the eucharist to the presbyters
of other dioceses who observed the Oriental
rule (*Iren. apud Euseb.* II. E. v. 24).
With the increased reverence for the material
eucharist this practice dropt into disfa-
vour, and was distinctly forbidden by the
14th canon of the council of Laodicea, A.D.
365. This canon prohibits "the sending of
the holy things into other dioceses, at the
feast of Easter, by way of eulogia" (*αἱς ἁγίας
ἐδολογίας*). Easter seems to be specially
mentioned as the chief period for this
interchange of pledges of communion, the
prohibitions itself being general. The 32nd
canon of the same council, which forbids the
reception of the eulogia of heretics, which
is also prohibited by the second council of
Braga, A.D. 572, probably refers to the
eulogia of unconverted, but blessed bread
(see below).

Forbidden in the East, the practice
lingered considerably longer in the West.
Sirmund, indeed, the learned Jesuit, affirms
that the custom of sending the eucharist
round to other churches and congregations
arose subsequently to the times of Cy-
rian and Tertullian, since in their writings
there is no allusion to it, and all Chris-
tians who were present at divine service
had the opportunity of communicating,
and were bound to avail themselves of it,
and that the eulogia distributed consisted
of bread blessed but not consecrated (*de
Azymis*, iv. 527 sq.). But the passages
adduced cannot be satisfactorily inter-
preted on any other hypothesis. Suicer
undoubtedly states the case correctly when
he says, "Ἐδολογία istae quae mittebantur
per paroecias ipsissimae erant Eucharistiae
sive panis εὐχαριστικῆς, ex quo commu-
nio data fuerat praesentibus, particulae,
quae absentibus Presbyteris per paroecias
Diocesis mittebantur. Sic enim perfecti
ex eodem pane sanctificato commu-
nio inter omnes illas paroecias unius
diocesis institui volebant" (*Theol.*
sub voc. *ἐδολογία*). After the church
had been invaded by heresy, the eucha-
rist was distributed to the orthodox
presbyters by the bishop as a pledge of
their adhesion to the true faith, as is
shown by the ordinances relating to the
fermentum of Melchisedech, A.D. 311,
and Siricius, A.D. 385. The letter of
Innocent I. to Decentius, c. 410, informing
him of the custom of sending the "fer-
mentum" to the presbyters of the "tituli,"
on Sundays as a token of communion,
and expressing his disapprobation of
carrying the leaven through a whole
diocese, "quia nec longe portanda sunt
sacramenta," illustrates the same
practice [FERMENTUM]. A practice
very nearly allied to this of which we
have been speaking, was that which pre-
vailed among the faithful in the first
ages of the church, of carrying home
themselves and transmitting to others
a portion of the consecrated bread to be con-

sumed hereafter. Thus Tertullian speaks
of Christian women being accustomed
"secretly before all other food" to partake
of the eucharist (*Tert. ad Uxor.* ii. 5), and
answers the objection of some against
receiving the eucharist on a day of ab-
stinence lest they should break their
fast by the suggestion that they could
take the body of the Lord and reserve
it till the fast was over" (*id. de
Orat.* 19). Cyrian tells of a woman
who had lapsed being terrified by the
sudden outburst of flame when she
opened her chest [ARCA] in which
"the holy thing of the Lord" (*Dominus
sanctum*) was kept (*Cyri. de Lapsis*,
p. 132). Satyrus, the brother of
Ambrose, when fearing to be lost by
shipwreck obtained "that divine
sacrament of the faithful" from some
of his fellow-passengers (*Ambros. de
Offit. Fratris*, iii. 19). Gregory Nazianzen
speaks of his sister Gorgonia
"treasuring up with her hand the
antitypes of the precious Body and
Blood" (*Greg. Naz. Orat.* xi. p. 187).
We learn from Basil that it was the
almost universal custom at Alexan-
dria and in Egypt for the laity to
have "the communion" in their
houses; that solitary did the same,
where there was no priest near; and
that it was generally customary in
times of persecution (*Basil. Epist.*
93). Jerome speaks of some who
scrupled to receive the eucharist at
church, but were not afraid to take
it at home (*Hieron. Epist. ad Pammach.*),
and of those who "carried the Lord's
Body in a wicker basket and His
Blood in a glass vessel" (*id. Epist. ad
Rusticum*, 95). But universal as this
practice seems to have been, its nat-
ural tendency to degenerate into
irreverence and superstition gave
rise to evils which led the church to
discontinue and ultimately to sup-
press it. There is no trace of its
general observance after the 4th
century (*Scudamore, Notitia Eucha-
risticæ*, p. 791).

(3) With the cessation of the
practice of sending the consecrated
eucharist to persons who were not
present grew up as a substitute
that of distributing the unconsecrated
remains of the oblations among
those who had not received under
the name of *εὐλογία*, or in still
later times of *αντίδοσιον* or substitute
for the *δωρον*, or eucharist proper.
According to the rule laid down
in the *Apostolical Constitution* (lib.
viii. c. 31) these remains (*τὰς
περισσεύουσας ἐν τοῖς μυστη-
καῖς ἐδολογίας*), were distributed
at the pleasure of the bishops or
presbyters, to the clergy in propor-
tion to their rank. The rule pre-
scribed by Theophilus bishop of
Alexandria, A.D. 385, permits
"the faithful brethren" to share
them with the clergy, but prohib-
its a catechumen to partake of
them. That the catechumens, how-
ever, in the time of Augustine
partook of some kind of sacrament
is plain from his words (*de Peccator.
Meritis*, ii. 20), "quod acceperunt
(catechumeni) quoniam non sit
corpus Christi, sanctum tamen est
et sanctius quam cibus quibus
alimur, quoniam sacramentum est."
As the first love of the church
grew cold and non-communicating
attendance became common, the
unconsecrated remains began to
be regularly distributed among
those who had not received, that
they might not depart without
a semblance of a blessing. The
Greek names for this practice,
ἐδολογία, *ἀντίδορον*, sufficiently
indicate where it originated. The
word occurs in Sozomen's account
of Chrysanthus, the bishop of the
Novatians at Constantinople in the
5th cen-

tury, who declined to receive anything from his churches but "two loaves of the *eulogiae* every Lord's Day," *δύο ἄρτους εὐλογιῶν* (Soer. II. E. vii. 12). In the liturgies of Chrysostom and Basil the distribution of the antidoron by the priest is prescribed—*μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐξέοχεναι διερῆς καὶ σπᾶς ἐν τῷ συνθεῖ τόπῳ δίδωαι τὸ ἀντιδωρον* (Goar, *Euchology*, 85, § 190). But this is evidently an addition of late though uncertain date. Balsamon deduces it from a desire to evade the force of the threat of the second canon of Antioch against non-communicating attendance, so that even those who were not able to receive the undefiled mysteries might take the *eulogia* of the hallowed fragment from the hand of the celebrant. But if its original be Greek, the earliest certain notice of it is found in Latin writers, and not earlier than the 9th century. The decree of Pius I, A.D. 156 (Labbe, I. 578), which prescribes it, is an undoubted forgery, as is acknowledged by Card. Bona (*Res. Liturg.*, lib. I. cap. 23). This decree appears nearly *verbatim* both in the *Cypriola* of Hincmar, A.D. 853, c. 7 and c. 16 (Labbe, viii. 570), and in the canons of Nantes, c. A.D. 896 (Labbe, ix. 470, canon ix.). It runs: "ut de oblationibus quae offeruntur a populo et consecrationi superfluent, vel de panibus quos deferunt fideles ad Ecclesiam, vel certe de suis, Presbyter convenientes partes incisas habeat in vase nitido et convenienti, et post missarum solemniam qui communicare non fuerint parati *Eulogias* omni die Dominice, et in omnibus festis exinde accipiant, quae cum benedictione prius faciat." This canon prescribes a form of prayer to be used in the benediction (c. 7). Leo IV. (847-855) also commanded that "the *eulogiae* be distributed to the people after the Masses on Feastsdays" (Labbe, viii. 37). We should be transgressing our assigned limits still further if we traced the custom any later.*

(4) When the custom of sending the eucharist to one another as a symbol of Christian communion had ceased among Christians, the practice arose of distributing cakes of bread, which had received a special benediction, as a token of mutual love. We have a reference to this practice in the writings of St. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xix. p. 306) when relating a dream of his sister Gorgonia when sick. "She thought that I . . . suddenly stood by her in the night with a basket and loaves of the purest flour, and having prayed over them and signed them as our wont is, fed her." During the disputes which succeeded the council of Ephesus, the bishops and presbyters of Cilicia and Isauria sent *Eulogiae* to John of Antioch, in token of communion (Baluz., *Nor. Coll. Concil.*, 867). The writings of Paulinus, bishop of Nola, contain many notices of these *eulogiae*, sometimes under the name of *benedictiones*, which were interchanged between him and Augustine and others. The latter writes to Paulinus, "the bread we have sent will become a richer blessing, for the love of your benignity in accepting it" (*Aug. Epist.* xxiv.). The acceptance is returned by Paulinus. "The single loaf which we have sent to your charity, as a token of unanimity, we beg that you will bless (i.e. make a true *eulogia*) by accepting it" (Paulin. *Epist.*

* Those who wish to follow up this practice to more modern times will find the materials in Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, ch. xvi. § 2, pp. 774-780.

iv. p. 16). Paulinus also sends a trifid loaf to Alypius, "panem unum . . . in quo Trinitatis solitudo continetur," which he will turn into a *eulogia* by his kindness in receiving it, (ib. iii. p. 12). He sends five loaves to Romanianus and Licinius (ib. vii. p. 27). To Severus he sends "a Campanian loaf from his cell, as a *eulogia*," together with a boxwood casket, and begs him, as before, by accepting the loaf in the name of the Lord to convert it into a *eulogia* (ib. v. § 21, p. 30). The large number of stories in Gregory of Tours in which the expressions *eulogias accipere, dare, flagitare, ministrare, petere, parligere, postulare, &c.* occur, prove how common the practice was as a token of Christian communion and a symbol of episcopal benediction in the 6th century (Greg. Turon. *Hist.* iv. 16; v. 14, 20; x. 16; *de Glor. Confes.* 31). From some of these passages we learn that to drink a cup of wine, and to partake of a morsel of bread brought by him in a bishop's house was considered equivalent to receiving his benediction, (*eulogia*) (*id. Hist.* vi. 51; viii. 2). Ducauge (*sub voce*) affords a very large number of later references. Forms of *iterum salutatorie* to accompany *eulogiae* sent by a bishop to a king or to another bishop, and of acknowledgment, are contained in the *Exemplaria* of Marcellus, lib. ii. 42, 44, 45, 46.

(5) This was not the only form which *eulogiae* assumed. We have seen Paulinus sending a woollen box as a *eulogia*. The presents sent by Cyril of Alexandria to Paicheria and the ladies of the court to induce them to forward his interests in his disputes with John of Antioch and the Oriental bishops were delicately described as "blessings," "eulogiae." This use of the word is borrowed from Holy Scripture, where a gift is not unfrequently styled a blessing, in the LXX. *εὐλογία*; see Jud. I. 15; I Sam. xxv. 27; xx. 26; 2 Kin. v. 15; 2 Cor. ix. 8; Rom. xv. 29. We find Gregory the Great using this term of some relics of saints ("eulogus S. Marci") sent him by Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria; and "benedictio" of a small cross [EXCOLIUM], containing some filings of the apostles' chains (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* lib. xiii. ep. 42). Some of Augustine's opuscula were brought to the abbot Valentinus under this title (*August. Ep.* 256). Even sweetmeats, nuts, and dry figs were included under this title, when blessed by the sender. Some curious stories illustrative of this custom are recorded in the *Vitae Patrum*. Thus some *bellaria* (sweetmeats) brought to the monastery where Valens was a monk by some guests and distributed by the abbot Macarius to each cell, were indignantly rejected by Valens, who beat the bearer and sent him back with the message, "Go and tell Macarius that I am as good as he. What right then has he to send me a *benedictum*?" (Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 31). They were withheld from those who were under excommunication, and excommunicated bishops were forbidden to send them to others (Greg. Turon. *Hist.* viii. c. 20). Thus the abbot Arsenius took umbrage at some dry figs not being sent him, and regarding himself as excommunicated refused to attend divine service with his brethren until the ban was taken off (*de Vit. Patr.* lib. v. Migne, lxiii. p. 953). The *eulogia* was refused to the king Merwig, who had apostatized (Greg. Turon. *Hist.* v. 14). (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* iv

also sends a trifid loaf to
 unum . . . in quo Trini-
 metur," which he will turn
 his kindness in receiving it,
 sends five loaves to Roma-
 (i. vii p. 27). To Severus
 anion loaf from his cell, as
 or with a boxwood basket,
 fore, by accepting the loaf in
 to convert it into a eulogia.
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 in which the expressions
*ave, flagi-are, mis-are, pe-
 lare, &c.* occur, prove how
 e was as a token of Christ-
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de Glor. Confess. 31). From
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 ivine service with his brethren
 taken off (*de Vit. Patr.* lib. v.
 53). The *eulogia* was refused
 g, who had apostatized (Greg.
), (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* iv

EULOGIUS

4, 3, and 8: Bonn, *Reron Liturg.*; Ducange's
Glossaries; Suicer, *Thesaurus*; Binterim, *Denk-
 wurdig*; Augusti, *Christ. Arch.* ii. 533. [E. V.]
 (6) *Eulogiae in monasteries.* In the Benedic-
 tine rule monks are forbidden to receive
 "litteras, eulogias, vel quaelibet munuscula"
 without the abbat's leave (*Reg. Bened.* c. 54, cf.
Reg. Dom. c. 53). Here probably the word is
 used in its widest sense, for any offering or
 token of esteem (Martene *ad loc.* citing *Reg.
 Comment.*), or, more particularly, for bread sent
 with a blessing. See (4) and (5) above.
 In some monasteries, e. g. that of Fulda
 (Mabill. *Ann. O.S.B.* Prief. Saec. III. vii.),
 eulogiae were distributed daily to the monks,
 who had not already received, in the refectory
 before their meal; in others this was done only
 on Sundays and holy-days (cf. *Reg. Bened. Com-
 ment.* c. 54). In the life of Eligius, in the 7th
 century, it is related that he used to beg these
 "eulogiae" or pieces of blessed bread from the
 monks of Solignac (Mabill. *Ann. O.S.B.* XII.
 xii.). When the abbes who succeeded Rade-
 gunde in the convent of Ste. Croix at Poitiers
 was accused of feasting she replied that the
 alleged feasting was only the partaking of the
 "eulogiae" (*ib.* VII. liii. 589 A.D.). "Eulogiae,"
 in this sense, were sometimes given by a bishop
 to an excommunicated person in token of recon-
 ciliation (*ib.* III. l.). The other spelling, "eulo-
 gium," is conlemned by Menard (*Conc. Regal.*
Beaed. Anim. c. 61). [I. G. S.]
 EULOGIUS. (1) Deacon, and martyr at
 Tarragona, with Fructuosus the bishop, under
 Gallaenus; commemorated Jan. 21 (*Mart. Hieron.,
 Adonis, Usuardi*).
 (2) Martyr at Constantinople; commemorated
 July 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis,
 Usuardi*).
 (3) Presbyter, and martyr at Cordova; com-
 memorated Sept. 20 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUMENTA, martyr at Augusta, with Hilaria
 and others; commemorated Aug. 12 (*Mart.
 Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUMENIUS. (1) Bishop of Gortyna, *ὁσως*
καθη και θαυματοποιός; commemorated Sept.
 18 (*Cal. Byzant.*).
 (2) Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 143; com-
 memorated Tekent 10 = Oct. 7 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).
 [W. F. G.]
 EUNUCHS, not to be ordained. The feeling
 that one devoted to the sacred ministry should
 be un mutilated was strong in the ancient church.
 Hence, the council of Nicea (c. 1) enacted that
 if any one, being in health (*ὀψαλτρων*) disem-
 bered himself, after ordination, he should be
 deposed from the ministry, or, being a layman,
 he should not be admitted to Holy Orders;
 and in the *Apostolical Canons* (c. 21) the reason
 for such exclusion is added, viz., that the offender
 is a self-murderer (*αὐτοφονεύτης ἕατος*) and an
 enemy of the workmanship of God. These
 canons, and a later one in the 2nd council of
 Arles (c. 7), were aimed against that perverted
 notion of piety, originating in the misinterpre-
 tation of our Lord's saying (Matt. xix. 12), by
 which Origen, among others, was misled, and
 their observance was so carefully enforced in
 later times, that not more than one or two
 instances of the practice which they condemn

EUPROBUS

are noticed by the historian. The case was
 different if a man was born a eunuch, or had
 suffered mutilation at the hands of persecutors.
 An instance of the former, Dorotheus, pres-
 byter of Antioch, is mentioned by Iusebius
 (*H. E.* vii. c. 32); of the latter, Tigris, pres-
 byter of Constantinople, is referred to both by
 Soerates (*H. E.* vi. 15) and Sozomen (*H. E.* vi.
 24) as the victim of a barbarian master (Bing-
 hani, *Antiq.* iv. iii. 9). [D. B.]
 EUNUS, martyr, with Julian, at Alexandria;
 commemorated Feb. 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis,
 Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUODUS, martyr with Calliste and Hermo-
 genes; commemorated Sept. 1 (*Cal. Byzant.*).
 [W. F. G.]
 EUOTUS, martyr at Caesaraugusta with seven-
 teen others; commemorated April 16
 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUPHEMIA. (1) Martyr at Chalcedon,
 under Diocletian, A.D. 288; commemorated
 Sept. 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Adonis, Usa-
 rudi*); Sept. 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*); commemoration
 of the miracle which she is said to have wrought
 in the church of Chalcedon, July 11 (*Cal. Byzant.*).
 (2) Martyr at Rome, with Lucia; commemo-
 rated Sept. 16 (*Mart. Hieron., Cal. Allatii et
 Frontonis*). [W. F. G.]
 EUPHRASIA or EUPRAXIA. (1) Virgin;
 deposition at Alexandria, Feb. 11 (*Mart. Rom.
 Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).
 (2) Virgin; deposition in the Thebais, Marek
 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUPHRASIA. (1) Bishop, and martyr;
 natale Jan. 14 (*Mart. Usuardi*); deposition Jan.
 14 (*Mart. Hieron.*).
 (2) Confessor at Eliturgis in Spain; com-
 memorated May 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*).
 [W. F. G.]
 EUPHIROSIUS, martyr in Africa; commemo-
 rated March 14 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUPHROSYNE or EUPHROSINA. (1)
 Virgin, of Alexandria; commemorated Jan. 1
 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).
 (2) Virgin, martyr, with Domitilla and Theo-
 dora, under Trajan; commemorated May 7 (*ib.*).
 [W. F. G.]
 EUPHROSYNE, *δολα υήτηρη*, A.D. 410; com-
 memorated Sept. 25 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]
 EUPLUS, deacon, and martyr at Catania in
 Sicily, under Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 296;
 commemorated Aug. 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Behe,
 Adonis, Usuardi*); Aug. 11 (*Cal. Byzant.*).
 [W. F. G.]
 EUPRAXIA, and Olympias; commemorated
 July 25 (*Cal. Byzant.*). See EUPHRASIA.
 [W. F. G.]
 EUPREPIA, martyr at Augusta, with Hilaria
 and others; commemorated Aug. 12 (*Mart.
 Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUPREPIUS, one of the three brothers of
 Cosmas and Damianus, martyrs under Diocletian;
 commemorated Sept. 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis,
 Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]
 EUPROBUS, bishop and martyr, at Saintes
 in Gaul; commemorated April 30 (*Mart. Adonis,
 Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUPSYCHIVS, martyr at Caesarea, under Julian; commemorated April 9 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUSEBIUS. (1) **PALATINUS**, martyr with nine (*Com. Vet.* eight) others; commemorated March 5 (*Ma t. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr with Aphrodisius, Carilippus, and Agapius; commemorated April 28 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) The historian, bishop, and confessor, of Caesarea in Palestine; commemorated June 21 (*Mart. Hieron., Flori, Usuardi*).

(4) Bishop and martyr at Vercelli under Constantius; commemorated Aug. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi).

(5) Presbyter, and confessor at Rome, under Constantius Augustus; commemorated Aug. 14 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal. Frontonis*).

(6) Martyr at Rome, with three others, under Commodus; commemorated Aug. 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(7) Martyr at Adrianopolis in Thraee, with Philip the bishop and Hermes; commemorated Oct. 22 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(8) Monk, and martyr at Tarracina in Campania, with Felix the presbyter, under Claudius; commemorated Nov. 5 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi).

(9) Bishop of Samosata, and martyr under Valens; commemorated June 22 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUSIGNIUS, martyr at Antioch, A.D. 361; commemorated Aug. 5 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUSTACHIUS. (1) Bishop and confessor at Antioch in Syria, under Constantine (Constantius, *Ad*); commemorated July 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Presbyter and martyr in Syria; commemorated Oct. 12 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) **PLACIDUS**, martyr at Rome, with his wife and two children, under Adrian; commemorated Nov. 2 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUSTATHIUS or **EUSTASIUS**. (1) With his companions, *αγιοποιήτρις* A.D. 109; commemorated Sept. 20 (*Cal. Georg.*).

(2) at Msketha or Mzcheta; commemorated July 29 (*Cal. Georg.*).

(3) and Theodotus; commemorated Oct. 1 (*Cal. Armea*).

(4) Abbot of Luxeuil; deposition March 29 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUSTORGIUS, presbyter and martyr at Nicomedia; commemorated April 11 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUSTOSIUS, martyr at Antioch with Demetrius the bishop, Anianus the deacon, and twenty others; commemorated Nov. 10 (*P.*). [W. F. G.]

EUSTRATIUS, martyr with Engenius and three others, A.D. 290; commemorated Dec. 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUTHYMIUS. (1) Magnus, *ἁγίος καὶ θεοφάρος*, A.D. 465; commemorated Jan. 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Deacon of Alexandria; commemorated May 5 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(3) of Athos; commemorated May 13 (*Cal. Georg.*).

(4) Bishop of Sardis, and martyr, A.D. 820; commemorated Dec. 26 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUTROPIA, sister of Nicensis the bishop, martyr with him at Rhigins; commemorated Dec. 14 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EUTROPIUS (1) and companion, martyr A.D. 296; commemorated March 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Bishop, and martyr at Arausio in Gaul; commemorated May 27 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr at Rome with sisters Zosima and Bonosa; commemorated July 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EUTYCHIANUS. (1) Martyr in Campania, with Symphorosa and eight others; commemorated July 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr in Africa with Arcaellus and two others; commemorated Nov. 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Pope, and martyr under Aurelian; commemorated Dec. 8 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EUTYCHIVS (1). Deacon and martyr in Mauretania Caesariensis, with two others; commemorated May 21 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr in Sicily with Placidus and thirty others; commemorated Oct. 5 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr in Spain; commemorated Dec. 11 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(4) Presbyter, and martyr at Ancyra in Galatia with Donitianus the deacon; commemorated Dec. 28 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(5) Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 551-582; commemorated April 6 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EUTYCHIVS or **EUTYCHES**. (1) Martyr in Thraee with Plantus and Heraeles; commemorated Sept. 29 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Naples with Januarius, bishop of Beneventum, and others, under Diocletian; commemorated Sept. 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi).

(3) Martyr in Italy, with Maro and Victorinus, under Nerva; commemorated April 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(4) Disciple of St. John, and martyr; commemorated Aug. 24 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EVAGRIUS. (1) Martyr at Tomi in Scythia, with Benignus; commemorated April 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr at Tomi, with Priscus and Crescens; commemorated Oct. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EVANGELIARIUM, **EVANGELISTARIUM** (*Εὐαγγελιστήριον*), the book containing the passages of the gospels to be read in the liturgy. [GOSPEL; LECTONARY; LITURGICAL BOOKS.] [C.]

EVANGELIARY. [LITURGICAL BOOKS.]

EVANGELIST. The deacon is called "Evangelist" in his capacity of reader of the gospel. In the liturgy of Chrysostom (c. 19, p. 344,

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commemorated May 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

[W. F. G.]

er of Nicasius the bishop at Rhigias; commemorated (i).

[W. F. G.]

(l) and companions, martyr commemorated March 3 (*Cal. By*

martyr at Arausio in Gaul; 27 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*) came with sisters Zosima and dated July 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

S. (4) Martyr in Campania, with eight others; commemorated Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi), with Areludius and two dated Nov. 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*), martyr under Aurelian; commemorated Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., [W. F. G.]

(4). Deacon and martyr in Ansis, with two others; commemorated Mart. Hieron., Adonis,

with Placidus and thirty commemorated Oct. 5 (*Mart. Adonis*), commemorated Dec. 11 (i), Usuardi).

(1) martyr at Ancyra in Galatia; the deacon; commemorated (on., Usuardi).

Constantinople, A.D. 551-582; 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

[W. F. G.]

EVUTYCHES. (1) Martyr tus and Heraclius; commemorated Mart. Usuardi).

with Januarius, bishop with others, under Diocletian; 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae*,

ly, with Maro and Victorinus, commemorated April 15 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

[W. F. G.]

(1) Martyr at Toul in Ansis; commemorated April 13 (Adonis, Usuardi).

(omi, with Priscus and Credent Oct. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

RIUM, EVANGELISTA-σθηριον), the book containing the gospels to be read in the LITURGICAL [C.]

RY. [LITURGICAL BOOKS.]

. The deacon is called "Evangelist" because of reader of the gospel. Chrysostom (c. 19, p. 317,

Daniel) the deacon prays the priest, "Bless, sir, the evangelist (εὐαγγελιστῆς) of the holy apostle and gospel." [C.]

EVANGELISTS. The Four Evangelists are commemorated Oct. 19 (*Cal. Armen.*). [C.]

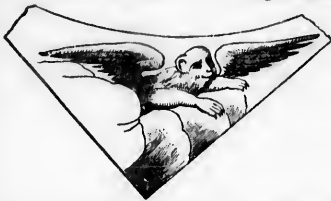
EVANGELISTS, symbolic representations of. We find from Aringhi (ii. 285) that the four symbolic creatures are (as might be expected) not the original emblems of the four evangelists. The FOUR RIVERS of paradise are perhaps intended to represent the gospel, and the distinct channels of its diffusion throughout the world (Gen. ii.). These are found in some of the earliest specimens of unquestionably authentic Christian decoration, as in the Lateran cross [Cross, p. 498], where the lamb and stag are introduced. The four books or rolls are also found in early work, Champioi (*V. M. i. 67* tab.; Buonarroti, xiv. 2). In some instances, as in the baptism of our Lord in the cemetery of St. Pontianus (Aringhi, 275, 2, also at end of Bottari), the animals are introduced drinking in the Jordan. In this case, either the mystic river is identified with the four rivers of paradise, and made to accompany the ornamented cross below, representing the gospel, as in the Lateran cross (see s. v.), or the cross in St. Pontianus, below the baptism-picture, represents the Lord's death and baptism thereinto. Mr. Parker gives an admirably clear photograph of the present condition of this important work, which he dates from A.D. 772. The Lateran relic is supposed to be similar to the crosses of the time of Constantine.

The adoption of the four creatures of the Apocalypse (iv. 6) as images of the evangelists, does not seem to have taken place generally, or is not recorded on Christian monuments, before



the 5th century. It involves, of course, a peculiarly impressive connexion between the beginning of the visions of Ezekiel, and the unveiling of heaven to the eyes of St. John. This is unmistakable; although in the prophet's vision the living creatures were not only four in number, but each was fourfold in shape. "They four had the face of a man, and the face of a lion, on the right side; and they four had the face of an ox on the left side; they four also had the face of an eagle." While in the Apocalypse, "The first beast was like a lion, the second like a calf, the third had the face of a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle." This connexion is said by Mrs. Jameson, (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, 79) to have been noticed as early as the 2nd century, though no representations are found till the 5th. Nor was it till long after the four creatures had been taken as prefiguring the four evangelists, that a

special application was made of each symbol to each writer. This may be referred to St. Jerome on Ezekiel i. St. Matthew has the man, as beginning his gospel with the Lord's human genealogy; St. Mark the lion, as testifying the Lord's royal dignity, or as containing the ter-



rible condemnation of unbelievers at the end of his gospel: St. Luke the ox, as he dwells on the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ; St. John the eagle, as contemplating the Lord's divine nature. Ingenuity and devotion have done their utmost on this subject for centuries with little result. An ivory diptych of the 5th century,



given by Eugati (*Memorie di S. Celso in fin.*) is the earliest known representation of this emblem, which does not occur in the glass devices recorded by Garrucci or Buonarroti. The well-known representation of the four creature-symbols in the great mosaic of the church of St. Pudenziana at Rome, must we think be left out of reckoning altogether as an historic document. (See Mr. J. E. Parker's photographs, and the articles thereon in his *Antiquities of Rome*, by the author of the present paper; also Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Early Italian Art*, vol. i. chap. i.) The symbols are placed above a 7th century



cross, and on close inspection of the photographs, appear to have been repaired in fresco, or by painting of some kind. The appearance of the whole mosaic in fact is that of a quantity of material of different ages, some doubtless very ancient and of great merit, combined as a whole

by a painter and mosaicist of the greatest skill and power in the 16th century. However, the use of the quadruple symbols is universal, in east and west, and throughout the Christian world, in every kind of situation, and by use of all vehicles and methods. They are very frequently placed on crosses of the 7th century, about the same time as that in which the change took place from the lamb at the intersection of the limbs of the cross to the human form crucified. They occur on the cross of Velitrae, and on some ancient German crosses mentioned under CRUCIFIX, as the station cross of Plandig, &c. But the most interesting 6th century representation of them known to us is the quaintly but most grandly-conceived tetramorph of the Rabula MS., which represents the Lord at the ascension, mounting a chariot of many wings and cherubic form. It shows that the Syrian miniaturist had a most vivid imagination, and the highest power of realising his conceptions, as appears in so many parts of that extraordinary work. The wheels of the chariot, as well as the cherubic forms, connect the vision of Ezekiel with the gyllins of Lombard Church-art as at Verona. Mrs. Jameson gives a very interesting tetramorph or cherubic form bearing the evangetic symbols, from a Greek mosaic. This symbol is certainly not of the age of the earlier catacomb paintings, and occurs first with frequency in the tessellated apses and tribunes of Byzantine churches, and is of course specially worthy of note as explaining the connexion between the vision of Ezekiel and that of St. John. The four animals separately represented occur *passim*, both in Eastern and Western Church-work. (See Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* t. tab. 48.) There are grand examples in the spandrels of the dome of Galla Placidia's chapel in Ravenna, as in St. Apollinaris in Classe, and particularly in the chapel of St. Satyrus at Milan. [For a singular specimen of Carolingian grotesques of them see MIXTURE.] (The woodcuts, p. 633, are from the latter.) The eagle given below is taken from the Evangelary of Louis le Debonnaire; but the Hours of that emperor and the MS. of St. Medard of Soissons, also contain whole page emblems of the four evangelists.

In St. Vitale at Ravenna the symbols of the evangelists accompany their sitting figures. St. Matthew has the man, St. Mark the (wingless) lion; the calf, also wingless, belongs to St. Luke, and the eagle to St. John. The nimbus is sometimes adde*l*, and sometimes the creatures bear the rolls or books of the gospel (Ciampini, *V. M.* II. xv.; in St. Cosmas and Damian. See also *ibid.* II. xxiv. for St. Apollinaris in Classe, temp. Felix IV. about 530).

There is a very strange missal painting referred to by Martigny, where the human forms of the evangelists in apostolic robes are surmounted by the heads of the creatures. This occurs also, he says, in an ancient church of Aquileia (Bartoli, *Le Antichità di Aquileia*, 404). Two examples are given in woodcut by Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 83. One is by Fra Angelico, and the hands, feet, and drapery of the other, which is not dated, seem too skillfully done to be of early date.

But the four creatures occur alike in bas-reliefs on altars, on sacred vessels and vestments, and even on bronze medals. See Pauciani *de Caltra S. Joan. Bayl.* p. 163, for a bronze coin with the

man and the eagle on one side, the lion and calf on the other, lettered respectively ΝΑΘΕΟΣ (sic), ΙΟΗΑΝΝΙΣ, ΝΑΡΚ, ΛΥΚΑΣ. Nothing is known of the history of this relic. It may be supposed that where the Lord is surrounded by saints and apostles the hearers of books are intended for the evangelists, especially if they are four in number, though on the sarcophagus in Bottari cxxxi. t. only three are represented,



probably St. Matthew and St. John, with St. Mark as companion and interpreter of St. Peter. Four figures in the baptistery at Ravenna holding books, and placed in niches of mosaic arabesques, are considered of doubtful meaning by Ciampini (*V. M.* i. tab. 72); but Martigny is perfectly satisfied that the evangelists are intended by them (Martigny, *Dictionnaire* s.v. *Evangelistes*). [R. Sr. J. T.]

EVE. [Vign.]

EVENING HYMN. In the vespers of the Eastern church, after certain fixed psalms, concluding with Ps. cxliii., expressive of intense expectation, followed by the "Entrance," so called, of the Gospels considered as ushering Christ Himself, with an exhortation to the acknowledgment and hearing of Him as there present ("Wisdom, stand up")—the *Evening Hymn* is appropriately sung; the triumphant "Hymn of the Evening Light," at once giving thanks for the gift of artificial light, and praising the true "Light that shineth in darkness, in Whom is Life, and the Life is the Light of men"—hence called by St. Basil *ἐπιλόχως ἐξαρραστία*. "Joyful Light of the holy glory of the Immortal Father, the heavenly, the holy, the blessed Jesu Christ, we having come to the Setting of the Sun and beholding the Evening light, praise God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. It is meet at all times that Thou shouldst be hymned with auspicious voices. Son of God, Giver of Life: wherefore the world glorifieth thee."

There is reference to the "Evening Psalm"

no side, the lion and called respectively ΝΑΕΟΟC PC, LVCAS. Nothing is of this relic. It may be the Lord is surrounded by the bearers of books are angelists, especially if they though on the sarcophagus only three are represented,



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IN. In the vesters of the certain fixed psalms, can- vixil, expressive of intense l by the "Entrance," as is considered as enshrining an exhortation to the ac- hearing of Him as there stand up")—the Evening tely sung; the triumphant ing Light," at once giving artificial light, and praising at shieth in darkness, in e life is the Light of men" t. Basil ἡ ἀληθὴς εὐχαρισ- at of the holy glory of the e heavenly, the holy, the e, we having come to the and beholding the Evening ther, Son, and Holy Ghost, mes that Thou shouldst be- cious voices, Son of God, efore the world glorifieth

to the "Evening Psalm"

(ὁν ἡμετέριον ψαλμῶν; i. e. Ps. cxli) in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which may be considered to represent the Eastern system of the 3rd or 4th century (lib. viii. c. 35).

So in the West, Hilary (in Ps. lxxv.) writes—"The day is begun with prayers, and the day is closed with hymns to God."

Bingham; Palmer, *Orig. Lit.*; Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*. [D. B.]

EVENTIUS, presbyter and martyr at Rome with Alexander the pope and Theodulus the presbyter, under Trajan; commemorated May 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal. Frontonis*). [W. F. G.]

EVIGILATOR (Ἀφουκιστής), an officer in Greek monasteries whose duty it was to waken the monks for nocturnal and matutinal services. Another officer of the kind was the "excitator," who had to waken a monk asleep in church (Dun- cange, *Gloss. Lat. et Gr.* s. vv.). [I. G. S.]

EVILASIUS, martyr at Cyzicus with Fausta the Virgin, under Maximian; commemorated Sept. 20 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Behe, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EVIL SPIRITS. [DEMON; DEMONIACS; EXORCISM.]

EVODIUS. (1) Martyr at Syracuse, with Hennegones; commemorated April 25 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

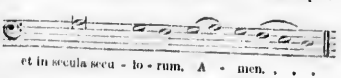
(2) Bishop, and martyr at Antioch; commemorated May 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(3) Martyr at Nicea, with Theodota his mother and her two other children, under Diocletian; commemorated Aug. 2 (*ib.*, *Mart.*, Behe). [W. F. G.]

EVIOVAE is an artificial word made out of the vowels in the words "scenlorum Amen," which occur at the end of the Gloria Patri. Its object was to serve as a kind of memoria technica to enable singers to render the several Gregorian chants properly; each letter in Eviovae standing for the syllable from which it is extracted. It must be borne in mind that psalms, &c., were sung under antiphons, and that the music of the antiphon, being constructed in a particular 'mode' or 'scale,' such as Dorian, Phrygian, and the like, the chant or 'tone' (i. q. 'tune') to the psalm, being not intended to represent a full stop or close, might (and usually did) not end on the final belonging to the mode, leaving that for the concluding antiphon: thus different forms of the same mode or tone would arise, and these were called Eviovae and sometimes *diferentiæ*, *fractiões*, *conclusiones*, and *species scenlorum*. This only applies to the latter half (evidence) of the chant, as in the 'mediation' (at the middle of the verse of a psalm) scarcely any variety was admitted, except such as arose from local use. Thus in the various works on the subject, and in service books, varieties of endings are to be found of greater or less antiquity. Gerbert mentions the fact that in some cases the peculiar distinctive marks of the tones had become confused, notably in the 1st and 6th; and the only possible distinction would seem to be in the assignment of accents. It does not appear however that accent, in the modern musical sense of the word, was

recognised to any extent by the ancients, ACCENTS being equivalent to what we should now call inflection. [ACCENTUS ECCLESIASTICUS.] For the first few centuries of the Christian era rhythm was regulated by quantity, which gradually gave place to accent; and it seems to the writer that musical accentuation remained in a very uncertain state until the 17th century. Still the Eviovae must be regarded as containing the germ of the present accepted views respecting accent, as may be seen by comparing the following forms.

(1) Full form of the 1st tone, which is in the Dorian mode; the dominant or reciting note being a, and the final note D.



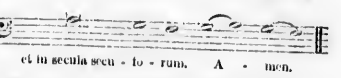
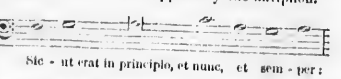
This ending would be written thus:



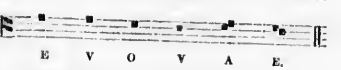
The accents are supplied by the writer. Before the invention of notes the same would be expressed thus:

a a G F G a G F E D
E V O V A E

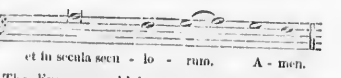
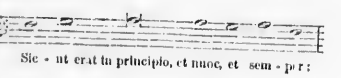
(2) A shortened form of the 1st tone, which does not end on the proper final D, leaving that correct cadence to be supplied by the antiphon.



The accents are as before, and the Eviovae thus:



(3) Sixth tone, in the Hypolydian mode; dominant a, final F.

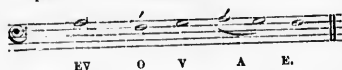


The Eviovae would be expressed thus (accents being supplied):



Any one acquainted with music can see how nearly identical, so far as notes are concerned, these two last forms are, and that the only difference of character they can assume is by reason of different accentuation.

From the uncertainty of accent already mentioned, it will easily be seen that in different cases the same tone, and the same ending of it, would receive different accentuations according to the feeling of the compiler of the Psalter of the church in question; and this gives authority for the different versions that will be found in the modern books of Gregorian tones which are very accessible, and to which the reader is referred, as for example the following ending of the sixth tone (the one most commonly heard) compared with the one given above:



and these, which are both alleged to be the correct ending of the second tone:



It is almost needless to say that modern notation is here adopted for the sake of greater simplicity and definiteness.

The chief authority made use of here is the supplemental essay in Dyce's edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, with plain tune (now rare) which gives ancient authorities, Elias Salomonis, Adam de Fulda, and the *Tonale* of St. Bernard, all referred to by Gerbert. Although these are of later date than the 8th century, the number of variations which they recognise, and the manner in which their recognition is made, seem to make it tolerably clear that these differences or Evovae are of much prior date to them. The view here taken by the writer receives some confirmation from the fact that a modern imitation of the word Evovae proposed by Mr. Dyce has never got into use, and is a mere curiosity, inasmuch as our means of expressing accent are more obvious.

EVURTUUS, or **EVORTIUS**, bishop of Orleans, and confessor; deposition at Orleans, Sept. 7 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EWALDUS, or **EGUALDUS**, name of two English presbyters, martyrs among the ancient continental Saxons; commemorated Oct. 3 (*Mart. Bedae, Adams, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EXACTIONES are extraordinary revenues, whether drawn from a new form of impost (*census de novo impositus*), or from raising the rate of an old source of revenue (*augmentatio census*). Such exactions were in early times condemned by the church; thus the 33rd canon of the third council of Toledo (A.D. 589) and the fifth of the sixteenth (A.D. 693) forbade bishops to levy exactions upon their dioceses;

EXAMINATION FOR ORDERS

pope Leo IV. (A.D. 853) also stigmatized as "exactiones illicitae" any demands for supplies made by bishops "ultra statuta patrum." Similar decrees were also made by later authorities. It is laid down by canonists that an "exaction" must have manifest justification (*manifesta et rationabilis causa*) and be limited to the sum absolutely necessary to be raised (*moderatum auxilium*). (*Corpus Juris Canon., Decret. P. II. causa x. qu. 3, c. 6*; and *Decr. Greg.*, lib. iii. tit. 39; Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* iv. 280.) [C.]

EXAFOTI. The *Liber Pontif.* tells us (p. 250, n. ed. Muratori), that Benedict III. "obtulit canista exafoci ex argento purissimo," where the true reading no doubt is *exafoti* (i. e. *εξαφοτα*) coronae of six lights. Compare **ENAFOTIA**. The same authority speaks of a corona of sixteen lights, "canistum exenecadefotii" (*εξαδεκαφωτου*) (Ducange, s. v.) [C.]

EXAPOSTELARIA (*Ἐξαποστειλάρια*) are **TROPARIA**, which probably received their name from the fact that the word *εξαποστειλον* frequently occurred in them, as they were mainly supplications to God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the worshippers. When other subjects were introduced into them another etymology was imagined, that the word "exaposteliarion" referred to the "sending forth" of God's servants into the world to preach the gospel.

(*Neale's Eastern Church*, Introd. 845; *Daniel's Codex Liturg.* iv. 701.) [C.]

EXACUSTODIANUS (*Ἐξακουστωδιανός*), one of the seven sleepers of Ephesus, A.D. 408; commemorated Oct. 22 (*Cul. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

EXALTATION OF THE CROSS.

[**CROSS, EXALTATION OF THE.**]

EXAMINATION OF COMMUNICANTS. [**COMMUNION, HOLY**, p. 417.]

EXAMINATION FOR ORDERS. It appears always to have been the intention of the church that there should be a careful examination into the fitness of candidates for orders. As regarded their moral character, this was in some degree provided for by the public testimony of the people at the time of ordination [**ELECTION OF CLEERGY**]. So it is said that when Alexander Severus was about to appoint any governors of provinces or other officials, he ordered that public enquiry should be made into their character, adding that this was the custom both of Jews and Christians in the selection of their priests (*Ael. Lamprid. Vita Alex. Sev. c. 45*). In some cases, as in that of Augustine (*Posid. Vita Aug. t. c. 4*), it appears that this may have supplied the place of any further examination. The third council of Carthage (c. 22), decreed that a candidate for ordination must be approved either by the testimony of the people or the examination of the bishop. But in general the duty of examination appears to have rested with the bishop. Chrysostom (*περὶ ἱερωσύνης* iv. 2, § 376), speaks of the duty of the ordaining bishop to make of these diligent enquiry into the characters of those presented to him by the electors. The 6th canon of Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria (Balsamon, ii. 170), provides that when the candidates have been selected by the clergy, the bishop shall examine them. Basil how-

ever (deducted) referred Theophilus orthodox right of sin (P. think) candidly cathed to the

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* A we governme s = Ute con-illum certum, ca Bv-ridge; p. 115. * Si ves is Isopo, p cesos illu judicet." * Bever

also stigmatized as demands for supplies *stata patrum.*" Similarly later authorities, such as that an "ex-ecution" (manuista et limited to the sum e raised (moderatum *C. mon. Decret. lib. iii. tit. decr. Greg., lib. iii. tit. iv. 280.*) [C.]

r Pontif. tells us (p. Benedict III. "obavit purissimo," where the *καρφοι* (i. e. *εξαρχα*) compare ENAFOTIA. The of a corona of sixteen decaefoti" (*εξακαίδε*) [C.]

(*Εξαποστειλάρι*) are received their name *ord εξαποστειλων* fre- as they were mainly ad forth Ihs Holy Spirit When other subjects ean another etymology word "exapostoliarion" forth" of God's ser-rench the gospel. i, Introd. 845; Daniel's [C.]

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eror (*Ep. 181*), speaks of an examination con- ducted by presbyters and deacons, and then referred to the chorepiscopl. The canon too of Theophilus, already quoted, mentions the orthodox clergy of the district as having the right of examination in certain cases. Thomas- sia (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* ii. 1, c. 32, § 11-12), thinks it probable that the task of examining candidates was delegated in the first place to the cathedral clergy, and afterwards, in the provinces, to the priests and deacons.

The examination in these cases appears to have been chiefly an enquiry into the moral charac- ter and general fitness of the candidates. The fourth council of Carthage (c. 1), directs that every bishop should be examined before ordina- tion, as to his personal qualities, such as prudence, morality, and learning, both profane and sacred, and also as to his holding the right faith as contained in the creeds. It is not said by whom the examination was to be conducted. The council of Narbonne (c. 11), forbids any bishop to ordain either a priest or deacon who is utterly unlearned. This appears to imply a previous examination into literary as well as moral qualifications. [P. O.]

EXARCH. Generically the word *Εξαρχος* is applied to any one who takes the lead. Hence it is used of one who is chief in any department or undertaking. So Plutarch in his life of Numa has *Εξαρχος των ιερων* in the sense of *sacrorum princeps*, or *summus pontifex*.^a In its specific ecclesiastical application it has more than one sense.

1. It is perhaps most commonly and most strictly applied to the great prelates who pre- sided over the "dioceses" (*Διακείσεις*, see Dio- cese), as they were called, which were formed in imitation of the civil dioceses of Constantine. Each of these "dioceses" comprehended several "provinces" (*επαρχια*), and the metropolitans of these latter were subordinated to the exarchs of the former. The 9th and 17th canons of the council of Chalcedon recognise, or give,^b a right of appeal from the decision of the metropolitan to the exarch. The word therefore became nearly synonymous with patriarch. Accordingly, in the *Novels* of Justinian, when imperial sanction is given to the principle expressed in the canons of Chalcedon, the word exarch is turned into patriarch.^c Yet though every patriarch had the power of an exarch, every exarch was not, properly speaking, a patriarch, the latter name being given only to the heads of the more eminent dioceses. Thus in the 'Notitia' given in Bingham, *hook ix. ch. 1, § 6*, which seems to represent the state of things at the end of the 4th century, we find the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, but the exarchs of Asia, Pontus, Thrace, Macedonia, Dacia, and others.^d [NOTITIA.]

^a A well-known application of the term in secular government is the title of the exarch of Ravenna.
^b "Præter omnes exarchi hæc potestatem ante hoc concilium excuserunt necno, incertum est: Hoc tamen certum, eam ab hoc concilio illis primò confirmatam esse."
Beveridge, Pandect. Annot. in Canon. Concil. Chæc. p. 115.
^c "Ni vero contra metropolitani talls aditus fiat ab exærho, out clerico, aut alia quâ-umque personâ, diocesis illius beatissimus patriarcha simili iudicio causam judicet."
—*Novel 123, c. 22.*
^d Beveridge thinks that Balsamon and Mortnus are in

Subsequently Constantinople absorbed Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, becoming a patriarchate. (See Neale, *Holy East. Church*, General Introduction.)

2. The word is also sometimes used in refer- ence to metropolitans. For we find the phrase exarch of the province (*εξαρχος της επαρχιας*) as well as exarch of the diocese (*εξαρχος της δια- κείσεως*). It is used, for instance, in the 6th canon of the council of Sardica, where the sense seems beyond doubt.^e But the word is here probably used in its general sense of chief, rather than in any technical signification.

3. In later times the name exarch was also applied to certain legates of the patriarch of Constantinople, who appear to have been charged by him with the general maintenance of his rights and authority, and also entrusted with the visitation of monasteries subject to him. The name is also given to ecclesiastics deputed by him to collect the tribute payable by him to the Turkish government. These legates ap- pear to have had large powers, and might even excommunicate, depose, or absolve in the name of the patriarch. (See Beveridge, *Pandectæ Canonum, Annotations on the Canons of Chalcedon*, pp. 120, 121.)

Authorities.—Suicer, *Theaurus*, s.v. *Εξαρχος*; Beveridge, *Pandectæ Canonum*, Oxon. 1672; Bingham, *Antiquities*, bk. ii. ch. 17, and bk. ix.; Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Eccles. Discip.* part i. lib. 1, cap. 17. [B. S.]

EXCAECATIO. To deprive of sight was not a mode of punishment sanctioned by the Benedictine rules. But in the 8th century some abbats had recourse to this barbarity in the case of contumacious monks. It was forbidden by Charles the Great (*Capitul. A.D. 789*, c. 16) and by the council of Frankfort (A.D. 794, c. 18); and abbats were strictly ordered to confine themselves to the infliction of punishments prescribed in their rule (cf. *Reg. Bened. Comment.* c. 25; Mabillon, *Ann. Ord. Bened. Saec. IV. Praef. i.* 139). [I. G. S.]

EXCEPTOR. (1) The word *exceptor* was used in later Latinity to express the "faking-down" of a person's words. Thus Augustine (*Epist.* 110), "a notarius ecclesiae excipiantur quae dicimus." Hence a reporter of judicial acts and sentences—as in the case of Christian martyrs—was called *exceptor*. A gloss on Prudentius (*apud Duange*) speaks of "exceptores" who took down the dicta of the judge and the answers of the martyr. Compare NOTARY. (Duange's *Gloss.* s. v.; Bingham's *Antiq.* III. xiii. 5).

(2) The word is occasionally used as equivalent to *ἀνδοχος* (SHOSSOR), for which "susceptor" is more commonly employed. [C.]

EXCLUSION FROM COMMUNION.

EXCLUSIVA designates, in modern times, the right claimed by certain Roman Catholic

error in speaking of a kind of metropolitan set over whole dioceses, and yet not patriarchs. May they not have meant such as the exarchs of Asia and Pontus? (See *Bev. Pandect. Can. Annot. in Conc. Chal p. 121.*) Valentinus (*Obs. on Socrates' Hist. Eccles.* lib. 3, cap. 6) calls these exarchs "minores patriarchas," and says "Patriarchae non-Interim usurpant."
^e The words are *διά γωματίων των εξαρχων επαρχιας*, λέγω δε του επισκοπου της μητροπολεως.

powers of excluding a particular cardinal from being elected pope.

The present form of this right is of course modern, and arises from the political circumstances of the age in Europe; but traces of the very decided influence exerted by princes in restraining the liberty of papal elections are found at a comparatively early date. The emperor Honorius, for instance, in the case of the double election and consecration of Eulalius and Boniface, decided (A.D. 418) in favour of Eulalius, afterwards drove him from the city, and (A.D. 419) ordered the installation of Boniface (*Actuarium Symmachianum, Epist.* 19-31; Baronius, an. 419, §§ 2 and 11, etc.). The same emperor, at the request of Boniface, made an ordinance that for the future, in case two candidates disputed the papal chair, neither should be pope but a fresh election should be held (*Corpus Juris Canon.* Dist. xvii., cc. 1 and 2; Hardouin, *Concil.* i. 1237). Nor was the influence of the temporal power diminished when Germans ruled in Italy. Oloacer (A.D. 483) desired that no papal election should take place without his concurrence (*sine nostra consultatione*), and little heed was paid by subsequent princes to the canon of a Roman synod under pope Symmachus (A.D. 502) condemning such interference of the secular arm (Hardouin, ii. 977; *C. J. C.* Dist. xvi., c. 1, § 7). Theodoric repented the enactment of Oloacer. On the reconquest of Italy under Justinian the confirmation of the papal election fell into the hands of the emperors, who exacted considerable sums in consideration of it, until the fee was given up by Constantine Pogonatus in the year 678 (*Liber Pontif.*, in *Apytho*; *C. J. C.* Dist. lxiii., c. 21). Somewhat later, in the case of Benedict II. (A.D. 684) the claim to confirm the pope was also resigned by the same emperor. This, however, led to so much disorder, that it was found necessary again to invoke the co-operation of the civil power; and the fact of the necessity of the emperor's concurrence is recognised in the *Liber Darnus Pontif. Rom.* (c. ii. lib. 3; see also Garnier's *Dissertation* in his edition of the *Lib. Darn.*), probably of the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. The necessity for the confirmation of the emperor continued when the Frankish chiefs acquired the imperial dignity. Compare POPE. (Jacobsen in Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* iv. 280.) [C.]

EXCOMMUNICATION (*A'stentio*, *Anathema*, *Excommunicatio*, *ἀνάθεμα*, *ἀφορισμός*). The partial or total, temporary or perpetual, exclusion of a member from the privileges of the church.

1. ORDINARY EXCOMMUNICATION.

Excommunication belongs to the class of corrective or medicinal penalties (*poenae medicinales* or *censoerae*), not to the vindictive (*poenae vindictivae*). Augustine (*Serm.* 351, c. 12), distinguishes between "prohibitio medicinalis," and "prohibitio mortalis," meaning (apparently) by the one, exclusion from the mysteries, by the other, exclusion from the church and Christian fellowship altogether. The canon law (*Corpus J.*, c. 37, can. xxiv. qu. iii.), lays down generally that excommunication is "disciplina, non eradicatio;" the excommunicated person is capable of being restored to his privileges, upon repentance [PENITENCE].

The exclusion of peccant members from social privileges is a right inherent in all societies; it was in practice among the Jews at the Christian era, and was incorporated by our Lord into the constitution of His church. It is no part of our purpose to discuss the theological bearing of the language in which our Saviour conveyed this power (St. Matt. xviii. 15-18, xvi. 19), nor to investigate the traces which the New Testament contains of the use to which the apostles put it (Rom. xvi. 17; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17; Gal. i. 8, 9; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14; Tit. iii. 10; 2 John 10, 11) (See Art. *Excommunication* in *Dict. of the Bible*). It is sufficient to note that a power of cutting off offenders was conferred on the apostles as rulers of the church, and was by them made a systematic part of church government. There are however two instances of direct excommunication by St. Paul, which must be noticed in more detail, because they supplied at once the language and the model after which the church framed in subsequent ages her censures. The apostle by a formal judgment delivered the incestuous Corinthian "to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh" (1 Cor. v. 5); a sentence which cannot signify less than that the man was thrust outside the Christian fold. When St. Paul wrote his second epistle, some six or nine months later, the man on his repentance was readmitted into the church. A similar sentence, but proleptic no similar penitence, was delivered against Hymeneus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20). Hymeneus is mentioned in 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18, as a teacher of heresy. His case therefore formed a precedent for excommunication for heretical opinion, as that of the Corinthian for immorality. The authority for the use of the formula, *ANATHEMA*, (*ἀνάθεμα*), so common afterwards in the Penitential Canons, is to be found in 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8, 9.

The proofs that the church has always claimed and exercised the power of excommunication, are everywhere patent. Fathers (*e.g.*, Irenaeus, *Haeres.* iii. 3; Cyprian, *De Unit. Don.* c. 18; *Epist.* 41, c. 2; 59 cc. 1, 9, 10, 11; Basil, *Epist.* 61, *ad Athanas.*; Leo the Great, *Epist.* 32, *ad Functum*; Ambrose, *Epist.* 40, *ad Thodo.*), and councils (*e.g.*, *Can. Apost.* c. 8, &c.; iv. *Carth.* c. 73; ii. *Arles.* c. 8; *Trid.* c. 3; *Trente*, cc. 15, 16, 18), all claim the power of excommunication, of greater or less severity and duration, in the case of offenders, whether against morality or against orthodoxy. The PENITENTIAL BOOKS mention numberless cases in which excommunication is the penalty. See for instance the Penitential of archbishop Theodore (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, iii. 173).

Persons subject to Excommunication.—The power of excommunicating was held to be in some measure correlative to that of baptising; those who could admit into the church could also exclude. The unbaptised were never excommunicated, though catechumens might be, and were, put back into a lower grade, and their baptism postponed. Children were not excommunicated, nor (commonly) reigning princes or large sections of the church. With these exceptions all Christian people, men or women, might be cut off from communion with the faithful. But the sentence was invariably a personal one for personal offences; the innocent were not punished

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with the guilty. Such a process as laying a
 whole nation under an interdict for some sup-
 posed offence of the people or their rulers was
 not known in the early ages before the 12th
 century.

According to the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ll.
 cc. 37, 38, 39) the course of discipline was that if
 any offender did not voluntarily come forward and
 acknowledge his guilt he was to be summoned by
 the bishop, first in privacy, then in the presence
 of two or three witnesses; then if he would not
 yield, the case was to be told to the church,
 and if he was still obdurate, sentence would
 proceed against him. No one was to be excom-
 municated before he had been several times
 admonished, according to the apostolic injunc-
 tion, "him that is an heretic, after the first or
 second admonition, reject." Nor could any
 offender be excommunicated in his absence, nor
 without legal conviction either by his own
 admission or by credible witnesses. On this
 safeguard against abuse of power, Van Espen
 quotes a passage from St. Augustine, "We can-
 not reject any from our communion unless they
 have either voluntarily confessed or been charged
 and convicted before some secular or ecclesiastical
 tribunal" (St. Aug. *Serm.* 351 *de Poenitent.*).
 One witness was not received as sufficient evi-
 dence of guilt, even though the one was a
 bishop. No one could incur excommunication
 for anything temporal; such matters were left
 to the civil courts, and excommunication in the
 early ages was a spiritual weapon, cutting off
 from spiritual privileges. Gregory the Great,
 writlag to some bishop whose name has been
 lost, severely rebukes him for using for his own
 private ends, power conferred upon him for the
 good of the souls of his flock (*Epist.* ii. 34). It
 was forbidden also to excommunicate for sins of
 infirmity and frailty, "There are some sins,"
 says St. Ambrose (*in exhort. ad Poenit.*), "which
 may be mildly pardoned by mere supplication to
 God, in that petition 'forgive us our trespasses,
 as we forgive them that trespass against us.'" And
 it was necessary that the offence should be
 public; for it was always a maxim "De oculis
 non iudicat Ecclesia." So St. Cyprian, "We so
 far as it is committed to us to see and judge,
 his heart and his conscience we cannot investi-
 gate" (*Cypr. Epist.* 55).

It would be impossible within reasonable limits
 to enumerate the graver crimes for which the
 church cut off her unworthy members. They may
 in general be reduced under one of the three heads
 of uncleanness, idolatry, bloodshed. Upon the
 treatment which men guilty of these crimes
 should receive, many of the early controversies on
 discipline hinged. There were, moreover, many
 breaches of each of the commandments which
 rendered the offender subject to the highest cen-
 sure of the church, which cannot be brought under this
 classification. Of these it will be sufficient to
 point out a few which were peculiar to the
 times, or which the opinion of the present day
 would deal with more leniently. The principle
 underlying the whole system of ecclesiastical
 censures, was the preservation of sound members
 of the Christian body from the evil example and
 contagion of the unsound. Hence, heresy was
 ever reckoned among the gravest sins. Hardly
 as dangerous, and hardly less rigorously pun-

ished in times of persecution, or during the
 barbarian invasions, was apostasy either to
 heathenism or to Judaism. Any tampering with
 idolatry was rigidly prohibited. A Christian
 was forbidden to be a public actor, or to be
 present at any theatrical representation, which
 commonly in that age ministered to laci-
 viousness; or to frequent the circus, for it
 was regarded as an appendage of false worship,
 and detrimental to the majesty of God; or to
 use divination or astrology, for that was to put
 destiny in the place of divine providence; or to
 follow any trials, such for example as the train-
 ing of gladiators, which in its nature was scan-
 dalous; or to be a talebearer, a gambler, or
 a vagrant. See Gregory Nyssen's canonical epistle
 to Letoius bishop of Melitina, which contains an
 elaborate classification of sins, and the penalties
 to be allotted to them.

Degrees of Excommunication.—Morinus dis-
 tinguishes three degrees of excommunication:
 1st. All those who were guilty of lighter sins
 were punished by exclusion from the offering of
 the oblations and partaking of the communion;
 2nd. Those who sinned more grievously were not
 only altogether shut out from partaking of the
 communion, but also from being present at that
 service, and were moreover "delivered unto Sa-
 tan," i. e. to certain bodily austerities and mortifi-
 cations; 3rd. Those who persisted in offending, or
 fell into deadly sin, were expelled alike from all
 share in the sacred mysteries, and from the very
 building of the church. (Morin. *de Poenitent.*,
 lib. 4, c. 11.) Van Espen considers that there
 were two degrees only, one of which was called
 "medicinalis," the other "mortalis," (Ang. *Hom.*
 lib. 1), or more commonly, "Anathema" (Van
 Espen *Jus Eccl.* Pars iii. Tit. xi. c. iv.); Bingham
 also discovers two degrees, lesser and
 greater excommunication (*ἀφορισμός, ἀφορισμός*
πανελητός). The former, which corresponds with
 the first two classes of Morinus, excluded offend-
 ers from the eucharist, and the prayers of the
 faithful, but did not exclude them from the
 church, for still they might stay to hear psalms
 and the reading of the scripture, and sermon and
 prayer of catechumens and penitents, and depart
 when the service of catechumens ended. Greater
 excommunication was a rejection not only from
 the eucharist but from any presence in church
 whatever, and any association with Christian
 men (Bingham, *Antiq.* lib. xvi. c. 11). There
 remains a still more terrible form of censure,
 which undoubtedly was sometimes imposed, and
 which was an absolute and final exclusion from
 the church. St. Cyprian (*Epist.* 55 *ad Anton.*)
 speaks of some of his predecessors who closed
 the door for ever against adulterers, but adds,
 that other bishops admitted similar offenders
 after a period of penitence to the grace of the
 church. There are various canons in the
 council of Elvira (circa 305 A.D.), which utterly
 debar offenders from communion with the faith-
 ful for the remainder of their lives, "nec in fine
 communionem accipere" (*Con. Eliber.* cc. 1, 12,
 13, 71, 73). Can. 46 declares that if any persist
 in sin after having been already punished, he
 should be totally cast out, "penitus ab ecclesia ab-
 jiciatur." The council of Ancyra (cc. 9, 16; circa
 315 A.D.) fixes a limit to the penalty attached to
 those very crimes for which that at Eliberis had
 decreed final excision. It would appear there-

fore that total and irremediable exclusion was at no time a universal practice, but nevertheless, at certain periods, and in certain localities, where possibly the magnitude of offences required, it was unhesitatingly employed. The practice of excommunicating the dead had no existence in the early centuries, or if here and there it existed, was supported by no canonical authority. The second council of Constantinople (553 A.D.), first introduced it into the Eastern church, and about 100 years later it crept into the Western (Morin, *de Pœnitent.* lib. x. c. 9).

Effect of Sen'e.n.e.—The punishment inflicted by a sentence of excommunication varied not only with the gravity of the offence, but with the discretion of the bishop, the customs of the diocese or province, and still more with the age of the church in which the offender lived. In the early centuries the church was ruled with a gentler discipline than was possible when her ranks were filled up promiscuously from the multitude. The incestuous man, whom St. Paul expelled from among his Corinthian converts with such solemn denunciation, was received again on his repentance, probably within a few months, certainly within the year. And up to the time of Montanus, punishments even for grave breaches of the law of the gospel were equally lenient. The term of the penalty was left to the discretion of the bishop. Through the whole of Tertullian's Treatise *de Pœnitentiâ*, and in the *Apostolic Canons*, with one exception, there is no mention of any time for the duration of the sentence. And even in the increasing severity which prevailed for the next hundred years, punishments scarcely ever exceeded one or two years (Morin, *de Pœnitent.* lib. iv. c. 9). Thenceforward, years would not suffice where weeks or months had been deemed sufficient before. Ten, fifteen, twenty years, were no uncommon penalties. St. Basil excludes a murderer from the church for twenty years (can. 56). The council of Ancyra decrees that a murderer should be a penitent for the rest of his life, and be received back into communion only at the hour of death (can. 22). For murder combined with other great crimes the council of Elvira (can. 11), forbids communion even in death. But at no period did any hard and fast law prevail; if an offender voluntarily confessed his guilt, a shorter term of exclusion was measured out to him; if on the other hand, a man who had before caused scandal was further rebellious and obdurate, his sentence was doubly severe. The lesser excommunication carried with it only an exclusion from communion, and from the inner mysteries and privileges of the faith. Three weeks of this separation was the punishment assigned by the council of Elvira to those who wilfully absent themselves from church for three successive Sundays; a year for some more venial forms of unchastity; another period for eating food in company with a Jew (*Con. Elvir.* cc. 21, 14, 50). And when the term expired they were received again to all the privileges of full communion, without being called upon to submit to public penance. Very different from this was the punishment attending the greater excommunication, anathema. For the first 300 years the punishment was exclusively spiritual, laid

upon the souls, not the bodies of men, depriving them of spiritual blessings, and in no way interfering with their political relations. Heresiarchs however, and dangerous heretical teachers, were at all periods treated with exceptional severity; the church was forbidden to hold any intercourse with them, to receive them into their houses, or to bid them God speed. It was only gradually, after the empire became Christian, that the weapons of the church's warfare began to be more carnal, and the secular power was invoked to uphold the ecclesiastical. At no time before Theodosius, who declared apostate either to Judaism or heathenism incapable of making wills or receiving bequests, and whose *Code de Hæreticis* attaches other pains and penalties to heretics, were any civil disabilities imposed upon those whom the church had cast out. Whatever rights a man had from the laws of God or man, as father, master, magistrate, these he retained after the door of the church was closed against him. Yet in the primitive ages, when the congregations of Christians were comparatively small and the members known to each other, and the spiritual censure was followed by an immediate and literal banishment from all sacred offices, from the society of their brethren in the faith, from all association whatever with holy men and holy things, the sentence fell with overwhelming severity. All the man most valued was taken from him. He was looked upon as under the ban of God's wrath; he was cut off from the kingdom of God on earth; like the leprous man among the Jews, he had the visible plague-spot of sin upon him; there had been passed upon him what was regarded as a presage of the future judgment, for what God had by his ministers bound on earth, he would certainly, it was believed, unless the man repented, bind in heaven. The *Apostolic Canons* (c. 11) forbid any one even to pray in a house with a man under anathema. The first council of Toledo (400 A.D.), ordered (c. 15), that "if any layman is under excommunication, let no clergyman nor religious person come near him nor his house. Also if a clergyman is excommunicated, let him be avoided, and if any is found to converse or to eat with him, let him also be excommunicated." His name was erased from the *DIPTYCHS*, [p. 561]; and there are instances of the erasure having been made after the man had died, and his sins had not come to light while he lived. His oblations were not received at the altar, and even gifts which he had presented to the church were rejected with him. His books might not be read, nor might any intermarry with him. And when his eod came he was refused all sacred offices on his deathbed, and no Christian man might attend his funeral, and no Christian rite be performed at it, unless he had given proof of repentance and passed away before being formally absolved. Nor could any one hope to avoid judgment by a voluntary exile, for notice was sent to other congregations, and in the discipline of the early church, a stranger was not admitted into communion unless he brought with him **COMMENDATORY LETTERS** from his own diocese. A man once excommunicated was never ordained, or if it was discovered after his ordination, that he had been previously censured, he was removed from the ministry (*Conc. Elvir.* can. 30; *Conc*

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ies of men, depriving and in no way inter-relations. Heresiarches retical teachers, were exceptional severity; hold any intercourse into their houses, or it was only gradually, Christian, that t warfare began to be ar power was invoked. At no time before apostates either to incapable of unking s, and whose *voix de gains* and penalties to disabilities imposed church had cast off, and from the laws of ster, magistrate, these or of the church was in the primitive ages, Christians were com- members known to tual censure was ed- and literal banishment from the society of their in all association what- and holy things, the helming, severely. All was taken from him, under the ban of God's in the kingdom of God s man among the Jews, -spot et sin upon him; pon him what was re- the future judgment, for sisters bound on earth, as believed, unless the aven. The *Apostolical* one even to pray in a anathema. The first A.D.), ordered (c. 15), nder excommunication, gious person come near so if a clergyman is be avoided, and if any out with him, let him His name was erased [61]; and there are in- vaying been made after is sias had not come to his oblations were not ad even gifts which he arch were rejected with not be read, nor might n. And when his ood all sacred offices on his in man might attend stinn rite be performed en proc^e of repentance being formally absolved, to avoid judgment by a tice was sent to other discipline of the early not admitted into com- with him COMMEN- his own diocese. A man was never ordained, or er his ordination, that ensured, he was removed c. *Eiiber.* can. 30; *Cone*

No. 10). This latter strictness was not invariably enforced, but the axiom "Poenitentes ordinari non debent," became universal in the Western church, although not always in practice in the Eastern.

Excommunication of Clergy.—In some cases the clergy, for offenses for which laymen were excommunicated, were suspended and reduced to lay communion [DEGRADATION]; but they might incur both degradation and excommunication. The clergy were brought to trial with more legal formalities than the laity, because if found guilty they were deprived not only of spiritual privileges but of office and emolument. The *Apostolic Canons* (30) decree that any bishop, priest, or deacon guilty of simony shall be cut off from all communion whatever. Mention is also made of reducing clergy to "peregrina communio," communion of strangers, which would seem to signify that they were to be treated as strangers who came without commendatory letters, allowed a mere subsistence from the offerings, but denied communion [COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 417]. By the council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.) monks were subject to the same discipline as laity.

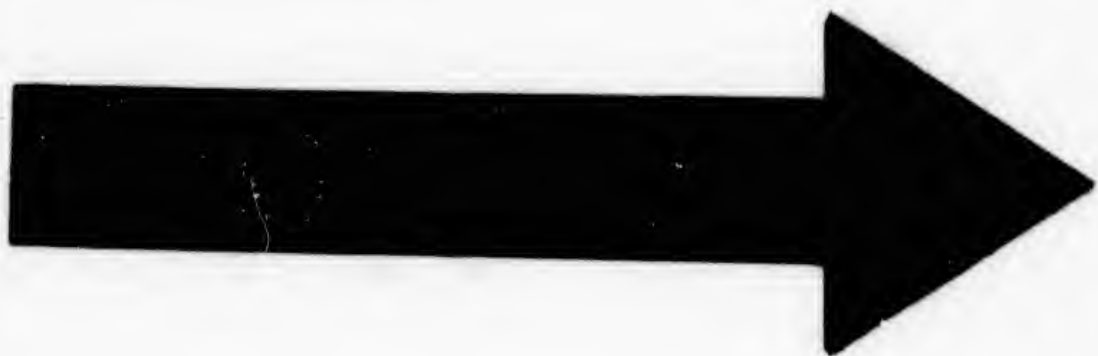
Form of Rite.—Judgment was delivered in the indicative mood, inasmuch as it decreed a punishment then and there inflicted. It was declared after the reading of the gospel, the bishop standing on theambo. There is no record of any ceremony attending the delivery of the sentence in the early ages; but Martene publishes a MS. of about the year 1190 which prescribes that twelve priests ought to stand round the bishop with lamps or torches in their hands, and that after the conclusion of the sentence they should cast them on the ground and stamp out the light beneath their feet, and that the bishop should then explain to the people the meaning and effect of the ceremony they had witnessed. No recognised rite of excommunication was in general use before the 9th or 10th century. The formula ordinarily employed was founded on our Lord's words, "Let him be as an heathen man and a publican." The council of Ephesus degraded Nestorius in these terms, "Wherefore our Lord Jesus Christ, whose majesty he by his blasphemous words has assailed, pronounces Nestorius, through this sacred synod, deprived of his episcopal rank and degraded from the fellowship and office of the priesthood throughout the world." The sentence of excommunication of Andronicus, governor of Ptolemais, by his bishop, Synesius (410 A.D.), gives a more detailed account of the penalties involved in the sentence. "The church of Ptolemais makes this injunction to all her sister churches throughout the world. Let no church of God be open to Andronicus and his accomplices; but let every sacred temple and sanctuary be shut against them. The devil has no part in paradise; though he privily creep in he is driven out again. I therefore admonish both private men and magistrates neither to receive them under their roof nor to their table; and priests more especially, that they neither converse with them when living nor attend their funerals when dead. And if any one despise this church as being only a small city, and receive those that are excommunicated by her, let them know that they divide the church by schism. And whosoever does so, whether levite, presbyter, or bishop, shall be ranked in the same class with

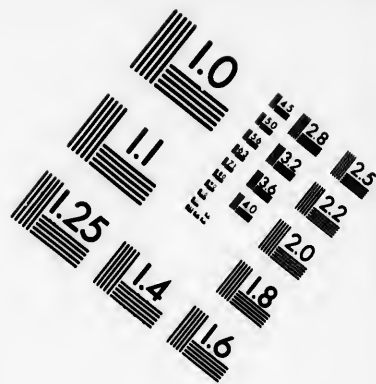
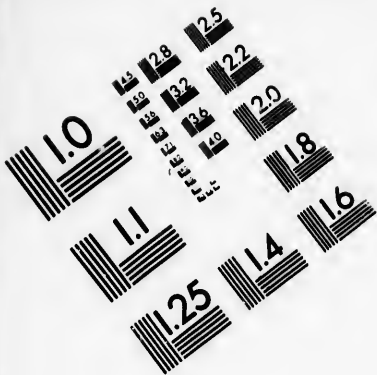
CHURCH. ANT.

Andronicus. We will neither give them the right hand of fellowship, nor eat at the same table with them, and much less will we communicate in sacred mysteries with those who choose to take part with Andronicus" (Synesius *Epiat.* 58). [See PENITENCE.]

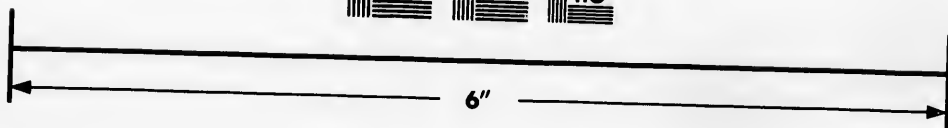
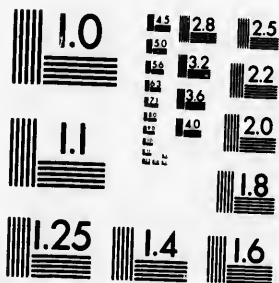
The following, from an Anglican Pontifical preserved at Gemblours, considered by Martene (*De iud. Ant.* B. 322; ed. Venet. 1785) to have been written in the 8th century, may serve as a specimen of the later forms. The bishop, denouncing certain persons who, not having the fear of God before their eyes, had plundered the property of the church, and who, after being thrice summoned, contumaciously refused to appear, pronounced: "These therefore we, by the authority conferred upon us by God . . . and the statutes of the canons, excommunicate and cut off from the bonds of the Holy Church of God, and expel from the congregation of Christian men; and unless they speedily come to a better mind and make satisfaction to us, we condemn them with eternal malediction and condemn with perpetual anathema. May they incur the wrath of the heavenly judge; may they be deprived of the inheritance of God and His elect; may they neither in this present life have communion with Christians, nor in the life to come obtain part with God and His saints; but may they be numbered with the devil and his servants, and receive the punishment of avenging flame with everlasting mourning. In heaven and earth may they be abominable, and be tortured for ever with the pains of hell. Cursed be they in the house, cursed in the field; cursed be their food and their fruit; cursed be all that they possess, from the dog that barks for them to the cock that crows for them. May they have their portion with Dathan and Abiram, whom hell swallowed up quick, and with Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto the apostles of the Lord and fell down dead, and with Pilate, and Judas who betrayed the Lord; may they be buried with the burial of an ass, and so may their light be quenched in the midst of darkness. Amen."

Minister of Excommunication.—The officer entrusted with the power of excommunication was the bishop of the diocese to which the offender belonged. [BISHOP, p. 231.] The administration of discipline was originally entirely in his hands; it was he who bonnd and he who loosed. As the church increased, the infliction of other forms of penance was delegated to the inferior clergy, but the great sentence of excommunication was a weapon which the bishop kept exclusively in the power of his own order. Within his diocese his jurisdiction was supreme; he might mitigate or increase censure at his discretion. In the exercise of this authority he was independent of his presbytery; he sat indeed with it to hear confessions which might criminate others, or to receive accusations against the brethren, or to decide rights and causes brought before him, and offences might then be divulged which would expose the offender to excommunication, but when once guilt was established, either by confession, or conviction, or notoriety, the bishop alone imposed the sentence. Instances also abound of bishops consulting with one another in special emergencies, and deciding amongst themselves the period of penance to be allotted to special sins, but such





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advice or support put no limitation on each bishop's original jurisdiction. The council of Nice (can. 5) forbids any one bishop to receive delinquents cut off by another bishop, which clearly points to each bishop possessing the power to act alone. The end of the same canon decrees that a synod of bishops shall be held in each province twice a year, before Lent and in the autumn (compare *Apost. Can.* 38), to examine into the cases of excommunication which had taken place in the province. There was thus a right of appeal against the sentence of an individual bishop, but only to the bishops of the province. This probably explains instances of synodical excommunication, which do not imply that the bishop had not an independent power to excommunicate, but that an appeal was made from his judgment to the provincial synod, whose sentence was only a more solemn confirmation of the bishop's.

The *Apostolical Canons* (74) decree that, if a bishop is accused he is to be summoned by the synod of bishops, and if he refuse to come two bishops are to go for him, and on his second refusal, to go again, and if he is still contumacious, the synod may proceed against him in his absence. Accordingly the episcopal rank of Nestorius required a synodical censure, which was pronounced by provincial synods under Cyrill of Alexandria and Celestine of Rome, and confirmed 431 A.D. by the council of Ephesus. And Eutyches, who was an abbot and so far allowed the privileges of a bishop, was tried at the provincial synod of Constantinople under Flavianus, and on an appeal to a general council was again condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedon, together with Dioscorus of Alexandria.

Literature.—Marshall's *Penitential Discipline*, Lond. 1714, reprinted in 'Anglo-Cath. Library,' Ox. 1844; Bingham's *Antiquities*, bks. xvi. and xvii.; Morinus, *De Disciplinâ in Administr. Sacrament. Poenitentiae*, Antv. 1682; Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, Ven. 1789, vols. 4 and 9; Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. ritibus*; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie*, Leip. 1817. [G. M.]

II. MONASTIC EXCOMMUNICATION.

By the Benedictine rule contumacious monks incurred the penalty of the greater or the lesser excommunication according to the gravity of the offence, but not till admonition, first private and then public, had been tried on them in vain, nor in cases where, owing to moral stupidity, flogging was likely to be more efficacious (*Reg. Bened.* c. 23). These two kinds of excommunication are further defined as excommunication only from the common meal (a mensa) for slighter faults, and excommunication from the chapel also (a mensa et oratorio) for faults less venial. Thus the subdivision of monastic excommunication corresponds in its main features with the more minute subdivisions of ecclesiastical discipline generally (*ib.* cc. 24, 25). Even under the lighter ban the offender was forbidden to officiate in the choir as reader or "cantor," and, according to some commentators on the rule, he was to lie prostrate before the altar-steps while the others were kneeling. In the refectory he was to take his food alone after the rest had finished (Martene, *Reg. Comment.* cc. 25, 44).

A monk under the graver excommunication

was debarred not only from the common board, but also from all the chapel services as well as from the benedictory salutation, and indeed from all intercourse whatever with his brethren (*Reg. Bened.* c. 25). He was to lie outstretched at the doors of the chapel till re-admitted by the abbat; nor even then might he take any public part in the services without express permission (Martene, u. s. c. 44). Any monk speaking to an excommunicated brother was "iiso facto" excommunicated himself (*Reg. Bened.* c. 26). But it was kindly ordered by Benedict, that the abbat should send some sympathising brother to console the offender in his loneliness (*ib.* c. 27; cf. *Reg. Mag.* cc. 13, 14; *Reg. Cues. Arclat.* c. 23; *Id. ad Virg.* c. 10).

The duration of the punishment varied, the intention being correctional rather than merely penal. By the rule of Fructuosus, a monk for lying, stealing, striking, false swearing, if incorrigible, was, after flogging, to be excommunicated and kept on bread and water in a solitary cell for three months (*Reg. Fruct.* c. 17). By the rule of Ferreolus, a monk for bad language was forbidden to be present at the mass or to receive the kiss of peace for six months (*Reg. Ferr.* c. 25). By the rule of Chrodegang a canonius was excommunicated for what seems so slight an offence as sleeping after nocturns. It was for the abbat to fix the degree of excommunication (*Reg. Bened.* c. 24). Some commentators argue therefore, that the severest form of monastic excommunication cannot be tantamount to the severest ecclesiastical sentence of the kind (Mart. *Pej. Comm.* c. 25).

Marbillon cites instances (*Annal.* x. 46) of monks (Columbanus and Theodoros Studita) excommunicating lay people not belonging to their order. He relates an excommunication of one of the sisterhood by an abess in the 7th century (*ib.* xii. 36). Abbats and abbesses were themselves liable to this penalty. Gregory the Great reproves a bishop for harshness in excommunicating an aged abbat of good repute. The second council of Tours in A.D. 567 decreed sentence of excommunication against any abbat or prior allowing a woman to enter the monastery (*Conc. Turon.* c. 16). See further Bened. Auz. *Concord. Regul.* cc. 30-34 with Menard's Commentary, and Ducauge, *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. [I. G. S.]

EXCUBIAE. [VIGIL.]

EXCUSATI. (1) Slaves who had fled for refuge to a church, and then—on the owners making oath upon the gospels that they would not punish them—been restored to their masters, were called *excusati*. If the master broke his oath he was punished by excommunication. See *Conc. Aurel. I.* cc. 1 and 3; *III.* c. 13; *IV.* c. 24. (2) Those who under some terror or oppression had fled to a church or monastery and remained there were also called *excusati* (Charter of Charles the Great, quoted by Ducauge, s. v.) [C.]

EXECUTORES. A name given either to the DEFENSORES themselves or to officers who performed analogous functions. In one of the canons of a council held at Carthage, A.D. 419 (*Conc. Eccl. Afric.* c. 96), it is decreed that permission should be demanded of the emperor for the appointment of five "executores," who should reside in the provinces, and be employed on all occasions of necessity on behalf of the

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[VIGIL]

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church, "in omnibus desideris quae habet
 ecclesia." These are evidently distinct from the
 "defensores scholastici," mentioned in the canon
 tract *Edwons.* In a capitulary of Charles the
 Great, quoted by Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl.*
Discip. i. 2, c. 93, § 12), executores are men-
 tioned in connexion with advocates and defen-
 ders, "executores, vel advocati seu defensores."
 Thomassin (*Ibid.* c. 98, § 3) speaks of the title
 being given to certain officials when employed in
 carrying into execution the will of the bishop of
 Rome, who is himself the executor and protector
 of the canons. [P. O.]

EXEDRA is explained by Duceage, Binte-
 rin, and others as a general term including all
 buildings annexed to a church, or contained
 within the consecrated area. In classical usage
 an *exedra* was a semicircular room, or large
 alcove with seats against the wall for the
 purposes of conversation (Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, l. 6;
de Orat. iii. 5). *Exedrae* are spoken of by Vi-
 truvius (vi. 5) in connexion with *oeci* (*oikoi*) as
 rooms for conversation and other social purposes.
 The two words are similarly coupled together
 by Eusebius (*J. E.* x. 4, § 44) when describing
 the church of Paulinus at Tyre. Here Eusebius
 writes "he provided spacious *exedrae* and *oeci*
 on each side (*ἐξεδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἐκά-*
τερα μέρους) united and attached to the royal
 fabric (*βασιλικῆς)* and communicating with the
 entrance to the middle of the temple." The
 church built by Constantine at Antioch is also
 described as "being surrounded with a large
 number of *oeci* and *exedrae* in a circle," *οἴκους*
τὴν περίσσω ἐξεδρας τε ἐν κύκλῳ (Euseb. *de Vit.*
Const. lib. iii. c. 50). Augustine uses the word
 in the sense of a large room or hall annexed to
 the great church at Caesarea (*de Gest. cum*
Emerito). The sixth canon of the council
 of Nantes prohibits interments except "in atrio
 aut portico, aut in *exedris* ecclesiae," a Bingham
 holds that baptisteries were included under
exedrae. The apse of a basilica was also some-
 times termed *exedra* from its similarity in shape
 to those of the baths.

(Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. viii. c. 7, § 1; Augu-
 stin *Christ. Archæol.* i. 387; Valesius ad Euseb.
VI. Const. lib. iii. c. 50.) [E. V.]

EXEMPTION OF MONASTERIES. In
 the earlier stage of their existence, monasteries
 generally availed themselves gladly of the patronage
 of the bishop of the diocese [BISHOP, p. 231],
 but as they increased in wealth and power, strug-
 gled to emancipate themselves from his control.
 For instance, towards the close of the 6th century
 the abbess of Ste. Croix at Poitiers, after the
 death of Radegunde the foundress, who had be-
 come one of the nuns, requested the bishop to
 take the convent under his protection. After
 some hesitation, on account of the royal rank of
 the foundress, or because she had placed the con-
 vent under royal jurisdiction, he consented "to
 govern it as the rest of his parishes" (Mabill.
Ann. O. S. B. VII. xxxix. xl.; Gregor. Turon.
Hist. li. 46). On the other hand, in the middle
 of the 7th century, or later, for the exact date
 of the deed is uncertain, a monastery at Vienne,
 apparently of monks and nuns under one consti-
 tution, obtained absolute exemption from the

* In Labbe (*Concil.* ix. 470) the reading is "extra ec-
 clesiam."

bishop's authority. By this deed, no bishop had
 any claim to any property of the monastery;
 no bishop, unless by invitation of the abbot or
 abness, could consecrate altars or admit nuns,
 nor was any fee to be required for performing
 these ceremonies; and the diocesan was not to
 hinder any appeal of the monastery to the see
 of Rome (Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B. XIII.* ii. cf. *Ap-*
tom. 1). In another fragment cited by Mabillon
 in the same place no bishop even by invitation
 was allowed to enter the more private parts of
 the convent; nor was any bishop to be enter-
 tained in the convent, lest this should be an
 expense and a distraction to the inmates, nor to
 interfere with the abness in the correction of the
 nuns, for she was to be responsible only to the
 apostolic see. Instances might easily be multi-
 plied of the almost continual collision in Western
 Christendom between the bishops and the monas-
 teries in their dioceses; in which the monasteries,
 almost invariably, had the support of the pope,
 and, frequently, of the royal authority (cf.
 Martene, *Regul. Commun. Bened.* ap. Migne,
Patrol. Lat. lxxi. pp. 839, 840). And the same
 struggle was going on at the same time in the
 East. Thus, in the 7th century, the emperor
 Maurice granted to the monasteries of Theo-
 dorus Sicoota entire exemption from all episc-
 opal authority, except that of Constantinople
 (Mabill. *Ann. O. S. B.* xiv. 23). Monasteries
 subject only to emperor or king, were called
 "imperialia" or "regalia" (Duceage, *Gloss.*
Lat. s. v.). [For exemption of monasteries from
 taxes see MONASTERY.] [I. G. S.]

EXEMPTIONS. [IMMUNITIES OF CLERGY.]

EXEQUIES. [BURIAL OF THE DEAD;
 OBLIQUES.]

EXERCISES, PENITENTIAL. [PEN-
 TENCE.]

EXHORTATION (*Exhortatio*), is used in a
 special sense for the admonition on the duties of
 their office addressed by the ordiuer to a person
 just ordained. See, for instance, the Coptic
 ritual of ordination, in Martene, *De Lit. Ant.* l.,
 viii. 11, *Ordo* 23. [C.]

EXILE (*Exilium, Peregrinatio*). For certain
 offences a penitent was ordered to leave his
 country and pass some period of his penitence in
 distant lands. This mode of penance is found
 among the canons ascribed to some of the British
 councils of the 6th century; but there are strong
 grounds for believing that they are interpolations
 of a later period, and that the penance of exile
 cannot be traced to any earlier source than the
 7th century. The *Penitential* of Theodore (l. ii.
 16) appoints fifteen years of penance for incest,
 of which seven are to be passed in a foreign land
 (perenni peregrinatione). The *Penitential* of
 Egbert (iii.) declares seven years of exile to
 be part of the penance due for parricide; and
 (v. 9) orders a cleric who begets an illegitimate
 child to go into exile for either four, five, or
 seven years. Morinus, however, considers (*de*
Poenit. vii. 15) that these wanderings of peni-
 tents soon led to abuses, and were checked in a
 capitulary of Charles the Great (vi. 379).

The practice thus begun in submission to a
 judicial penalty was continued as a voluntary
 self-discipline, and in the 10th century it began
 to be considered a meritorious action to leave

home and country and make a pilgrimage to some spot consecrated by association with some holy man; the earliest of which places were Rome, Tours, and the supposed burial-place of St. James at Compostella. This tendency received a great impulse from the Crusades, and especially from the decree of the council of Clermont (*Conc. Clavoni.* c. 2), which allowed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to expiate all penance whatever. [G. M.]

EXOCATACOELI. Five great dignitaries of the patriarchal church of Constantinople, viz. the oecumenus or steward, the senior and junior keeper of the purse (*σακελλάρχοι*), and the senior and junior chartophylax, were anciently called *ἐξοκατάκοιλοι*. To these, in the 11th century, the defensor of the church was added. The etymology of the word is uncertain. That of Ducauge (*Gloss. Græc.*) that they received their name from having their seats of dignity on a raised platform, not in the lower portion of the floor (*κατακόιλια*) where less distinguished persons sat, is perhaps as probable as any. (Thomassin, *Ecl. Discip.* l. ii. 99, § 10; Daniel, *Codex Liturg.* iv. 702.) [C.]

EXODIASTICON (*Ἐξοδιαστικόν*). As the departure of a Christian was frequently spoken of as *ἔξοδος*, the service at the death-bed is called in Greek office-books *ἐξοδιαστικόν* (Daniel, *Codex Lit.* iv. 608, 634). [BURIAL OF THE DEAD; SICK, VISITATION OF.] [C.]

EXOMOLOGESIS (*Ἐξομολόγησις*, *Confessio*, *ἔξομολόγησις*, *ἐξαγώνεσις*). The verb in St. Matt. xi. 25 expresses thanksgiving and praise, and in this sense was used by many Christian writers (Suer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. *ἔξομολ.*). But more generally in the early fathers it signifies the whole course of penitential discipline, the outward act and performance of penance. From this it came to mean that public acknowledgment of sin which formed so important a part of penitence. Ireneus (*c. Haeres.* i. 13, § 5) speaks of an adulteress who, having been converted, passed her whole life in a state of penitence (*ἐξομολογουμένη*, in exomologesi); and (iv. iii. 4) of Cerdion often coming into the church and confessing his errors (*ἐξομολογούμενος*). Tertullian (*de Poenit.* c. 9) considers the Greek word *ἔξομολόγησις* more suitable than the Latin *confessio*; and proceeds to define the term as "the discipline of humbling and prostrating a man." At the end of the same treatise he speaks of the king of Babylon's humiliation as an exomologesis, and of the king of Egypt's neglect of repentance and in Cyprian (*de Lapsis*, cc. 11, 18), and six times in his Epistles (*Epist.* 4, *ad Pompon.* c. 3; 15, *ad Mart.* c. 1; 16, *ad Cler.* c. 2; 17, *ad Laic.*; 53, *ad Anton.* c. 24; 59, *ad Cornel.* c. 18, Oxf. ed.) in the sense of the course of penitence and public humiliation; three times (*Epist.* 18, *ad Cler.*; 19, *ad Cler.*; 20, *ad Rom.* *Cler.* c. 2) referring to the confession of dying penitents; and once (*de Lapsis*, c. 19) as applied to Azariah and his companions, in the sense of confession of the lips generally. St. Basil, describing the morning service of his time (*Epist.* 207, *ad Cler. Neocaesar.*), says that after the antiphonal chant, at daybreak they all burst forth into the psalm of confession (*τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀναφέρουσι*), meaning no doubt that which is emphatically a psalm of

confession, the fifty-first. This psalm is also mentioned by Cassian (*De Inst. C. nov.* iii. 6) as occurring at the close of matins. Pacian in one place (*Pacian. ad Pœnit.* p. 372, Oxf. ed.) following Tertullian, speaks of the degradation of Nebuchadnezzar as exomologesis; in another (*ibid.* p. 373), in imitation of Cyprian, applies the term to the song of the "three children." At the council of Laodicea (can. 2) it is the whole course of penitence: "As to those who sin by divers offences and persevere in prayer of confession (*ἔξομολ.*) and repentance." With Chrysostom it is in one place (*Hom. 10 in S. Matt.* c. 4) the course of penitence; elsewhere (*Hom. 5, de incomp. Dei nat.* t. i. p. 490; *Hom. 2, ad illum. Catech.* t. i. p. 240, Bened. ed.) it is confession to God only. Isidore of Seville (*Et. mod.* vi. 19) defines exomologesis to be that by which we confess our sins to the Lord. But at the end of the same chapter he advances an entirely different meaning of the word. "Between litanies and exomologeses there is this difference, that exomologesis stands for confession of sins only, litany for prayer to God, and imploring His pardon; but now each word has the same meaning, nor is there any difference between the use of litany and exomologesis." The 17th council of Toledo, A.D. 694 (c. 6), orders litanies (exomologeses) to be said for a whole year for the church, for the sovereign, &c. &c. And the council of Mayence, A.D. 813 (*Conc. Mogunt.* c. 32) quotes the exact words of Isidore on exomologesis being equivalent with litany (*Comp. Moria. de Poenit.* ii. 2; note L. on Tertull. *de Poenit.* in Oxford *Library of the Fathers*).

Of these meanings the first and last are quite foreign to the general ecclesiastical use of the word and need not be pursued any further; that which signifies the whole course of penitential discipline will be discussed under the article PENITENCE; this article will relate to exomologesis so far as it signifies oral confession.

Public Confession.—i. *Of public sins.*—This was the first stage in the restoration of a penitent. So long as discipline was in force, any one guilty of a notorious crime which had subjected him to censure [EXCOMMUNICATION] was required to make an open acknowledgment of his crime at the beginning of his course of penitence. The confession took place after the Missa Catechumenorum, and when they and the hearers had been warned to withdraw from the church by the deacon. Then if any one had been recently convicted of any open sin, he confessed and bewailed it before the church, and in accordance with the gravity of his offence, his penitential station was assigned him by the bishop; sometimes, however, the bishop, yielding to the requests of the clergy and people who had heard the confession, allotted a less remote station. The bishop then addressed the congregation on the nature of the offence, and they offered up their prayers for the offender's repentance. This public confession was addressed not merely to the bishop or the priest in the presence of the congregation, but in a loud voice to the congregation at large. It signified that as the church had been scandalised by an open sin in one of its members, reparation should be made to it by an equally open admission of sin. It also manifested the earnestness of the offender's repentance that he was willing to undergo this public humiliation. But the

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chief object was that the offender might seek the prayers of the congregation to support and stimulate his conversion. If any one who was notoriously guilty failed or refused to confess, no one would communicate with him, in accordance with the apostle's precept (1 Cor. v. 11; Ephes. v. 11). Again, if he waited to be convicted, his censure was heavier than if he had made a spontaneous confession. The council of Elvira (*Conc. Elib. c. 76*) orders that if a deacon before his ordination had committed a mortal sin, and afterwards confessed, he should be restored after three years' penitence; but if detected, after five years, and only to lay communion. Basil (*ad Amphilo. cc. 7, 61*) allows alleviation of punishment on three grounds, ignorance, confession, and lapse of time. This encouragement to confession reappears in the 8th century in the Rule of Chrodegand of Metz (c. 18), "he who voluntarily confesses his lighter sins shall be visited with lighter censures." And not only was an offender urged to confess for his own sake, but any who was privy to his crime was under a similar obligation to accuse him, for if he failed or even delayed to do so, he was himself exposed to censure (Basil, *ad Amphilo. c. 71*).

ii. *Of secret sins.*—Such confession was at no time obligatory. Sometimes, however, under the direction of a priest who had been consulted, or moved by a sudden contrition and remorse, some would charge themselves with a secret sin before the congregation. Thus (Iren. c. *Haeres. l. 9*) the virgins seduced by the heretic Marcus, and the wife of the deacon Asianus made a public acknowledgment of guilt which was known only to themselves. One of the three men who had calumniated Narcissus of Jerusalem (Euseb. *H. E. vi. 9*) publicly acknowledged years afterwards, when his two associates had died from some painful disorder, that his charge against the bishop had been false. Some of the priests who had joined Novatian (*Ibid. vi. 43*) spontaneously charged themselves before the church with heresy and other crimes; one of the bishops who had been induced to consecrate him publicly acknowledged his error, and Cornelius, in deference to the intercession of the people who witnessed the confession, admitted him to lay communion. But public confession of secret sins needed at a very early period to be checked and regulated; and the people were admonished to consult their priests before divulging their sins to the church [PENITENTIARY]. Anything which would create a scandal or endanger life or liberty was forbidden to be revealed. So Basil (*ad Amphilo. c. 34*) would not permit a woman who had privately admitted the guilt of adultery to acknowledge it in the church or even to perform openly the penance generally demanded for such a sin, lest she should be murdered by her husband. Similar precautions are laid down by Origen, Augustine, and Caesarius of Arles (*Morin. de Poenit. ii. 13*). In the 6th century the practice arose of making confession of public sins to the bishop, of private to the priest.

iii. *Before the bishop and his presbytery.*—Tertullian (*de Poenit. c. 9*) says it is part of exomologesis for the penitent "to throw himself upon the ground before the presbytery, and to fall on his knees before the beloved of God." Cyprian (*de Lapsis, c. 18*) praises the faith of those who, having without any overt act meditated idolatry,

made a confession "apud sacerdotes Dei," Gregory Nyssen (*Ep. ad Lectorem*, in Marshall p. 195) speaks of a certain evil which had been overlooked by the ancient fathers, from whence it had come to pass, that no person who was brought before the clergy to be examined as to his life and conversation was at all examined upon that point. Before the presbyterial confessions were made which criminated others; and this frequently happened; for any one making a public confession named his confederates, unless by so doing he exposed them to legal penalties. No ecclesiastical censure, however, fell on any who denied a crime which his associate had admitted: on the principle that penitence was a privilege not a punishment. The deacon and his presbytery (*Epis. iv. ad Pompon.*) must have had an information laid against them by some associate, for their guilt had been secret. This the appointment of the Penitentiary; but in the West so long as public penitence for secret faults prevailed, so long did public confession to bishops and their assistant priests. Probably this was the origin of the custom introduced into the Benedictine Rule of confession to the abbot surrounded by his monks.

Private Confession.—i. *General account.*—The testimony of the fathers will be discussed in detail later; here it is sufficient to say that the early fathers Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, hardly allude to private confession at all; and among the writers generally of the first 500 years these who mention it do so with some reference more or less direct to public discipline. But it is certain that public penitence was not assigned to all sins which were secretly confessed, but only to such as in the discretion of the priest required it. It is easy to understand that offences of a trivial nature might be confined to a priest, or offences of such a character as would scandalise the church were they openly divulged; and until this spiritual direction had been given, the offender would be in doubt whether or not a public acknowledgment would be expected from him. But it is equally clear that no absolution was given after direction of this sort, or until penitence had been performed. Such at least for many centuries was the practice in the Latin church (see PENITENCE, under which the question of absolution will be discussed); in the Eastern church a practice arose of pronouncing the utterance of the confession, and a second absolution when the penance had been performed. The evidence of this practice is to be found in the early Greek Penitentials at the end of the 6th century; but Morinus would carry back its origin to the time of the abolition of the office of Penitentiary at the end of the 4th. To resort to a spiritual guide for comfort and counsel was one thing; to obtain through his ministry by confession penance and absolution, reconciliation with God and communion with the faithful was another: and there is no proof that the two were combined, and that private sacramental confession had any existence in the first 500 years of the Christian church. The term itself is not found in any of the documents of the first eight centuries; and if the definition of Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, pt. iii. qn. 84-80) is to be

accepted as a theological definition of the term, its growth must be assigned to a much later period. There existed undoubtedly from a very early period private confession followed by no penitence, but also by no absolution; there was also private confession followed by public penitence, and generally by subsequent public confession, to which the private was a preliminary; and there was after the beginning of the 6th century private confession followed by private penitence, but the penance was always exacted, and differed only from public penance in solemnity; there is nowhere to be found in canons or sacramentaries or penitentials one punishment for private penitence and another for public. The sins thus privately confessed with a view to penitence were those only of a grievous character, sins which excluded from communion or public prayer, or even from the church itself, which required a long and painful course of penance before they were blotted out, and into which if the sinner relapsed, there was, certainly in the vigour of the primitive ages, no second door of reconciliation open to him. Sozomen indeed, writing at the end of the 5th century, says in reference to penance that there is pardon for those who sin again and again, but this is not the language of antiquity. There was but one admission to solemn penance. Moreover, were de-which penance was to be performed were described by canons and in canonical epistles, and sins which did not fall within these canons were either confessed nor made subject to penance. Sins of frailty incidental to mankind were to be healed by daily prayer and confession to God only. So, among numerous authorities that penitence, and confession as a part of penitence, was not exacted for venial sins, Augustine (*de Symb. ad Catech.* t. vi. p. 555, ed. Antv.), "those whom you see in a state of penitence have been guilty of adultery or some other enormity, for which they are put under it: if their sin had been venial, daily prayer would have been sufficient to atone for it." The Greek Penitentials of the end of the 6th century, and the Latin ones of a century later, give no hint of habitual confession of common infirmities, or of private confession being a matter of indispensable obligation, still less of the doctrine that one may daily confess and be daily and plenary absolved.

ii. *In the Western Church.*—In the times of Tertullian and Cyprian public discipline was in full vigour, and as part of it a public acknowledgment of sins: the passages which have already been adduced from these fathers contain nothing to show that they regarded confession in any other light than as one stage of the act of penitence.

Ambrose (*de Poenit.* ii. 6) speaks of confession, but it is confession to God. "If thou wilt be justified confess thy sins; for humble confession looses the bonds of sin." Another passage, selected by Bellarmine to support secret confession, relates manifestly to the course of discipline; for having at the end of the previous section said that "very many, out of fear of future punishment, conscious of their sins, seek admission to penitence, and having obtained it are drawn back by the shame of public entreaty," Ambrose thus proceeds (*ib.* c. 10), "Will any one endure that thou shouldst be ashamed to ask of God, who art not ashamed to ask

men? that thou be ashamed to supplicate Him from whom thou art not hid, when thou art not ashamed to confess thy sins to man from whom thou art hid?" Another passage (*in Luc.* x. 22, p. 5, 1787) commenting on St. Peter's denial of Christ and subsequent repentance, is inconsistent with the existence of a custom of private confession in his time. "Let tears wash away the guilt which one is ashamed to confess with the voice. Tears express the fault without alarm; tears confess the sin without injuring baseness; tears obtain the pardon they ask not for. Peter wept most bitterly, that with tears he might wash out his offence. Do thou also, if thou wouldst obtain pardon, wash out thy fault with tears."

Augustine's own confessions contain no hint that he either practised or inculcated private confession. "What have I to do with men that they should hear my confession, as if they could heal all my infirmities" (x. 3). Bellarmine quotes from the same writer (*en Pa.* 66, c. 7)—"Be downcast before thou hast confessed; having confessed, exult; now shalt thou be healed. While thou confessedst not, thy conscience collected foul matter; the imposthume swelled, distressed thee, gave thee no rest; the physician fomented it with words, sometimes cuts it, employs the healing knife, rebuking by tribulation. Acknowledge thou the hand of the physician; confess; let all the foul matter go forth in confession; now exult, now rejoice, what remains will readily be healed." But Augustine is commenting on the text, "Sing unto the Lord all the whole earth;" and confession can be confession to God only, as surely the physician who heals by tribulation can be none other than God. In *Serm.* 181 (fin.) he speaks of daily prayer as the sponge which is to wipe away sins of infirmity and contrasts them with death-bringing sins for which alone penitence is performed. Elsewhere (*de Symb. ad Catech.* tom. vi. p. 555, ed. Antv.) he again speaks of the "three methods of remitting sins in the church, in baptism, in the Lord's Prayer, in the humility of the greater penitence," and he limits penance and consequently confession to sins which deserve excommunication. And in many similar passages he is a witness that up to his time no confession was required of any sins but such as subjected a man to penitential discipline.

Leo in his Epistle to Theodorus gives plain testimony of the connection of confession with penance (*Ep.* 91, c. 2). But in a letter to the bishops of Campania he gives some directions which mark if they do not make an era in confession in the Latin church. The epistle is too important not to be quoted at length (*Ep.* 80, *ad Episc. Campan.*). "That presumption, contrary to the apostolic rule, which I have lately learned to be practised by some, taking unduly upon themselves, I direct should by all means be removed, and that a written statement of the nature of the crimes of each should not be publicly rehearsed, since it suffices that the guilt of the conscience be laid open to the priests alone in secret confession. For although that fulness of faith, which out of the fear of God fears not to take shame before men, seems to be praiseworthy, yet because the sins of all are not of such sort, that they who ask to do penitence fear not their being published, let so unavishable a custom be done away, let

ashamed to supplicate Him not hid, when thou art not thy sins to man from whom other passage (in Luc. x. 22, ting on St. Peter's denial quip repentance, is incoherence of a custom of private time. "Let tears wash one is ashamed to confess the fault without the sin without injuring obtain the pardon they ask most bitterly, that with out his offence. Do thou obtain pardon, wash out thy

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may be kept from the remedies of penitence; either being ashamed, or fearing that actions for which they may be punished by the laws should be discovered to their enemies. For that confession suffices, which is made first to God, then to the priest also, who draweth near to pray for the sins of the penitents. For so at length may more be stirred up to penitence, if the sins confessed by the penitents be not published in the ears of the people." In the early ages public confession was only remitted in case of danger to the individual or scandal to the church: by this constitution of Leo secret confession to the priest was to take the place of open confession, and the priest's intercession of the intercession of the church. The door thus opened for escaping from the shame of public confession was never afterwards closed, and secret confession gradually became the rule of the church.

In the pontificate of Gregory the Great, a century and a half later, there is no evidence to be found of the existence of public confession: and even after private confession it was difficult to bring men to submit to public discipline (*Expos. in 1 Reg. t. iii. 15, p. 342*). "The sign of a true confession is not in the confession of the lips, but in the humiliation of penitence. . . . The confession of sin is required in order that the fruits of penitence may follow. . . . Saul, who confesses and is not willing to humble and afflict himself, is a type of those who make a sterile confession and bear no fruit of penance."

In the 7th century, the stern rule that solemn confession as a part of penitence was received only once, had become obsolete, but habitual confession had not yet taken its place. The first council of Châlons, A.D. 650 (*1 Cabil. c. 8*), declares that all agree that confession to the priest is a proof of penitence. The Penitential of Theodore (*l. xii. 7*) gives a rule which shows that auricular confession was not yet obligatory. "Confession if needful may be made to God only." [COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 317.] Bede (*tom. v. Exp. in S. Jac. v.*) reverting to the old practice draws a distinction between the confession of frailties and of heinous sins. "We ought to use this discretion, our daily light sins confess to one another, and hope that by our prayers they may be healed; but the pollution of the greater leprosy let us according to the law open to the priest, and in the manner and the time which he directs, purify ourselves." The second council of Châlons, A.D. 813 (*2 Conc. Cabil. c. 32*) complains that people coming to confess neglect to do so fully, and orders each one when he comes to examine himself and make confession of the eight capital sins which prevail in the world—which are then enumerated—and by implication, of no others. Theodolph's Capitulary (*c. 30*) draws a distinction between confession made to a priest and that to God only, and (*c. 31*) mentions the same eight principal sins as the council, and appoints that every one learning to confess should be examined on what occasions and in what manner he had been guilty of any of them, and consequently be subjected to no further examination. Chrodegund (*c. 32*) orders "confession to be made at each of the three fasts of the year, 'et qui plus fecerit melius fiet'; and monks to confess on each Sunday to their bishop or prior." But there is no other document showing that confession had yet become periodical. That secret confession

was not yet a matter of obligation is clear from the canon of the council of Châlons (*2 Conc. Cabil. c. 33*). "Some say they ought to confess their sins to God only, and some think they are to be confessed unto the priests, both of which not without great fruit are practised in the Holy Church. . . . the confession which is made to God purgeth sins, that made to the priests teacheth in what way those sins should be purged." And so it remained an open question for the next 300 years, for Gratian (*de Pœnit. Dist. i. 89*) summing up the opinions of different doctors on necessity of confession leaves it still undecided. "Upon what authorities or upon what strength of reasons both these opinions are grounded, I have briefly declared; which of them we should rather cleave to is left to the judgment of the reader; for both have for their favourers wise and religious men." And it was not determined till the famous decree of the Lateran council, A.D. 1215 (*4 Conc. Lateran. c. 21*) ordering all of each sex as soon as they arrived at years of discretion to confess at least once a year to their own priest.

iii. *In the Eastern Church.*—The duty of consulting a priest when the conscience is burdened is urged more strongly by the Greek than by the Latin fathers; there are consequently more distinct traces of secret confession in the Eastern than in the Western church. Origen has one passage speaking directly of confession, not to God only but to the ministers of the church; the purpose of the confession however is not to obtain absolution, but spiritual guidance; after having spoken of evil thoughts which should be revealed in order that they might be destroyed by Him who did for us, he continues (*Hom. 17 in Luc. fin.*), "if we do this and confess our sins not only to God, but to those also who can heal our wounds and sins, our sins will be blotted out by Him," &c. In another passage, which is even more explicit, he speaks of the care required in choosing a discreet and learned minister to whom to open the grief, and the skill and tenderness required in him to whom it is confided (*Hom. 2 in Ps. 37, t. 11, p. 688, ed. Bened.*).

Athanasius (*Vit. Ant. Evem. p. 75, ed. Augs.*) narrates an injunction of Anthony to his fellow-recluses, that they should write down their thoughts and actions and exhibit the record to one another, which probably was the beginning of habitual confession among monastic orders, where there are many grounds for supposing it prevailed long before it became the custom of the church. Basil lays it down even more definitely than Origen, that in cases of doubt and difficulty resort should be had to a priest; and in his time such a priest was specially appointed in each diocese, whose office it was to receive such private confessions and decide whether they should be afterwards openly acknowledged. [PENITENTIARY.] Thus in Basil, *Reg. brev. tract. (Q. 229)* the question is proposed, "Whether forbidden actions ought to be laid open to all, or to whom, and of what sort?" And the answer is, that as with bodily disease, "so also the discovery of sins ought to be made to those able to cure them." Again (*Q. 288*) Basil asks, "he who wishes to confess his sins ought he to confess them to all, or to any chance person, or to whom?" and re-

ples, "it is necessary to confess to these enrolled with the oracles of God." There would have been no necessity for regulations like these had not private confession been in frequent practice. In *Serm. Ascet.* (t. ii. p. 323, ed. Bened.) monks are directed, by a rule similar to that of Anthony, to tell to the common body any "thought of things forbidden, or unsuitable words, or remission in prayer, or lukewarmness in psalmody, or desire after ordinary life," that through the common prayers the evil may be cured. Like instructions are found in the *Reg. fus. tract.* (Q. 26) "On referring everything, even the secrets of the heart, to the superior."

Gregory Nyssen (*Ep. ad Letoium*, in Marshall, p. 100) in one place speaks of secret confession which is to be followed by penance: "he who of his own accord advances to the discovery of his sins, as by his voluntary accusation of himself he gives a specimen of the change that is in his mind towards that which is good, will deserve lighter correction," alluding to the well-established rule that voluntary confession was allowed to mitigate the subsequent penance: in another place he writes as if he commended the custom of confessing all transgression of positive law whether it involved penance or not, "if he who has transferred to himself the property of another by secret theft shall unfold his offence to the priest by secret confession, it will be sufficient to cure the guilt by a contrary disposition."

The abolition of the office of the Penitentiary made undoubtedly a great break in the practice of confession in the Eastern church. The account is given in Socrates (*H. E.* v. 19) and Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 16). [PENITENTIARY.] It is difficult to believe that the scandal which had arisen in connection with the Penitentiary had not some influence on the teaching of St. Chrysostom, who immediately afterwards succeeded to the see of Constantinople. He both recommended and enforced penitence, but any confession which had not immediate reference to discipline, he taught should be made to God alone. None of the fathers bear equally strong testimony against auricular confession (*Hom. 5 de incomp. Dei nat.* p. 490). "I do not bring you upon the stage before your fellow-servants, nor do I compel you to discover your sins in the presence of men, but to unfold your conscience to God, to show Him your ail and malady, and seek relief from Him." So (*Hom. 20 in Gen.* p. 175). "He who has done these things (grievous sins) if he would use the assistance of conscience for his need, and hasten to confess his sin, and show his sore to the physician who healeth and reproacheth not, and converse with Him alone, none knowing, and tell all exactly, he shall soon amend his folly. For confession of sins is the effacing of offences." For numerous other examples compare Daille (iii. 14, iv. 25), Hooker (vi. c. iv. 16), note on Tertull. *de Pœnit.* in Oxford Library of the Fathers, p. 401.

From the time of Chrysostom to the time of the Greek Penitentials there is no material evidence. Joannes Climacus (cited by Daille) has a rule which points to the existence of confession in the eastern monasteries of the 6th century: a similar notice from Theodorus Studites, in his life of Plato, shows that the practice had a greater hold on the monks of the 9th century.

It appears from the Penitentials that some form of absolution was given in the east immediately after confession, a practice of which there is no trace for many centuries later in the Latin church. Joannes Arjunator orders that immediately after the confession is over and the priest has said the seven prayers of absolution, i. e., absolution in the precatory form, he is to raise the penitent from the ground and kiss him, and exhort him thus—"behold by the mercy of God who would have all men to be saved, you have fled for refuge to penitence, and made a confession, and been freed from all your former wicked works, do not therefore corrupt yourself a second time, &c. &c.;" after this the penance is imposed. In the contemporary Penitential of Joannes Monachus the form of absolution directly after confession is still stronger. "May God who for our sake became man, and bore the sins of all the world, turn to your good all these things which you, my brother, have confessed to me, His unworthy minister, and free you from them all in this world, and receive you in the world to come, and bring all to be saved, who is blessed for ever." But this absolution did not entitle the penitent to Holy Communion, nor do away with the necessity of subsequent penance, which often continued for years after this, and at the end of it another and more formal and perfect absolution was granted. (*Moria. de Pœnit.* vi. 25.) On the practice of confession among the sects which broke away from the Orthodox church, see Daniel (*Codez Liturgicis*, iv. p. 590).

iv. *Confession before receiving Holy Communion* may have been an occasional practice, but the presumption is very strong against its having been a general one. Socrates (*H. E.* v. 19), in his account of the abolition of the office of the Penitentiary, states that Nectarius was advised to strike his name from the roll of ecclesiastical officers, and allow each one henceforward to communicate as his own conscience should direct; a notice which seems to imply that at that time, Nectarius, who was Chrysostom's predecessor at Constantinople, it had been the custom for the people to consult with the Penitentiary before presenting themselves to receive the eucharist. But the passage is an isolated one; it is supported by no other authority; and whatever value it may have, it is a two-edged testimony, for if it proves that the custom prevailed at that time, it also proves that after that time it ceased. On the other hand there is this class of indirect evidence, that no such preparation was generally enforced. Eusebius (*H. E.* vi. 43), relates that during the episcopate of Cornelius at Rome, 1050 widows and destitute people received alms from the church; the Roman church must therefore at that time have consisted of many thousands, to minister to whom were the bishop himself and forty-six presbyters; and when the frequency with which the faithful communicated even at the latter half of the 3rd century, is borne in mind, it would seem to be almost physically impossible that each one should make an individual confession before communicating. Similar evidence is furnished from the ancient liturgies, in which special directions are given to the deacon to warn to depart from the church the catechumens, penitents, and others who were not allowed to communicate, but no hint a

the Penitentials that some was given in the east in confession, a practice of which many centuries later in the names of Junator orders that the confession is over and the seven prayers of absolution. The precatory form, he is to come from the ground and kiss him, as—behold by the mercy of give all men to be saved, you go to penitence, and made a freed from all your former not therefore corrupt yourself &c.," after this the penitence contemporary Penitential of the form of absolution directly still stronger. "May God became man, and bore the sin turn to your good all these my brother, have confessed to minister, and free you from world, and receive you in the I bring all to be saved, who is But this absolution did not at to Holy Communion, nor do necessity of subsequent penitence, inued for years after this, and another and more formal and was granted. (Morin. de On the practice of confession which broke away from the see Daniel (*Codex Liturgicus*,

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given that those who had failed to confess were to be excluded. Stronger evidence is supplied by the absence of any mention of confession among the preparations required for a worthy reception of the sacrament. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. l. p. 318, Potter) seems to imply that some ministers judged who were or were not worthy [COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 414], though he himself thought the individual conscience the best guide. Chrysostom (*Hom. 27 in Gen.* p. 268, ed. Bened.) similarly leaves each one to judge of his fitness, "If we do this [reconcile ourselves with the brethren], we shall be able with a pure conscience to approach His holy and awful table, and to utter boldly those words joined to our prayers—the initiated know what I mean; wherefore I leave to everyone's conscience how, fulfilling that command, we may at that fearful moment utter these things with boldness." Augustine also tells his hearers that their own conscience, and that alone, must determine their fitness (*Serm. 46 de Verb. Dom.*), "considering your several degrees, and adhering to what you have professed, approach ye to the flesh of the Lord, approach ye to the blood of the Lord; whoso proveth himself not to be such, let him not approach." The second council of Châlons (2 *Conc. Cath.* c. 46), gives detailed directions on the manner and order of receiving, but no word about confession—an omission which bears so much the more strongly upon the question, because private confession had undoubtedly begun to take the place of penitential confession in the 9th century.

v. *At the hour of death.*—The evidence on this head, still more than on the preceding, is negative. If confession immediately before death had been customary, some notice of it would have found a place in the narratives of the last hours of the saints and fathers of the early church. But no such records appear. Cyprinus in three of his epistles (*Ep. 18-20*, Oxf. ed.), allows the confession of the lapsed to be received at their deathbed preparatory to imposition of hands; but this was only to meet the emergency of sudden illness overtaking penitents; it was no part of a systematic practice. Athanasius in his account of the death of Anthony (*in Vit. Ant. Eremit. fia.*), has no allusion to a previous confession. Equally silent is Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. 21*), on the death of Athanasius; and (*Orat. 19*), on the death of his own father, Gregory bishop of Nazianzum; and (*Orat. 20*), is the eulogy which he delivered at the tomb of Basil. Gregory Nyssen (*de Vit. Greg. Thaum.*) has no account of the deathbed confession of Gregory Thaumaturgus; nor has Ambrose (*de Off. Theod.*) of that of Theodosius. Augustine (*Confess. ix. 10, 11*), records the last hours of his mother, but he records no last confession; his own last hours which Possidius (*de Vit. Aug.* c. 31) has described, were spent in penitence, but the only confession made was to God. "He was wont to say to us that even proved Christians, whether clergy or laity, should not depart from life without a full and fitting penitence, and this he carried out in his last illness. For he had the penitential psalms copied out and arranged against the wall in sets of four, and read them as he lay in bed, all through his sickness, and freely and bitterly wept. And he begged that he might not be interrupted, and that we would not go into his room except when his physicians came, or he

needed food. And all that time we neither read nor spoke to him." Bede, narrating (*Ecc. Hist. iv. 3*), the death of bishop Ceulf, and (*ib. iv. 23*), the abess Hilda, and (*Cath. Hist. c. 39*) Cuthbert, states that each received the Holy Communion at the last, but not that it was preceded by confession. Similar is Eginhart's account (*Vit. Car. Mag.*), of the death of Charles the Great (see Duille iv. 3, where the evidence is drawn out in detail).

vi. *Time and Manner.*—The time of public confession was originally whenever the penitent felt moved to acknowledge his sin before the church; afterwards, in common with the whole course of discipline, the time was restricted to certain seasons [PENITENCE]. Private confession not being part of the recognized order of the church, had necessarily no time assigned to it. The capitulary of Theodulph (c. 36) indeed orders confessions to be made the week before Lent, but this is an exceptional instance. There is an example of a confession made in writing by Potamius, archbishop of Braga to the 10th council of Toledo, A.D. 656, charging himself with misdemeanours. The confession was entirely spontaneous, for the council having no suspicion of his guilt could not at first believe him; but on his reaffirming the fact, he was deposed and subjected to penitence for the remainder of his life; allowed, however, out of compassion to retain his title, his successor signing himself bishop and metropolitan. Robert, bishop of the Cenomani (Le Mans), also made a written confession, but the council to which it was made absolved him (*Morin. de Poenit. ii. 2*; v. 10).

It appears from the Greek Penitentials that confession was made sitting; the penitent kneeling only twice while making his confession, at the beginning, when the priest asked the Holy Spirit's aid to move the man to disburden his soul completely, and at the end, when a prayer was offered that he might obtain grace to perform his sentence conscientiously. The origin of this custom was the great length to which the form and process of confessing extended. The practice has since continued in the Greek church, for both priest and penitent to sit (*Martene de Rit. i. 3*; Daniel *Codex Liturg.* iv. p. 588). The Penitential of Joannes Jejunator gives the following instructions on the order and manner of confessing; "he who comes to confess ought to make three inclinations of the body as he approaches the sacred altar, and say three times 'I confess to thee O Father, Lord God of heaven and earth, whatever is in the secret places of my heart.' And after he has said this he should raise himself and stand erect; and he who receives his confession should question him with a cheerful countenance, which he who confesses should also if possible present, and kiss his hand, especially if he sees the penitent to be depressed by the severity of his sorrow and shame, and after that he should say to him in a cheerful and gentle voice " . . . and then follow 95 questions, and the priest orders the penitent, if not a woman, to uncover his head even though he wear a crown; he then prays with him; after that he raises him and bids him recover his head, and sits with him, and asks him what penance he can bear. The Penitential of Joannes Monachus directs that the priest should invite the penitent into a church or some other retired spot, with a cheer-

ful countenance, as though he were inviting him to some magnificent feast, and exhort him to make a confession of his sins to him: the priest should then recite with him the 69th Psalm, and the Trisagion, and bid him uncover his head, and neither should sit down before the priest has minutely investigated all that is in his heart. The penitent should afterwards prostrate himself on the earth and lie there, while the priest prays for him: the priest is then to raise him and kiss him, and lay his hand upon his neck and comfort him, after that they are to sit together. Aleuin, or the author of *De Divinis officiis*, orders the penitent coming to confess to bow humbly to the priest, who is then on his own behalf to say "Lord be merciful to me a sinner," and afterwards to order the penitent to sit opposite to him, and speak to him about his sins; the penitent is then to rehearse the articles of his faith, and afterwards kneel and raise his hands, and implore the priest to intercede with God for all the sins which have been omitted in the confession; he is then to prostrate himself on the ground, and the priest is to suffer him to lie there awhile, and afterwards raise him and impose a penance upon him; afterwards the penitent is again to prostrate himself, and ask the priest to pray that he may have grace given him to persevere in performing his penance; the priest then offers a prayer, which is followed by six others, which are found in all the Western Penitentials; the penitent then rises from the ground and the priest from his seat, and they enter the church together, and there conclude the penitential service. Compare Morinus (*de Poenit.* iv. 18-19).

Literature.—Morinus (*de Poenit.* lib. ii. et *passim*) which is however hampered by the Roman doctrine of obligatory confession, and contains far fewer details on this than on the other stages of discipline. What is to be said on the distinctively Roman side of the controversy will be found in Bellarmine (*de Poenit.* lib. iii.); and on the Protestant side in Ussher (*Answer to a Challenge*, s.v. Confession, Lond. 1625). The subject is more thoroughly treated from the same side in Daille (*de Atrio Confess.* Genèv. 1661), a very learned controversial work, and the source of most of the subsequent Protestant writings, which deal with confession. Also Bingham (*Antiq.* xviii. 3), Marshall (*Penitential Discipline*), and a long note on confession, founded on Daille, appended by the editor of the Oxf. Lib. of Fathers to Tertullian (*de Poenit.*) [G. M.]

EXONARTHEX (Ἐξωνάρθηξ). Monastic churches sometimes have (besides the ordinary NARTHEX at the west end) an outer narthex, where the monks may say those portions of their devotions which bear the character of penitence without being disturbed by the influx of the general congregation. Cedrenus says that the great church of St. Sophia at Constantinople had four narthexes, but other authorities attribute to it only two (Daniel, *Curia* lib. iv. 202). [C.]

EXORCISM (Ἐρκωσις, Ἐρκωσμός, Ἐρκωσμός, ἄρκωσις, ἄρκωσις, ἄρκωσις, ἄρκωσις) is the employment of adjuration, and especially the naming the name of Jesus Christ, with a view to expel an evil spirit. "Exorcismus est sermo inepationis contra immundum spiritum in enepurgamentis sive catechumenis factus, per quem

ab illis diaboli nequissima virtus et inveterata malitia vel excursio violenta fugetur" (Isidore, *De Div. Off.* li. 20).

1. To the early Christians the heathen world presented itself as under the dominion of evil spirits; everywhere they recognized the need of driving these spirits from their ancient seats, whether in the bodies and souls of men, in the brute creation, or in inanimate objects. They saw themselves surrounded by squadrons and gross bands of daemonia, supernatural beings who worked for evil under their several captains (Origen, *contra Celsum*, bk. vii. p. 378, Spencer; viii. p. 399); daemonia were the great officers of the evil world, and might well have faces and toga praetexta (Tertullian, *De Idolol.* 18); the gods of the nations were daemonia (ib. 20; Orig. c. *Cels.* p. 378, quoting Ps. xvi. 5); daemonia were by some devilish magic compelled to inhabit the statues in an idol's temple (Minucius Felix, *Oct.* c. 27; Tert. u. s. 7 and 15; Orig. c. *Cels.* vii. p. 374); the theatre was the very special dominion of evil spirits (Tertul. *de Spectac.* 26). Demons ruled the flight of birds, the lots, the oracles; they troubled men's minds, disturbed their rest, crept with their subtle influence into bodies and caused disease, distorted limbs; they compelled men to worship them, in order that, fed with the savour of the offerings, they might release those whom they had bound (Minucius, *Oct.* c. 27). And the members of this great supernatural army were driven from their seats by the mere word of a simple Christian naming over them the name of Christ (Acts xix. 13; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. c. 8; *1bid.* v. *Trypho*, c. 85; Tertul. *id. Scorpulac.* cc. 2 and 4, *Apol.* c. 23; Orig. c. *Cels.* iii. p. 133) with no parade of incantations or magic formulae, by mere prayers and adjurations (ὁρκωσις). Orig. c. *Cels.* vii. p. 334; and that not only from the bodies and souls of men, but from haunted places and from the lower animals; for these too fell under the tyranny of demons (*l. c.*). From such expressions as these it is evident that exorcism was practised from a very early period in the church.

In one form, indeed, exorcism was practised by the Lord Himself and His disciples, namely, in the casting out of evil spirits from those who were in a special sense "possessed" or "demoniac;" and such exorcism was continued for some generations in the church (DIXON: EXORCISM). But we are at present concerned with the more general form of exorcism, by which the inherent evil demon was to be expelled from some creature or substance at specially "possessed," but belonging to the "evil world."

2. It is not wonderful that when the minds of men were full of the conception of an all-prevailing army of evil spirits in the world around them, they should endeavour to free from this influence those whom they received from heathenism into the holy ground of the church. Hence, at a comparatively early period, we find candidates for baptism not only renouncing for themselves all allegiance to Satan and his powers, but having pronounced over them a formula of exorcism.

It is probable that in the first instance the use of exorcism was confined to the case of those

who in the applied a cone the psalm Thus C no one can be driven out of by which wider? Gall. c. whether spirit exorcism. Augustus who ad Cyri Catech. carnal. (ubi); exorcism prays (c. 13) the holy things began These catech come c. (Catech. the ca to be heard. *ἄρκωσις* footed There c. holy of horn of 3. E against the 2nd possess contain re(ar)" the sarmons i efficien uless this, ut tians in tongue not den oulue On the mystic that E pculia where compli (adjura instan From a exorcism were it forms c from a Catech. to an l such fo With in ancie

est velut cibus
universis angelis tuis
Proinde, clamate, do-
re: da honorem Jesu
al Sancto, in cuius no-
m[in]o titul ut exas et
quem hodie hominias
as ad suam sanctam
fontemque baptisatis
hat ejus tempum per
remissionem omniaum
Domini nostri Jesu
judicare vivos et mor-
on" (Daniel, u. s. 177).
[EARS, TOUCHING OF],
breast and between the

allatum, published by
by Mabillon (*Lit. Gall.*
lal part of the form of
"Aggredior te, immu-
as . . . Te, invocato Do-
nomine, . . . adjuram
adque virtutum, pas-
nem, adventum adque jui-
parte membrum
ssione manifestes, exagi-
flangis invicibilibusque
cupasse aestimas fugias
itationem tuam Domino



water and stretched out his
in the case of the females,
who gave sight to him that
rised Lazarus from his four

from the Roman ritual by
is a remarkable parallelism
Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 23) be-

lar in character to those
be seen in Daniel's *Coke*

of Exorcism.—Pacianus (*De*
s, pp. 136 ff., 143 ff.) describes
el found near Pisaura, which
el of later date than the 7th
he bas-reliefs on this vessel
ntly represents an exorcism
the person on the ground
it was an exorcism of one
f the vessel was a feet for
al water, it would seem more
resent upon it the ordinary
cism. It seems therefore
t it was intended for the

EXORCISTS

ATRIUM of a church, where it might be used to contain HOLY WATER.

5. Besides human beings, various inanimate objects were exorcised. Of these we may mention especially water (BAPTISM, §§ 30, 42; FONT, BENEDICTION OF; HOLY WATER), salt for use in sacred offices (SALT, BENEDICTION OF), and oil for various uses (CHURCH; OIL, HOLY).

(Martens, *De Ritibus Antiquis*; Probst, *Sacramente und Sacramentalien*, Tübingen, 1872; F. C. Baur, *Kirchen-geschichte der Drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, c. 6.) [C.]

EXORCISTS. Exorcists are only once mentioned in the New Testament (Acts xix, 13), and then without any reference to the power given to Christians to cast out devils. [See DIET, OF BIBLE.] In the early days of the church, it appears to have been considered that the power of exorcising evil spirits was a special gift of God to certain persons, who are therefore called exorcists. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii, c. 26), it is said that an exorcist is not ordained, because the power of exorcising is a free gift of the grace of God, through Christ, and that whoever has received this gift will be made manifest in the exercise of it. It is added that if expedient an exorcist may be ordained bishop, priest, or deacon. Exorcists are not named among those who received ecclesiastical stipends, nor are they mentioned in the *Apostolic Canons*, though probably their office is alluded to in the direction that a Gentile convert who has an evil spirit may not be received into the church till he has been purified (*καθαριστής*, *Can.* 70). Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* l. 2, c. 30, § 1, 8), thinks that exorcists were either priests or deacons. So Eusebius makes mention of one Romanus, as deacon and exorcist in the church of Caesarea in Palestine (*De Martyr. Palest.* c. 2).

Tertullian speaks as if all Christians were exorcists, driving away evil spirits by the exorcisms of their prayers. Thus (*De Idol.* c. 11), he forbids Christians to have anything to do with the sale of things used for the purposes of idolatry, asking with what consistency they could exorcise their own inmates, to whom they had offered their houses as a shrine (collarium); and in another place (*De Cor. Mil.* c. 11), uses as an argument against Christians entering the military service, that they might be called upon to guard the heathen temples, so as to defend those by night whom by their exorcisms they had put to flight during the day.

But it is evident that in later times they were reckoned among the minor orders of clergy. Cyprian (*Ep.* 69, *Mag. Fil.*), speaks of exorcists as casting out devils by man's word and God's power, and in his epistle to Firmilian (*Ep.* 75), says that one of the exorcists, inspired by the grace of God, cast out a certain evil spirit who had made pretensions to sanctity. Cornelius in his epistle (Euseb. *H. E.* i. c. 43) names forty-two exorcists among the clergy of the church of Rome. Epiphanius (*Expos.* *Fid.* c. 21), mentions them among the clergy, ranking them with the heremiteute, immediately after the deaconesses. Paulinus of Nola (*De S. Felic. Natal.* *crm.* 4), speaks of St. Felix as having been promoted from the order of lectors to the office of exorcist. The council of Laodicea (c. 24),

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mentions them among the minor clergy, placing them between the singers and the doo-keepers, and, in another canon (c. 26), forbids any to exorcise either in church or in private houses, who had not been appointed to the office by the bishops. The council of Antioch (c. 10), places them after the subdeacons, among the clergy who might be appointed by the chorepiscopi. The 4th council of Carthage (c. 7), provides an office for the ordination of an exorcist. He was to receive from the hands of the bishop a book, in which were written forms of exorcism, with the bidding, "Take and commit to meotery, and receive power to lay hands on enurgemens whether baptized or catechumens." The same council also provided that exorcists might lay hands on an enurgemen at any time (c. 90), and (c. 92) gave it into their charge to provide the enurgemens with their daily food while remaining in the church. [DEMONIAC.]

The names of four exorcists, designating themselves by no other titles, are found among the signatories of the first council of Arles (Routh's *Reliq. Sac.* iv, p. 312).

There seems little reason for connecting the exorcists with the form of exorcism that was used in the case of all catechumens. Their work, as expressly allotted to them by the 4th council of Carthage (c. 7), lay among all enurgemens, whether baptized or not. [P. O.]

EXPECTATION WEEK (*Hebdomada Expectationis*), the week preceding Whitsunday, because in that week the apostles *waded* for the Comforter from on high, which the Lord had promised at His Ascension. (Ducauge, s. v. *Hebdomada*.) [C.]

EXPEDITUS, martyr in Armenia with five others; commemorated April 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, *Hieron.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EXPOSING OF INFANTS [compare FOUNDLINGS]. The frequency of the exposition of infants among the ancient heathens is a fact to which both the mythology and the history of Greece and Rome bear frequent witness. Among the early Christian writers we find exposition, together with actual infanticide, constantly cast in the teeth of their Pagan opponents. "I see you," writes Minucius Felix, "now casting forth the sons whom ye have begotten to the wild beasts and to the fowls of the air" (*Octavius*, c. 30, § 2; 31, § 4). Lactantius (bk. vi. c. 20) inveighs against the false pity of those who expose infants. Justin, Tertullian, Augustine and others might be quoted to much the same effect.

A law of Alexander Severus, which has been retained in Justinian's Code (bk. viii. t. lii, l. 1; A. D. 225), allowed the recovering of an infant exposed against the will or without the knowledge of the owner or person entitled to the services of its mother, whether slave or *underservitus*, but only on condition of repaying the fair cost of its maintenance and training to a trade, unless theft could be established—an enactment obviously framed only to secure the rights of slave-owners, and not inspired by any consideration of humanity for the infants themselves. There is something of a higher spirit in a law of Diocletian and Maximian, A. D. 295 (Code, bk. v., t. iv., l. 16), enacting that where a female infant had been cast forth by her father and brought

up by another person, who sought to marry her to his own son, the father was bound to consent to the marriage, or in case of refusal (if we construe the text aright), to pay for his daughter's maintenance. Constantine (A.D. 331), by a law contained in the Theodosian Code (bk. v., t. vii., l. 1), but not reproduced by Justinian, enacted that whoever took up an infant cast forth from that house by the will of a father or master, and nourished it till it became strong, might retain it in whatever condition he pleased, either as a child or as a slave, without any fear of recovery by those who have voluntarily cast out their new-born slaves or children. The growth of Christian humanity is shown in a constitution of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian, adopted by Justinian (Code, bk. viii., t. iii., l. 2; *A.D.* 374), which absolutely forbade masters or patrons to recover infants exposed by themselves, if charitably saved by others, and laid down as a duty that every one must nourish his own offspring. A constitution of Honorius and Theodosius, in the Theodosian Code (A.D. 412), repeated the prohibition, observing that "none can call one his own whom he contemned while perishing," but required a bishop's signature by way of attestation of the facts (bk. v., t. vii., l. 2).

The law last referred to may seem in some degree to explain a canon of the council or synod of Naison, A.D. 442. There is a universal complaint, it says, on the subject of the exposition of infants, who are cast forth not to the mercy of others, but to the dogs, whilst the fear of lawsuits deters others from saving them. This therefore is to be observed, that according to the statutes of the princes the church be taken to witness; from the altar on the Lord's day the minister is to announce that the church knows an exposed infant to have been taken up, in order that within ten days any person may acknowledge and receive it back; and any who after the ten days may bring any claim or accusation is to be dealt with by the church as a manslaughter (cc. 9, 10). A canon almost to the same effect, but in clearer language, was enacted by the slightly later 2nd council of Arles, A.D. 452, indicating that which serves to explain both the law of Honorius and the two canons just referred to, viz. that it was the practice to expose infants "before the church" (c. 51). The council of Agde, in 506, simply confirmed former enactments.

In the East, the full claims of Christian humanity were at last admitted by Justinian, as towards foundlings themselves, though without sufficient consideration for parental duties. He not only absolutely forbade the re-vindication of exposed infants under any circumstances, but also the treating of them, by those who have taken charge of them, either as slaves, freedmen, *coloni* or *ascriptitii*, declaring such children to be absolutely free (Code, bk. viii., t. lii., l. 3; *A.D.* 529; see also bk. i., t. iv., l. 24; *A.D.* 530). This applied to infants cast away either in churches, streets or any other place, even though a plaintiff should give some evidence of a right of ownership over them (bk. viii., t. lii., l. 4). The 153rd Novel, however, shows that it was still the practice in certain districts (Thessalonica is specified) to expose new-born infants in the churches, and after they had been brought up to reclaim them as slaves;

and it again expressly re-nacts the freedom of exposed infants.

The Wisigothic law contains some rather remarkable provisions as to the exposition of infants (bk. iv., t. iv., cc. 1, 2). Where a person has out of compassion taken up a foundling of either sex, wherever exposed, and when it is nourished up the parents acknowledge it, if it be the child of a free person, let them either give back a slave in its place or pay the price of one; otherwise, let the foundling be reclaimed by the judge of the territory from the ownership of the parents, and let these be subject to perpetual exile. If they have not wherewithal to pay, let him serve for the infant who cast it forth, and let the latter remain in freedom, whom the pity of strangers has preserved. If indeed slaves of either sex have cast forth an infant in fraud of its masters, when he has been nourished up, let the nourisher receive one-third of its value, the master swearing to or proving his ignorance of the exposing. But if he know of it, let the foundling remain in the power of him who nourished it.

In a collection of Irish canons, ascribed to the end of the 7th century, is one "on infants cast forth in the church," which enacts, in very uncorrect and obscure Latin, that such an infant shall be a slave to the church unless sent away; and that seven years' penance is to be borne by those who cast infants forth (bk. xii., c. 22).

A capitulary of uncertain date (supposed about 744) enacts, in accordance with the canon of the synod of Naison before referred to, that if an infant exposed before the church has been taken up by the compassion of any one, such person shall advise—probably on the church-door—a letter of notice (contestationis pont. . . epistolam). If the infant be not acknowledged within ten days, let the person who has taken it up securely retain it (c. 1).

The "Lex Romana," supposed to represent the law of the Roman population of Italy in Lombard times, contains a less liberal provision on this subject, founded on the earlier imperial law. If a new-born infant has been cast out by its parents either in the church or in the precincts (platea), and any one with the knowledge of the father or mother and of the master has taken it up and nourished it by his labour, it shall remain in his power who took it up. And if a person knew not its father or mother or master, and wished nevertheless to take it up, let him present the infant before the bishop (pontificem) or the clerics who serve that church, and receive from the hand of that bishop and those clerics an *epi-tolu collectio*, and thenceforth, let him have power either to give such infant liberty, or to retain it in perpetual slavery (bk. v., l. vii.). [J. M. L.]

EXPULSION FROM A MONASTERY.

So soon as there began to be any sort of discipline among the ascetics who dwelt together in a community, expulsion inevitably became a necessary part of it. In the so-called "Rule of Pachomius," expulsion (or a flogging) was the penalty for insubordination, licentiousness, quarrelling, covetousness, gluttony (cf. *Cass. Inst.* iv. 16). Menard, however, thinks that this was only expulsion for a stated time (Bened. Anab. *Concord. Regg.* xxxi. 5). By the *Regula Orientalis*

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(c. 35) obstinate offenders are to be expelled, Benedict, with characteristic prudence, prescribed expulsion for contumacy (*Reg.* c. 71), on the principle that the gangrened limb must be lopped off, lest the rest of the body should be infected with the poison (*ib.* c. 28), while with characteristic gentleness he allowed such offenders to be re-admitted, if penitent, so often as thrice, on condition of their taking the lowest place among the brethren (*ib.* c. 29). Some commentators, however, take this permission as not extending to the case of a monk expelled for such vices as could hardly fail to corrupt the community (*Mart. Reg. Comm.* loc. cit.). The Benedictine reformers generally made expulsion more common and readmission more difficult. Fructuosus orders all incorrigible offenders to be expelled (*Reg.* cc. 8, 16); and the *Regula Cujusdam*, still more severe, enacts expulsion for lying, fornication, persistent murmuring, and even abusive language (cc. 6, 8, 16, 18). At a later period, under the stern discipline of Citeaux, a monk was to be unhooked and expelled, even for theft above a certain value (*Mart. Reg. Comm.* c. 33). Obviously the frequency or infrequency of such a penalty as expulsion depended on the monastery being regarded rather as a reformatory or as a place of ideal perfection. [I. G. S.]

EXSECRATIO. [ANATHEMA: DESECRATION.]

EXSUPERANTIUS, deacon and martyr at Spoleto, with Sabinus the bishop, and others, under Maximian; commemorated Dec. 30 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

EXSUPERIA, martyr at Rome with Simpronius and others; commemorated July 26 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EXSUPERIUS. (1) One of the Theban legion, martyr at Selunium in Belgic Gaul (the Valais), under Maximian; commemorated Sept. 22 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Bishop and confessor at Toulouse; commemorated Sept. 28 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Martyr at Vienna with Severus and Felicianus; commemorated Nov. 19 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

EXTREME UNCTION. [SICK, VISITATION OF THE: UNCTION.]

EX VOTO. [VOTIVE OFFERINGS.]

EYES, TOUCHING OF. 1. The first council of Constantinople (A.D. 381) laid it down (c. 7) that Arians and certain other heretics were to be received into the church, without repentance, on renouncing their heresy and being crossed or anointed with holy unguent (*μύρον*) on the forehead, eyes, &c. So in the form of baptism given by Daniel (*Codex Lit.* iv. 507) from the Greek *Euchologion*, the priest after baptism anoints the neophyte with holy unguent, mak g the sign of the cross on forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands, and feet, saying, "the seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen." Compare Martene, *De Rit. Ant.* l. i. 17, Ord. 24, 25.

2. In extreme unction, the eyes are anointed with holy oil. Thus, in the Ratold MS. of the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (p. 549, ed. Menard), the priest is directed to anoint the eyes, with the words: "Ungo oculos tuos de oleo sanctificato,

ut quicquid illicito visu deliquisti per hujus olei unctionem expietur."

3. It seems to have been the custom to touch the eyes, as well as the other organs of sense, with the moisture remaining on the lips after communicating (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. Myst.* v. 22; see COMMUNION, Holy, p. 413; EARS, TOUCHING OF). [C.]

EZEKIEL, the prophet; commemorated April 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bede, Adonis, Usuardi); Miziah 5 = March 31, and Hamle 27 = July 21 (*Cod. Ethiop.*); Sept. 3 (*Cod. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

EZRA, the prophet; commemorated Jakatit 10 = Feb. 4, and Hamle 6 = June 30 (*Cal. Ethiop.*, July 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*)). [W. F. G.]

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FABARIUS. The Cantores anciently fasted the day before they were to sing divine offices, and ate beans, as being supposed to benefit the voice (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xx. 6); whence they were called by the heathen *Fabarii* (Isidore, *De Div. Off.* ii. 12). [C.]

FABIANUS, the pope, martyr at Rome in the time of Decius; commemorated Jan. 20 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bede, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FABIUS, martyr at Caesarea; "Passio" July 31 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FABRICA ECCLESIAE. [CHURCHES, MAINTENANCE OF, p. 388.]

FACE, BRANDING IN THE. It was enacted under Constantine (*Code*, lib. ix. tit. 47, l. 17), that branding should not be in the face, as disfiguring the heavenly beauty [CORPORAL PUNISHMENTS, p. 470]. [C.]

FACITERGIUM (also *facitergium*, *facitergium*, *facitergiula*; *facialis*, *faciale*). This, as its name indicates, is a handkerchief for wiping the face ("facitergium et manitergium, a tergenlo fricium vel manus vocatur." Isidore, *Etyrn.* xix. 26). Mention of this is occasionally found in various monastic rules. It is appointed as part of the furniture of a monk's couch in the Rule of St. Isidore (c. 14; p. 127, part 2, in Holstenius, *Codex Regularum*: ed. Paris, 1663). See also Magistri *Regula*, cc. 17, 19, 81 (*op. cit.* pp. 214, 216, 257). The last passage ordains that there shall be dealt out "singula facitergia per decandam." Gregory of Tours (*Vitae Fratrum*, viii. 8; p. 1191, ed. Ruinart) speaks of the value set upon the "facitergium dependentibus villis intextum, quod Sanctus [i.e. Nicetius Lugdunensis] super caput in die obtus sui habuit." The *facitergi* used by nuns were at times embroidered (Caesarii *Regula ad Virgines*, c. 42; Holstenius, part 3, p. 22). Again, Venantius Fortunatus, in his life of St. Radegundis of France, describes her on one occasion as "circa altare cum facistergio jacentem pulverem colligens" (c. 2; *Patrol.* lxxii. 653). One more example may suffice, where the word, perhaps, appears in the transitional state of its meaning: "donata etiam particula, sancti orarii, 11 est

facialis" (*Hypomnesticon de Anastasio Apocrisiario, etc.*, in *Anast. Biblioth. Collectanea; Patrol.*, cxxix. 685). For further examples, see Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. vv. [R. S.]

FAITH [SOPHIA.]

The present article is intended to give an account of the principal names applied to Christians in early times, whether by themselves or by others.

The names most common among Christians in the apostolic and sub-apostolic ages seem to have been Saints (*ἅγιοι*), Elect (*ἐκλεκτοί*), Brethren (*ἀδελφοί*), and Faithful (*πίστοι*), often followed by the words, *ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*.

The words *πίστοι* and *Fidelis* were also used in a special sense to distinguish the baptized Christian from the catechumen. Thus Augustine (*Tract. in Joan.*, 44, c. 9) says that if a man tells us that he is a Christian, we have to ask further, whether he is catechumen or "fidelis." Hence such an inscription as *CHRISTIANA FIDELIS* (Le Blanc, *Inscript. de la Gaule*, i. 373) is not a mere pleonasm. So the council of Elvira (*C. Ell.*, c. 67) seems to distinguish between "fidelis" and "catechumena." In the liturgies, the portion of the office at which catechumens were not allowed to be present was called *Missi Fidelium*, and the Lord's Prayer *Fidelium Oratio*. See Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. v. *Πίστις*. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.*, i. 1) repudiates the charge that Christians were called *πίστοι* from their credulity.

Fidelis is a frequent epithet in inscriptions, particularly in the case of young children, who might otherwise be supposed to have died unbaptized. Thus an inscription given by Marangoni (*Acta S. Utorini*, 103) runs thus: *IN REQVIESCIT IN PACE FILIPPVS IN IAS FIDELIS*. Similar inscriptions are given in the case of a child who died at the age of a year and nine months (*ib.*, p. 109), and of another who died at the age of five years and five months (*ib.*, p. 96). Another may be seen in Cavelloni (*Ant. Civit. di Chiusi*, p. 33). On a marble at Florence (*Gori, Inscr. Ant. Etrur.*, iii. 314) it is said of a child of three years and three months, *ΠΙCΤΗ ΕΤΕΑΕΥΤΗCΕΝ*. In one case given by Marini (*Frat. Arval.*, p. 171), the inscription describes an ancestress (major) begging baptism for a child at the point of death: *PETIVIT AB ECCLÉSIA UT FIDELIS DE SECVLO RECEPISSET* (i. e. recederet). In another case (Osterio, *Inscr. Vct.*, p. 267), one of two brothers, who died at eight years old, is described as *NEOPITVS*, while the brother, who died at seven, is described as *FIDELIS*. And again a guardian described as *FIDELIS*, erects a monument to a nursing who was yet among the "audientes" or catechumens: *LYMNÆAE AVDIENTI* (Gori, *u. s.*, i. 228).

Such inscriptions as *VIXIT IN PACE FIDELIS*, or *REQVIESCIT FIDELIS IN PACE*, are too common to need particularizing (Martigny, *Dikt. des Antiq. Chret.*, s. v. *Fidelis*).

Other names given to Christians were perhaps either (1) Designations of some peculiarity of their practice or profession, rather than recognized titles; more epithets than names; or (2) names given them by the outside world, either in derision or by mistake.

1. Under the first head may be classed (a) *Ἰεσσαίς*, Jesseneans, a name which Epiphanius (*Haer.*, 20, n. 4) says may be derived from Jesus, or (as

seems far-fetched and improbable) from Jesse, the father of David. Epiphanius (*u. s.*) considers this name earlier than that of "Christian."

Another such name was (b) *ἡρωστικοί*, applied to Christians by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, i. p. 294; ii. p. 384; vi. p. 665; vii. p. 748) as having the true knowledge. Later we find Athanasius (sp. Socrat. *Haer. Eccl.*, iv. 23) using the term of the *Ascetics* of Egypt, and Socrates (*ibid.*) tells us that Evagrius Ponticus wrote a book for the use of these *Ascetics*, called "The Gnostic, or Rules for the Contemplative Life."

(c) *Θεοφόροι*, a name claimed by Iguatius in his interview with Trajan (*Acta Igu.*, t. ap. Grabe, *Spiral.*, t. ii. p. 10), because he "carried Christ in his heart," and seemingly conceded especially to him, was commonly used of all Christians, as Pearson (*Vind. Iguat.*, par. ii. c. 12, p. 397) shows by quotations from many writers of the 2nd century.

Clement of Alexandria, agreeing about the meaning of the name, gives the varieties of it, *Θεοφόρων* and *Θεοφορούμενος*, and Eusebius (*viii.*, 10) quotes a letter of Phileas, bishop of Thumis, to his flock, in which he calls the martyrs *Χριστοφόροι*.

(d) St. Ambrose (*de obit. Valentin.*, t. iii. p. 12) speaks of Christians as *Christi*, i. e. "anointed," and justifies his use of the title by reference to Ps. cv. 15, "nolite tangere Christes meos," all Christians receiving the unction of the Holy Spirit, and Jerome commenting on the passage (*Ps.*, civ. [cv.]), justifies it by the same reference.

(e) The name *Ecclesiastici* was used within the Christian body (Bingham, i. 1, § 8) to distinguish the clergy from the laity, and with a modification of this meaning of the word Eusebius (*iv.*, 7) speaks of "ecclesiastical writers;" and it was also used of Christians generally in contrast to those who did not belong to the *ἐκκλησία*, as Jews, infidels, and heretics. Bingham quotes Eusebius (*iv.*, 7, v. 27), and Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.*, 15, n. 4), as employing the word in this sense, and Valesius (not in Euseb. i. ii. c. 25) finds the same use of it in "Origen, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others" [ECCLESIASTICS].

(f) Bingham asserts that Christians were called of *τοῦ δόγματος*, "They of the Faith," giving as his authority for this statement the rescript of Aurelian against Paul of Samosata, rescript by Eusebius (*vii.*, 30), in which the bishops of Rome and of Italy are called *ἑπισκοποι τοῦ δόγματος*.

(g) Christians also called themselves *CATHOLIC* [see the words]; and (h) *Pisciculti*, alluding to the mystic Fish [BAPTISM, p. 171; FISH].

It is to be observed, says Bingham (i. 1, § 6) that all these names express some relation to God or to Christ, and that none of them were taken from the names of men, as was the case with the heresies and sects. He quotes Chrysostom (*Hom.*, 33 in *Act.*), Epiphanius (*Haer.*, 42 Marcionit., also *Haer.*, 10.), Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.*, 31, p. 506) and others as noticing these opposite tendencies. The name of Christian was neglected by the heretics for the names of their leaders, while the Christians thought it enough without any other title derived from parents, country, city, quality, or occupation; see the case of the deacon Simeon martyred in the reign of Antoninus, related by Eusebius (*v.*, 1).

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II. Among the names given to Christians from without their body are probably to be reckoned

(1) *Χρόστου*, a name which would easily arise from a misunderstanding or mispronunciation of the name *Χριστού*, and was naturally not refused by Christians; referred to by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 4), Lactantius (*Inst.* iv. 7), Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 3), and others.

(2) It was quite to be expected that they would be called *Jews* by the heathen world, and there is evidence of this. Bingham (i. l. § 10) refers to a passage in Dio's *Life of Domitian*, in which he speaks of the Christian martyr Ocilius Glabrio (Baronius, an. 91, § 1), being put to death for turning to the *Jews'* religion.

Again, Suetonius says (*Caes.* c. 26) that Claudius "expelled the *Jews* from Rome because they made disturbances at the instigation of Christus;" and Spartianus (in *Caes.* c. i.) says that Caracalla's play-fellow was a Jew, Caracalla, according to Tertullian (*ad Scapul.* c. 4), having been "facte Christiano educatus."

(3) There remains to be considered the word *Christian*, a name which differs from those already spoken of in being traceable to a particular locality, and with great probability to a particular year. The reason why the name arose when and where it did, is probably to be found in the long stay—"a whole year"—(*Acts* xi. 25) made in Antioch by Paul and Barnabas after their return from Tarsus, in the assembly of the church there for the same time, and in the publicity given to the teaching of Christ by frequent addresses to the people.

The question whether the Christians assumed the name themselves or received it from the Jews, or from the Gentiles, can only be determined with an approach to certainty.

(a) The only reason for thinking that the Christians assumed this name is the language of *Acts* xi. 26, *ἠραστάρι τε πρώτον ἐν Ἀντιοχίᾳ τοῖς μαθηταῖς Χριστιανούς*, because *χρηστίζω*, when used of acquiring a name generally means to assume one; but on the other hand, both in the *Acts* and in the *Epistles*, Christians speak of themselves as "brethren," "believers," "disciples," "saints," and only in three places in the N.T. is the word *Christian* used (*Acts* xi. 26, xxvi. 28; 1 Peter iv. 16), in only one of which, and there doubtfully, is the word used by Christians of themselves.

(b) Nor is it likely that the Jews would give them a name which would virtually concede the claim made by Christians, and so strenuously denied by Jews. For "Christ" being the Greek equivalent of "Messiah," to call the followers of Christ "Christians" would be to acknowledge Christ as the Messiah; nor would they have used so sacred a name in derision even for the sake of insulting a despised and hated sect. When they wanted to designate them, they used a name derived from a place they held in contempt (*John* i. 46, vii. 41; *Luke* xiii. 2), and called St. Paul "a ringleader of the sect of the 'Nazarenes'" (*Acts* xxiv. 5).

(c) But it is not unlikely that the Gentiles, seeing the wide aim of this new community, its readiness to admit all sorts of people, and even to dispense with the rite of circumcision in its converts, should have early come to distinguish it from the sects of the Jews, with which they very naturally at first confounded it, and so

CHRIST. ANT.

should have attached to it a new name. And this probability is increased when we remember that "Christ" was the title of the head of the new sect, represented his peculiar office to them, and was the name by which he was generally known in their letters and conversation.

It would be adopted, of course, by the Gentiles from them, as we know it was (*Tacit.* *Ann.* xv. 44), and in a city like Antioch, "notorious for inventing names of derision, and for turning its wit into channels of ridicule" (*cf.* Procopius, *Hell. Pers.* ii. 8, quoted by Conybeare and Howson, vol. i. p. 130), the new society would soon get its name. The form of the word indicates its Roman origin (*cf.* Salliani, Pompeiani, and later Othoniani and Vitelliani), and that it was first used as a term of reproach may be gathered from the use made of it by Tacitus in the passage referred to above, "quos per flagitia invidios vulgus Christianos appellabat." The great increase in the number of Gentile converts would soon turn what was at first a nickname into a title of honour, and the pre-eminence of Rome in the world naturally made the Roman name what it has become, the universal one. It is interesting to contrast with "Christian" the name "Jesuit," as unlike the other in its comparatively modern date and Greek form as in its history and significance.

See Conybeare and Howson (vol. i. p. 129 ff.), from whom this note on the word *Christian* is derived.

[E. C. II.] III. The following names were appellations of scorn, or "nick-names," given to Christians by their enemies.

1. That they should be called *Atheists* was inevitable in an empire in which the vulgar at least knew of no gods that could not be represented by art and man's device. And Atheism was in fact a common charge against them. See Athenagoras (*Leg. pro Christ.* c. 3) and Justin Martyr (*Apol.* l. c. 6). "Down with the Atheists" (*αἶψα τοῖς ἀθεοῦς*) was a mob-cry against the Christians (Euseb. *II. E.* iv. 15, § 6).

2. From the time that Christians were first recognised as a sect, they were contemptuously called *Nazarenes* (*Acts* xxiv. 5; Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 29, c. 1; Jerome on *Isaiah XLII.*; Prudentius, *Peristeph.* ii. 25). This no doubt at first designated the supposed origin of the Lord and the disciples from Nazareth; but the variety of ways in which the word is written (*Ναζαρηνοί, Ναζαρηνοί, Ναζαρηνοί, Ναζαρηνοί, Ναζαρηνοί*) seems to show that in later times various senses were attached to it. It was also, perhaps, sometimes used to designate a sect of Judaizing Christians, rather than the whole body of the church.

3. The name *Gallilei* was one which the philosophic emperor Julian (*Epist.* 7) endeavoured to fix upon the Christians (see Gregory Nazianz., *Orat.* iii. p. 81; Socrates, *II. E.* iii. 12), meaning, no doubt, to express the contempt of a cultivated man for a sect which arose in a despised district of Palestine, among shepherds and fishermen. His last words were, according to Theodoret (*II. E.* ii. 21), *νερίκηρας, Γαλιλαίε*, "Thou hast conquered, O Gallilean!" Cyril of Alexandria (*v. Julian.* iii. p. 39) sets himself to show that the name "Gallilean," if it implied roughness and want of culture, was no more applicable to Christians than to Julian

pulpit. *Fidistorum*, my portable seat, he used to use to a low archbishop or mitred or his enthronisation, and, offered himself to his full official attire, it was also placed at the side of the bishop, when which he had no jurisdiction was present (see *Caecilius*, s. v.; Augustin, ii. 556). [E. V.]

[PERJURY.]

ence of the Christian and habits of family life, even from the first; at making any abrupt or in those things which

ctrines which so power-hopes, and whole innerly receive them, led at on of idolatry in all its uses and licentiousnesses little thought of; and in of thought and action, less powerfully in every diary usages of domestic directly connected with obliquities of the old recently left untouched by ce or command. Christ the salt of the earth by being the surrounding mass and not by shrinking from

female sex was one of the indirect results which reception of the new religion among the Jews, which Jesus had received them ends, must have taught the at any such teaching which entitled to hold in the social church. And accordingly, proclaimed, women were into the Christian community equally with men to all

Hence in a Christian mother held an honourable equal union, the source of all ships, being thus honoured, by influence through at the

ly less important than the liberation, and, in the course of slavery, Apostolic endeavour to remove this private evil by any direct which, if successful, would the existing framework of the have proved as ruinous to the have seemed to be unjust to distinctly taught the equality of Christian privilege and religious most emphatically the duty it taught the master that him who was no respecter of slave that he was Christ's thus slavery in a Christian

family was relieved from some of its most galling burdens. This happy change, however, it must be remembered, depended entirely upon the personal feeling and will of the master; for slavery was not legally and publicly alleviated to any great extent, until the time of Justinian, who did much to promote its extinction, after which it was gradually discontinued or changed to serfdom (Nilman, *Hist. Christ.* iii. 343, and *Latin Christ.* i. 391; and SLAVERY in this work). In the mean time Christians in general did not think it wrong to have bondmen in their service (Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* iii. 12).

But besides particular results of this nature, Christianity to some extent changed the general habits of men, and tended to make them more domestic and less public in their feelings and pursuits. More especially, while Christians were small communities separate and distinct from the general mass of the population, they felt it necessary to withdraw themselves in some degree from public affairs; they were less frequent in their attendance on courts of law; they could not, without scruples and repugnance, be present at many of the ordinary amusements and popular festivities, mixed up as they were with the idolatry and some of the worst moral abominations of paganism. Thus they were thrown back more upon the society of each other, and upon their own family life. And although afterwards, when the new religion became dominant, and was at length the religion of the people, the objections to public life greatly disappeared, the family life with its attractions and its virtues continued to maintain a wholesome influence, which has indeed never since been lost. (See Nilman, *Hist. Christ.* iii. 134.)

But to look more closely at the family life of Christianity, it must be observed that the abnegation of idolatry caused a displacement of the household and hearth gods—the *Penates* and *Lares* of the Romans,—together with all family rites which savoured of idol worship, and a substitution of Christian observances in their stead. And as it seems to have been the custom of religious Romans to offer their prayers the first thing in the morning, in the *Lavarium*, or household shrine (Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.* 29. 31); so family prayer, in which the different members of a Christian household joined, appears to have had its place from the beginning of the new religion. Such united prayer seems to be alluded to in the remark, "that your prayers be not hindered" (1 Pet. iii. 7). And Clement of Alexandria, at the end of the second century, testifies to the same thing when, commenting on the words, "where two or three are gathered together in my name," he says that the three were a husband, a wife, and a child (*ἄνδρα, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ τέκνον τοῦς τοῖς λέγει, Stromat.* iii. 10). And the same author speaks expressly of "prayer and reading of the Scriptures (*εὐχὴ καὶ ἀνάγνωσις*) in Christian families (*Pædag.* ii. 184).

It is evident from the words of Tertullian (*ad Uxor.* ii. 4) and subsequently of Cyprrian (*De Lapsis*, c. 26) that Christians were in the habit of taking home portions of the eucharistic bread, and eating a small piece of it every morning, as an act of devotion [EULOGIAE, p. 629].

The practice also of making the sign of the cross upon the forehead, to which at a later

period so much efficacy was superstitiously ascribed, had become before the beginning of the third century a perpetually repeated ceremony in Christian families, being used "on getting up and going to bed, on putting on their clothes or their shoes, on walking out or sitting down, at table or at the bath;" in short in every act or movement of the day (see Tertullian *de Cor. Mil.* § 3). This little symbolical action may in the early times have been a useful memento to Christians in the midst of so many things of a contrary tendency, however much, like some other practices once innocent and salutary, it was subsequently used in the service of formalism and error. And the same desire of being constantly reminded of their Christian position led them to adorn their gobbets with the figure of a shepherd carrying a lamb, and their seal-rings with a dove, an anchor, and other similar devices. (Neander, *Hist. Christ.* p. 393.)

Besides these there were other domestic observances which from time to time interested the piety as well as the natural affections of Christian households, especially those which were connected with the baptism of children, marriages, and funerals, more particularly noticed in separate articles [BAPTISM, CHILDREN, MARRIAGE, BURIAL]. Christians cherished the memory of departed relatives as those with whom they trusted to be reunited in rest and glory, and not unfrequently held family banquets over their remains in a room provided for that purpose [CELLA MEMORIAE].

But besides those festivals which were exclusively Christian, there were some celebrations of an older date, in which, as they were not mixed up with any idolatrous rites, Christian families might unite with their pagan neighbours, and which they might retain for their own use. Even Tertullian, who was so strict in forbidding all semblance of participation in idol worship, saw no objection to Christians joining in the domestic ceremony of "putting on the toga virilis," which corresponded with our "coming of age," or to their being present at weddings, or the "naming of children" (*Nominatio* or *Dies Iusticiæ*; Tertul. *de Idolol.* 16).

As the facility of divorce was a primary principle of corruption in Roman social and family life; so Christianity, having invested marriage with a religious sanctity, and not allowing divorcement under any circumstances, except those mentioned by Christ himself, drew more closely together not only the husband and wife, but all other members of the family.

The relationship between parents and children was greatly influenced for good. The barbarous practice of infanticide, which prevailed among the Greeks and Romans, was immediately discontinued. Under the old Roman law parents might at any time put their children to death, or sell them as slaves; but this severity was at once voluntarily softened in Christian families; and the power was afterwards taken away by Christian emperors; who further directed that in cases of great poverty, when parents might be tempted to sell their children, relief might be given them out of the public revenues, thus affording an example of an incipient poor-law (*Cod. Theod.* vi. 27, in Bingham, xvi. ix. 1).

Parental authority, however, and family ties were strongly upheld. Children were not al-

towed to marry without the consent of their parents (Tertul., *ad Uxor.* ii. 9), and, under the Christian emperors, in the case of daughters thus marrying, the most dreadful punishments were ordered to be inflicted on all who were consenting parties to the marriage (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 24).

The education of their children assumed a new interest with Christian parents, but at the same time caused them new anxieties and cares; since in "bringing them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," it was needful, more especially in the earlier times, to guard them from the evil influences in the midst of which they lived,—from the contagion of idolatry all around them,—from the contagion of companions on every side. Further difficulties too presented themselves in connection with the future occupation of their children, inasmuch as many employments open to others were closed against them. For a Christian had to avoid all the numerous trades and arts which were connected with idols and idol-worship, together with some offices of civil and military life.

While children were young their superintendance and education engaged especially the mother's care and vigilance; but besides this and other strictly domestic duties, it was usual for Christian women to devote a portion of their time to doing good beyond their own homes; and Tertullian shows that in his days it was expected, as a matter of course, that they would attend on the sick, go round to the houses of the poor, relieve the needy, and visit imprisoned martyrs (Tertul., *ad Uxor.* ii. 4).

One source of uneasiness was, it must be confessed, introduced into the household in Christian times, which had not existed previously. After the institution of monastic orders, a husband, a wife, or a child might desire to adopt the "religious" life, even without the consent of those who had a claim upon their services and society. Where the persons interested consented, as in the cases of Ammon and his wife (Socrates, *II. E.* iv. 23; Palladius, *Hist. Lausiaca.* c. 8), and of Martinus and Maxima (Victor Utiensis [or Vitenis], *De Persec. Vand.* i. 5), no harm was done; but in many cases monastic fanaticism disturbed the peace of households and sundered their members. It is evident from the references to the matter (for instance) by Paulinus (*Epist.* 14, *ad Celant.*) and Augustine (*Epist.* 45 [al. 127], *Armentario et Pauline*; *Epist.* 199 [al. 262], *ad Exlicium*), that in the 4th century the question of the relative claims of domestic duty and ascetic life was felt to be a pressing one. Basil the Great in the Larger Rule (Qu. 12) directs that a married person offering to enter a monastery should be questioned as to the consent of the other party; yet he thinks that the precept about hating father, mother, wife, or children to be Christ's disciple (Luke xiv. 26) applies to this case; and in another place (*Epist.* 45, *ad Monachum Lapsam*) he certainly mentions a man's declining domestic cares and the society of his yoke-fellow, for an ascetic life, without the smallest censure. Jerome (*Epist.* 14, *ad Heliod.*) expresses similar views. The feeling of the church on this subject was distinctly pronounced in the 6th century, for the legislation of Justinian (*Codez.* lib. i. tit. 3, *De Episc. et Cler.* leg. 53) allowed married persons to desert their yoke-fellows for "religion" with impunity,

and to reclaim their own fortunes. So in the case of children. The council of Gangra in the 4th century (c. 16) anathematized children—especially children of Christians—who should withdraw from their parents on pretence of religion (*Georelias*) and refuse them due honour. So Basil (*Reg. Maj.* qu. 15) enjoined that children should not be received into monasteries unless offered by their parents, if the parents were alive. But here again the legislation of Justinian (u. s. leg. 55) betrays the presence of a feeling that "religion" might override domestic obligations, in that it forbids parents to restrain their children from becoming monks or clerics, or to disinherit them for that cause alone. And this feeling, in spite of the not unfrequent protests of jurists, was very prevalent from that time onward. On the other hand, the power of parents to devote their children to "religion" became in time almost absolute; they who had been devoted by their parents were as much bound as those who had entered of their own accord in mature age (*Conc. Tolet.* IV. c. 49, A.D. 633; see OILATI).

In our view of the family life of Christians, their use of music and singing must not be unnoticed. Among the Greeks especially, and to some extent among the Romans also, their songs occupied a conspicuous place in their social life. These, however, from their generally expressing and encouraging some of the worst evils of the old religions, could not be used in the Christian family circle. But the want was rapidly supplied. Christian songs and hymns were soon composed and extensively multiplied; and these became an abundant source of recreation to all the members of the household, while at meal times, and in all family or friendly unions, they thus expressed their habitual faith, and hope, and joy.

Before Christianity became the prevailing and established religion, families were in continual danger of being molested by popular violence, and of being utterly broken up in times of legal persecution. But besides these dangers and troubles there were sometimes others hardly less painful within the family itself, when only a part of the household had become Christians. The antagonism and consequent discomfort, if not positive misery, must then have been almost perpetual; and the difficulty of maintaining religious faithfulness, without losing family affection or breaking family ties, must have been very great. Jesus himself had warned his disciples beforehand that "a man's foes might be those of his own household;" and that his religion, in such cases, might bring "not peace but a sword." St. Paul, while desirous that this difference of religion should not actually separate a husband and wife, admitted that it would and must sometimes have this effect. Tertullian (*ad Uxor.* ii. 4) describes in detail the sort of hardships, opposition, and ridicule, which a Christian woman must expect if she married a heathen man who was an unbeliever; and how impossible she would find it to fulfil in peace, if she could fulfil at all, her Christian duties,—even if nothing worse occurred. But in times of persecution, or of any strong excitement of anti-Christian feeling, it was not merely difficulties and discomforts that had to be encountered. The strongest words of Christ were then often iter-

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family life of Christians, singing must not be un-Greeks especially, and to the Romans also, their songs place in their social life, their generally expressing of the worst evils of the world to be used in the Christian life. He want was rapidly supplanted and hymns were soon multiply; and these source of recreation to all household, while at meal or friendly unions, they habitual faith, and hope,

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ally realised, when the most powerful natural affections were shattered, and Christians were betrayed and denounced by their nearest relatives and given up to the persecutor's sword. See an early instance of this in Justin Martyr, *Apol. ii. 2*. [G. A. J.]

FAMILY—THE HOLY. The subject which bears this title in modern art is generally a group consisting of the Virgin Mother bearing the Sacred Infant, of St. Joseph, and frequently of the younger St. John Baptist, and occasionally of St. Elizabeth. It is frequently treated in an academic or purely artistic spirit, and chosen mainly for the sake of opposing the age of St. Elizabeth or maturity of St. Joseph, to the high ideal of feminine, infantine, or youthful beauty in the Blessed Virgin, the infant or St. John. As a complete and isolated group of this kind the subject is hardly ever treated in art of the earliest Christian age, unless the three Oranti



Supposed Holy Family, from Martigny.

given by Martigny (from Bosio *Roma Sott. p. 279*; see woodcut) are to be considered as representing it. He is inclined to think so, though Bosio, Aringhi, and Bottari consider the group as an ordinary Christian family in the attitude of prayer, and though the boy is more decidedly in that attitude than either the father or the mother. He mentions another lately discovered, but also somewhat conjectural monument, in the cemetery of St. Priscilla, and says that the subject occurs on sarcophagi of the South of France, naming one in the museum of Arles, No. 26, where St. Joseph leads the Saviour by the hand to the Virgin Mother, probably representing Luke ii. 48, "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?" [R. St. J. T.]

FAMILY TOMBS. [CATACOMBS, p. 300; CELLA MEMORIAE; CEMETERY.]

FAN. [FLABELLUM.]

FANATICI. From their frequenting *Fana*, shrines of heathen deities, all heathen were sometimes called "fanatici"; thus Clovis before his conversion, is said (*Gesta Reg. Franc. c. 10*), to have been "fanaticus et paganus." In a special sense, priests of idol-temples were "fanatici" (Iso Magister on Prudentius, quoted by Ducauge, s.v.); and those who professed to prophesy by the aid of the demon attached to the place [EXORCISM; and see Jerome on Isaiah,

c. 6, and Augustine on Psalm 40]; these were condemned with others who practised such evil arts (*Code, lib. ix. tit. 16, l. 4*; Macri, *Hierolox. s. v.*; Bingham's *Ant. xvi. v. 4*). [C.]

FANDILA, presbyter, martyr at Cordova; commemorated June 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

FANON. (1.) A head-dress worn by the pope when he celebrated mass pontifically. It is described by Ciampini (*Vet. Mon. i. 239*) and Macri (*Hierolox. s. v.*) as a veil variegated, like the Mosaic ephod, with four colours, symbolising the four elements, put over the head after the pope was vested with the alb, and tied round the neck, forming a kind of hood, the tiara or other head-dress being put on above it. The lower part was concealed by the *planetæ* (Bona, *Lit. Liturg. i. 24, 15*). Ciampini gives the annexed figure from a small brass statue on the doors of the oratory of St. John Baptist at the Lateran. At the *Pedicularium* the "Caerimoniale Romanum" directs that the pope should wear the *fanon* alone without the mitre.



(2.) The napkin or handkerchief, *mappula*, *sudarium*, used by the priest during the celebration of the mass to wipe away perspiration from the face, &c. (Bona, *Lit. Liturg. i. 24, 5*; Rab. Maur. *de Inst. Cler. i. 18*; Augusti *Handb. der Christ. Arch. iii. 504*). [FACIPE .LUM.]

(3.) In later times the white linen cloth in which the laity made their oblations at the altar. "Populus dat oblationes suas, id est panem et vinum, et offerunt cum fanonibus candidis," *Ordo Romanus*; "cum fanonibus offerunt," Amalar. *de offic. Miss.*; Martene, *de Eccl. rit. lib. i. c. 4, § 6*; Augusti, *u. s. ii. 649*. The word is sometimes erroneously spelt "farones."

(4.) A still later use of the word is for the church banners, "vexilla Ecclesiastica," employed in processions. This is perhaps not earlier than the French and German writers of the 11th century (Augusti, *u. s. iii. 348, 355*).

(5.) The strings or lappets of the mitre (Willemin, *Monuments inédits. pls. 68, 76, 90*) [E. V.]

FARA, virgin, of Meaux; "Natalis" Dec. 7 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

FARO, bishop, and confessor at Meaux; commemorated Oct. 28 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

FAST OF CHRIST IN THE DESERT, THE, is commemorated in the Aethiopic Calendar on Feb. 4 (Daniell's *Code, iv. 252*). [C.]

FASTING (*v̄n̄orela, jejunium, abstinentia*). Fasting was total or partial abstinence from food for a certain period; it also signified abstinence from pleasure, or from the celebration of birthdays or marriages or church festivals; and it had the further spiritual signification of abstinence from

sin. See the passages collected in Gunning (*Lent Fast*, pp. 130-130) on the spiritual meaning of fasting.

1. The stated fasts of the Western church were these:

(i.) The great ante-paschal Fast of LENT (*Quadragesima*).

(ii.) The fasts of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months, called also EMBER FASTS, or the fasts of the four seasons (*Jejunia quattuor temporum*).

(iii.) The weekly fasts of the STATIONS, Wednesday and Friday (*ferri quartus et sexta, stationes, semijeiunia, respās kai παρασκευη*).

(iv.) The ROGATIONS (*rogationes, litaniae*).

(v.) The Vigils or Eves of holy days (*pernoctationes, pervigilia*).

2. The Greek church kept in addition to Lent three fasts of a week each: 1st the Fast of the Holy Apostles, immediately after Pentecost [APOSTLES' FESTIVALS AND FASTS]; 2nd the Fast of the Holy Mother of God (*Sanctae Deiparæ*) in August; 3rd the Fast of the Nativity (*Suicer Thesaurus s. v. γεννησια*; Neale *Introduction to Eastern Church*, p. 731). Some have supposed (Morinus *de Penit.*, Appendix, p. 124) that the Fast *Sanctae Deiparæ* at one period lasted forty days, and began originally on 6th of July and afterwards on 1st of August, and that the Fast of the Nativity was also one of forty days, and began on 15th of November.

3. Other fasts had only a local or partial observance. The council of Eliberis (c. 23) introduced into Spain fasts of superposition (*Jejunia superpositiones*) for every month (a *jejunium superpositio*) except July and August. It does not appear on what days of the month they were kept, but their name implies that they were something over and above the usual fasting days. Bingham (*Antiq.* xxi. 11 § 5) quotes from Philastrius the mention of a fast of three days before Epiphany. In the Dialogue of Egbert of York (Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, vol. iii. p. 413) there is the appointment, in addition to the Ember fasts, of a period of twelve days before the Nativity to be spent in fastings, watchings, prayers, and alms; on which twelve days not only were the clergy but laity also, with their wives and households, exhorted to resort to their confessors. The seventeenth council of Toledo A.D. 694 (c. 6) orders litany-fasts (*exomologeses*) to be kept every month in the Spanish and Gallic churches to supplicate "for the safety of the sovereign, for the preservation of the people, and the pardon of their sins, and the expulsion of the devil from the hearts of the faithful." The fasts to be observed throughout the year in the western monasteries are given in detail by the second council of Tours (A.D. 567, c. 17): "From Easter to Pentecost let dinner be served to the brothers every day except on Rogation-days; after Pentecost let them fast an entire week; thence till the 1st of August let all, except those who are suffering from illness, fast three days a week, second, fourth, and sixth days. In August because the *Misa Sanctatorum* is daily celebrated, let them eat their dinner; through the whole of September, October, and November, fast three days a week, and in December, every day till the Nativity. And because between the Nativity and the Epiphany all days are festivals, with the exception of the

three when private litanies are to be said, they shall eat their dinner; and from Epiphany to Lent fast three days a week."

4. Special fasting was occasionally ordered or advised in a diocese by the bishop, as Tertullian (*de Jejun.* c. 1-3), after he became a Montanist unwillingly bears witness. It was also one of the means used for preparing for the reception of a sacred ordinance. Fasting before Holy Communion, if not invariable, had become a common practice in the 4th century [COMMUNIONS]. Fasting before baptism can be traced to a much earlier date. Justin Martyr (*Apolog.* i. 61) mentions among the customs of the Christian church that candidates "are taught to pray, fast, and pray, and pray with them." Tertullian (*de Bapt.* c. 20) exhorts those who are about to receive baptism to pray with frequent prayers and fastings. And the fourth council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (c. 85), appoints abstinence from wine and meat among the preparations for baptism (*Apost. Const.* vii. 22). The only authority which Martene (*de Rit.* viii. 4) discovers for the practice of fasting before ordination is from Leo, who (*Ep. ad Diosc.*) with reference to the Saturday's fast continuing both for candidates and bishop till the ordination was over. No notice of fasting before confirmation is to be found before the 13th century (Martene *de Rit.* iv. 1).

5. *Penitential Fasting.*—For the first 500 years fasting does not appear to have been imposed as a special penance, or to have taken place of other penitential exercises; but in all ages, so long as penitential discipline was in force, a penitent was required to abstain from delicacies of food as from all other bodily gratifications during his period of punishment. Tertullian (*de Penit.* c. 9) defines a true exomologesis to consist, among other duties, in "the use of simple things for meat and drink, and in cherishing prayer by fasts." Pacian (*Paroen. ad Penit.* c. 19) makes his penitent, when invited to a feast, reply, "These things belong to the happy, but as for me I have sinned against the Lord." In the 6th century fasting began to be inflicted as a special and separate mode of penance. One of the canons of the council of Agde, A.D. 506 (c. 60), appoints to those who lapse into heresy, in place of the longer term of penitence allotted by the early church, a fast of two years, to be kept on the third day of the week without any break; if at least that is the meaning of the rather obscure language of the canon (ut *bicenis tertio sine relaxatione jejunent*). The penance of fasting is found in the early British penitential canons attributed to Gildas; and in the Penitential of Theodore sentences of a fast of so many days or weeks, or even years, are very common (Penitential i. viii. 3, 4, 8, 9; xii. 8; xiv. 9), and no less so in the Penitential of Bode (iii. 5; vii. 11), and in that of Egbert (iv. 6; v. 3; xiii. 4). The crimes for which these sentences were inflicted in these early English penitential books are such as could exist only among a people just emerging from heathenism. In the Penitential of Theodore (ii. xiv. 1) is found the first notice of the appointment of three regular fasts of forty days in the year (*tria legitima quadragesima*), forty days before Easter, forty days before the Nativity, and forty days after Pentecost. The

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Rule of Chrodegang (c. 32) with reference to the same observance, orders confessions to be made at each of these three annual quadragesimal fasts. And the Capitularies of Charles the Great (vl. 184) repeat in identical words the injunction of Theodore on the three quadragesimal fasts, and add that "although some of them lack canonical authority, yet it is well for all of us together to observe this custom in accordance with the practice of the people and of our forefathers." These fasts were probably first appointed as appropriate penitential seasons for the performance of long periods of penance; afterwards, as may be inferred from the canon in the Capitularies, they came into partial use with the people at large. There is no evidence that they existed earlier than the 7th century, for the councils prior to Theodore which are strict in ordering the people to keep Lent (e.g. *Conc. Agath.* c. 12; *4 Conc. Aurelian.* c. 2), contain no hint of there being more than one such season in the year; and the canon of the second council of Tours which enumerates the fasts of the monks, and approaches nearer the time of Theodore, evidently recognises no Pentecostal Quadragesima, for it orders monks, whose self-denial would be more severe than that of the rest of the church, to fast only three days a week from Pentecost till August. Hence it is probable that Theodore introduced these as penitential fasts into the Western church from the East, for in the Greek Penitential of Joannes Jejunator two fasts of forty days in addition to Lent are imposed upon penitents, the former of which was called the Quadragesima of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the latter the Quadragesima of St. Philip. One of the councils of the Carolingian kings, about A.D. 821 (*Conc. apud villam Theodanis* cc. 2-5) held for the purpose of devising means for the protection of the clergy, inflicts five quadragesimal fasts on any one slandering or wounding a subdeacon, six on the slanderer of a deacon, twelve of a priest, and a lifelong fast on the slanderer of a bishop. Even after absolution, a penitent was sometimes ordered to fast one day a week for the remainder of his life—a sentence opposed to the earlier practice, by which admission to communion was a sign of the forgiveness of all past offences.

The penitential fasts were observed with various degrees of severity. In the East the Penitential of Joannes Jejunator allows penitents on the second, fourth, and sixth days of the week to eat oil and beans with oil, but orders them to abstain from cheese, eggs, flesh, and fish; on the third and fifth days eat everything freely except flesh; and on the first and seventh days use wine and flesh as if under no punishment. In the Anglo-Saxon church Egbert (*Penitential* iv. 15) directs penitents to fast three days each week, without specifying the days, from wine, mead (medo), and flesh, till the evening, and eat only dry food; and also keep three quadragesimal fasts in the year on dry food, two days a week till the evening, and three days till three o'clock. Burchard (*Deoret.* xix. 9, 10) referring to this direction from the Penitential, states the following to have been the manner in which a fast of two years on bread and water was kept. "For first year fast three days in each week, second, fourth, and sixth, on bread and water; and three days, third, fifth, and seventh, abstain

from wine, mead (medo), beer flavoured with honey (mellita cervisia) flesh and blood, cheese, eggs, and rich fish of various sorts, and eat only small fish if they are to be got, but if not, fish of one kind only, and beans, and herbs, and apples, and drink beer." This list makes no mention of Lent, because it is assumed to be spent entirely on bread and water. "The next year the penitent should fast two days, second and fourth, till the evening, and then refresh himself with dry food, i.e. bread and dry cooked beans, or apples, or raw herbs; let him select one of these three, and drink beer sparingly; on the sixth day let him fast on bread and water." In some cases no additional time of abstinence was imposed, but only a greater rigour during the ordinary ecclesiastical fasts. A very old sacramentary, assigned by Morinus to the 8th century, directs the actual incarceration of a penitent through Lent; "Take him in the morning of the first day of Lent and cover him with ashes, and pray for him, and shut him up till the Thursday of Holy Week (feria quinta in coena Domini), and on the Thursday of Holy Week he may come forth from the place in which he has performed his penance." A Gothic codex from the monastery of Remigius of Rheims, dating probably from the next century, also orders imprisonment through Lent, but instead of the whole body of the penitent being covered with ashes, directs that a few should be sprinkled on his head, and that they should be blessed. This severity was relaxed before the 10th century, and penitents were assigned a parish or district in which to confine themselves through Lent. But both incarceration and confinement within bounds were deviations from an older practice of shutting up a penitent in a monastery (1 *Conc. Matiscon.* cc. 5, 8).

6. *Exemptions from Fasting*.—A superstitious abstinence from flesh and wine on pretence of keeping a stricter fast was forbidden. The *Apotolical Canons* (cc. 52, 53) direct that if any of the clergy abstain from marriage, flesh, or wine, not for exercise, but abhorrence, forgetting that God made all things very good, they shall be deposed (*Conc. Ancyra.* c. 14; *Conc. Gangra.* c. 2). The first council of Braga, A.D. 563 (c. 14), orders, under pain of excommunication, clergy who have been in the habit of abstaining from meat, to eat vegetables boiled with meat, in order to avoid the suspicion of being infected with the Priscillian heresy.

Fasting was strictly forbidden on all Sundays throughout the year in every part of the church. The reason of this prohibition was that fasting was held inconsistent with the observance of so high a festival. [LORD'S DAY.]

The observance of Saturday was, as is well known, one of the points in dispute between the Eastern and Western churches. In the East it was always observed as a festival, with the exception of the Paschal Vigil, the *Great Sabbath*, in which Christ lay in the grave, which was kept as a fast both in East and West (*Apost. Const.* ii. 59; v. 15, 20; vii. 23; viii. 33; *Conc. Laod.* cc. 49, 51; *Conc. in Trull.* c. 56). [SABBATH.]

It was not customary to fast on any festivals, nor consequently to hold festivals during seasons of fasting. The council of Laodicea, A.D. 320 (1), forbids the celebration of festivals of

ies are to be said, they and from Egyptian to seek."

occasionally ordered or the bishop, as Tertullian the heretic a Montanist. It was also one of purg for the reception Fasting before Holy Communion had become a common (COMMUNIONS). Fast- to be traced to a much. Martyr (*Apost.* l. 61) customs of the Christians "are taught to pray praying with them." Tertullian exhorts those who are in to pray with frequent And the fourth council of 85), appoints abstinence among the preparations for *lit.* (v. 22). The only (de Rit. viii. 4) dis- of fasting before ordination with reference (ad Dicoe.) with reference on Sunday, speaks of continuing both for candidates ordination was over. No fore confirmation is to be century (Martene de Rit.

ing.—For the first 500 not appear to have been penance, or to have taken antient exercises; but in all penitential discipline was in a required to abstain from from all other bodily grati- period of punishment. Tertullian defines a true exomologesis other duties, in "the use of eat and drink, and in cherishing" Pagan (*Paroen. ad Penit.* penitent, when invited to a things belong to the happy, ve sinned against the Lord." fasting began to be inflicted arate mode of penance. One ne council of Agde, A.D. 506 those who lapse into heresy, per term of penitence allotted h, a fast of two years, to be day of the week without any that is the meaning of the range of the canon (ut bienio lone jejunent). The penance in the early British penitential to Gildas; and in the Peni- sentences of a fast of so many even years, are very common i. 3, 4, 8, 9; xii. 8; xiv. 9). the Penitential of Bede (lib. 5; at of Egbert (iv. 6; v. 3; xiii. for which these sentences were early English penitential books exist only among a people just eathenism. In the Penitential xiv. 1.) is found the first notice at of three regular fasts of forty (tria legitima quadragesimal) e Easter, forty days before the erty days after Pentecost. The

martyrs in Lent, but orders them to be kept on Saturdays and Sundays. Another canon (c. 52) forbids the celebration of marriages or birthdays in Lent. The Greek church held no festival through Lent except the Annunciation, a festival which the tenth council of Toledo, A.D. 650 (c. 1), ordered to be held eight days before Christmas. [MARCH THE VIRGIN, FESTIVALS OF.] The church at Milan held no *missa sanctorum* whatever throughout Lent.

The non-observance of a fast was permitted in the case of weakness or sickness (*Apost. Can.* 68, 2 *Conc. Taron.* c. 17). To these grounds of excuse the eighth council of Toledo, A.D. 653 (c. 9), adds old age or strong necessity. The council of Eliberis (c. 23) had allowed the Spanish churches to omit the monthly fasts in the sultry heat of July and August.

7. *Manner of Fasting.*—A fast day in the early church was kept by a literal abstinence from food till the evening, and then a simple meal was eaten. Ambrose (*de Elia et Jejun.* c. 10) speaks of the fast during Lent continuing through the whole day; and Chrysostom (*Hom.* 6 in *Gen.* p. 60; *Hom.* 8 in *Gen.* p. 79) rebukes the folly of those who abstain all day from food and do not abstain from sin. There was no restriction upon the kind of food eaten at the evening meal, provided only it was partaken of sparingly. Many, no doubt, refused meat or wine during the greater fasts, and contented themselves with bread and water, *Xerophagia* (Tertullian *de Jejun.* c. 11); but that there was left very much to the choice of diet was evident from the account given by Socrates (*H. E.* v. 22) of the variety of the observances of the Western church; "some abstain from every sort of creature that has life; others eat fish only of living creatures; others eat birds as well as fish, because, according to the Mosaic account of the creation, they too sprang from the water; others abstain from fruit covered with a hard shell, and from eggs; some eat dry bread only, others not even that; others again when they have fasted till three o'clock eat varieties of food." The Greek church kept Lent very strictly, eating neither fish, nor eggs, nor milk, nor oil; but on the other fasts, except on the fourth and sixth days, these were allowed. The great Sabbath fast of the Paschal Vigil was sustained not only till the evening, but till cock-crowing on Easter morning (*Apost. Const.* v. 18). But the other appointed seasons were kept with less rigour than that of Lent, and the fast, instead of continuing till the evening meal, was broken at the ninth hour (three o'clock) the hour at which our Lord expired on the cross. This was the hour at which the fast of the Stations ceased (Epiphanius *Evap. Fid.* c. 22). And the English council of Clovesho, A.D. 747 (c. 16), orders the Rogations to be kept till three o'clock. The food which was thus saved by abridging the number of meals it was considered a pious act to bestow upon the poor (Origen, *Hom.* 10. in *Levit.*; Leo, *Serm.* 3 *de Jejun. Pentecost.*; Chrysost. *Serm.* 8 *de Jejun.*). Another practice mentioned by Tertullian (*de Orat.* c. 18) was refraining from the kiss of peace while a fast lasted. A change of dress during fasting was confined chiefly to penitents [PENITENCE], although Tertullian (*Apology.* c. 40), if his language is not merely

rhetorical, speaks of pious Christians in contrast with heathen self-indulgence, "being dried up with fasting and prostrating themselves in sackcloth and ashes." And at a much later date the council of Mayence, A.D. 813 (c. 33), orders the greater Litany to be observed for three days by all Christians, "not riding nor clothed in rich garments, but barefoot and clothed in sackcloth and ashes." [G. M.]

8. *Fast after Communion.*—St. Chrysostom, on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, speaks as follows: "Before receiving thou fastest, that thou mayest by any means appear worthy of the communion. But when thou hast received, it becometh thy duty to persevere in self-control, thou undest all. Not that sobriety before this and afterwards are of equal importance. For it is our duty, indeed, to exercise self-control at both times, but especially after receiving the Bridegroom; before this indeed that thou mayest be worthy to partake; but afterwards that thou mayest not be found unworthy of that of which thou hast partaken. What! Ought we to fast after partaking? I do not say so, nor do I use constraint. For indeed this also is good, but I am not enforcing it, only advising you not to be self-indulgent to excess" (*Hom.* xxvii. ad c. ii. v. 27.). We should infer from this passage that the hebrers of St. Chrysostom neither had themselves, nor knew of, any custom of abstaining from ordinary food, for however short a time, after receiving the Holy Communion. Nor have we any evidence that his advice led to the formation of such a habit in the members of the Greek or Oriental churches. In the West, on the other hand, we meet with occasional notices of the practice from the 6th century downwards; and it is probable that it survived, as the pious custom of a few, to the 14th, or even later. A canon of the council of Mâcon held in 585 contains the earliest reference, if the writer mistake not, to this post-communion fast. We give the decree in full: "Whatever relics of the sacrifices shall be left over in the sacrum after the mass is finished, let innocent children be brought to the church on Wednesday or Friday by him whose business it is, and, let them, being enjoined a fast, receive the said relics sprinkled with wine" (*Can.* 6; *Labb. Conc. tom.* v. col. 982). Among the Forged Decretals is an epistle purporting to be written by Clement of Rome to St. James the Lord's brother. The greater part of this epistle appears to have been composed in the 8th century, and in that earlier portion we find a direction to this effect, viz. that the remainder of the consecrated elements "is not to be kept till the morning, but is by the care of the clerks to be consumed with fear and trembling. But they who consume the remainder of the Lord's body, which has been left in the sacrum, are not to assemble forthwith to partake of common food, nor to presume to mix food with the holy portion. . . . If therefore the Lord's portion be given to them at an early hour, let the ministers who have consumed it fast till the sixth; and if they have received it at the third or the fourth, let them fast till evening" (*Præcepta S. Petri, inter Opp. S. Leonis, ed. Baller. tom.* iii. p. 674). There is a law of Charlemagne, A.D. 809, with this heading, "Touching those who have communicated, that they wait three hours, on account of the mixing

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of the food." The decree itself says "two or
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tom. i. col. 1213. Similarly col. 1224). Regino
(*In Eccl. Discipl. lib. l. c. exv.*) at the begin-
ning of the 10th century, and Gratian (*Decr. P.*
iii. Dist. ii. c. xviii.) in the 12th give the passage
from pseudo-Clement as above quoted. It was
therefore well known during the latter part of
the Middle Ages. In the 13th century we find
it cited from Gratian by Thomas Aquinas, who
acknowledges the principle, while he declares the
rule obsolete (*Summa Theol. P. iii. Qu. lxxx. Art.*
viii. ad 6m). There is, however, as we have already
intimated, some reason to think that the practice
which Aquinas evidently considered altogether
gone by was yet observed by some long after his
time. In England John de Burge, A.D. 1385,
refers to our subject in this manner: "After
taking the eucharist it is meet for reverence
thereof to abstain for some time from food, but
not very long. For preparation by abstinence
and devotion is more required before receiving
the eucharist than after. For the sacrament has
its effect at the reception itself, and therefore
actual devotion is required then; but after the
reception habitual devotion suffices" (*Impulla*
Genii, P. iv. c. viii. ad lit. H.). It is also thus
mentioned by Duranti, who was murdered by
the partisans of the League in 1589, "Not only
ought men to be fasting when about to sacrifice
and communicate, but they ought also in honour
of the sacrament to abstain from all food some
time after" (*De Rit. Eccl. L. ii. c. vii. § 6.*)

[W. E. S.]

FATHER (Pater). 1. A name rhetorically
given to the priests of any religion (Araobius,
Adv. Gent. lib. 4. c. 19.)

2. Commonly applied to Christian bishops.
Epiphanius (*Haeres. Adv. Aetrian. n. 4*) says that
the reason of the title is that by their right of
ordaining they beget fathers to the church.
Jerome (*Ep. 52, ad Theoph.* ed. Migne) says that
bishops are content with their own honour, for
they know that they are fathers and not lords.
Augustine (*Comm. in Ps. 44*) says that the
church itself calls them fathers. Chrysostom
(*Hom. 3, ad Pop. Antioch.*) speaks of looking to
the bishop's throne and not seeing the father
upon it. The decrees of the council of Nice are
usually cited as those of the 318 fathers (*L. Conc.*
Nic. Proem.; I. Conc. Constantin. c. 1.)

3. To a godfather. In the life of Epiphanius
it is said that one Lucena became his father in
holy baptism (*Epiph. Vita, n. 8*). So Rullinus
(*in Hieron. Insect. c. 1*) says that the same
person was his instructor in the creed and his
father.

4. It is said that Charles Martel sent his son
Pepin to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, who
cut his hair according to custom, "juxta morem,"
and thus became his father, "ei pater effectus
est" (Petrus Diaconus, *Hist. Longobard. vi. 53*).
5. To the priest by whom baptism was ad-
ministered. Avitus of Vienne (*Hom. de Regat.*),
says that Manerius was both his predecessor
and his spiritual father by baptism, "spiritualis
a baptisimo pater." So (Theodori Cantuar. *Poeni-*
tentiale, li. iv. 8) it is stated that one father is
sufficient to administer baptism, "in catechumeno
et confirmatione et baptisimo unus potest esse
pater."

6. To a confessor. One of the Benedictine
rules provided that no monk should become a
spiritual father without the consent of the
abbot (*Reg. Turnat. A.D. circa 570; Migne's*
Patrol. t. 66, coll. 977).

7. The title "father of fathers" was some-
times assigned to eminent bishops. In one place
it is given to the apostle Paul (*Quaest. ad Ortho-*
dox. c. 119, apud Justin Mart. Opp.). Athana-
sius (*ad Solitar. Vit. Agent. c. 1*) speaks of
Ilosius as being by universal consent called the
father of bishops. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. 19;*
De Funeb. Patr. § 44) says that his father was
called the father of all the bishops (*ἄρχιεπί-*
σκοπος). Gregory the Great (*Epist. vi.*) addresses Lupus
of Troyes, as "father of fathers, bishop of
bishops." In a letter from the African bishops
which was read at the 1st Lateran council, at
the close of the epistle, Theodore, bishop of Rome,
is styled "father of fathers." In a letter read
at the 6th council of Constantinople (Act 13),
Sergius is addressed in the same manner. At the
2nd council of Nice, A.D. 787 (Act 6), Gregory
Nyssen is said to have been called "father of
fathers" by universal consent.

8. The head of a monastery was naturally
called *Pater* by Latins, as *Abbas* by Orientals;
thus Augustine (*De Mor. Eccl. Cath. i. 31*)
speaks of the respect to be paid by the Decuri
to the one "quem *Patrem* appellat," and Gregory
the Great (*Dial. l. i; et. ii. 3; iii. 23*) speaks
of one who was "Pater" in a monastery over
200 monks. [P. O.]

FAUSTA. [EVILASTUS.]

FAUSTINUS. (1) Martyr at Brescia: com-
memorated with Jovita, virgin, Feb. 15 (*Mart.*
Usuardi), Feb. 16 (*Mart. Hieron.*).

(2) Martyr at Rome with Simplicius, his
brother, and Beatrix, his sister, in the time of
Diocletian; commemorated July 29 (*Mart.*
Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal.*
Alatii et Frontonis).

(3) Martyr at Milan in the time of Aurelius
Commodus; commemorated Aug. 7 (*Mart.*, Adonis,
Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FAUSTUS. (1) [FELIX (5).]

(2) Martyr at Rome with Bonus the pres-
byter, Maurus, and seven others; commemorated
Aug. 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Holy Father, A.D. 368; commemorated
Aug. 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Martyr at Milan; commemorated Aug. 7
(*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

(5) Saint, at Antioch; commemorated with
Timotheus, Sept. 8 (*Mart. Usuardi, Hieron.*).

(6) Martyr at Cordova with Januarius and
Martialis; commemorated Sept. 28 (*Mart. Rom.*
Vet., Adonis); "Passio" Oct. 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(7) Deacon and martyr; commemorated Nov.
19 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*); with Eusebius
(*Mart. Rom. Vet.*).

[W. F. G.]

FEASTS OF CHARITY. [AGAPAE.]

FEBRONIA. (1) With Marina, virgin; com-
memorated Sept. 24 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(2) Martyr at Nisibis, A.D. 286; commemorated
June 25 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

FEET, WASHING OF. [BAPTISM, §§ 34, 67; MAUNDY THURSDAY.]

FELLIRE. THE, OF AENGUS THE CULDEE. The word Fellire, derived from "fell" the Irish equivalent of vigilia, is applied to the metrical festology composed by Aengus the Culdee about the year 780. It is the most ancient of five martyrologies belonging to Ireland. The others are (1.) The martyrology of Tamlacht, which must have been written after 845. (2.) That of Maclmuire ua Gorman, dating from between 1150-1173. (3.) The Saltair na Rann, which, however, contains only four Gaelic entries; and (4.) The Kalendar of the Drummond Miscal, published in Bishop Forbes' Kalendars of the Scottish saints.

Of the personal history of Aengus we know that he was educated in Cluin Ednach in Queen's County, and travelling into Munster founded Disert Aengus in co. Limerick. At the time of the expedition of king Aeth Oirnidhe against Leinster in 799 he was residing at Disert Bethac near Monasterevin. Latterly he went to abbot Maclruain at Tamlacht, when he from humility concealed his gifts, and passing himself as a serving man was entrusted with the charge of the mill and kiln, till at last his learning was discovered by accident.

The Fellire consists of three parts. 1. Five quatrains invoking a blessing on the poet and his work. 2. A preface of 230 quatrains; and 3. The festology itself in 395 quatrains for every day in the year (O'Curry; *Early Evid. MSS. of Ireland*, pp. 359-371. [A. P. F.]

FELICIANUS. (1) Martyr at Rome with Fortunatus, Firmus, and Cnecidius; commemorated Feb. 2 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr at Rome with Maximian under Diocletian and Maximian; commemorated June 9 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Cal. Martii et Frontonis, Sacramentarium Gregorii*).

(3) [Victor (10).]

(4) Martyr in Lucania with Jacinetus, Quiritus, and Lucius; commemorated Oct. 29 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(5) [EXAUPERUS (3).]

[W. F. G.]

FELICISSIMA, virgin, martyr at Falari with Gencilianus; "Passio" Aug. 12 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

[W. F. G.]

FELICISSIMUS. (1) [HIRACLUS (3).]

(2) [FELIX (14).]

(3) [SIXTUS (2).]

(4) Martyr in Africa, with Rogatianus, the presbyter, under Decius and Valerian; commemorated Oct. 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(5) Saint, of Perugia in Tuscan; "Natalis" Nov. 24 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

FELICITAS. (1) Martyr at Tuburbo (nt Carthage, *Procy*) with Perpetua, Revoeatus, Saturninus, and Secundulus, under Severus; commemorated March 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Cal. Bucher*).

(2) Martyr under Antoninus; commemorated Nov. 23 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*).

FELICULA. (1) Martyr at Rome with

Vitalia and Zeno; commemorated Feb. 11 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) Virgin, martyr at Rome; commemorated June 13 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

FELIX. (1) Saint, at Hieraclon; commemorated with Januarius, Jan. 7 (*Mart. Hieron., Usuardi*).

(2) Presbyter, confessor at Nola in Campania; commemorated Jan. 14 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, Cal. Carth.*).

(3) [DATIVUS (1).]

(4) [HILARY (2).]

(5) Martyr at Caesaraugusta with seventeen others: Apulemus, Cassianus, Cecilianus, Evonus, Faustus, Fronto, Januarius, Julius, Lupercus, Matutinus, Martialis, Optatus, Primitivus, Paulus, Quintilianus, Successus, Urbanus; commemorated April 16 (*Mart. Usuardi*), April 13 (*Mart. Adonis*).

(6) Saint, of Alexandria; commemorated with Arator, presbyter, Fortunus, Silvius, and Vitalis, April 21 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(7) Presbyter, martyr at Valence in France with Fortunatus and Achilleus, deacon; commemorated April 23 (*ib.*).

(8) Bishop, martyr at Spoletum under Maximian; commemorated May 13 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(9) Martyr in Istria with Zoellius, Servilius, Silvanus, and Diocles; commemorated May 24 (*ib.*).

(10) Saint, in Sardinia; commemorated with Aemilius, Prilianus, Lucinius, May 28 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(11) The pope, martyr at Rome under the emperor Claudius; commemorated May 30 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(12) Martyr in Aquileia with Fortunatus under Diocletian and Maximian; "Passio" June 11 (*ib.*).

(13) Presbyter, martyr in Tuscany; commemorated June 23 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(14) Martyr in Campania with Aristo, Crescentianus, Eutycheianus, Felicissimus, Justus, Martia, Symphorosa, Urbanus, and Vitalis; commemorated July 2 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(15) Son of Felicitus (2), martyr in the time of Antoninus; commemorated with his six brothers, Januarius, Martialis, Philippus, Silvanus, Vitalis, July 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*).

(16) Martyr in Africa; commemorated with Januarius, Marinus, and Nabor, July 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(17) [SCILLITA.]

(18) The pope, martyr at Rome under Constantius Augustus; commemorated July 29 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Usuardi*); "Passio" Nov. 10; deposition Nov. 17 (*Mart. Adonis*).

(19) Martyr at Gerona in Spain; commemorated Aug. 1 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(20) Martyr at Rome with Aprillis, Martialis, Saturninus, and their companions; commemorated Aug. 22 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(21) [GEORGIUS (4).]

(22) under Aug. arli. (23) Apulian and Septim (Mart. Usuardi) (24) rianus Felix. Decim (Mart. Usuardi) (25) Nero; Usuardi (27) lyer, Aureli Adonis (28) and 49 rated arli. (29) rated 2 Usuardi (31) thirty Rom. FEEL

FEEL are dra bins, a hispal. part o (Ex. 13 ferred 64, ad whom in this The during monast bishop be wor to all, centur Holsten Paris, c. 49; this an Magistra Eule o were go from th restore qui dirin reverted Veuce, cange's the Cor

FEN FISTAR.

romarcel Feb. 14 (*Mart.*)

Rome; commemorated Feb. 14, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, *W. F. G.*]

at Heraclia; commemorated Jan. 7 (*Mart. Hieron.*)

near Nola in Campania; *Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Ccl. Carth.*]

Augusta with seven thousand; Caelestinus, Erosus, Marianus, Julius, Luperus, Optatus, Primitivus, Pulcherrimus, Urbanus; commemorated April 15 (*Mart. Usuardi*)

Nepesina; commemorated with Petrus, Silivius, and Vitalis; *Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*]

at Volence in France; Achilleus, deacon; commemorated Feb. 6.

at Spoleto under Maximian; May 18 (*Mart. Usuardi*)

at Nola with Zoellius, Servilius, and others; commemorated May 24 (*Mart. Usuardi*)

at Nola in Campania with Lucianus, M. y 28 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*)

at Rome under the emperor Maximian; commemorated May 30 (*Mart. Usuardi*)

at Aquileia with Fortunatus and Maximian; "Passio" June 10 (*Mart. Usuardi*)

at Tuscan; commemorated June 10 (*Mart. Usuardi*)

in Campania with Aristus, Crescentinus, Felicissimus, Justus, and Urbanus; and Vitalis; commemorated June 10 (*Mart. Usuardi*)

at Nola; commemorated with his six brothers; Januarius, Marcellus, Philippus, July 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Usuardi*)

at Africa; commemorated with his companions; July 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*)

at Rome under Constantine; commemorated July 29 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedae, Usuardi*); "Passio" Nov. 17 (*Mart. Adonis*)

at Gerona in Spain; commemorated with Apollonia; *Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*]

at Rome with Apollonia, Martialina, and others; commemorated with his companions; commemorated July 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*)

at Nola (4.)

FEMORALIA

(22) Presbyter, martyr at Rome with Adonatus under Diocletian and Maximian; commemorated Aug. 30 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi, Ccl. Allatii et Frontonis*)

(23) Bishop of Tubroca, martyr at Venusia in Apulia in the time of Diocletian, with Anicetus and Januarius, presbyters, Fortunatianus and Septimianus, readers; commemorated Aug. 30 (*Mart. Bedae*), Oct. 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*)

(24) Bishop, martyr in Africa with Nemesianus and Lucius, bishops; also with Dativus, Felix, Joder, Iliteus, Pollianus, and Victor, under Decius and Valerian; commemorated Sept. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*)

(25) [FELIX (24.)]

(26) Martyr at Nuceria with Constantia, under Nero; commemorated Sept. 19 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*)

(27) Martyr at Antun, with Andochius, presbyter, and Tyrus, deacon, under the emperor Aurelian; commemorated Sept. 24 (*Mart. Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*)

(28) Bishop, martyr in Africa with Cyprilian and 4976 others, under Hunnericus; commemorated Oct. 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*)

(29) [EUSEBIUS (8.)]

(30) Martyr at Toniza in Africa; commemorated Nov. 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*)

(31) Bishop, martyr at Nola in Campania with thirty others; commemorated Nov. 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

FEMORALIA or FEMINALIA. These are drawers or breeches covering the thighs and legs, as the derivation implies. (See Isidore *Etym. s. v.*) They were an essential part of the dress of the Levitical priesthood (*Ex. xxviii. 42, 43*), and as such are often referred to by the fathers (see e. g. Jerome, *Epist. 64, ad Eusebium*; i. 360, ed. Vallars), many of whom are delighted to find a symbolical meaning in this as in other vestments.

The injunction as to the wearing of breeches during divine service is repeated in sundry monastic rules. Thus the *Rule of Fructuosus*, bishop of Bracara, when settling the dress to be worn by monks, permits the use of femoralia to all, but "maxime his qui ministerio implentur altaris" (*Regula S. Fructuosi*, c. 45; in *Hilberius, Codex Regularum*, part 2, p. 139, ed. Paris, 1663; cf. *Grimaldi Solitariorum Regula*, c. 48; *op. cit.* p. 341). For general rules as to this and other articles of monastic dress see *Magistri Regula*, c. 81 (*op. cit.* p. 257). The *Rule of St. Benedict* enjoins that monks who were going on a journey should borrow femoralia from the *Vestiarium*, and on their return should restore them thither washed:—"femoralia, si qui diringantur in via, de Vestiario accipiant, qui revertentes lota ibi restituant" (c. 55; p. 117, ed. Veike, 1723). For further references, see *Ducange's Glossarium*, s. v., and Menard's note to the *Concordia Regularum* (*Patrol. cill. 1245*).

[R. S.]

FENCING-MASTERS. [GLADIATORS; LAMINAE.]

FERIA

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FERETRUM, a bier on which the corpse, after washing, was placed and carried to burial [BURIAL OF THE DEAD]. It was as a rule made of wood, in which Ambrose (*In Luc. vii. 14*) sees a mystical allusion to the resurrection, drawn from the miracle at Nain (*Durant, de Eccl. lib. i. c. 23*). The *feretrum* of Constantine the Great appears to have been of gold, like his coffin (*Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. iv. c. 66*). The bier was covered with a pall, more or less costly, according to the rank of the deceased. That of Constantine was of purple (*Δαυαρύτης ἀλευργίῃ*). That of Bleilla, the daughter of Paula, was of cloth of gold, against which Jerome remonstrated vehemently as an unchristian extravagance (*Hieron. Ep. 25*). Constantine's bier was surrounded with a circle of lights burning in golden candlesticks (*Euseb. u. s.*). The bier was carried to the grave sometimes by relations or near friends, sometimes by officials designated to that duty (*Cyprian, decem le tetrin*), and in the case of persons of high dignity or sanctity by bishops and nobles, e. g. Basil by his clergy (*Greg. Mag. Orat. xx.*), his sister Macrina by Gregory Nyssen, and other clergy (*Greg. Nva. Vit. Macr. tom. ii. p. 201*); Paula, by the bishops of Palestine, "servicem foretro subiectionibus" (*Hieron. Ep. 27*). [E. V.]

FELIA. The proper sense of this word is that of a holyday, of a festival viewed in the aspect of a day of freedom from worldly business. It is in this meaning that we find the word in classical Latin, though here it occurs exclusively in the plural. Besides this, however, the word has been used in a special sense in the Christian church from very early times to denote the days of the week, *feria secunda, tertia, &c.*, for Monday, Tuesday, &c.

The origin of this system of notation cannot be stated with absolute certainty. It is explained by *Ducange* (*Glossarium*, s. v.) as arising from the fact that the week following Easter Day was appointed by the emperor Constantine to be observed as one continuous festival, and that originally the year began with Easter. Hence the Monday, Tuesday, &c., of Easter Week would be respectively *secunda feria, tertia feria, &c.*, and in this way, following the example of the first week of the year, the names passed to all other Mondays, &c., of the year. The great objection to this view, which seems to have found many supporters (see e. g. *Pelliccia, De Christiano Ecclesie politia*, i. 277, ed. Colon. 1829), is that long before the time of Constantine we find Tertullian speaking of Wednesday and Friday as *quarta and sexta feria* (*de jejunio ad. Psychico*, c. 2).

It seems more reasonable to explain the phrase as being akin to and probably derived from the Jewish system of notation under which such an expression as e. g. *הַיּוֹם הַרְבֵּעִי* (Mark xvi. 2; Acts xx. 7, and often in the New Testament) means the "first day of the week." This extension of the word *Subbath*, which, besides the instances admissible from the New Testament, occurs also in the Targums (see e. g. *Esther ii. 9*), is merely a natural transference of a word from its primary meaning to the point of time, as it were, to express the periods marked out by such points; and an exact parallel is found in the Hebrew *שְׁבִיטָה*, which is primarily the new

another, and may be both one. The eucha-
 successive celebra-
 same manner, and was
 of union between con-
 from each other,
Liber Pontificalis, the
 rmentum to the several
 ated with Melchisedec.
 authority tells us that
 ined that no presbyter
 s through the whole
 certified (declaratum),
 om the bishop of the
 tion), which is called
 ibleth. *de Vitis Pont.*
 2, 22). The custom is
 in a letter ascribed to
 nt apparently composed
 riter. From this docu-
 p pope "sent the leaven
 urches within the city
 in the suburbicarian
 was done on Sundays,
 who on that day could
 ship) on account of the
 igh, might not, above all
 selves cut off from com-
 mune. *Ep. ad Decret.* in
 . *Univ.* tom. iv. p. 178).
 asked by another bishop,
 and the Fermentum about
 beyond the walls of an
 question shows that the
 n the writings of Gregory
 meet with a story which
 at it was not unknown in
 of a certain deacon, in a
 who, "when the time to
 come, having taken the
 kept the mystery of the
 o carry it to the door (of
 red the temple to place it
 irac. L. I. cap. 86).
 became obsolete, its observ-
 reduced by authority to a
 . For in an ancient gloss
 ed to Innocent, found by
 ry of St. Emmeran at Ratis-
 statement occurs: "Tou-
 ich he mentions, it is the
 mans that a portion be
 which is sung on Maundy
 aster-Eve, and on the holy
 t Pentecost, and on the
 ord's Nativity, throughout
 of the said mass there be
 everywhere at the stations,
 f be not present, when he
 . . . and this is called Fer-
 . . . on Easter-Eve, no pres-
 er, all churches communicat-
 e be sent to him of that very
 which the Lord Pope had
 a, *Itin. Germana. Inscr.* p.
 . The rite was observed at
 econd *Ordo Romanus*, now ex-
 ivilich is probably at least a
 n the first. Amalarius, who
 ar 827, cites some words that
 do II. § 12 (p. 49); but there
 e that he understood them of

the "commixture" of a particle of the newly-
 consecrated oblate (*De Eccles. Off.* lib. iii. c. 31).

II. There was another use of the reserved
 element, somewhat similar to the above, at the
 ordination of bishops and priests. The earliest
 notice occurs in a very ancient Roman directory,
 and refers (as indeed all the strictly Roman
 documents do) to bishops only. The pope at the
 communion which followed the consecration,
 gave a whole oblate to the newly-made bishop,
 of which he took a part at the time, but "re-
 served the rest of it to serve for communions for
 forty days" (*Ordo VIII.* p. 89). The practice
 may have spread from Rome, but it was at one
 time so widely observed that we are compelled
 to assign its origin to a very early though not
 primitive date. In the opinion of Morinus (*De
 Sacr. Ordin.* P. III. Exerc. VIII. c. ii. § iv.), it
 sprang up in Italy in the 8th century. Fulbert,
 bishop of Chartres, who was born in the 10th cen-
 tury, asserts that it was observed by all the bishops
 of his province at the ordination of presbyters,
 and he believed it to be universal (*Ep. II. ad
 Einar.* apud Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* L. I.
 c. viii. Art. IX. n. xx.). Rubrics prescribing it
 at the consecration of bishops are found in old
 pontificals of Concha, in Spain (Martene, u. s.
 Art. X. n. xxi.); of Salzburg (*Ibid.* Art. XI.
Ord. VIII.); of Toulouse, Rouen, Rheims (Mo-
 rinus, *de Sacr. Ord.* P. II. p. 281; and P. III. p.
 130), and the Latin church of Constantinople
 (Mart. u. s. *Ordo XI.* note at end), where the
 term was forty days; and of Mayence (Morinus,
 P. II. p. 278), where it was thirty. The pontificals
 of Compiègne (Mart. u. s. *Ord. VII.*) and
 of Salzburg (*Ibid.* *Ord. IX.*) testify to the cus-
 tom at the ordination of priests, the former fix-
 ing forty days for them, and the latter only
 seven. In the pontifical of the Latin church of
 Apamea in Syria, the pope, who is supposed to
 consecrate, is directed to give a "whole Host"
 to the new bishop, but its use is not mentioned.
 Afterward, however, it is said that "for forty
 days from the day of his consecration he ought,
 if possible, to sing mass daily for the people com-
 mitted to him." (Mart. u. s. *Ord. XIV.*) This
 evidently indicates the original purpose, and
 makes it highly probable that wherever in the
 west we find an order that the newly ordained
 shall celebrate for forty days (and this was a
 common rule: see Morinus, P. III. Exerc. VIII.
 c. ii. § vii. p. 132), there had also existed in
 connection with it the custom of reserving for those
 celebrations from the communion at the ordina-
 tion.

Mailillon (*Comm. in Ord. Rom.* p. xxxix.) states
 expressly that the particles of the reserved oblate
 were put day by day into the chalice by the
 newly-made bishop or priest, as in the rite be-
 fore described. This is more than probable;
 but it is right to mention that he gives no refer-
 ence, and that no direct evidence of the fact
 has come within the knowledge of the present
 writer. [W. E. S.]

FERRIOLUS. (1) Presbyter, martyr at
 Besançon with Ferrutio, the deacon; commemo-
 rated June 16 (*Mart.* Belue, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr at Vienna; commemorated Sept.
 13 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FERRUTIO. [FERRIOLUS.]

FERTUM is "the oblation which is brought
 to the altar, and sacrificed by the priest" (Du-
 cange, s. v. quoting Isidore and Papias); i. e. the
 element of bread offered on the altar and con-
 secrated. [C.]

FERULA. [NARTHEX; PASTORAL STAFF.]

FESTIVAL (*agorh, festum, dies festus*). The
 history of the first rise of festivals in the Chris-
 tian church is a subject involved in much
 obscurity. During the first few years, while
 the essentially Jewish character of the church
 continued, the Jewish yearly festivals were
 doubtlessly observed, especially the Passover and
 Pentecost, which later events had risen to a far
 higher pitch of dignity. The Sabboth also con-
 tinued to be observed, and with it the first day
 of each week became a lesser Easter day.

As time went on, the Jewish element in the
 church became proportionately diminished, with
 the breach between it and the Gentile part con-
 tinually widening. Indeed the tone of the
 language used by Christian writers in the 2nd
 century, with reference to the Jewish nation, is
 on the whole one of undisguised hostility. It is
 obvious therefore that the tendency would be
 from the nature of the case to reject such Jewish
 festivals as had not in some sort been made
 Christian, and thus, e.g., though some have seen
 in Christmas a higher form of the feast of the
 Dedication, it may be considered that the inheri-
 tance of the younger from the older church,
 so far as festivals are concerned, consists of the
 ennobled Passover and Pentecost. The "first
 day of the week" was no doubt a Christian
 festival from the earliest times. Up to the end
 of the 2nd century, we have no evidence of
 the existence of any other festival than these
 three. Gradually, however, from a belief in the
 lessons of good derivable from a celebration of
 great events in the history of our faith, and
 perhaps too from the analogy of the numerous
 festivals of the older religions, fresh commemora-
 tions arose, the earliest being that of the Epiphany,
 from which afterwards arose the celebration
 of Christmas as a separate festival. The exact
 time of the first rise of these, and of the connec-
 tion between the two, is uncertain; reference
 may be made to the separate articles. [CHRIST-
 MAS, EPIPHANY.] The time, too, from Easter to
 Pentecost came to be viewed as one long festal
 season, and in this period a special distinction
 began to be attached to Ascension-day, in the
 3rd or more probably in the 4th century. To-
 gether with these festivals and similar ones
 which were gradually added (e.g. those of the
 Presentation and Annunciation in the 6th
 century), all commemorative of the great events
 in the foundation of the faith, we find also
 festivals of another kind, the celebration of the
 anniversary of a martyr's death, viewed as his
 natal day into the better life. These would be
 at first confined more or less to special churches,
 but would subsequently obtain in many cases a
 general observance. Thus by the end of the
 4th century we find a wide-spread observance
 of festivals of e.g., St. Stephen, SS. Peter and Paul,
 and the Maccabees. The festival of St. John the
 Baptist, which at an early period became one of
 great importance (see e.g. the canon of the council
 of Agde, cited below), is not however of the above
 class, being a commemoration of the actual birth-

Cressensium volutate
 (non populus denegata."
 legal business had to
 , lib. ii. tit. 8, ll. 1, 2;
Justin. lib. iii. tit. 12.
 A special exemption
 emancipation or immu-
 , ii. tit. 8, l. 1; *agora*;
 public worship was of
 tantant of a festival.
 305 A.D.) condemns the
 (see *five Sundays* was
 (can. 21; *Labbe* i. 973).
 5 A.D.) while sanctioning
 of communicating in
 it elsewhere than in the
 more important festivals.
 another canon of the same
 Christians, the Epiphany,
 st, the Nativity of St.
 el si qui maximi die in
 (can. 18, 21; *Labbe*
ibid. iv. [511 A.D.] can.
 4) Fasting was a thing
 id of such day, and
 mark of sundry heretics
 on seasons of fasting. The
Canon censures those who
 ord's day or the Sabbath
 it will be remembered, was
 as a day of distinctly festal
 that any of the clergy who
 used (*καταπερίθετα*, can. 65,
 7); and a previous cano-
 ken of a bishop, priest or
 ed from flesh and wine on
 of scandal to many." (See
Canon Militis c. 3; *Can.*
 24 A.D.) can. 18; *Labbe* ii.
 ty. iv. [298 A.D.] can. 54;
 n these days in earlier times
 [MARRI], a custom which
 aanged into the plan of the
 Christian community feeling
 Tertullian, *Apol.* c. 39.) (5)
 significant ways of distinguish-
 y be added that at such times
 or prayer standing, not kneel-
 ico *nefas* *de gemitibus*
 immitate a die Pasche in
 gaudemus" (Tertullian, *de*
 3). Irenaeus, in referring to
 speaks of this absence of kneel-
 of the resurrection (*Fest.*
 ed. Stieren; cf. *Justin Martyr*,
 ad *Orthodoxos* 115; *Jerome*
Lactiferianus c. 8; vol. ii. 180;
 i. *Fidei* c. 23; vol. i. 1105, cl.
 de *Eccl. Off.* i. 33; *Balmain*
Cler. ii. 42. See also *Can.*
 5 A.D.) can. 20; *Labbe* ii. 37.
 note to the Oxford translation
 , pp. 417 sqq.)
 be divided into ordinary and
 erate statutes, *indict* ce), accord-
 anno in regular course in the
 or were specially appointed in
 some particular event. The
 in be divided into *immovable* and
movables, *mobiles*, according as
 not fall on the same day in every
 the latter division obviously car-

FESTUM

slating of such as depended on Easter, the time of
 which, depending on the Jewish or lunar calendar,
 varies with the Paschal festival originally belonged,
 to which with reference to its place in the Julian
 or solar year [EASTER]. It follows that the num-
 ber of Sundays between Christmas and Easter,
 and again between Easter and Christmas, is vari-
 able. Besides the obvious divisions of *feriae*
maiores, *minores*, there is further that into
feriae maiores, inferiores, according as the festival
 lasted for the whole or part of a day. Such
 divisions as those made by the Roman church
 of *festum simplex, duplex, semiduplex*, to say
 nothing of further subdivisions (*principale diplex*,
maius duplex, etc.) fall quite beyond our
 period. (For information concerning them see
 Buenger's *Glossarium*, s. v. *Festum*.) On the
 subject of the repeated commemorations of the
 more important festivals, see OBERAVE, and for
 the preliminary preparation for festivals, see
 VIII.

Among the literature on the subject of Chris-
 tian festivals may be mentioned the following:—
 Hospiamus, *Festa Christianorum*; Tiguri,
 1533. Dresser, *de festis debitis Christianorum*,
 Judaeorum et Ethnorum liber, quo origo, causa
 ritus et usus eorum exponitur. Lipsiae, 1591.
 Greiser, *de festis Christianorum*, Ingolstadt, 1612.
 Gueth, *Heortlopin*, Parisii, 1657. Laubertini,
Commentarii duo de Jesu Christi matricina ejus
Festis et de Missae Sacrificio. Patavi, 1752.
 Augusti, *de Feste der alten Christen*. Leipzig,
 1817. Ullmann, *Vergleichende Zusammenstellung*
des Christlichen Festtages mit Vorchristlichen
Festen, als Anhang zu Crenzer's Symbolik. Leipzig,
 1821. Nickel, *Die heiligen Zeiten und Feste*
nach ihrer Geschichte und Febr in der Katholi-
schen Kirche. Mainz, 1825-38. Binterim,
Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche
 (vol. v. part 1, pp. 119 sqq.) Mainz, 1825-38.
 Staudenmayer, *Der Geist des Christenthums*,
dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, heiligen Hand-
lungen und der heiligen Kunst. Mainz, 1838.
 [R. S.]

FESTUM. [FESTIVAL.]

FESTUS. (1) [JANUARIUS (10).]

(2) Saint in Tuscany; commemorated with
 Joannes, Dec. 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Ado-
 nis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FIDEI ADVOCATUS. [ADVOCATUS; DE-
 FENSOR.]

FIDEJUSSORES. [SPONSOR.]

FIDELES. [FAITHFUL.]

FIDELIUM MISSA. [MISSA.]

FIDELIUM ORATIO. [LORD'S PRAYER.]

FIDES. (1) [SOPHIA.]

(2) Virgin, martyr at Agen; commemorated
 Oct. 6 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).
 [W. F. G.]

FILIOLA (Spanish, *Higueta*), a name given
 in the Mozarabic liturgy to the VINE of the
 chalice. One of the rubrics relating to the
 oblation of the elements is: "[The Priest] places
 the chalice on the altar, and takes the *Filiola*,
 and without blessing it puts it on the chalice."
 (Mabilion, *De Liturg. Gall.* p. 42; Neale, *Eastern*
 Church, introd. 439). [C.]

FIR-TREE (OR PINE)

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FILLET, THE BAPTISMAL. [BAPTISM,
 p. 163; CHRISMAL.]

FINCHALE, COUNCIL OF (*Finchallense*
Concilium), held A.D. 798 or 9, at Finchale, near
 Durham, and presided over by Eanbald, arch-
 bishop of York, in which, after the faith of the
 first five general councils had been rehearsed
 from a book, a declaration of adhesion to them
 was reiterated in the words of archbishop Theo-
 dore, and the council of Hatfield, A.D. 680 (see 6,
 of II.), and other regulations for the good of the
 church in Northumbria and elsewhere, and for
 the keeping of Easter, were passed (Haddan and
 Stubbs, *Councils* iii. 527). [K. S. FF.]

FINES (*mulcti, emendi, emendatio*). *Mulcti*
 signified a fine paid by way of penalty to the
 judge: *emenda*, satisfaction made to the injured
 party. On the variations from this usage, see
 Du Cange, s. v. *Emenda*. Fines are found in
 the records of the early English church among
 the penalties inflicted for ecclesiastical offences.
 The laws of Ethelbert of Kent, A.D. 597-604
 (c. 1) require the following compensation to be
 made for injuries: "to the property of God and
 the church twelve fold, a bishop's property
 eleven fold, a priest's property nine fold, a
 deacon's six fold, a clerk's property three fold."
 The laws of Ine, king of Wessex, A.D. 690 (c. 2),
 order a man to have his child baptized within
 thirty days, "if it be not so, let him make
 'loaf' with thirty shillings, but if it die with-
 out baptism, let him make 'loaf' for it with all
 that he has;" (c. 3) a lord to pay thirty shillings
 who compels his 'theoman' to work on Sunday,
 a freeman working without his lord's command
 to pay sixty shillings; and (c. 13) any one committing
 perjury before a bishop to pay one hundred and
 twenty shillings. In the laws of Wihtrud of
 Kent, A.D. 696, it is decreed (c. 9) that if an
 'sone' do work contrary to his lord's command
 from sunset on Saturday to sunset on Sunday,
 he must make a 'loaf' of eighty shillings. The
 Penitential of Egbert (vii. 4) directs an offender
 for certain crimes either to do penance or pay a
 fine to the church, or divide money among the
 poor; and elsewhere (xiii. 11) allows a fine to
 take the place of fasting; but this latter instance
 is rather of the nature of a Redemption than a
 direct penance. (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*
 and *Eccl. Documents*, vol. iii. pp. 42, 211, 231.)
 [G. M.]

FINTANUS, presbyter, and confessor in Ire-
 land; commemorated Feb. 17 (*Mart. Usuardi*).
 [W. F. G.]

FIR-TREE OR PINE. See Aringhi, vol.
 ii. p. 632-3. "Præter epressum, et plus
 que et myrtus pro mortis symbolo, etc.
 Et pinus quidem, quia semel excisa nunquam
 reviviscit et repullulavit." These are rather
 general or human reasons for choice of the pine
 as an emblem of death, than as conveying any
 specially Christian thought. See Hieronimus vi.
 37, on the threat of Croesus to the people of Lamp-
 sacus. But the fir, or some tree much resembling
 it, accompanies the figure of the Good Shepherd,
 Aringhi, li. 294, from the cemetery of St. Prisci-
 lilla. Also at pp. 75 and 25; and it is certainly
 intended to be represented among the trees
 which surround the same form in vol. I. 577. The
 latter painting is from the Callixtine, and is

certainly an adaptation from the common fresco-subjects of Orpheus. The shepherd bears the syrinx or reeds, but sits in a half-reclining position, as Orpheus with the lyre; and various trees surround him. This association of the fir or pine with the Good Shepherd, and of both with Orpheus, would account for the introduction of different species of "trees of the wood," the fir being also characteristic of the mountains or wilderness in which the lost sheep is found. Herzog thinks it was placed on Christian graves (as well as others), as an evergreen tree, and therefore a symbol of immortality; which is by no means unlikely.

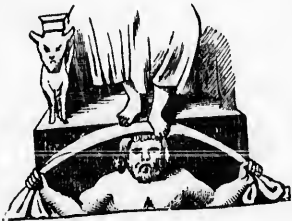
[R. St. J. T.]

FIRE, KINDLING OF. In the first *Ordo Romanus* (c. 32, p. 21; cf. p. 31), among the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday, the following is mentioned. At the ninth hour fire is produced by a flint and steel sufficient to light a candle, which ought to be placed on a reed; a lamp lighted from this is kept unextinguished in the church until Easter eve, to light the Paschal taper, which is to be blessed on that day. The directions of pope Zacharias (*Epist. 12, ad Bonif.*) are different. He says, that the tradition of the Romish church was, that on Maundy Thursday, three lamps of more than usual capacity were set alight in some hidden spot in the church, with oil sufficient to last till Easter eve, and that from these on the latter day the baptismal tapers were to be lighted. "But," he continues, "as to the crystals which you mention we have no tradition." The latter words seem to prove incontestably that the custom mentioned in the *Ordo Rom.* I., of striking fire from flint or "crystal," was not introduced at Rome in the time of Zacharias (†752), when it was already practised in some churches—probably in Gaul or Germany—known to Boniface. Pope Leo IV., however (†855), recognises it as an established custom to produce fresh fire on Easter eve, saying (*Hom. De Cura Past.* c. 7), "in salubato paschae extincto veteri novis ignis benedictur et per populum dividatur." Amalarius (*De Ord. Antiph.* c. 44) says that he learned from Theodorus, archdeacon of Rome, that no from Theodorus, archdeacon of Rome, that no lamps or tapers were used in the Roman church on Good Friday, but that on that day new fire is kindled, the flame from which is preserved until the nocturnal office. Compare Martene, *Rit. Ant.* T. xviii. 6.

For the kindling of tapers on Candlemas Day, see MARY THE VIRGIN, FESTIVALS OF. [C.]

FIRE, ORDEAL OF. [ORDEAL.]

FIRMAMENT. The male figure observed beneath the feet of our Lord, in representations



No. 1

FIRST FRUITS

of the dispute with the doctors (see Bottari, *tav. xv.*, Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, and woodcut No. 1) is said to be intended for Uranus, or the firmament of heaven. It is always holding a veil or cloth above its head, which appears to symbolize the stretching out of the heavens like a curtain, *Ps. civ.* 2; *Is. xl.* 22; and more particularly *Ps. xviii.* 9, of "the darkness under God's feet."

In another instance, from a tomb in the Vatican (Bottari, *tav. xxxiii.*, woodcut No. 2), a



No. 2

feminine bust is shown holding a floating drape over its head, which seems illated by the wind. The figure above seems to walk firmly over it. On the significance of this, see Buonarroti, *Vetri*, p. 7; Bottari, i. p. 41; Visconti, *M.P.C.* tom. iv. pl. 418. Garrucci (*Ungl. p. 92*, note 1) does not assent to the common belief that this represents the firmament. (Murtigny, *Diet. des Antiq. Chret.*, s. v. *Ciel*). [R. St. J. T.]

FIRMATUS, deacon; deposition at Aucerre, Oct. 5 (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FIRMINUS. (1) Bishop, martyr at Amiens; commemorated Sept. 25 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

(2) Bishop, confessor at Uzetia; commemorated Oct. 11 (*ib.*). [W. F. G.]

FIRMUS. [FELICIANUS (1).]

FIRST FRUITS (*Primitivæ*, of animals or men, *πρωτότοκα*; of raw produce, *πρωτογενήματα*; of prepared produce, *ἀραγία*). *Aug. Quest.* in *Num.* xviii.). Compare *FIRST FRUITING OF*.

The custom of dedicating first fruits to God obtained early in the church (*Orig. c. Cel.* viii. 33, 34). Irenæus thinks that Christ enjoined them when he took bread and wine at the last supper (*Hoer.* iv. 32), and that they ought to be paid (*Oporet.* *ib.* 34). Origen says their payment is becoming and expedient, and refusal is unworthy and impious, yet he distinctly states that the Levitical law of first fruits is not binding in the letter upon the Christian church (*Num.* xviii. *Hom.* xi.). But as the idea grew that the clergy had succeeded to the position and to the rights of the Levites, first fruits were considered obligatory, to withhold them was to defraud God; they are more incumbent upon Christians than Jews, for Christ bids his followers to sell all they have, and also to exceed the

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(*Canon.* to the who wor clerics. 37), ma milk, wh the scri

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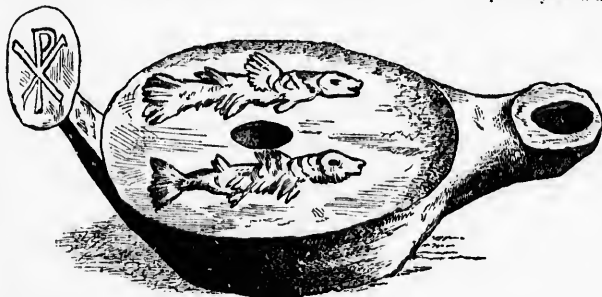
FISH p. 825.]

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righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees; the priest whom they support will bring a blessing on the house by his prayers, the offerer by his spirit of thankfulness. (Jerome on *Ezek.* xlv.; in *Mit.* iii.; Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 80, *Orat.* 15. *Apost. Const.* ii. 25.) Yet, though the payment was so vigorously pressed, we find in Cassian (*Collat.* xxi. 1 seq.) that abbot John regards first fruits as venuntary gifts, while Theonas says he has not even heard the reason for paying them before. The council of Friuli (A.D. 791, can. 14), quotes Malachi iii. as conclusive proof of the obligation of first fruits.

Most stress is laid upon paying first fruits of the corn-floor and the wine-press, but the *Apostolic Constitutions* mention others and regulate their distribution. First fruits of the corn-floor and wine-press, of sheep and oxen, of bread and honey, of wine in cask, are to be paid for the support of the priests, but of clothing, money, and other possessions for the orphan and widow (*Const.* vii. 30). The bishop alone has the right to receive and apportion first fruits (ii. 25). At first they were brought with the other oblations at the celebration of the eucharist. This was found inconvenient, and it was ordered

tural or anagrammatic meaning is perhaps the most popular at the present day. In Matt. xiii. 47-49; Luke v. 4-10; it is used in the parable of the net for the members of the church; and our Lord there assigns it its significance; His parabolic use of it is frequently imitated in early Christian art, where the fishes in the church's net, or caught by the hook of the fisher, correspond exactly to the lambs of the fold, or to the doves, which also represent the faithful on many Christian tombs and vaultings (see s. vv.) But the anagrammatic use of the word *ΙΧΘΥΣ* appears to have been very early. It was derived, as all know, from the initials of the word; *Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτῆρ*. This appears to be in the mind of St. Clement of Alexandria (*Pædag.* iii. c. 11, p. 106), and to have been so well understood in his time as to have required no explanation, since he recommends the use of the symbol on seals and rings, without giving an explanation of its import. The other devices he commends are the dove, ship, lyre, and anchor. At so early a period as the middle of the 2nd century, and under the continual dangers of persecution, the use of such a symbol for the person of the Lord was perfectly natural, as it



(*Canon. Ap.* 4) that they should not be brought to the altar, but to the bishop and presbyters, who would distribute to the deacons and other clerics. The church of Africa (*Cod. Can. Afr.* 37), made an exception in favour of honey and milk, which were needed as accompaniments of the sacrament of baptism.

The payment of first fruits was accompanied by a special formula (Jerome on *Ezek.* xlv.); and I have brought to thee first fruits of the produce of the earth, which thou hast given me, O Lord. The priest replied with the blessing written in Deut. xviii. 3. A special form of thanksgiving is found in *Apost. Const.* viii. 40.

The amount of first fruits was not fixed by the Levitical law, but left to the liberality of the worshipper. Tradition handed down one-sixtieth as the minimum, those who were more religious gave one-fortieth, the rest something between. (Jerome on *Ezek.* xlv.; Cassian *Coll.* xxi. 3.) [J. S.]

FISH. [See EUCHARIST IN CHRISTIAN ART, p. 625.]

The Fish is a symbol of almost universal occurrence in the painting and sculpture of the primitive church. Like the Dove or the Lamb it is used in more than one sense; and its non-scrip-

would attract no notice from the outer world; and in the same manner, with even more obvious reasons, the form of the cross was frequently disguised up to the time of Constantine. [See CROSS.] But see also Tertullian (*De Baptismo*, c. 1) "Nos pisciculi secundum *ΙΧΘΥΣ* nostrum in aqua nascimur." Also Jerome ad *Nossum*, *Ep.* 43, "B. tanquam *ΙΧΘΥΣ* filius aquosa petit." [BAPTISM, p. 171.] But the mystic senses assigned to the emblem by various fathers often seem to the modern mind somewhat gratuitous and ill-founded. They strain their imaginations, apparently, to find reasons in the nature of things for a devoutly ingenious arrangement of initial letters; and seem to assume that there must be real analogy between the Divine Lord and the fish, because the initials of the name and titles of the one made the Greek name of the other. The pleasure derived from the anagram, or the facility it may have given for concealing Christian doctrine from the heathen, seem occasionally to have overcome the thought that the Lord Himself used the fish as an emblem of His people only, not of Himself—of the sheep, not the Shepherd. Aringhelli dwells more naturally on the Scriptural meaning, and the various examples he gives (vol. ii. p. 684; ii. p. 620; also that

doctors (see Bottari, Musæus Bassani, and woodcut for Uranus, or it is always holding a rod, which appears to be of the heavens like a staff; and more particularly the darkness under

in a tomb in the Vatican woodcut No. 2), a



holding a floating drapery seems inflated by the wind. To walk firmly over it. Of this, see Buonarroti, p. 41; Visconti, *M.P.C.* woodcut (*Magi. gl. pt.* p. 92, to the common belief that the infant was brought to the infant. (Martigny, *Dict. Ciel*). [R. St. J. T.]

on; deposition at Auxerre, (Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

Bishop, martyr at Amiens; 25 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

ator at Uzetia; commemoration. [W. F. G.]

IANUS (1.)

(Primitive, of animals or raw produce, *προσφορῶν* produe, *ἀπαρχα*. Aug. ii.) Compare FRUITS, OF-

edicating first fruits to God in the church (Orig. c. *Cels.* viii. thinks that Christ enjoined bread and wine at the last Supper), and that they ought to be given (Origen says they pay- ment, and refusal is dangerous, yet he distinctly states that the law of first fruits is not binding upon the Christian church. (n. xi.). But as the idea grew and succeeded to the position of the Levites, first fruits were to be withheld them was to be more incumbent upon us, for Christ bids his followers have, and also to exceed the

from the inscription made in Stilicho's consulship A.D. 400, vol. i. p. 19) all speak of the fish in the Scriptural sense as a type of the disciple. The lamp in Aringhi (ii. 620; see woodcut) has the monogram on the handle, and the two fishes on the central part. He also refers to the dolphin as king of fishes, speaking of its reported love for its offspring, with reference to the tomb of Valeria or Valeria Latobia, now in the Vatican. Martigny states that because Christ is man, He therefore is a fish of His own net, and gives the prophetic significance, following Aringhi, to the story of Tobias and the fish which delivered Sara from the power of the evil spirit. This he literally accepts, and follows the various attempted connexions of the anagram with the fish of the last repast at the sea of Galilee; and sees in them the sacramental representatives of the body of our Lord, quoting St. Augustine, (*Treat* exxiii. in *Johann.* xvi.) and Bede's observation on the same passage, *Piscis assus, Christus est passus*. These analogies are difficult to follow, especially when we consider the Scriptural use of the emblem from the Lord's own mouth.

The fish as the believer, (*Ambrose*, iv. in *Luc.* v. "*piscis qui hanc enavigant vitam*") is more frequently represented on the hook of the gospel fisherman, than in the net of the church. [See FISHERMAN.] Bread and fish are the universal viands of the representations of earlier Agapae, as frequently in the Callixtine catacomb. The genuineness of some at least of these paintings is generally allowed, and Dr. Theodore Mommsen mentions in particular an Agape with bread and fish, in the vault named after Domitilla, the fish, in the vault named after Domitilla, the grand-daughter of Vespasian, on the Ardeatine way and near the ancient church of SS. Nereus and Achilles. In this painting so impartial and accurate an observer has full confidence, as coeval with the vault; though he thinks the case incomplete for the vault itself being so early as 95 A.C.; and observes that the painting of this subject, as of those of Daniel, Noah, and the Good Shepherd, is less excellent than that of the vaultings of the original chamber of Domitilla without the catacomb, which is quite like a work of the Augustan age.

The use of this emblem is connected by the Martigny with the "*disciplina arcani*" of the early church. There can be little doubt that the reverent mystery was observed as to the eucharist, and that in ages of persecution, till Constantine's time, no public use of the cross was made, as a sign of the person of the Lord. Till then, the fish-anagram was perhaps in special and prevailing use, and it may have yielded its place from that time to the cross, the sign of full confession of Jesus Christ. For the secret discipline after the time of Constantine seems to have consisted mainly in the gradual nature of the instructions given to catechumens, and the fact that for a time the chief doctrines of the faith were not brought before them. [R. St. J. T.]

The tesserae given to the newly-baptized were frequently in the form of the symbolical fish, as pledges or tokens of the rights conferred in baptism (*Allegranza, Opus. Erucl.* p. 107). Of this kind is probably the bronze fish given by Costadoni (*Del Pesce*, iv. 22), inscribed with the word *CaCAIC*. See woodcut.

Bolletti (*Osservazioni*, p. 516) discovered in the catacombs three glass fishes, with a number inscribed upon each; thus, x. xx. xxv. The purpose of the numbers is altogether uncertain.



The custom of decorating baptisteries with fish has a similar origin. In the ruins of an ancient baptistery near the church of St. Prisca at Rome, two beautiful mosaics representing fish were discovered, which are now in the Kircher museum (*Lupl. Dissert.* i. 83). See BAPTISM, p. 171.

FISHERMAN. Our Lord or His disciples are frequently represented as the fishers of men in ancient art, St. Clement of Alexandria uses the simile for both. *Hymn to the Saviour*, v.



No. 1.

24 sqq.; *Paedagog.* iii. 108. See also Aringhi, ii. 620. Martigny gives an example (see cut No. 1) from an article by Costadoni, *Del pesce* (vol. 4), in the collection of Calogera, Venice, p. 247, in the collection of Calogera, Venice, 1738-1787), representing a man clothed in the skin of a fish, bearing a sports or basket, which may, as Polidori supposes, represent the divine or apostolic fisher, or the fish of the church's net. The net is more rarely represented than the hook and line, but St. Peter is represented



No. 2.

casting the net, in an ancient ivory in Mamech (*Costumi* i. prefaz. p. 1). The net of St. Peter, with the Lord fishing with the line, is a device of the papal signets. In the Callixtine catacomb (*De Rossi, IXΘC* tab. ii. n. 4) the fisherman is drawing forth a huge fish from the waters which flow from the rock in Horeb (see cut No. 2). See also Bottari, tav. xlii. and a corcut No. 2). See also Bottari, *Pesce* tav. xxx. on a pelian given by Costadoni, *Pesce* tav. xxx. on a small glass cup given by Garucci (*Viter.* vi. 10), a figure in tunic and pallium (supposed to represent the Lord) holds in his hand a large fish



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as if just drawn from the sea (cut No. 3). At St. Zenone in Verona, the patron saint is thus represented, and this subject, with those of Abraham's sacrifice, Noah's ark, and others, on the bronze doors and marble front of that most important church, are specially valuable as connecting the earlier Lombard carvings with the most ancient and scriptural subjects of primitive church-work. This symbol, like the Vine, is adopted from Pagan decoration, which of course proves its antiquity. [R. St. J. T.]



No. 3.

work. This symbol, like the Vine, is adopted from Pagan decoration, which of course proves its antiquity. [R. St. J. T.]

FISHERMAN'S RING. [RING.]

FISTULA (called also *calamus, canna, canna, siphon, arundo, pipa, puilliteris*). A tube, usually of gold or silver, by suction through which it was formerly customary to receive the wine in communicating. The ancient *Ordo Romanus* thus explains its use: "Diaconus tenens calicem et fistulam stet ante episcopum, usque dum ex sanguine Christi quantum voluerit sumat; et sic calicem et fistulam subdiacono commendat." Among other instances, five silver-gilt *fistulae ad communicandum* are enumerated among the sacramental vessels of the church of Mayence; and at a later date, pope Victor III. left to the monastery of Monte Casino, "fistulam auream cum angulo, et fistulas argenteas duas." Pope Adrian I. is said by Anastasius to have offered "calicem majorem fundatum cum siphone pensantem libras xxx.;" and the ancient Carthusian statutes recite that the Order has no ornaments of gold or silver in its churches, "praeter calicem, et calamum, quo Sanguis Domini sumitur."

The adoption of the fistula doubtless arose from caution, lest any drop from the chalice should be spilt, or any other irreverence occur in communicating. This seems intimated by the rule of the Cistercian Order (*Lib. Us. Ord. Cist.* cap. 53), which says that the *fistula* is not necessary in *Missae solennis*, when the ministers alone communicate; but that when more communicate it should be used. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* iii, 31) states that it was the custom of the Arias to communicate by drinking from the chalice, as if the use of the *fistula* was for that reason preferred by the orthodox.

The *fistula* has fallen into disuse since the practice of communicating in one kind has prevailed. It is, however, still retained in solemn papal celebrations for the communion of the pope. The senior cardinal bishop purifies the tube (*calamum aureum Papae*) with wine, and, after kissing it, places it in the chalice, which he delivers into the right hand of the pope, who communicates by suction. Cardinal Bona states that the *fistula* was used in his time in the Benedictine monastery of the congregation of St. Maur, in France, where also the assistants communicated in both kinds.

The *fistula* does not appear to have been adopted in the Eastern church, which made use of a spoon for communicating. [See Voigt, *Historia fistulae Eucharisticae*; Krazer, *Lit.* pp. 204-5; Bona, *Res. Lit.*; Martene, *De ant. rit.* lib. iv.; Catalani, *Cusrem.* &c.] [H. J. H.]

FLABELLUM (*βραβίδιον, βραβίς*). Among the evidences of the Eastern origin of the Christian religion is the use of fans, *flabella*, during the celebration of the Eucharist. Having its birthplace and earliest home in a climate teeming with insect life, where food exposed uncovered is instantly blackened and polluted by swarms of flies, it was natural that the bread and wine of its sacramental feast should be guarded from defilement by the customary precautions. The *flabellum*, or *muscarium*, having been once introduced among the furniture of the altar for necessary uses, in process of time became one of its regular ornaments, and was thus transferred to the more temperate climates of the West, where its original purpose was almost forgotten.

The earliest notice of the *flabellum* as a liturgical ornament is in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii, 12), which direct that after the oblation, before and during the prayer of consecration, two deacons are to stand, one on either side of the altar, holding a fan made of thin membrane (parchment), or of peacock feathers, or of fine linen, and quietly drive away the flies and toher small insects, that they may not strike against the vessels. In the liturgies also of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, the deacons are directed to fan the holy oblations during the prayer of consecration. This fanning, according to Germanus (*Contemp. rer. Ecl.* p. 157), who, though a late authority (A. D. 1222), may be taken as an evidence of earlier usage, ceased with the Lord's Prayer, and was not resumed. Early writers furnish many notices of the use of the *flabellum* as an essential part of the liturgical ceremonial. Cyril of Scythopolis, in his *Life of St. Euthymius*, § 78 (c. A. D. 550), describes Domitian standing at the right side of the holy table, while St. Euthymius was celebrating, with the mystical fan (*μετὰ τῆς μυστηρίου βραβίδος*) just before the Trisagion. Moschus also (*Prat. Spirit.* § 196) when narrating how some shepherd boys near Apamea were imitating the celebration of the Eucharist in childish sport, is careful to mention that two of the children stood on either side of the celebrant, vibrating their handkerchiefs like fans (*τοῖς φακιδάλιοις [fascioliis] ἐπιπνέον*). The life of Nicetas (*ap. Surium*, April 3) describes St. Athanasius assisting at the divine mysteries, "ministerii flabellum tenens erat enim diaconus." Among the ornaments of the church of Alexandria specified in the inventory given, *Chronica Alexand.* A. D. 624 (ap. Menard. *ad Sacr. Gregor.* p. 319) are *τιμια βραβίδια*.

As the deacons were the officers appointed to wave the fan over the sacred oblations, the delivery of the *flabellum*, or *βραβίδιον*, constitutes a part of many of the Oriental forms for the ordination to the diaconate. Thus *Eucholog.* p. 253, after the *ἀράβρωσ* or stole has been given and placed on the left shoulder, the holy fan (*ἅγιον βραβίδιον*), is put into the deacon's hands, and he is placed "at the side of the holy table to fan;" and again, p. 251, the deacon is directed to take the *βραβίδιον*, and stand at the right side of the table, and wave it over the holy things (*βραβίσει*).

• We may compare with this the well known story of St. Athanasius acting the boy-bishop and baptizing his companions on the shore at Alexandria.

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) holds in his hand a large fish

ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἀγγέλων (cf. Martene, *de Rit. Eccl.* ii. 525). Martene gives similar examples from the ordination of the Maronite deacons (*de Rit.* ii. 545), chorepiscopi ("diaconi tenentes flabella," *ib.* p. 554), and patriarchs (*ib.* 559); as well as of the Jacobite deacons (*ib.* 579, 580). Renaudot (ii. 80) asserts that though mentioned in the ordination services, the *βῆσιδιον* does not appear in the Syrian liturgies. A *flabellum*, formed of a silver disk, was used in the Armenian church, as it still is. Neale (*Eastern Ch.* p. 396) remarks that the use of the *flabellum* was much more frequent among the Armenians than in the Greek church.

The *flabellum* in ordinary use in the Greek church represented a cherub or seraph, with six wings, in allusion to Is. vi. 2. These wings were by preference made of peacocks' feathers, originally on account of their beauty, subsequently with

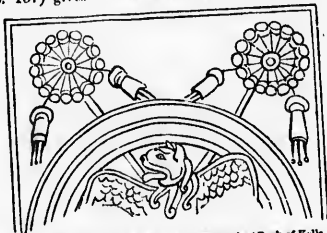


No. 1. Greek Flabellum From Martigny.



No. 2. Armenian Deacon, with Flabellum. From Martigny.

mystical reference to the living creatures of the Apocalypse (Rev. iv. 6, 8). Goar (*Euchol.* p. 137) gives the annexed figure of a Greek



No. 3. Flabella with pendent Balls. From the Book of Kells. Westwood's Anglo-Sax. and Irish MSS.

flabellum (No. 1), consisting of an angelic head affixed to the end of a handle, the fan formed

by the six wings surrounding the face (Bona, *Liturg. Lib.* i. c. 25, § 6). The *flabella* of the Armenians and Maronites were formed of discs



No. 4. Figure holding Flabellum and the Holy Kalf. From the 'Gospels of Trèves.' (Westwood, Anglo-Sax. and Irish MSS.)

of silver or brass, surrounded with little bells. The figure (No. 2) given by Martigny from Le Brun (vol. v. p. 58) represents an Armenian



No. 5. Deacon with Flabellum. From Boldeti.

deacon with his *flabellum*. We give also similar examples from the *Book of Kells* (No. 3) and the *Gospels of Trèves* (No. 4), derived from West-



No. 6. Deacon with Flabellum. From MS. in the Barberini Library.

wood's *Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.* pl. 53, No. 7, and pl. 20 (see also p. 153).

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Flabellum. From Boldetti.

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Flabellum. From MS. in the ... Barberini Library.

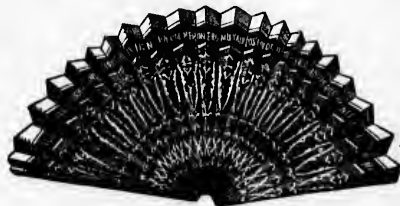
on and Irish MSS. pl. 53, No. 7, ... p. 153).

Although there is no mention of the *flabellum* in the *Ordo Romanus*, or Latin ritual books, there is no doubt that it was used by the Western church at an early time. This is evidenced by a story given by Moschus (*Prat. Spiritual.* § 150) of a deacon who had falsely accused his



No. 7. Deacon with Flabellum. From MS. in Public Library, Rouen.

bishop, being removed from the altar when he was holding the fan in the presence of pope Agapetus, A.D. 535, because he hindered the descent of the Holy Spirit on the gifts. An earlier example is furnished by a gilded glass found in the catacombs, representing a deacon fanning the infant Saviour, seated on the knee of His Virgin Mother (Boldetti, *Osservazioni*, p. 202),



No. 8. The Monza Flabellum. From 'Archaeological Journal.'

of which we give a woodcut (No. 5). The ancient engraving (No. 6), showing a deacon vibrating his fan during the celebration of the eucharist, is from a miniature in the Barberini Library (Martigny, *de l'usage du flabellum*). In the next illustration (No. 7) from an illumination in a MS. in the Public Library at Rouen, a bishop is seen bowing his head in the act of elevating the water, over which the attendant deacon waves a *flabellum*, apparently made of parch-

ment attached to a handle. Bona, u. s., cites also the ancient Clunia Consuetudinal, and that of St. Benignus of Dijon, together with a Pontifical Ceremonial of the time of Nicholas V. c. 1447. The *flabellum* often appears in inventories of church furniture. In that taken at St. Riquier, near Abbeville, in 831, mention is made of a "*flabellum argenteum ad muscas sacrificiis abigendas*." Other later examples, including some from our own country, will be found in Mr. Albert Way's paper on the *Flabellum* (*Archaeol. Journ.* v. 263), sufficiently establishing its use in the churches of the West, where it could be scarcely regarded as requisite as regarded its original intention. We may cite also a letter of St. Hildebert of Tours, c. 1098 (*Ep.* 2, 71), accompanying the present of a *flabellum* made to a friend, in which the writer expounds its mystical signification; the flies representing the temptations of the devil to be driven away by the Catholic faith.

The *flabellum* appears to have gradually fallen into disuse in the Western church, and to have almost entirely ceased by the 14th century. At the present day, the only relic of the usage is in the magnificent fans of peacocks' feathers, carried by the attendants of the pope in solemn processions on certain great festivals.

Though the original intention of the *flabellum* was one of simple utility, various mystical meanings collected round it. Reference has been already made to the idea that these feather fans typified the cherubim and seraphim surrounding the heavenly throne, *αἱ ῥιπίδες εἰς τὸ πᾶν εἰς τῶν Χερουβίμ* (German. u. s. p. 163), *τὰ ῥιπίδια καὶ οἱ διάκονοι ἐμφαίνουσι τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα Σεραφίμ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀλιγομάτων Χερουβίμ ἐμφέρειαν* (*Id.* p. 169). Germanus also holds, according to Neale (*Eastern Ch.* p. 396), that the vibration

of the *flabella* typifies the tremor and astonishment of the angels at our Lord's Passion. We find the same idea in a passage from the monk Job, given by Photius (*cod. ccxii. lib. v. c. 25*), who also states that another purpose of the vibration of the *flabella* was the raising of the mind from the material elements of the eucharist, and fixing them on the spiritual realities.

Two *flabella* are still preserved, that of Theodolinda of the latter part of the fifth century, in

first chamber—little winged geni carrying on their shoulders small baskets filled with flowers, to be strewn on the graves of the saints who repose within (Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture*, tav. ccxix.). In the churches of Rome and Ravenna the mosaics of the apse usually represent the delights of paradise; there we find figures of our Lord with the Virgin and other saints upon a groundwork of grass and flowers (Clampin, *Vet. monim.* I. tab. xlvi. et passim). The bottoms of ancient glass cups have been found unembellished with the same subjects treated in the same manner [GLASS, CHRISTIAN].

A flower rising out of a crown placed between St. Peter and St. Paul in the place where the monogram generally appears has been thought to be a symbol of the Lord. An example may be seen on a gilt vase (Buonarrotti, *Frammenti di Vetru.* xvi. 1).

(Martene, *De Rit. Ant.* lib. iii. c. 10, § 13; Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iv. 1, 130; Martigny, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *Fleurs*). [G.]

FOLIATI. [SHOE.]

FONT, BAPTISMAL. In the article BAPTISTRY, full particulars have been given of the building or chamber set apart for the administration of the sacrament of baptism. It remains now to speak of the cistern or vessel for containing the water. This was known under different names; the general Greek appellation being *κοιλια βαπτισμα*, the Latin, *fontina*. Other names were *κρηνη*, *τροχιδος*, *νεαριον*, *naturarium* (Ducange, *Constantinopol. Christ.* lib. iii. c. 81, p. 73).

The material in the Western church was, as a rule, stone; frequently porphyry, or other rich marbles. It was permitted by the council of Lerida, A.D. 524, that if the presbyter could not procure a stone font, he might provide himself with a "vas convenientis ad baptizandi officium" of any material (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1615), which was to be reserved for that sacrament alone (Leo IV. *de Cura Pastoral.*; Labbe, *Concil.* viii. 37). In the Eastern church the font was usually of metal or wood, and seldom or never possessed any beauty. (Neale, *Eastern Church*, l. 214.)

The usual form of the font was octagonal, with a mystical reference to the eighth day, as the day of our Lord's resurrection, and of regeneration by the Spirit (cf. Ambrus. *Epist.* 20, 44). This explanation of the octagonal form is given in the following lines attributed to St. Ambrose, first published by Gruter, *Thes. Inscr.* p. 1166, descriptive of the baptistry of the church of St. Thecla, in which Alipius and his companions were baptized by him, Easter, A.D. 387.

"Octachorum sanctos tempium conurgit in usus,
Octagontis Fons est minere dignus eo.
Hoc numero decuit sacri Baptismatis autam
Surgere qui populis vera castus rediit.
Luce resurgentis Christat qui claustra resolvit
Mortis et a fontis suscepit exanimæ,
Confessoque reos maculose crinitine solvens
Fontis purifluis diluit triguus."

The piscina is sometimes found of a circular form, and is occasionally, though very rarely (as at Aquileia) hexagonal (cf. BAPTISTRY, woodcut, p. 175). Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Martyr.* lib. i. c. 23), speaks of a font in the

shape of a cross in Spain. The form of a sepulchre is stated to have been sometimes adopted, in allusion to the Christian's burial with Christ in baptism (Röm. iv. 4).

The piscina usually formed a basin in the centre of the baptistry, rather beneath the level of the pavement, surrounded with a low wall. It was entered by an ascent and descent of steps. According to Isidore Hispal. (*Orig.* xv. 4; *de Var.* Off. ii. 24) the normal number was seven; three in descent to symbolize the triple renunciation of the world, the flesh, and the devil; three in ascent to symbolize the confession of the Trinity, and a seventh, "septimus . . . qui et quartus" at the summit of the enclosing wall, for the officiating minister to stand on. But the rule concerning the number was not invariable. At Nocera, the number of steps is five, two in ascent, and three in descent. The descent in the piscina of St. John Lateran is by four steps. We find frequent references in the fathers to the catechumens going down into the font for immersion, e.g. Cyril, *Myst.* ii. § 4; "ye were led to the pool of Divine baptism . . . and descended three times into the water, and ascended again;" *Id. Myst.* iii. § 1. "After you had come up from the pool of the sacred stream;" Ambrose, *de Sacra.* lib. i. c. 2. "Veni ad fontem, Ingressus es." The most detailed description of a baptismal font, is that given in the life of St. Sylvester, in the *Bibl. Top.* of the so-called Anastasius (§ 37). This font is said to have been presented by Constantine the Great to the church of the Lateran, in which he was falsely recorded to have been baptized himself. The description is at any rate of value as indicating the decoration and arrangements of an early font. The cistern is stated to have been of porphyry, overlaid within and without with silver. In the middle of the font were two pillars of porphyry, carrying a golden dish, in which the Paschal lamp burnt, fed with balsam, and with an asbestos wick. A lamb of pure gold on the brim of the basin, and seven silver stags, in allusion to Ps. xlii. 1, poured out water; on either side of the lamb were silver statues of Christ, and the Baptist. The font erected by St. Innocent at the church of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, c. 410, was also ornamented with a silver stag, pouring out water (Anastas § 57). Over the fountains, doves of silver or gold were sometimes suspended, in allusion to the circumstances of Christ's baptism. [E. V.]

FONT, BENEDICTION OF. In the 4th century, the ceremony of blessing the water to be used in baptism was already regarded as of high antiquity. Basil the Great, says expressly (*De Spiritu S.* c. 27), that the benediction of the baptismal water was one of the rites which the church had received from ecclesiastical tradition, not directly from Scripture; i. e. it was of immemorial usage. The principal traces of it in the remains of early literature are the following.

The passage sometimes cited from the Ignatian letter to the Ephesians (c. 18), that Christ was baptized to purify the water, is very far from proving that any special benediction of the water took place at the time of baptism. Nor is it; any means certain that the heretics mentioned by Irenæus (*Hæres.* i. 21, § 4), who poured oil

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ly formed a basin in the rry, rather beneath the level rounded with a low wall, ascent and descent of steps. (Hispah. *Orig.* v. 4; *de Urb.* al number was seven; three the triple renunciation of, and the devil; three in the confession of the Trinity, tinus. . . qui et quartus. . . the enclosing wall, for the to stand on. But the ruler was not invariable. At r of steps is five, two in descent. The descent into lateran is by four steps, references in the fathers to ing down into the font for rily. *Myst.* ii. § 4; "ye were Divine baptism. . . and nes into the water, and *Myst.* iii. § 1. "After you in the pool of the sacred, *de Sacr.* lib. i. c. 2. "V. resus es." The most detailed baptismal font, is that given aster. In the *IRM Pap.* of the (§ 37). This font is said d by Constantine the Great the Lateran, in which he is have been baptized himself. At any rate of value as in- and arrangements of an tern is stated to have been within and without with dle of the font were two r, carrying a golden dish, in lamp burnt, fed with balsam, as wick. A lamb of pure gold basin, and seven silver stags, lli. 1, poured out water; on lamb were silver statues of otist. The font erected by St. hurch of SS. Gervasius and was also ornamented with a g out water (Anastas § 57) ves, of silver or gold were ed, in allusion to the circum- baptism.

[E. V.]

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and water over the head of those whom they baptized, did so as imitating the consecration of the water by pouring in christ, as practised by the orthodox. But when Tertullian (*de Baptismo*, c. 4), after speaking of the aboriginal consecration of the element of water at creation by the Spirit of God, goes on to say, "Therefore all waters acquire the blessing of consecration (sacramentum sanctificationis) from their primeval prerogative, God being invoked (Invocatu Deo)," he probably alludes to a special invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the water which took place before baptism. Some years later, Cyprian (*Epist.* 70, c. 1) says that the water for baptism should first be cleansed and sanctified by the priest. So Bishop Sedatus of Thuburhum (*Sententia Episc.* c. 18, in Cyprian's *Works*), speaks of baptismal water consecrated by the prayer of the priest (aqua sacerdotis prece in ecclesia consecrata). The Arabic canon of Hippolytus (can. 19, p. 75, quoted by Probst, p. 77), direct the candidates for baptism to stand by the font of pure water made ready by benediction. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* lib. 3) says that simple water, having uttered over it the invocation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, acquires a power of holiness (*hysteros*). Ambrose (*De his qui baptizantur*, c. 5) mentions exorcism, benediction, invocation of the Holy Trinity, and prayers. We have here, perhaps, the earliest distinct mention of the exorcism of the baptismal water. An example of the form of exorcism may be seen in BAPTISM, § 30, p. 158.

With regard to the form of benediction, we have already seen that Tertullian speaks of an invocation over the water. Probably the earliest form extant, which cannot be assumed with certainty to be older than the beginning of the 4th century, is that of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 43), in which the priest, after a recitation of the mercies of God analogous to the PREFACE of the eucharistic office, proceeds, "Look down from heaven, and sanctify this water, and grant grace and power that he who is baptized according to the command of Thy Christ, may with Him be crucified and die and be buried and rise again to the adoption which is in Him, by dying unto sin, but living unto righteousness." Compare Dionysius Areop. *Hierarch.* *Eccl.* c. 2.

Another ceremony, the pouring in of chrism, generally so as to form a cross on the surface of the water, was probably of later introduction, though it is found at least as early as the 6th century [BAPTISM, p. 159]. Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Mart.* l. 23) after a curious description of the miraculous filling of certain fountains in Spain, proceeds to say that the water was sanctified by exorcism and sprinkled over with chrism; a passage which proves that in the time of Gregory (†594), the pouring in of chrism was regarded as a matter of course. And it may be mentioned in illustration, that according to Floard's description of the baptism of Clovis (*Hist. Remens. Eccl.* i. 13), it was after the benediction of the font that chrism was found wanting, and supplied by the advent of the miraculous AMICULA; on receiving which, St. Remi sprinkled the font with chrism (chrismate fontem conspersit).

In Mabillon's *Vetus Missale Gallicanum* (c. 25, p. 362), we find exhortation, prayer, exorcism

of the water, preface, benediction of the font, another preface (called *Consectio Fontis*) then the rubric, "Postea facit tres cruces de chrismo." In the Gallican *Sacramentary* printed by Martene (l. i. 18, ordo 3) from a MS. at Bobbio, a somewhat more explicit description is given of the making of the cross on the water with chrism, "Deinde in fonte chrismum decurrente signum + facit." And again (Martene, u. s. ordo 10), the priest "accipiens vas aureum cum chrismate fundit chrisma in fonte in modum crucis, et expandit (aure cum manu sua)." It may be observed that in the *Missale Aethiopicum* quoted by Binterim (l. i. 86), where the threefold infusion of oil in the form of a cross is described, it is expressly stated to be unconsecrated oil (oleum non benedictum).

The description in Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* l. 25) corresponds generally with that of these sacramentaries. Amalarius expressly mentions insufflation as one of the rites in EXORCISM [see that word]. After the expulsion of the evil spirit by exorcism, he simply says, "munitur aqua crucis signaculo," not distinctly mentioning the pouring in of chrism in the form of a cross.

In the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (pp. 71-73) is mentioned another rite, that of plunging tapers into the water to be consecrated. Two lighted tapers are carried before the bishop to the font;



after the benediction, the aforesaid two tapers are plunged into the font, and the bishop "insufflates" on the water three times. After this the chrism is poured into the font, and the children are baptized. This dipping of the taper into the font is represented in the accompanying woodcut, from a Pontifical of the 9th century [compare the cut on p. 159], where however only one taper is given. The ceremony mentioned by Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* l. 25) of plunging the tapers of the neophytes [BAPTISM, p. 152, § 59] into the font, seems to be distinct from this.

(Martene, *De Rit. Ant.*; Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*; Probst, *Sakramente u. Sakramentalien*.)

[C.]

FOOTPRINTS ON SEPULCHRAL SLABS, AND SEAL RINGS. Sepulchral slabs have been found in the catacombs and elsewhere, incised with footprints.* The two feet as a rule point the same

* The white marble slab preserved in the church of St. Sebastian outside Rome, said to have been brought from the chapel of "Domini quo vadis," bearing the prints of two feet, plausibly believed to be those of our Blessed Lord, when met by St. Peter coming to be crucified a second time, in the city from which his apostle was fleeing, is probably nothing more than a sepulchral stone of the kind described above, round which the exquisitely beautiful legend, found first in Ambrose, has crystallised. It

way, though sometimes, but rarely, they are turned in opposite directions (Fabretti, *Inscript. Antiq.* p. 472). A slab in the Kircherian Museum, given by Lupi (*Epitaph. Secer. Martyr.* p. 68), bears two pairs of footprints pointed contrary ways, as of a person going and returning (fig. 1). Some of these slabs are certainly Christian, though the fact in other cases is uncertain. A slab given by Boldetti (c. vii. p. 419), inscribed with *IANOPIA EN Θ (Januaria in Deo)* at one end, bears the sole of a foot, with *IN DEO* incised upon it, at the other. Perret gives a slab erected by a Christian husband to his wife, with a pair of footprints incised on it, not bare, as is customary, but shod in shoes or sandals (*Catacombes*, vol. v. pl. 26, No. 53). Sometimes but more rarely we find a single foot seen in profile (*ib.* pl. 52, No. 37).

The signification of this mark is much controverted. Boldetti (p. 507) and others regard the footprint as the symbol of possession, denoting that the burial-place had been purchased by the individual as his own. This view is based on the false etymology of "possessio," quasi "ped's positio," given by Paulus (*Dig.* 41, tit. 2, § 1), and probably needs no refutation.



Fig. 1. Monumental slab with footprints, in the Kircherian Museum. From Lupi.

The idea of Pelliccia (*de Christ. Eccl. Polit.* iii. 225) and Cavedoni (*Rajjuagl. di munim. dell' Art. Crist.* p. 40) that a sense of their loss and a deep regret and affection for the departed was thus indicated, is a mere romantic fancy. More may be said for Lupi's view (u. s. p. 69), that as such emblems were sometimes dedicated as votive offerings by travellers on their return from a journey, they were intended on a Christian slab to indicate a holy thankfulness for the safe completion of the earthly pilgrimage of the departed. Another more prosaic, but by no means improbable, interpretation, especially of a single foot, is that found in Thomassinus (*de Donariis*, c. 7) and Fabretti (*Inscript. t.* c. vi. p. 467), quoted by Lupi (u. s.), that it was a thank-offering for recovery from gout or other disease affecting the foot.

It should be remarked that the basilica of St. Sebastian was erected over one of the chief Christian cemeteries, that from which the name *catacomb* has been transferred to the rest, so that the presence of such a memorial slab is easily accounted for. In the church of St. Radegund at Poitiers a well defined footmark in the stone supposed to indicate the spot where our Saviour appeared to that saint, probably has a similar origin. The Roman remains at Poitiers are numerous. The footprints shown as our Lord's in the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives mentioned by Augustine (*in Joann. Hom.* xlvii. 4; Jerome *de locis Hebraicis*; Bede *de nom. loc. in Act. Apost.*) are stated by Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 452) to be "nothing but a simple cavity in the rock with no more resemblance to a human foot than to anything else."

The same emblem is frequently found on seal rings. The sole of the foot bears sometimes the name of the owner, *e. g.*, *FORVIVSIVS* (Boldetti, p. 506; Perret, vol. iv. pl. xi. No. 4); *JVSIVS* (Arlinghi, ii. 698; Agincourt, *sculpt.* pl. viii. No. 23), from the catacomb of St. Agnes; sometimes a Christian motto or device, *e. g.*, *SPES IN DEO* (fig. 2) (Perret, u. s., No. 5), and the monogram of Christ (*ib.* No. 6). In an example given by Perret (vol. iv. p. xxiii. No. 21), we see the stamp of such a seal bearing the sole

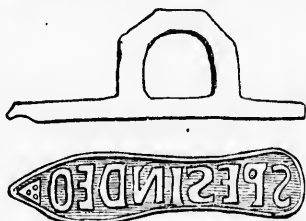


Fig. 2. Seal-Ring from the Kircherian Museum. From Perret.

of a foot, with *PAVLI* incised on it, five times repeated on the mortar in which a gilt glass had been embedded, in the catacomb of St. Sixtus. [E. V.]

FORGERY is a particular case of the offence called *Falsum*.

Falsum is any perversion or corruption of truth done with malice (*dolo malo*) to the prejudice of another. It may be committed either by word, as in the case of perjury; by act, as in the case of coining base money; or by writing, as in the case of forgery. In the case of the latter, the crime of *falsum* is equally committed whether a man has written a document which is not what it professes to be, or forged a seal or a signature, or erased or destroyed the whole or a portion of a document maliciously to the prejudice of another. *Falsum* was punished under the empire by deportation, or even (in extreme cases) by death (*Codex Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 19, ll. 1 et 2). The special precautions taken by the authorities of the church against the forgery of ecclesiastical documents seem to belong to a later period than that with which we are concerned; but no doubt the *falsarius*, like other offenders against the laws of truth and justice, incurred ecclesiastical censures. (Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Prompta*, s. v. *Falsum*; Bingham's *Antiq.* xvi. xii. 14.) [C.]

FORMA. An impression or representation, as (for instance) the stamp on coins, whether effigy or mark.

(1.) It is used for the impression of a seal; and it seems highly probable that *literæ formatæ* [COMMENDATORY LETTERS, DIMISSORY LETTERS], derived their name from the fact that seals were appended to them. Sirmund quotes a Vatican gloss which interprets the term "formatæ epistola" by "sigillata," and the Greek interpreter of the 23rd canon of the *Codex Eccl. Afric.* [3 *Carth.* c. 28], renders "formatam" by *τυρωμένη*, clearly in the sense of "sealed." The second council of Châlons (c. 41), testifies to the

is frequently found on seal the foot bears sometimes the *e. g.*, FORMARIUS (Boldetti, iv. pl. xi. No. 4); JVSSTVA ginecourt, *Sculp.* pl. viii. No. comb of St. Agnes; some- motto or device, *e. g.*, SPES it, u. s., No. 3), and the mono- ol, iv. p. xxiii. No. 21), we such a seal bearing the sole



the Kircherian Museum. From Perret.

AVLI incised on it, five times mortur in which a gilt glass ed, in the catacomb of St [E. V.]

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fact that seals were appended to such docu- ments.

And not only is the word *formati* used abso- lutely for a sealed official document, but *forma* came to be used in the same sense. Thus Capito- lianus describes Antoninus as consulting his friends before he drew up authoritative docu- ments (*formas*); and the word is similarly used by Christian writers (Ducange, s. v. *Forma*, *Formatæ*).

(2.) From the same use of the word *Forma* for an effigy or stamp, it arises that the word *Formati* designates the formed or stamped bread used in the Holy Eucharist. The *Ordo Romanus* in the rite for the consecration of a bishop has the following; "cum autem venerit ad communicaudum Dominus Pontifex porrigit ei *formatam* atque sacramentum oblationem integram." Néard takes this to mean an "epistola *formatæ*," but it seems in the highest degree improbable that the consecrator would present an official document to the newly-ordained bishop at the moment of communicating, and Ducange (s. v. *Formatæ*) has shown that the word is elsewhere used to designate the eucha- ristic bread.

(3.) The word *Forma* is also used to designate the seats or stalls used by clerks or monks when saying their offices in choir. The gloss on the rule of St. Benedict (*De Suppellect.*) explains *Forma* as "sella arcuata, *spinos*." The desk in front of such a stall, on which its occupant might lean, seems to be sometimes called *forma* (*Supplex Lib. Monach. Fuld. Car. Mayo*, c. 5, in *Migne's Patrol.* cv. p. 419; compare Gregory of Tours, *De Glor. Confess.* c. 92; *Hist. Franc.* viii. 31). [C.]

FORMARIUS, the person in a monastery who was especially appointed to promote the spiritual welfare of the brethren, and to be a model of life to them, "qui in bonis sit forma" (*Regula S. Ferreoli*, c. 17); an elder brother fitted to benefit the souls of the monks, who should studiously devote himself to watching over them (*Reg. S. Benedicti*, c. 58). The corre- sponding person in a monastery of women was called *Formaria* (*Reg. S. Caesarii ad Virgines*, c. 37; Ducange, s. v.). [C.]

FORMATA. [FORMA.]

FORNICATION (*Fornicatio, πορνεία*) is de- fined to be "copula carnalis soluti cum soluta"; a sin committed by two persons, male and female, who are not connected by blood within the prohibited degrees of kindred, and are neither married nor contracted. This is in substance, Augustine's definition (*Quest.* in *Deuteronom.* n. 37). The older definitions of fornication seem to refer almost entirely to the freedom of the woman from the marriage bond, without regard to the condition of the man [ADULTERY]. Thus Basil (*ad Amphilo- ch.* c. 21) regards the sin of a married man with an unmarried woman as simple *πορνεία*, not *μοικηρία*; and Gregory of Nyssa (*Epist. Canonica*) defines fornication to be a gratification of lust which takes place without wronging another; which words Balsamon (in loco) explains to mean, intercourse with a woman who is not married (*Πορνεία λέγεται ἡ χωρίς ἀδικίας ἐρεπου μίξις, ἢ ἢν ἡ πρὸς ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν*). To the same effect Theophylact (on St. Matt. v. 32) says that fornication is committed with a woman not

under marriage bond (*εἰς ἀπολελυμένην*). Am- brose, however, lays down the wider and truer principle, "nec viro licet quod mulieri non licet; eadem a viro quæ ab uxore debetur castissima;" (*De Patriarch.* l. 4). Concubinage, the continued cohabitation of an unmarried man with an un- married woman, is a special case of fornication.

The word *fornicatio* is also used to designate all kinds of sexual sin and unnatural crime; see, for instance, Theodore's *Penitential*, l. ii. Fornica- tion in this wider sense is commonly called luxury by later canonists.

It was one of the first cares of the apostolic church to repress this evil held so venial among the Gentiles (Acts xv. 20; 1 Cor. vi. 18; Eph. v. 3, 5); nor were the rulers of the church in later times less anxious to put down all forms of uncleanness. Basil (*ad Amphil.* c. 22) lays down the rule, that men practising concubinage after seduction should be excluded from com- munion for four years, in the first of which they are to be excluded from the prayers, and weep at the door of the church; in the second to be received as hearers; in the third to penitence (*εἰς μετάνοιαν*); in the fourth to attend divine service with the congregation, abstaining from the offering; and then to be admitted to communion of the good (*κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*). In the case of concubinage, the great bishop evidently feels that the times will not bear due severity. He holds (*ad Amph.* c. 23) that it is best that persons living together in fornication should be separated; but if they persist in living together, "let them be warned of the penalty of fornication; but let them not be meddled with (*ἀφίστασθαι*), lest a worse thing come upon them." So previously (c. 21) he acknowledges the difficulty of treating certain cases, and confesses that custom is too strong to be contended against. For fornicators in general he enjoins (*ib.* c. 59) seven years' exclusion from the sacraments; two among the *Fientes*, two among the *Auticætes*, two among the *Substrati*, and one among the *Consistentes* [PENITENCE].

The treatment of sins of uncleanness occupies a large, perhaps an undue space in later Peniten- tials; as (*e. g.*) in those of Theodore (l. ii.), Bede, (c. 3), Egbert (cc. 2 and 4), Halitgar (l. 16, 17), and others.

Periods of penance are prescribed, varying according to the condition of the offender, and the nature of the offence. The offence of a cleric was naturally more heinous than that of a simple lay person, and might be punished by degrada- tion, as well as by the same kind of penalties as those inflicted on the laity. And it is evident from the repeated denunciations of such sins by bishops and councils, and the elaborate provision made to separate the clergy and the monks from the society of women, that the celibate clergy were only too liable to fall into the sin of inco- ntinence (Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Eccl. Discip.* l. ii. 81, §§ 8-12). [C.]

FORTUNATIANUS. [FELIX (23).]

FORTUNATUS. (1) Martyr at Smyrna with Verocatus and Vitalis; commemorated Jan. 9 (Marci. Hieron., Usuardi).

(2) [FELICIANUS (1).]

(3) [FELIX (7).]

- (4) [FELIX (12).]
 (5) Martyr in Africa; commemorated with Crescentianus and Lucianus, June 13 (*Mart. Bedae*).
 (6) [HERMAGORAS].
 (7) Bishop at Todi; "Natalis" Oct. 14 (*Mart. USURARI*).
 (8) Saint, of Rome; commemorated Oct. 15 (ib.). [W. F. G.]

FORTUNUS. [FELIX (6).]

FORUM. [JURISDICTION.]

FOSSARI or **FOSSORES**. The grave-diggers or sextons of early Christian antiquity were known by these designations. [COPIATAE; DECANUS.]

Padre Marchi has drawn a very definite picture of guilds of *fo-ssores*, organized under special regulations, attached to each of the *tituli* of Rome, and acting under the directions of the bishops and presbyters. (*Monum. Primit.* pp. 87-91.) But the evidence he adduces is of the slightest texture; and the good father probably did not intend his description to be regarded as more than a pleasing hypothesis.

The term *fossor* is of frequent occurrence in the inscriptions of the catacombs. Marchi, p. 91, gives several epitaphs of *fossores*. Boldetti, i. 15, gives the following from St. Callistus: "Sergius et Junius Fossores || B. N. M. in pace bisom." But the most common appearance of the term is in the Inter epitaphs, which testify to the purchase of graves from individuals of this class. The burial of the departed was probably at first a work of Christian charity, performed without fee or reward by their surviving brethren. Afterwards, when the church had become more numerous, it was carried out at the public expense under the special care of the presbyters of the *tituli* of Rome. When Christianity became the established religion, the *fossores* evidently established a kind of property in the catacombs, which authorized them to sell graves either to living persons for their own burial, or to the friends of the deceased. This state of things seems to have had a wide-spread but transient existence. The examples are almost innumerable in which the purchase of graves of the *fossores* is plainly stated in the epitaph. No trace of such bargains appears before the latter years of the 4th century, nor later than the first quarter of the 5th century. According to De Rossi (*R. S. i.* p. 216), the last known mention of *fossores* is A.D. 426. As examples of these bargains, belonging to the time when interment had become the private enterprise of the *fossores*, and Christian burial had been degraded into a trade, we may refer to the instances already given under **CATACOMBS**. The eager craving after sepulture in the proximity of the holy dead, to which some of these epitaphs bear witness, has been the cause of the destruction of many paintings of high interest. The *fossores* could not afford to have a taste either archaeological or artistic, and pierced the painted walls to make new highly-priced *tecti*, as recklessly as the exquisite carved work of so many of our cathedrals has been cut away for the erection of tasteless monuments.

The *fossor* at his work appears frequently in

the frescoes of the catacombs. (Bosio, pp. 305, 335, 339, 373; Aringhi, ii. pp. 23, 63, 67, 161.)

Bottari, tom. II. tav. 118, gives two pictures from the catacomb of Marcellinus and Peter. One represents a young man, his beard closely shaven, in a short tunic, girt round his waist, his legs and feet bare, excavating the rock with his pick, a lamp hanging by his side. The other depicts an older man in a long tunic, not at work, holding a lamp adjoined to a long handle ending in a sharp point, and a little below on the shaft a hook for suspension.

The most curious and interesting of these representations is that of a fessor named Diogenes, from the cemetery of Callistus (see woodcut).



He wears a tunic marked with *gammadi* on its hem, carries a pick over his right shoulder, and a lamp in his left hand, and is surrounded by a heap of levers, picks, and other tools employed in his work. Above is the inscription: "Diogenes Fossor in pace depositus Octavii Kalendaris Octobris." (Boldetti, lib. i. cap. 15; Bottari, tom. II. p. 126, tav. 99.) A fessor's pick has been discovered by De Rossi in the cemetery of Callistus, much oxidized, but still recognizable. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Christ.* p. 281.) [E. V.]

FOUNDATION. [ENDOWMENT; PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.]

FOUNDER. [PATRON.]

FOUNDLINGS (*Alumni*). Compare EXPOSING OF INFANTS.

From an early period the church provided **ORPHANAGES** [see the word] for the reception of children left destitute by the death or desertion of their parents. But, independently of such institutions, it also maintained a large number by appeals to individual charity, and exhorted the faithful to feed and shelter the innocent creatures in their own houses. The number of these *alumni*, "nurslings," was large; the rescue of a deserted infant being considered as an act specially inspired by Christian charity. The word *alumnus* consequently occurs much oftener in Christian than in pagan inscriptions. Sometimes we find the adopting parents raising a tomb to their *alumnus* (Perret, *Catacombes*, v. xlvii. 13). In the cemetery of Pontianus the name of a young person departed is inscribed upon a circular ivory tablet thus: **EMPRINVS || VICTORINAE || ALVMPNAE SVAE** (Fabretti, *In-*

combs. (Bosio, pp. 305, ii, pp. 23, 63, 87, 161.) 118, gives two pictures Marcellinus and Peter, man, his hand closely e, girl round his waist, excavating the rock with g by his side. The other in a long tunic, not at affixed to a long handle and a little below on the ion.

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[ENDOWMENT; PROPERTY

IRON.]

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FOUNTAIN OR WELL.

script. Antiq. lii. 311). In other instances the *fontibus* is a token of the child's gratitude to his benefactors, whom he calls father and mother (Perret, xlii. 4). FELICISSIMVS ALVMNVS in the following inscription expresses the happiness of the adopted son under the care of his tutelary parents.

ANTONIVS DISCOLIVS FILIVS ET HIDIVS FELICISSIMVS ALVMNVS VALERIE CRISTENI MATRI HIDIVE ANNOVRM XIII. INTERIANTOR.

De Rossi (*Inscr. pt. Christ.* i. 46) gives the epitaph of an alumnus of the date A.D. 340. Le Blant (*Inscr. Chret. de la Gaule*), mentions an inscription at Trèves to the memory of an alumna who survived only one month and a few days. Infants were generally exposed at the doors of churches (*Conc. Arles II.* can. 51, A.D. 451).

A person wishing to adopt an exposed child was required to place in the hands of the minister of the church near which it was found a written statement giving the sex of the child with the time and place of its discovery, in order that it might be restored to its parents if they wished to reclaim it. If no such claim were put forward within ten days after its exposure, the child belonged by right to those who had given it shelter (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.*, s. v. *Enfant Trouvés*). [C.]

FOUNTAIN OR WELL. [See ROCK, and EVANGELISTS, REPRESENTATIONS OF.] Our Lord is represented (in Bottari, tav. xvi.; Buonarroti, *Tetri*, tav. vi. et *passim*) as the Source of the Gospel and Fons Pietatis, from under whose feet flow the four Rivers of Paradise. [See FOUR RIVERS.] In the Lateran (Cross, p. 496) and other baptismal crosses the Holy Dove is the font or source from which the sacred rivers flow. The well spring in the wilderness is rather a Hebrew, Arab, or universally Eastern image, than a specially Christian one. In some early baptisms of our Lord, as that in the ancient baptistry of Ravenna, the river-god or presiding deity of the source of Jordan is introduced. For the fountain or stream flowing from the Rock of Moses, and fishes therein. [See FISHERMAN.] [R. St. J. T.]

FOUNTAINS AT THE ENTRANCE OF CHURCHES. The natural symbolism which required external purity in the worshippers, as an index of the cleanness of heart necessary for approaching God with acceptance, dictated the erection of fountains or cisterns of water in the *atria*, or forecourts of the primitive churches, for the people to wash their hands, feet, and faces, before they entered the sacred building. Such a fountain was known by different designations, *spring* (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4; Chrysa. *Hom.* 57, Ed. Savil.), *spring* (Soer. *H. E.* li. 38), *φύλαξ* (Paul. Silentiar. li. vers. 177), *ἐπιβάτης* (Theophanes), *καλυπτέων* (Eucholog.), *Cantharus* (Paul. Nolan. *Ep.* xlii. xxxii.), *Nymphæum* (Anastas. § 69). The earliest notice we have of this arrangement is in Eusebius' description of the church erected by Paulinus at Tyre (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4). He speaks of "fountains" being placed as "symbols of purification" in the centre of the cloistered atrium, affording means of cleansing to those who were going into the church. A similar basin was erected by Paulinus of Nola, in the

FOUNTAINS AT CHURCHES 680

atrium of the basilica of St. Felix, its purpose being expressed by the following verses over one of the arches of the opposite cloister—

"Sancra nitens famula int' riuat atria iuxta Cantharus, mirantemq; nimis lavat ungue ministro." Paul. Nolan. *Ep.* 32 ad Scar.

This "cantharus" was protected by a brazen canopy, or turret of lattice work—

"Quem cancellato tegit aera culmine turric." Paulin. *Poem. 26* (Not. x.)

Other brazen basins supplied from the same source stood in different parts of the forecourt, as well as a row of marble basins, *conchæ*, at the entrance of the church (p.).

Paulinus also describes a "cantharus" in the atrium of the basilica of St. Peter at Roma (*Ep.* li. p. 73), "ministra manibus et oris nostris fluentia ructantem." This was covered by a dome or *tholus*, of brass, supported on four columns, typifying the fountain of living water flowing from the four gospels, the foundation of the evangelical faith. This *cantharus* and its *quadrifortius* were adorned with marbles and mosaic by Symmachus, c. 500, who also erected another external fountain below the steps of the atrium for the convenience of the people thronging thither "ad usum necessitatis humane" (Anastas. *de Vit. Pont.* § 79). Another was placed by Leo III. c. 800, outside the silver gates of the same basilica (*Ep.* § 360). The popes vied with one another in the magnificence of these fountains. Leo the Great, c. 450, placed a very remarkable one in the atrium of the basilica of St. Paul, on the Ostian way, for the supply of which he recovered a long-lost spring, as recorded in the verses of Ennodius.

"Perdidit talis longæva turris cursum Quis tibi nunc plecto cantharus ore vomit. Provida pastoris per totum curia Leonis. Hæc ovibus Christ' largis fluentia dedit." Ennod. *Car. m.* 149, ed. Sirmond.

Anastasius also describes a "nymphæum" erected by Hilarius, c. 485, in the *tripterium* of the oratory of St. Cross, adorned with columns of vast size, and pillars of porphyry from apertures in which the water flowed into a porphyry basin (Anastas. u. s. § 69). Ennodius also (u. s.) speaks of the water of the baptistry of St. Stephen coming through the columns, "per columnas." In other cases the water issued from a statue in the centre, sometimes of grotesque form, or from lions' mouths, from which arrangement the basin erected by Justinian in front of St. Sophia at Constantinople was called *Λεωσάπριον* (Lion-cage, *Constantinop. Christ. lib.* iii. c. 22). This fountain was made of jasper, with incised crosses. There were other smaller basins in the cloisters for the lustrations of the people (Dungue, u. s.). A cantharus discovered at Constantinople bore the palindrome given by Gruter (*Inscript.* p. 1046).

NIVON ANOMHMA MH MONAN OVIN.

These fountains were usually supplied with water from running springs, as that at St. Paul's already mentioned. Where springs were absent, the supply came from rain water tanks, as at the basilica of St. Felix at Nola (Paul. Nolan. *Poem.* 27 (Not. ix.) v. 493, sq.).

Such fountains were solemnly consecrated and

blessed on the annual recurrence of the vigil of the Epiphany (identified in primitive times with the day of our Lord's baptism, when the element of water was hallowed, Chrys. *Homil. in Bapt. Crist.* vol. ii. p. 369, Montf.) or of the festival itself (Ducange, *u. s.*). The office is given in the Eucherion.



From a mosaic, St. Vitale, Ravenna.

We find frequent reference in the early fathers to this custom of washing the hands and face before entering the church, e.g. Tertull. *de Orat.* c. 11; Chrysost. *Homil.* 51, c. 11; *Matt.*; in *Joan.* 72; *Homil.* 3, in *Ephes.*; in *Psalm.* 140, *ad Pop.* Ant. 36, &c. Cf. also Baronius, *ad ann.* 57, No. 106-110. [HOLY WATER.]

The accompanying woodcut from one of the mosaics of St. Vitale at Ravenna, representing the dedication of that church by Justinian and Theodora, gives a contemporary picture of one of these fountains. [E. V.]

FOUR RIVERS, THE. In ancient art our Lord is frequently represented, either in person or under the figure of a lamb, standing upon a hillock from whence issue four streams of water. (See woodcut.) These are supposed by many to signify the four rivers of Eden, which went forth to water the earth (*Gen.* ii. 10); others (*Cyprian, Ep.* 73, § 10, *ad Juban.*; *Bede, Expos. in Gen. II.*; *Theodoret, In Psalm. XLV.*; *Ambrose, De Paradiso,* c. 3) discern in them the four gospels, flowing from the source of eternal life to spread throughout the world the riches and the life-giving powers



The Four Rivers under the Lord's feet. From Martigny.

of the doctrine of Christ. St. Ambrose again (*u. s.*) is of opinion that the four rivers are emblems of the four cardinal virtues. The four first oecumenical councils, so often by early writers placed on a par with the gospels themselves, are sometimes compared to the four rivers of Paradise. Jesse, bishop of Amiens in the eighth century, in writing to his clergy, thus illustrates the veneration due to these

* This fountain is incorrectly represented at p. 406.

august assemblies (Longueval, *Hist. de l'Egl. Gallienne*, tom. v. p. 144).

In several sarcophagi of ancient Gaul, we find two stags quenching their thirst at these streams; these are supposed to represent Christians partaking in the gospels and the eucharist of the "well of water springing up into everlasting life." [Cross, p. 496.] The two stags are occasionally found in mosaics, in that of the ancient Vatican for example (Ciampini, *De Sacr. Aedif.* tab. xiii.).

However we explain it, this subject was extremely popular in the primitive church; we find it repeated over and over again in the catacombs, either in frescoes or in the sculptured ornaments of sarcophagi, and sometimes on the bottoms of glass cups, which have been discovered therein. It appears also in the mosaics of some basilicas, for instance, in that which is described by Paulinus (*Epist.* 32, *ad Sever.*), and in that mentioned by Florus, deacon of Lyons (*Mabilion, Analect.*, p. 416, ed. Paris. See also Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. xxxvii. xvi. xlix. lii., &c.). To illustrate this passage of Paulinus,

"Petram superstat fœc Petra Ecclesiae
De qua sonori quatuor fontis emanant,"

Rosweil refers to the mosaic of St. John Lateran, and the sarcophagus of Probus and Proba, as represented by Bosio. We are informed by Spon (*Herænes curieuses*, p. 34) that the four rivers of Paradise in human form, with their names beneath, are represented in mosaic on the pavement of Rheims Cathedral (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.*). [C.]

FRACTION. The rite of breaking the bread in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is technically so called. There are three kinds of fractions, which are in use at the present time; though but one of them is essential to the sacrament, and can be traced with certainty to the infancy of the church. The three are, (1) a fraction illustrative of the words of institution, and therefore a direct imitation of our Lord's action, (2) purely symbolical fractions after the consecration has been completed, (3) the necessary fraction for the distribution of the bread among the communicants.

(1) The first of these has a place in the English office, the celebrant being ordered to "break the bread" while he utters the words, "He brake it." Nothing could be more natural than that in reciting the words of institution, the priest should "suit the action to the word," and break the bread as "He brake it." It is very probable, therefore, that this was a common, if not the universal, practice, in what we may call the first ritual period. Traces of it are found both in the East and West. In the Coptic liturgy of St. Basil, the celebrant is ordered at those words to "break the oblation into three parts;" but he is at once to reunite them, "so that they be in a manner as not divided." (Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* l. p. 15.) They are put together again with a view to a later and purely symbolical fraction. There is but one extant Latin missal, which is reported to contain an order for the actual fraction at this time, viz., that of Rheims, of the middle of the 16th century, in which the following rubric at this time, viz., that of Rheims, of the middle of the 16th century, in which the following rubric occurs, "Dicens frangit frangit modicum." (De Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 262.) In our own country the missal of

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Sarum and York to the last ordered the celebrant
to "touch the host," while a manuscript Manual
in the possession of the Rev. W. J. Blew goes
further, and prescribes "the sign of a fraction."
The frequency of the latter custom in England
may be likewise inferred from its condemnation
by John de Burgo, A.D. 1385 (*Pupilla Oculi*,
pars iv. cap. x.), and its prohibition in the
Manual authorised by Cardinal Pole in the reign
of Mary. The foregoing facts are mentioned
because they appear to support the antecedent
probability that the fraction, which is now
peculiar to the English and Coptic liturgies, was
once general. The reason for giving it up need
not be sought for. When the bread was once
broken, it would not be possible for the priest to
perform the subsequent symbolical fraction,
introduced at a later period, with the same con-
venience and effect.

(2) From an early period we find other cere-
monial fractions, more or less elaborate, em-
ployed, the evident intention of which was to
develop and enforce the devotional allusion to
our Lord's sufferings on the cross. No frac-
tion of any kind is mentioned in St. Cyril's
account of the liturgy of Jerusalem (*Cate-
chesis Mystag.*, v. cc. 17, 18), nor in the Cle-
mentine liturgy, which exhibits the ritual and
worship of the 3rd or 4th century. [APOSTRO-
PHICAL CONSTITUTIONS.] In that of St. Mark,
which from its long disuse has undergone less
change than any other which was ever in actual
use, the fraction for distribution is alone men-
tioned (Renaudot, tom. i. p. 162). In St.
James, which is still used at stated times, and
has been much altered in the course of ages, the
celebrant "breaks the bread, and holds half in
his right hand, half in his left, and dips that in
his right in the cup, saying, 'the union of the
all-holy body and the precious blood of our Lord
and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.'" (Assemani,
tom. v. p. 54.) In the Office of Prothesis in the
common Greek liturgy, there is a preparation of
the bread by the aid of a knife (*Αόχνη*), accom-
panied by symbolical allusions. [PROTHESIS.]
After the *Sancta Sanctis*, which follows close
upon the Consecration, "The priest dividing it
(the holy loaf) into four parts with care and
reverence says 'The Lamb of God, the Son of the
Father, is dismembered and divided, &c.' Then
he takes the uppermost part of the holy loaf
(which is stamped with the letters IC, for *Ie-
sus*), and holds it in his hand, and the deacon
pointing with his oration to the holy cup, says,
Fill, Master, the holy cup. And the priest says,
The fullness of faith of the Holy Ghost. And he
makes the sign of the cross and casts it into the
holy cup" (*Eucologium*, Conar, pp. 60, 81, 175).
These rites, though not perhaps in their present
form precisely, must have been in use before the
separation of the Nestorians and Eutychnians
from the church; but whether they were known
to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, the alleged re-
modellers of the Greek liturgy, it is impossible
to say. On the first part of the foregoing
ceremony, Symeon of Thessalonica, the mysti-
cal expositor of that rite, observes, "He
divides the bread into four parts, and these he
arranges in the form of a cross, and in this
he beholds Jesus crucified." *De Templo &c.*
printed in Conar, p. 228. In the Coptic liturgies
the rite is still more elaborate. There is first a

special prayer, *Prooemium ante fractionem*, preced-
ing it; which is in fact an act of thanksgiving,
and is called a Benediction in the office itself.
After crossing both the bread and the cup with a
finger dipped in the latter, he says a "Prayer of
Fraction." Later on, in preparation for the com-
munion, "he divides the body into three parts, as
he had done before at the words *He brake it*;"
but this time transversely to the former fractures.
The piece from the middle of the Corban is the
largest, and from this he takes a small piece
(*Ischodicon*, or in the Greek Alexandrian liturgies
Σκοδικόν, corruptions of *Δεσποτικόν*, the Lord's
body), which he sets aside. The larger piece
from which it is taken is put in the middle of
the paten, and the other eight are placed about it
so as to form a cross. The allusion to the
Passion is thus expressed by an act rather than
by words. The priest next breaks up, in pre-
scribed order, all but the large piece in the
middle, and "collects about that the holy body
which he has broken." The *Ischodicon* is put
into the cup; a rite corresponding to the *Com-
mictio* of the West. The fraction now described,
into which a devout priest could evidently infuse
great solemnity is common to the three Coptic
liturgies; which fact implies that the former
fraction at the words *He brake it* is so also;
although it is only prescribed in that of St.
Basil. (See Renaudot, tom. i. pp. 19-23; and
Gabriel's *Rituale*, *ibid.* p. 258.) Whether the
same ceremonies were observed in the Greek
liturgies of Egypt cannot be decided, owing to
the brevity of the rubrics and the absence of
commentaries; but the Coptic of St. Basil carries
us up to a period earlier than the conquest of
Anrou in the 7th century. The rubrics of the
Ethiopic liturgy do not prescribe any fraction,
but as it was derived from the Coptic, and
retains the Coptic *Oratio Fractionis*, we may
infer that it had a solemn fraction similar to
that which we have described.

In the Syrian rite the priest (in a short office
of Prothesis) "divides the bread into as many
pieces as may be necessary, censes them, and
sets them on the altar, saying, He was led like a
lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep, &c."
(Renaudot, tom. i. p. 3.) After the consecration
he breaks a small piece off with the words,
"Thou art Christ our God, who on the top of
Golgotha in Jerusalem wast pierced in Thy side
for us, &c." or something conveying the same
allusion. (*Ibid.* pp. 22, 40, etc.) Before the com-
munion he dips this particle (pearl) "into the
chalice and signs the rest with it crosswise, say-
ing, The blood of the Lord is sprinkled on His
body, in the Name of the Father," &c. The
pearl thus used is then put into the chalice with
a prayer alluding to the union of the Godhead
and Manhood in Christ (Renaudot, tom. ii. pp.
3, 41). Another symbolical action, viz. that of
touching the body in the paten with the
moistened pearl, is not marked in the rubrics.
It is done in allusion to the piercing of our
Lord's side with a spear (Barsalibi, *ibid.* p. 111).
Among the Nestorians the consecrated oblate is
broken into two parts. One of these is laid on
the paten, and with the other the priest crosses
the cup. He then dips the latter to the middle
in the cup, and "signs with it the body which is
in the paten." Both signs are made with
appropriate words. He then unites the two

ssio. The piece which
e cross (taken from the
; that on the right
remaining pieces Gloria
d in the paten below
it. See the illustra-
ole course of our Lord's
ng in the flesh, with the
anner represented (*Mis-
zarabes*, ed. Leslie, pp.

Coratio	
Resurrectio	
Gloria	
Regnum	
Passio	

ent liturgies the fraction
place before, and in some
r which followed, or more
prayer of consecration. In
and Egyptian St. Mark it
e Gallican (*Liturg. Gall.*
e, Mozarabic, Coptic, and
Syrian liturgies (Renaudet,
131, 138, etc.) it comes
may add the Ethiopic, but,
our own, the Lord's Prayer
mmunion (Renaud. tom. I.

otices of, or allusions to, a
o the necessary division of
bution among the commu-
: "That which is on the
e blessed and hallowed, and
nimitur) for distribution"
Paulin. § 16). Clement
a having divided the eucharist
a, permit every one of the
own share" (*Stronata*, L. I.
Dionysius: "Having exposed
as was covered and undivided,
o many parts, and having
e of the cup unto all, he symbol-
d distributes unity." Again:
ght the covered gifts. . . he
ness into many parts. . . he
partake to have communion
in them" (*De Eccles. Hier.*
12, 13). In the liturgy of
mediate preparation for the

FRACTION

ommunion, "the priest breaks the bread, and
ays, Praise ye God in [i. e. Psalm] cl. as in the
Septuagint. The priest divides the bread, say-
ing to those present [i. e. to the deacons, &c.
who assist], The Lord shall bless and minister
with you." &c. Then, after a few verses
entirely free from any mystical allusion, he
ite of putting the bread into the chalice has
been adopted. "When he distributes a single
portion into each chalice, he says, A holy por-
tion of Christ, full of grace and truth, of the
&c. Then he begins to divide [i. e. the bread
in the chalices with a spoon], and to say, The
Lord is my Shepherd," &c. (Ps. xxiii.). In the
common Greek rite, a second part of the pre-
pared loaf which is stamped XC (for Χριστός) is
divided for the communion of the priest and his
assistants, who receive the elements separately.
The other two (marked NI and KA; see ELE-
MENTS, p. 603) are also divided according to the
number of the other communicants, and put into
the chalice. As intinction began to appear in
Spain in the 7th century (see Can. ii. *Conc.*
Bracar. Libl. tom. vi. col. 563), the method of
fraction now described as attendant on it was
probably in use among the Greeks so early as the
6th. In the 4th and 5th we find Cyril of Jeru-
salem, Basil, Chrysostom, and Cyril of Alexan-
dria, still recognizing the practice of receiving
at the hand (see Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharis-
tica*, p. 632, and COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 416),
which is incompatible with intinction. We
have already described the last fraction in the
Coptic liturgy. The rubrics do not specify any
further preparation for the communion. Nor are
those of the Ethiopic, Armenian, or Syriac more
explicit. The last named liturgy, however, may
receive illustration from the Nestorian, in which
"another fraction of the same Host into lesser
particles for the distribution of the communion"
is expressly ordered, though no method is pre-
scribed (Renaudet, tom. ii. pp. 595, 611).

In the West the Mozarabic priest preparing
for the communion put the "particle" called
Regnum into the chalice, received himself that
called *Gloria*, and if any others received must, it
is presumed, have used the remainder for their
communion, breaking them up as the number of
communicants might require. We say *presumed*,
for the present rubrics, which recognize but one
Host, divided as before described, direct him
afterwards to consume all the particles in order.
The tract of Lidefonus, printed by Mabillon in
an appendix to his dissertation *De Pane Eucha-
ristico* (*Analys. Vetera*, p. 549), prescribes the
use of several Hosts, the number varying with
the festival or season. We have no information
respecting the early practice of the Gallican and
Italian churches. In an *Ordo Romanus* which
probably carries us up to the 7th century, and
certainly to the 8th, the last fraction is thus de-
scribed. The bishop of Rome, it should be said,
is the chief officiant. "Then the acolytes go
behind the bishops about the altar; the rest go
down to the presbyters; that they may break
the Hosts [which were then small loaves]. A
paten goes before near the throne, two regionary
deacons carrying it to the deacons, that they
may break. But they look on the face of the
pontiff that he may give the signal to break."
CHAUR. ANT.

FRANKFORT, COUNCIL OF 689

And when he has given it by a motion of the
head, having again saluted the pontiff, they
break them" (*Ordd. Rom.* l. ii. iii. pp. 14, 49,
59). [W. E. S.]

FRANKFORT, COUNCIL OF (Franco-

fordense concilium), held at Frankfort, A.D. 794,
"by favour of God, authority of the pope, and
command of Charlemagne, who was present and
attended by all the bishops of the kingdom of
France and Italy, with the province of Aquitaine"
(100 in number, according to later writers), as
we read in the first of the fifty-six canons
ascribed to it. From the same canon we learn
that the first thing discussed in it was the heresy
of the Spanish prelates Felix and Elipand, since
called Adoptionism, which was condemned; and
from the second canon that a decree of a recent
synod of the Greeks, visiting all with anathema
who would not worship and serve the images
of the saints as they would the Trinity, was
repudiated as well as condemned. This is about
all we know of what passed at Frankfort; at
any rate we have no direct authentic record
extant of its proceedings beyond its canons. And
of these the second has been made a subject of
hot controversy both in ancient and modern
times. Contemporaries aver that bishops Theo-
phylact and Stephen (without naming their sees)
represented pope Adrian at Frankfort, and that
the council repudiated there was that "falsely
called the 7th." In the modern heading to this
council, on the other hand, it is asserted that
"the acts of the 2nd Nicene council respecting
images were confirmed there." There are four
dogmatic epistles printed in the collections of
councils as having emanated from Frankfort.
(1) A letter from pope Adrian to the bishops of
Spain. (2) Another from the bishops of Italy
against Elipand. This is better known as "the
sacrostylabus" of Paulinus of Aquileia, but it is
said to have been published at Frankfort, and
sent by order of the council into Spain. (3) A
third is from the bishops of France and Germany
to the bishops of Spain. (4) A fourth from
Spanish bishops. In this the three preceding are
stated to have been sent by him after holding a
council, and conferring with the pope on the
subject of which they treat, without however
naming Frankfort. Still, after reading the 1st
canon of Frankfort, we may not doubt their
having been brought out there. As little can we
doubt another work having been brought out
there also, for the light it throws upon canon 2.
The title given originally to this work was "the
capitulary respecting images;" but it is in four
books, now known as the "Caroline." It has
been ascribed to Alcuin, Angilbert, and Angil-
ramm in turn; it is ascribed to Alcuin still
(*Bibl. Ver. Germ.* tom. vi. 220). What it says
of Charlemagne and his prelates in refutation
of two councils "held in the parts of Bithynia"
(both calling themselves the seventh); one icono-
clastic (met of Constantinople, A.D. 754), the
other in favour of images (the 2nd Nicene,
A.D. 787), and within three years of this last (at
four years before it was brought out). But,
in reality, there was no need of refuting the
first of them, as this had been already done by
the last (*Art. Conc. Nic.* ii.). The last alone

therefore, now stood for refutation. "De eius destructione," says Hincmar (in *causâ Hinc. l. c.* 20), "non modicum volumen, quod in palatio adolescentulus legi, ab eodem imperatore Romam est per quosdam episcopos missum"—and then follows a reference to c. 28 of the fourth book, which identifies it at once. Further, not only was it sent to Rome, but it elicited a formal reply from the pope, as pope, vindicating in detail the teaching of the 2nd Nicene council which he had confirmed himself (Mansi xiii. 759 and seq.). In this work it is the 2nd Nicene council accordingly which is attacked all through: the creed of Pelagius the heretic (St. Aug. *Op. x. App. pt. ii. Ed. Ben.*) is paraded in the opening c. of the 3rd book as St. Jerome's, and called "the tradition of the Catholic faith in its integrity," in opposition to that of the 2nd Nicene council, which is attacked further on for wanting the "Filioque" clause (c. 8); while c. 17 of the same book unravels the statement of canon 2 of this council, by shewing that what is condemned there as having been decreed by the 2nd Nicene council under anathema, was no more than the informal utterance of one of the bishops who spoke there, named Constantinus. If the pope then was really represented at Frankfort by his legates, they must have left after the condemnation of Adoptionism, or, at all events, before this canon was framed. Most of the other canons, indeed, are couched in a style of their own, "Statutum," "definitum est a Domino Rege, et a sancto" or "definitum est a Domino Rege, et a sancto ayno." The 3rd canon runs thus: "Ut Catholicae fides sanctae Trinitatis, et oratio Dominica, et symbolum fidei omnibus predicetur et tradatur." It has been assumed that what was meant here by "Catholica fides" is the Athanasian Creed. But it would seem, rather, from the two verbs which follow, that as by the Lord's Prayer and Creed are meant what had to be "delivered," so by the "Catholic faith" is meant merely what had to be "preached." Besides, this phrase was applied to so many things then (Foulkes' *Ath. C. Append. p. 32 and seq.*), that its actual meaning cannot be assumed where the context is not explicit. The 55th is remarkable as shewing how Angilram had been employed. "Dixit Dominus rex . . . se a sede apostolica . . . licentiam habuisse, ad Angilram archiepiscopum in suo palatio assidue habere, propter utilitates ecclesiasticas." Now this is the only work extant with which his name is associated, a collection of canons said to have been given by him to the pope, or received from the pope when he was at Rome, containing indistinctly the putative germs of the false Decretals. In the next canon Alcuin is commended to the fellowship and prayers of the council. There is a strong family likeness, in conclusion, between this council and that of Paris, A.D. 825, which should not be overlooked by anybody wishing to form a just notion of either (Mansi xiii. 859 and 863 and seq.).

FRATER, FRATERNITAS. 1. The name *Frater* was applied among themselves to all Christians [FAITHFUL]. Tertullian (*Apolog. c. 39*) says that those who recognise one God as their father, and have drunk of one Spirit, are called brethren. Jerome (*De Perpet. Virg. c. 15*) says that all Christians are called brothers. The Pseudo Clemens (*Epist. ad Jacob. Proem.*)

speaks of the priests and deacons, and all the other brethren. Hence the title *Fraternitas* was commonly applied to all the members of the church, or of a particular church, regarded collectively; as by Tertullian (*Apolog. c. 39*); and perhaps *De Virg. l. c. 13*), and Cyprian (*Epist. 51, c. 1*) where "fraternitas" is equivalent to "clerus et plebs."

Frater and *Fraternitas*, in this sense, are frequently found in inscriptions. Thus, in an African inscription (Reinier, *Ins. de l'Algérie*, No. 4025), a church is designated ECCLESIA FRATRUM. In a Greek epitaph copied by Marini (*Arcad. Prefaz. p. xx.*), from the Olivieri collection at Pesaro, the body of the faithful is addressed with the salutation, "peace to the brethren," ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΕΧΕΤΕ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ. Another (Muratori, *Thesaur. l. iv. p. MCCCXXIV. 9*) is indicated by "the brethren" (fratres redditorum) to Alexander, their brother. Another (Brunati, p. 108) appeals to the "good brothers" (fratres boni). In another, from the cemetery of Priscilla, "the brethren" bid farewell to Leontius.

Some proper names appear to have arisen from this idea of brotherhood. As that of Adelphus, which is found on a marble in the museum of Lyons (Beissien, p. 597, xi.). (Martigny, *Dictionnaire des Antiq. Chret. ; Art. Fraternité*).

2. Persons of the same official body styled each other *Frates*; thus, not only does Cyprian speak of fellow-bishops as *Frates*, but he addresses presbyters and deacons by the same title (e.g. *Epist. 16*). When in the same epistle (c. 2), he says, that "fraternitas nostra" is seen to have been received by certain persons, it seems doubtful whether he means the body of bishops, or the members of the church in general. Hosius (*Conc. Sardic. c. 8*) speaks of a fellow-bishop as "frater et coepiscopus." From this official use of the word "Frater," it arose that the members of a council speak of themselves as "concilium fraternalis" (*J. Conc. Lugd. c. 6*), i. e. of the episcopal brotherhood. So *I. Syn. Rom. c. 2; II. [III.] Syn. Rom. c. 1*.

3. A monastic order is emphatically brotherhood (*fraternitas*), and its members *Frates*, or *Frates Spirituales* (Fruetiosi *Regula*, co. 4 and 8). See BROTHERHOOD, MONASTERY. [P. O.]

FRATERNUS, bishop and confessor at Auxerre; commemorated Sept. 29 (*Mart. Usuardi*); deposition Sept. 29 (*Mart. Hieron.*) [W. F. G.]

FRESCO. The object of this article is to furnish a brief historical sketch of the rise and progress of pictorial decoration in the religious buildings of the early Christians. Embellishments in mosaic will be treated of in a separate article, but all other wall decorations will be included, not those only strictly comprehended under the title *fresco*,* i. e. when the colours are mixed

* The word *fresco* is by a popular error commonly used for all kinds of wall-painting. Accurately speaking it is restricted to that which the word indicates, painting on freshly-laid plaster, executed while the wall is still damp by its own colour, and pigments not liable to be injured by its lime. *Dry fresco* is painting on old plaster with a fresh. *Diatemper* (a *tempera*) is on a dry wall with opaque colours, made up with some viscous medium, size, white of egg, milk, or gum, diluted with water or with water. *Encaustic painting* is painting with wax as a vehicle, the colours being burnt in afterwards.

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deacons, and all the title *Fraternitas* was the members of the church, regarded col- (Apology, c. 39; and and Cyprian (Epist. us" is equivalent to

in this sense, are fre- ns. Thus, in an Alge- Ins. de l'Algérie, No. ed ECCLESIA FRATRYM, ed by Marini (Arch. Ollivieri collection at (ful is addressed with brethren," EIPHNH ner (Muratori, *Thesaur.* is dedicated by "the derant) to Alexander, (runtati, p. 108) appeals ("fratres boni), to tery of Priscilla, "the o Laentius.

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with water simply, and applied to fresh plaster while wet. This was the ordinary mode of colouring walls among the wealthier Romans; but the care and skill it required, and the tedious processes necessary for preparing the walls for the colours, forbade its use where economy was an object. In the better-class houses at Pompeii, Rome, and elsewhere, the wall-decorations are executed in fresco; but the greater part of the paintings in ordinary dwellings are in distemper of various degrees of excellence. We are at present deficient in accurate information as to the exact process employed in the paintings of the catacombs; but considering the general absence of wealth among the primitive Christians, it is probable that the less expensive method would be adopted. Whenever paintings were repainted or touched up, the plaster being dry, the distemper process must have been necessarily employed. That encaustic painting in wax was also employed in early religious pictures is certain from the references in the fathers to that process. Chrysostom and Basil (*Contra Sobellin.* p. 805) in the East, and Paulinus in the West, may be cited. The latter speaks of "imagines ceris liquentibus pictas" (*Ep.* xxx. § 6), while Chrysostom more than once refers to *εμπόχρητος γραφή*. Hieroglyphs, the African painter, is reproached by the vehement Tertullian as being "his falsarius, et cauterio et stilo" (*Adv. Hermog.* c. 1). The fact is that Christian art followed the technical rules of the period, and adopted whatever processes were in use among the artists of the day, and were most suited to the particular work in hand, whether fresco, tempera, or encaustic.

Nor was it only in the processes adopted but also in the character of the pictorial decorations themselves that the early Christians conformed to the practice of the age in which they lived, indeed, it could not be otherwise. As has been remarked with perfect truth by Roux Rochette, "un art ne s'improvise pas." A school of painting is the result of a long previous train of education, and cannot spring into existence in a moment "fully formed, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter" (Northcote, *Rom. Salt.* p. 198). There was nothing exceptional about Christian art. It was no more than the continuation of the art Christianity found already existing as the exponent of the ideas of the age, with such modifications as its purer faith and higher morality rendered necessary. The artists employed were not necessarily Christian; indeed, in most cases, especially in the earliest times, they would probably be pagans, working in the style and depicting the subjects to which they were accustomed, only restricted by the watchful care of their employers that no devices were introduced which could offend the moral tone of Christians. In the earliest examples there is absolutely nothing distinctive of the religion professed. "At first," writes Mr. Burgon (*Letters from Rome*, p. 250), "they even used many of the same devices for mural decoration as the pagans had used, always excepting anything that was immoral or idolatrous; introducing, however, every here and there, as the ideas occurred to them, something more significant of their own creed, until by-and-by the whole was exclusively Christian." The deep-rooted aversion of the early Christians to all sculptured or pictorial

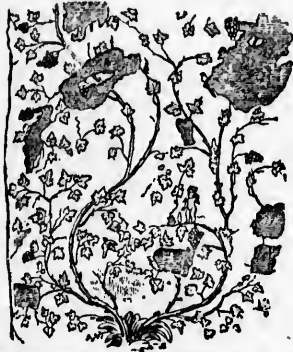
representations, natural in a community that had sprung from the bosom of the Jewish church, for a considerable period forbade all attempts to depict the person of the Saviour or the events of either Testament, and limited the efforts of Christian art to the simple naturalism of the decorations already common, or the arabesques in which the fancy of the artists loved to indulge. The earliest Christian frescoes with which we are acquainted present the same subjects from pastoral life and the vintage, the trellised vines and bunches of grapes, the bright-plumaged birds and painted butterflies, the winged genii and gracefully draped female figures, with which we are familiar in the wall-decorations of the Roman baths and the houses of Pompeii. By degrees the natural instinct for the beautiful asserted itself, and the desire to make the eye a channel for the reception of the truths of revelation led to the introduction of symbolic representations, which, without attempting directly to depict sacred things, conveyed to the initiated the expression of the truths believed by them. The actual change in the character of the subjects represented was at first inconsiderable. The vine laden with clusters became a recognised symbol of Christ "the True Vine" and the "much-fruits," by which Christians, as "branches," were called to glorify the Father. The pastoral subjects, especially those in which the Shepherd was the principal figure, at once led the mind of the worshipper to the contemplation of Christ the "Good Shepherd." To the devout imagination a Fish represented at once the Saviour Himself, the anagrammatical ΙΧΘΥΣ, and the human object of His salvation, the Christian deriving his life from the waters of baptism (cf. Tertull. *de Baptism.* c. 1), while the Fisherman spoke of Him who by the Gospel-hook takes men for life, not for death. [FISH; FISHERMAN.] Not only were these natural emblems made to breathe a Christian spirit by the infusion of a new element of life, but even directly mythological personages were pressed into the service of the church. Orpheus captivating the wild beasts by the sound of his lyre was adopted as a symbol of Christ subduing the savage passions of men by the melody of the gospel, and Ulysses deaf to the alluring voices of the sirens represented the believer triumphing over the seductions of worldly and sensual pleasure (Martigny, *Dict. des Ant. Chrét.* pp. 447, 644; De Rossi, *Bullettino*, 1853, p. 35). The hold which the old forms still maintained long after the ideas of which they were the exponents had passed away, is seen in the combination with Scriptural scenes of those personifications of Nature under the human form so frequent in pagan times, which lasted even down to a late date. In the delineation of the ascension of Elijah, one of the most frequently repeated subjects of early Christian art, the Jordan is represented as a river god, with his urn.

b This image is beautifully developed in the grand Orphic hymn attributed to Clement of Alexandria, thus nobly rendered by Dr. W. L. Alexander (*Ante Nicene Fathers*, vol. i. p. 344):—

"Fisher of men whom Thou to life dost bring;
From evil sea of sin,
And from the billowy strife,
Gathering pure fishes in
Caught with sweet bait of life."
2 Y

representations of the crucifixion. A feeling of any attempt to portray Christ in any but a form. "The catacombs traces of a crucifixion, such a subject of art (Milman, v. s. p. 398). is known does not date (Munster, *Sandbilder*, main of sacred allegory Christian art based on of saintly personages the memory of which church. It is difficult early examples of the first the latter class have imitations of holy persons the time of St. Augustine ence to wall-paintings of as commonly existing, os" (*de Censura. Evang.* of St. Cornelius and St. Cornelius, in the Callistine of the 8th century, while cellia by De' Rossi, in the e, is of the 9th; and the e same crypt, "can hardly before the 10th or 11th". The paintings of saints as may be assigned to no long to the 5th, others. Although all representations have perished, there is no ed. Prudentius (c. 405) the martyrdom of St. Cas- nys expressly, "Historium steph. Hymn. ix. v. 5), and the paintings of the mar- tus, which embellished the in which the holy of the ed (*Peristeph. Hymn. xi. v.* Nola also at the commence- tury, decorated a chapel martyrs (*Pozzu. xxviii. v.* earlier period we have the gory Nyssen as to the pre- ice in the Eastern church. tyrdom of St. Theodore as o of a church dedicated y furnace, the death of the painter had expressed book. . . The dumb walls *Orat. in Theod. tom. iii. p.*

pl. v. vi.), that the first Christian sepulchral chambers were arranged and decorated after heathen models. The artists probably adhered to the old faith; and even if this were not so, they were only accustomed to work in one style, and could not extemporize a new one. In some of the most ancient chapels of the catacombs it has been truly said that "you are not certain whether you are looking on a pagan or a Christian work. There is the same geometrical division of the roof, the same general arrangement of the subjects, the same fabulous animals, the same graceful curves, the same foliage, fruit, flowers, and birds in both" (Burgon, *Letters from Rome*, p. 250; Northcote, u. s. p. 190). Agincourt could discover no difference in style, except, perhaps, what was not unnatural, greater signs of hurry, and coarser execution. It is only the occurrence of the figure of the Good Shepherd, which usually occupies the central position, or some Scriptural subject, such as Jonah or Daniel, or some Christian symbol, that clears up the doubt as to the religion of the art we are studying. The entire absence of all



No. 1. Painting on Ceiling. From the Cemetery of St. Domitilla.

gloomy associations in connection with death deserves remark. The cheerful symbolical decorations which adorn the sepulchral chambers—the graceful vine, the clustering grapes, the birds and bright landscapes—bespeak a faith which served its possessors to meet the most terrible sufferings with calmness and even with delight, as the path to never-ending joys, and to view death as the door to eternal life, the true birthday of the soul. Every thing that meets the eye excites pleasurable emotions, and indicates a heart full of peace and happiness.

As an example of Christian mural decorations of the very earliest period we may instance the *Catacomb of Domitilla* on the Appian way (see p. 314). This catacomb is attributed to Flavia Domitilla, a near relative of the emperor Domitian—perhaps his niece, the daughter of his sister who bore the same name. She was the wife of Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Domitian, and his colleague in the consulship; A.D. 95, who was accused of "atheism," by which we are almost certainly to understand Christianity, and put to death by the emperor. Domitilla was banished on the

same charge to the island of Pontia (*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, DOMITILLA). In this burial-place, therefore, we have work of the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd century. The frescoes which ornament the walls and ceilings of the sepulchral chambers and their recesses or *cubicula*, are clearly contemporaneous with the original building, and are, especially in the



No. 2. Spring. From the Cemetery of St. Nereus and Achilleus.

subordinate embellishments, of rare beauty. There is a vaulted roof, over which a vine trails with all the freedom of nature, laden with clusters, at which birds are pecking, while winged boys are gathering or pressing out the grapes, of which no decorative artist of the Augustan age need be ashamed (Mommson, *Contemp. Rev.* May 1871, p. 170). The annexed woodcut (No. 1) gives a faint idea of its exquisite grace and beauty. Traces of landscapes also still exist here, which are of rare occurrence in later Christian burial vaults. In the portion of this catacomb known by the names of St. Domitilla's chamberlains, St. Nereus and St. Achilleus, a painted *cubiculum* exhibits representations of the four seasons, which are very curious. They are represented as female figures, with small butterfly wings attached to their shoulders. We give woodcuts of Spring and Autumn (Nos. 2, 3).

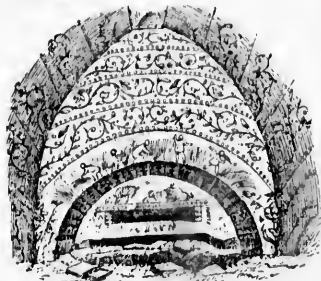


No. 3. Autumn. From the Cemetery of St. Nereus and Achilleus.

The latter has an attendant genius emptying out a cornucopia of fruit. There is an entire absence of anything distinctively Christian in these decorations, which reproduce the wall-paintings of the best period of Greco-Roman art. On the walls, however, we find the usual allegorical and Scriptural subjects—the Good Shepherd, the

Fisherman, an *Agape*, Daniel in the Lions' Den, &c.?

Another equally beautiful specimen of the vine ornamentation is exhibited on the vault of the square chamber of the cemetery of Praetextatus, otherwise known as that of St. Urban, beneath the church of the same name, lying to the east of the Via Appia, near the circus of Maxentius. This burial-place belongs to the earliest period. The character of the decorations corresponds with heathen art of the 2nd century, and is not at all inferior to the best works of the age. The accompanying woodcut (No. 4) gives an imperfect notion of the elaborate beauty of the design. The vault of the chamber is divided into four bands, each containing a continuous wreath of foliage and flowers, among which are nests, and the birds visiting their young. The highest wreath is of laurel or bay, a symbol of victory, indicative of the arch of the *arcosolium* is a band of reapers cutting down corn and binding up the sheaves. The *plafond* of the recess originally bore the Good Shepherd with a sheep upon his shoulders; but the design has been almost



No. 4. Frescoed Vault of Arcosolium in the Cemetery of St. Praetextatus.

destroyed by the excavation of later *loculi*. The paintings are small and exquisitely beautiful, even in their present state of decay. The family to whom this burial-place belonged was evidently one of considerable wealth and dignity. But the specimens already adduced seem to have been surpassed by the great vine of the Callistine catacomb (Bottari, vol. ii. tav. 13), the "antique style of beauty" of which is noticed by Kugler. A stem of a vine encircles each side of the arch of an *arcosolium* with its graceful spirals, lovely little naked boys standing on its branches and plucking the clusters. The soffit of the arch is similarly decorated with vintage scenes. The wall of the recess presents what is commonly, but erroneously, designated the *Dispute with the Doctors*. Christ, represented as a beardless young man seated on a curule chair, holds a scroll in his left hand and turns towards a number of hearers, probably intended for his

* The very early date of these decorations is acknowledged by Le Normant, who considers some of the paintings in St. Domitilla's cemetery to be of the same style as those in the well known pyramidal tomb of Calixtus, *a.c.* 32.

apostles, some of whom are seated and others standing (woodcut No. 5).

The general arrangement of the mural decorations of the sepulchral chambers or *loculi* of the Roman catacombs is remarkably uniform. The arch-headed tomb recesses of *arcosolium*, which occupy three sides of the square chambers, have the back wall, the soffits of the arches, and the wall above them painted, in the earlier examples with more ornamental arabesques, in the later with subjects drawn from the narrow Scriptural or symbolical cycle to which reference has already been made. The ceilings are even more richly decorated, the subjects being usually depicted in panels distributed round a central picture, which most commonly exhibits a representation of the Saviour under a typical form. The general appearance of these *cubicula*, and the distribution of the paintings, is shown in the accompanying illustration from the cubiculum of the Ocean in the catacomb of St. Callistus (No. 6). The paintings are early—probably of the 3rd century—representing trellis work overgrown with flowers, peacocks and other birds, and winged genii. In the centre of the vault is the head of Ocean giving its name to the chamber. The ornamentation of an early ceiling is exhibited in woodcut No. 7, representing the roof of the chapel of St. Callistus. The central panel contains Christ under the typical form of Orpheus. Four of the eight circumscribing panels contain Biblical subjects—(1) Moses smiting the Rock; (2) Daniel in the Lions' Den; (3) The Raising of Lazarus; (4) David armed with his Slings. The intermediate panels represent pastoral subjects—two of sheep, two of cattle. Another chamber, depicted by De Rossi (vol. i. pl. 10), called that of Orpheus, is quite Pompeian in character. The ceiling is a beautiful work of art. Orpheus is seen in the centre, surrounded by heads of genii with dishevelled and flowing hair, and supported by eight oblong panels, two containing the Good Shepherd, two female *arcades*, and the remaining four winged genii bearing crooks, floating lightly in the air. The panelled walls are embellished with a rich profusion of arabesques, combining doves, peacocks, and other birds, dolphins, and sea monsters, the only unmistakably Christian emblem being the lamb bearing the eucharistic bread.

The style of these earliest efforts of Christian art has been unduly depreciated. They are characterized by Lord Lindsay (*Hist. of Christ. Art*, vol. i. p. 39) as "poor productions," where "the meagreness of invention is only equalled by the feebleness of execution," "inferior, generally speaking, to the worst specimens of contemporary heathen art." Such a verdict evinces but slender acquaintance with the paintings which are the subjects of his criticism. The earlier Christian frescoes, as we have seen, are quite on a level with the best specimens of pagan art of the time, and the rapid declivance manifested in the later examples belongs not to Christian art alone but to art in general. The judgment of Kugler is far more favourable. He speaks of the "grandeur of arrangement" exhibited by the earliest paintings, and admires the "peculiar solemnity and dignity of style" which characterize them, though he acknowledges that these excellences are "accompanied by certain technical deficiencies," chiefly such as naturally arose from

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The details were almost entirely left to the imagination of the beholder. The draperies were coloured in the primary keys, indicating a tolerable acquaintance with the laws of harmony. The general effect of these simple processes is pronounced by the same critics to be good. The "attitudes are not without grandeur, nor the masses of light and shade without breadth, nor the drapery without simplicity." The artists were evidently capable of much better things.

With the lapse of time and the general decay of artistic power in Rome, corresponding to the universal deterioration of taste and genius which characterized the later days of the empire, we notice a very sensible decline in the decorations of the catacombs. The design becomes increas-

another and always unlike nature" (Northcote, *u. s.* p. 197). In fact, as Dean Milman has truly remarked (*Lat. Christ.* vi. 605), the characteristic of Christian painting was not art but worship, and its highest aim was to awaken religious emotion and suggest religious thought. Thus imitation took the place of invention, and imagination was crushed by precedent. The gradual decadence of the art may be clearly traced in the chronological series given in Agincourt's plates (*Painture*, pl. v.-xiii.). The excellence of design, freedom of drawing, and harmony of colouring which mark the earlier frescoes gradually disappear as we advance. We find proofs of declension at the end of the 3rd century (Pl. viii.). The drawing is not bad, but

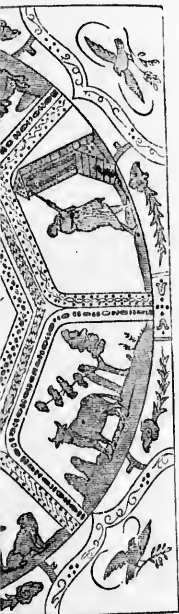


No. 7. Ceiling of the Catacomb of St. Callistus. From Perret.

ingly rude and clumsy, and the execution shows greater carelessness and neglect of detail. The figures are ill-proportioned—sometimes square and short, at others inordinately elongated. The free play of the earlier designs is succeeded by a lifeless rigidity. This mechanical stiffness was fostered by the narrowness of the cycle of Scriptural subjects represented, and the unimaginative sameness of the mode of representation. Each subject had received a well-defined traditional type, consecrated by repetition, from which it was deemed irreverence to deviate. Thus Christian art became "almost hieratic in its character, as in ancient Egypt or modern Greece, so fixed and immovable were its types; always like one

there is no movement and little expression, and the treatment is monotonous. In the two succeeding centuries the deterioration proceeds, though the decline is not so rapid as might have been anticipated. Classic forms continued till the end of the 5th and first half of the 6th centuries. Cavalcaselle instances as an example of the art of this period a chapel in the catacomb of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus (otherwise called St. Helena). The vault is decorated with a large figure of Christ seated in a curule chair, in the act of benediction. The head is very fine and pure. Below, above the tomb, are figures of St. Peter and St. Marcellinus and two others ranged on either side of the Holy Lamb standing $\frac{1}{4}$ a

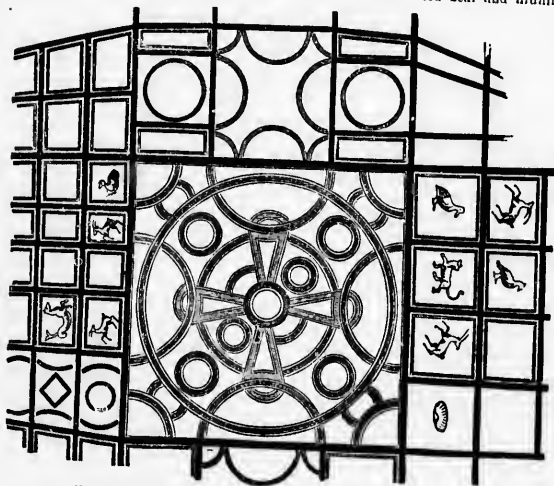
like nature" (Northote, t, as Denn Milman has *Christi*, vi. 665), the *stion* painting was not its highest aim was to ion and suggest religious ion took the place of in- on was crushed by prece- dence of the art; it may be chronological *ecies* given *Pebluce*, pl. v.-xii.). The freedom of drawing, and which mark the earlier appear as we advance. We ion at the end of the 3rd The drawing is not bad, but



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rock, whence issue the four rivers of Paradise. The frames are long and attenuated, the heads small, the hands and feet defective in drawing. Another typical example is the colossal head of Christ in the act of benediction, from the cemetery of St. Pontianus. For the first time the jewelled nimbus bears the Greek cross. The Saviour is of imposing aspect, but conventional. The execution is hasty, and the decline marked. It probably belongs to the 7th century, but is assigned by Martigny to Hadrian I. 772-775. The celebrated paintings which decorate the well or baptistery, the jewelled cross, and the Baptism of Christ are described in the articles BAPTISTERY, p. 174; and CATACOMBS, p. 313. These pictures, in their present state, are probably restorations of the originals, coarsely painted over an older underlying picture at the time of the repair of the catacomb by Hadrian I. (cf. Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching of Primitive Church*, p. 173). These

duce the original painting, and that any arguments founded upon such uncertain data must be precarious. The words of Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt, with regard to a particular instance, may be applied to a large number of these frescoes: "the workmanship is so grossly rude and careless, that one is led to suspect that ancient retouchings have taken place at some time in the bathos of art; and the addition of the coarsest outlines, both on the lighted and shaded side of the objects, seems to show that the original painting had nearly vanished from the wall when some well-meaning and totally-ignorant restorer made an attempt at securing its meaning" (*Art Teaching*, &c., p. 130). The fact of these restorations has been lately made patent to those who have no opportunity of examining the originals by the invaluable series of photographs taken in the catacombs by the magnesium light, which we owe to the unwearied zeal and munificent libe-



No. 8. Ceiling of the Vestibule of the Catacombs of Naples. From Bollermann.

restorations may be taken as examples of the retouchings and repaintings of earlier originals which prevailed so extensively when the catacombs became the objects of religious visits, and which render it so difficult accurately to determine the date of any particular picture. In the catacombs at Naples which have not been so much cared for, and are less tampered with by modern restorers, the wall-pictures may be seen in several instances peeling off, disclosing successive strata one behind another. There is no reason to question the good faith of the original restorers, who probably followed the outlines of the decaying subjects as far as they could make them out, and only supplied forms and details when the original had quite disappeared. But it must always be borne in mind, in examining the frescoes of the catacombs, that we are in all probability looking at a work of the 8th or 9th century, which only partially repro-

duces the original painting, and that any arguments founded upon such uncertain data must be precarious. The words of Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt, with regard to a particular instance, may be applied to a large number of these frescoes: "the workmanship is so grossly rude and careless, that one is led to suspect that ancient retouchings have taken place at some time in the bathos of art; and the addition of the coarsest outlines, both on the lighted and shaded side of the objects, seems to show that the original painting had nearly vanished from the wall when some well-meaning and totally-ignorant restorer made an attempt at securing its meaning" (*Art Teaching*, &c., p. 130). The fact of these restorations has been lately made patent to those who have no opportunity of examining the originals by the invaluable series of photographs taken in the catacombs by the magnesium light, which we owe to the unwearied zeal and munificent libe-

rality of Mr. J. H. Parker. The rude later touches and hard outlines are in many instances clearly to be traced over the original painting. It is needless to pursue the melancholy history of the decline of religious art any further. The power of drawing grew feebler and feebler, all sense of beauty of form perished, proportion was disregarded, the colouring became crude and inharmonious, until, with the close of the 8th century, a period of darkness set in, when Christian art was lost in the Western world, and only dragged on an unnatural and mechanical existence in the traditional Byzantine art of the East.

The remarkable series of frescoes which embellish the catacombs of Naples must not be passed over. They have, however, been so fully described in a previous article (CATACOMBS, p. 316), that it is needless to enlarge upon them here. The chief authorities for these paintings

are the plates of Bellermann's work (Hamburg, 1839). The greater part there given are no longer visible. The vault of the vestibule is painted in the Pompeian style, and probably by pagan artists, some of the subjects being distinctly heathen. It belongs to the first half-century of the Christian era (No. 8). The vault has been subsequently plastered over, and a second set of subjects of the 8th century painted over it. But the new coat did not adhere well, and has fallen off to a large extent, exhibiting the first painting below it. There is also a good painting of a peacock, with vases and flowers, belonging to the first period. Among the paintings that decorate the chapels we may call attention to one presenting full-length figures of St. Paul with a scroll, and St. Laurence with his crown of martyrdom in his hand. They are not nimble, but are assigned by Mr. J. H. Parker to the 5th century (No. 9). Half-lengths of St. Desiderius and St. Agutius, in another recess, deserve notice as exemplifying the bad drawing of the 8th century. The faces are elongated, the sockets of the eyes exaggerated in size, the hands enormous and clumsy, and the whole displays a barbaric ignorance of form and blindness to beauty.



No. 9. SS. Paul and Laurence, Catacomb at Naples.

II. *Byzantine*.—Up to the commencement of the 7th century there was no decided difference between Eastern and Western art. Wherever Roman civilization extended Christian art was essentially the same. It was not till the middle of the 7th century that the distinction between Roman and Byzantine art began to arise. That was the epoch of the greatest decadence of art in the West, crushed by the Lombard invasion, while in the East, under the emperor Justinian, a new and vigorous intellectual life was rapidly developing itself and manifesting its energy, as elsewhere, in the domain of art. This new influence rapidly made itself felt through the civilized world. The style of art universally prevailing in the latter part of the 7th and the 8th centuries and onward was that which, as distinguished from the Roman school, is known by the title of Byzantine (Kugler, *Handbook of Painting*, i. p. 47). The characteristic mental differences of the West and the East were reflected in their artistic works. The contemplative prevailed in the productions of the Byzantine art schools, as the practical did in those of Rome. The idea of dramatic historical painting was alien to the Byzantine genius. Even the movements of life were distasteful. Calm, motionless figures offered themselves to the devotion of the worshippers in dignified

repose. Ease stiffened into rigidity, tradition usurped the place of invention, the study of nature was laid aside, and the artist followed a strictly prescribed type which allowed no scope for the play of the imagination, and ended in a system of mere mechanical copying where, in Kugler's words (*u. s.* p. 56), "the capacity of the artist was only regulated by the number and quality of the tracings which he had been able to procure from the works of his predecessors."

A fuller discussion of Byzantine art and the chief examples remaining, must be reserved for the article treating on mosaic decorations (MOSAICS). Byzantine frescoes of the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, it is believed do not exist; though, from the permanence of the traditional type, and the strict adherence to artistic rules, there is no doubt that later compositions enable us to realise their character with great accuracy. We have no account of catacomb paintings in the East, though it is possible that such are only awaiting more thorough research. One such was not long since discovered at Alexandria, and is described by De' Rossi (*Buletino*, Noremb. 1864; Agost. 1865), and Northcote (*Rom. Soc.* p. 221). It contains a liturgical painting, apparently representing the participation in the eucharist, together with the loaves and fishes, and the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, with Greek inscriptions over. But it belongs to a period anterior to the development of Byzantine art, and differs little, if at all, from the paintings of the Roman catacombs.

III. *Lombardic*.—The relics of the new style of art consequent on the Lombard invasion in the 6th and 7th centuries are very scanty, and quite insufficient to furnish data for determining its character with any minuteness. It is probable, however, that the "naturalism and insistence on fact, the vigorous imagination of truth and wild play of fancy in fiction, the delight in action, motion, and contest, the taste for hunting and battle, the irresistible or unresisted taste for the humorous grotesque," described so vividly by Mr. Ruskin (*Stones of Venice*, vol. i. append. 8), as characterizing their more lasting works in architecture and sculpture, were exhibited in their pictorial efforts, in which, with all their rudeness and total license of style, there lay, as Kugler remarks (p. 45), "a germ of freedom from which, later, a new school of development was to spring." The historical subjects which Queen Theodelinda caused to be painted on the walls of her palace at Monza, at the beginning of the 7th century, have unhappily perished, if, indeed, they were frescoes and not mosaics.

Some account is given by Von Rumehr (*Ital. Forschung*, vol. i. p. 193, Berl. 1837) of the remains of the Lombardic style still existing in the remains of the frescoes in the tribune of the subterranean church at Assisi, and in the crypt of SS. Nazaro e Celso at Verona. The former are placed by him in the 8th century. The lights are laid on in *impasto*, an art subsequently lost. The frescoes at Verona are very similar in design and execution. Several Biblical scenes are there rudely painted on a coarse white ground.

IV. *Cycles of Scriptural Subjects*.—Attention has been already drawn to the remarkable fact that out of the almost infinite wealth of historical subjects in the Old and New Testaments suitable for pictorial representation, by

l into rigidity, tradition invention, the study of and the artist followed a line which allowed no scope for imagination, and ended in a mechanical copying where, in p. 56), "the capacity of calculated by the number and signs which he had been able to work of his predecessors." of Byzantine art and the painting, must be reserved for mosaic decorations. The frescoes of the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries are believed to not exist; the permanence of the traditional adherence to artistic rules, and inter-compositions enable character with great accuracy of catacomb paintings is possible that such are only rough research. One such discovered at Alexandria, and Rossi (*Buletino*, Novemb., and Northcott (*Pom. Nat.*), is a liturgical painting, apparently participation in the with the miracle at Cana tion of the leaves and fishes, lions over. But it belongs to the development of Byzantine art, if at all, from the Roman catacombs.

The relics of the new style of the Lombard invasion in the times are very scanty, and quite insufficient data for determining its minuteness. It is probable, "naturalism and insistence on imagination of truth and will fiction, the delight in action, the taste for hunting and combatible or unresisted taste for grotesque," described so vividly in *Venice*, vol. i. append. 8), their more lasting works in sculpture, were exhibited in works, in which, with all their license of style, there lay, as p. 45), "a germ of freedom from the school of development was to historical subjects which Queen ed to be painted on the walls of Gaza, at the beginning of the 7th century, unhappily perished, if, indeed, as and not mosaics.

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which important doctrines are set forth in holy lessons imparted, a comparatively small number were selected, and that the limits thus laid down were scarcely ever transgressed by the artists. Nor were these, generally speaking, precisely the subjects that we should have *a priori* expected to have been the object of exclusive preference. Many of the most striking events of the O. T., and the most characteristic incidents of the life of Christ are entirely passed over, while some which appear to us subordinate are repeated times without number. The explanation of this procedure is to be sought in the principle of typical parallelism which guided the church from the first in her choice of subjects for delineation. Her leading idea was to veil the great facts of Redemption "under the parallel and typical events of the patriarchal and Jewish dispensation—admitting no direct representations from gospel history but such as illustrated the kingly office of the Saviour and the miracles by which He prefigured the illumination of the spirit and the resurrection of the body" (Lord Lindsay, *Christian Art*, vol. i. p. 48). It followed therefore that even these events were not treated so much as facts of history, to be portrayed with any idea of reproducing the incident as it may be conceived to have occurred, but as types in which the spiritual meaning was predominant. Consequently, not the choice of the subject alone but the mode of treating it was matter of regulation by authority. Nothing beyond the minor details and the mode of execution was left to the artist. The church dictated what should be painted and how. "The symbolical system of this hieratic cycle," says De Rossi, "is established beyond all dispute, not only by the choice and arrangement of subjects, but also by the mode of representing them." "Christ's resurrection, with that of the church in His Person, is the theme on which in their peculiar language the artists of the catacombs seem never weary of expatiating." (Lord Lindsay, *u. s.* p. 51), and representing to the eyes and hearts of the beholders under every varied form of symbol, type, and allegory. The earliest allusion

every sarcophagus of the early Christian church. The same events, with the others belonging to this cycle, are continually referred to in the writings of the early fathers, who thus evidenced the hold they had taken of the popular mind, as familiar illustrations of the truths of revelation.

We may select one or two of the subjects of most frequent recurrence in early Christian art to illustrate what has been said as to the adherence to a traditional type, even when quite at variance with all historical probability. No subject meets us more constantly than Noah in



No. 10. Noah in the Ark.

the ark receiving the dove with the olive-branch, in evident allusion to the sacrament of baptism and salvation in the church (1 Pet. iii. 31). But with slight modifications of detail the type never varies. As in the illustration given above (No. 10), the ark is always a small square box with an open lid, out of which a man many sizes too large for his receptacle appears, and welcomes back the dove. Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is of perpetual recurrence. Both are usually clad in tunics. In an example from the cemetery of Priscilla, Abraham wears highpriestly robes.



No. 11. Jonah. From the Cemetery of St. Callistus. De Rossi.

to a cycle of this kind, not, it is true, containing any reference to pictorial representation, occurs in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. v. c. 7). Some of the Scriptural events there spoken of as types or pledges of the resurrection of man, viz. the deliverance of Jonah from the whale's belly, the preservation of the three children in the fiery furnace, and of Daniel in the lions' den, from the O. T., and the cure of the man sick of the palsy, and of the blind man on whose eyes Christ laid clay, the feeding of the five thousand, the miracle of Cana, and the raising of Lazarus, are those which meet us perpetually painted in almost every *cubiculum*, and carved on almost

The ram is a frequent accessory. The history of Jonah, the type of His work, death, and resurrection, chosen by Christ himself, in its three scenes, when once seen will be universally recognised, from the sameness of the form of the sea-monster and the details of the picture. In our illustration (No. 11) all these typical events are combined into one picture. Daniel in the lions' den, indefinitely repeated, adheres to the whole to the same form and arrangement. One given by Perret: repres-

† Augustine speaks of the sacrifice of Isaac, "tot locis pictum" (*Cont. Faust.* lib. xlii. c. 72).

sents him as wearing the Phrygian cap, which also usually distinguishes his companions the three children in the furnace, another of the most commonly occurring types of deliverance (No. 12). The permanence of one type sanctioned by ecclesiastical tradition exhibited in these and almost every other Scriptural representation in these early paintings, anticipates the authoritative statement of the church made some centuries



No. 12. The Three Children. From the Cemetery of St. Hermen. (Kaiso, p. 568.)

later in the iconoclastic controversy, "Non est imaginum structura picturarum inventio, sed ecclesiae catholicae probata legislatio et traditio" (Conc. Nic. ii. art. vi., Labbe *Concil.* vol. vii. p. 831).

The same restriction to one cycle and adherence to one authorized pictorial form are seen in the frescoes from the N. T. (See JESUS CHRIST.)

The following may be accepted as a tolerably complete account of the cycle of the O. T. subjects found in the catacombs. We have only included those which had received a fixed traditional form, and were constantly repeated, excluding those only occurring once or twice:—

I. (1) The Fall, with Adam, Eve, the tree, and the serpent. (2) The Offering of Cain and Abel. (3) Noah receiving the Dove. (4) The Sacrifice of Isaac. (5) Moses removing his Shoes. (6) Moses striking the Rock. (7) David with his Sling. (8) Elijah's Translation. (9) The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace. (10) Daniel in the Lions' Den. (11) Jonah (a) Swallowed by the Whale; (b) Disgorged; (c) Reposing under his Booth. (12) Job on the Dung-hill; to which may be added, though of much rarer occurrence, (13) Tobias with the Fish, and (14) Susanna and the Elders.

The New Testament cycle, under the same restriction, is as follows:—

II. (1) The Adoration of the Magi. (2) The Miracle at Cana. (3) Christ and the Woman of Samaria. (4) The Healing of the Paralytic, the man carrying his bed. (5) The Healing of the Blind Man. (6) The Cure of the Woman with

† The most detailed description of the members of these Scriptural cycles, with references to the localities in which they may be sought for, is supplied by the Danish bishop (Dr. Fred. Munter, in his work of earnest research, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen*, Altona, 1825.

the Issue of Blood. (7) The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes. (8) The Raising of Lazarus. (9) Zachæus. (10) The Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem. (11) Christ before Pilate, the latter washing his hands. (12) Christ and the Apostles on the Shore of the Sea of Galilee, after the Resurrection, with bread and fish. To these may be added, though not strictly belonging to the cycle, (13) the Annunciation (Hottari, *op. cit.* 176), (14) Our Lord's Baptism, in the catacomb of St. Pontianus, and (15) the Five Wise Virgins, from St. Agnes (Berret, ii. 42).

We must not omit to mention the frescoes representing the *Agape* which so frequently meet us. In many of these there is nothing distinctively Christian, and Mr. Tyrwhitt remarks on the close resemblance between the *Agape* of the catacombs of St. Domitilla, and St. Callistus, and the confessedly heathen banquet of the seven priests in the Gnostic catacomb. That of which we give a woodcut (No. 13), from the catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, already described (p. 312), presents nothing by which we can determine whether the feast depicted had a religious character or not. In others, however, the deussated loaves, the bread and fish in seven baskets, and the seven persons, in evident allusion to the interview between Christ and seven of his disciples at the sea of Galilee, evidence the Christian origin and purpose of the painting.



No. 13. Agape. From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Peter (Rome.)

We have already lamented the entire absence of all examples of religious paintings derived from churches or basilicas, owing to the destruction of the buildings themselves, or of the decay or removal of the pictures. This want however is in some degree compensated for by contemporaneous lists of the subjects represented, and to some extent of the manner in which they were depicted, for which we are indebted to St. Ambrose and St. Paulinus of Nola.

In the latter half of the 4th century the Ambrosian basilica at Milan was decorated with a cycle of 21 Scriptural paintings, all but four of which represented O. T. subjects. They are described in the "*Listichii ad picturas servas in Basilica Ambrosiana*," given in the "*Index Sive Index Sanctorum Ambrosianorum*," published by Birgini (Milano, 1862). The subjects are (1) Noah and the Dove. (2) Abraham beholding the Stars. (3) Abraham entertaining the Angels. (4) The Sacrifice of Isaac. (5) The Meeting of Isaac and Rebecca. (6) Jacob craftily obtaining the Birthright. (7) Jacob and the Speckled and Ring-straked Fleeces. (8) Joseph's Coat shown to Jacob by his Sons.

(7) The Multiplication of
(8) The Raising of La-
(10) The Triumphal
(11) Christ before
his hands. (12)
on the Shore of the
the Resurrection, with
these may be added, though
to the cycle, (13) the
(iv. 176). (14) Our Lord's
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(9) Joseph sold by his Brethren. (10) Joseph and
Potiphar's Wife. (11) Joseph's Dreams.
(12) Absalom caught by his Hair. (13) Jonah
swallowed by the Great Fish. (14) The Wolf
lying down with the Kid. (15) Jeremiah's
Propheatical Commulsion. (16) The Ascension
of Elijah. (17) Daniel in the Lions' Den. (18)
The Annunciation. (19) Zacharias in the Syca-
mone Tree. (20) The Transfiguration. (21)
St. John reclining on Christ's Breast. This
cycle is remarkable as including several subjects
seldom or never occurring in existing remains.
Subjects (1), (4), (13), (16), and (17) are among
the most frequent, but all the rest are found
most rarely, while of the majority it would be
difficult to name an example.

The most detailed accounts of the decoration
of a church with Scriptural paintings are those
given by Paulinus of Nola in the early years of
the 5th century, when describing the basilica
erected by him in honour of St. Felix (*Poen.*
xvii). We here find the first direct enunciation
of the principle set forth by Johannes Damascenus
(*Orat. I. de Imagin.* vol. i. p. 314), and con-
stantly repeated since, that "pictures are the
books of the unlearned." The festival of St. Felix,
which occurred in the winter, gathered
together an immense concourse of country folk,
who thought to do honour to the tomb of the
saint by passing the night in feasting, too usually
resulting in a gross debauch:

"male credula sanctos
Perfusis balante mero gaudere sepulchris."
(*Ib.* v. 665.)

In the hope of beguiling the gross minds of
these illiterate peasants from the sensual de-
lights which were their chief attractions, and
awakening purer thoughts and holier aspirations
by the examples of the holy personages there
depicted, and at the same time with the view of
imparting to them some knowledge of the chief
facts of sacred history, and at any rate of leaving
them less leisure for their coarser pleasures,
Paulinus adopted the somewhat unusual expedient
(rare more) of embellishing the portico of the new
basilica with a series of Scriptural paintings. They
occupied either the ceiling or the upper portion of
the wall, only to be seen with up-turned face
and head thrown back (*Ib.* vv. 511-513). The
series embraced subjects from the Pentateuch,
Joshua, and Ruth. Those particularised by Pau-
linus (*Ib.* vv. 515-535, 607-635) are the Creation
of Man, Abraham's Departure from Ur, the
Angels revealed by Lot, Lot's Wife, the Sacrifice
of Isaac, Isaac opening the Wells, Jacob's Dream,
Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, the Crossing of
Jordan, Naomi and her Daughters-in-law, and
the Passage of the Red Sea. The titles of the various
pictures were written over them:

"ut illis monstraret
Quod manus expulcrit."—(*Ib.* 684)

The description of the last two subjects indicates,
as Dean Milman remarks (*Hist. of Christianity*,
vol. iii. p. 399 note), if it was drawn from the
picture itself, considerable talent on the painter's
part for composition and landscape as well as for
the drawing of figures. Not content with these
pietorial embellishments of his new basilica,
Paulinus decorated the old basilica of St. Felix
in a similar manner, selecting subjects from the

New Testament, that thus "that which was new
might be an ornament to the old, and the old to
the new." These occupied a lower position, and
could be viewed "lunatic recta" (*Poen.* xxviii.
vv. 167-179). Three narrow chapels (*cellae*)
opening out of the atrium, exhibited examples of
male and female virtue. One was painted with
the history of Job and Tobit; another with those
of Esther and Judith. That in the centre com-
memorated martyrs of both sexes (*Ib.* vv. 15-27).
The paintings in the apse of the basilica at Fondi
are also described by Paulinus in a letter to his
friend Severus (*Ep.* xxxii. 17). The subjects
were of the same nature as many still extant in
the apses of basilicas; a crowned cross standing in
the flowery meads of Paradise, and the Holy
Lamb anointed by the Dove and crowned by the
Father, with the sheep and goats on either hand.
These may have been worked in mosaic.

There is abundant evidence that the walls of
civil and domestic buildings were also decorated
with paintings, sometimes secular, sometimes reli-
gious. Those of the palace of Queen Theode-
linda at Monza have been already referred to.
Sidonius Apollinaris describes the villa of his
friend Pontius Leontius at Bourg, at the conflu-
ence of the Dordogne and Garonne, as profusely
ornamented with wall-paintings, one series repre-
senting the Mithriatic campaign of Lucullus,
another the early history of the Jewish nation,
"recitatorum primordia Judaeorum." Sidonius
expresses his astonishment at the lustre and
durability of the colours (*Sid. Apoll. Carm.* xxii.).
We learn from Eusebius Nigellus (*lib. iv.*) that
the whole Scripture history was painted on the
walls of Charlemagne's palace at Ingelheim. It
is needless to say all these have perished.

Authorities.—*Alt. H. Vögelbilder*; Bellermann,
Kat.-schonken zu Neapel; Bingham, *Origines*, bk.
viii. c. 8; Bollettini, *Osservazioni*; Bosio, *Icone
Sotterranee*; Buttari, *Sculture e pitture*; Ciampini,
Vetera Monumenta; Kugler, *Hand book of
Painting*; Lindsay, *Lord, Sketches of Christian
Art*; Munter, *Steinbilder*; Northcote and Brown-
low, *Roma Sotterranea*; Parker, *J. H., 14
topographs*; Perret, *Les Catacombes de Rome*; Piper,
Mythol. u. Symbol. der Christlich. Kunst; Raoul
Rochette, *Tableau des Catacombes*; *Discours*; Rio,
Art Chretienne; Rossi, *De' Roma Sotterranea*;
Seroux d'Aglencourt, *L'His. vire de Paris par les
monumens*; Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching of the Princi-
pals Church*. [*Ib.* V.]

FRIDAY, GOOD. [GOOD FRIDAY.]

FRIULI, COUNCIL OF (*Favojntiensis concilium*), held at Friuli, A.D. 796, not 791, as Pagi
shews (Mansi xiii. 874) under Paulinus, patriarch
of Aquileia, whose letter to Charlemagne, formerly
misconnected with the synod of Alipino,
A.D. 802 (*Ibid.* p. 827), assigns three causes for
its meeting: (1) the orthodox faith; (2) eccle-
siastical discipline, and (3) recent outrages, prob-
ably by the Huns. The first of these is explained
in his speech, which is an elaborate apology for
the reception into the Western creed of the
"Filioque," which Charlemagne had attacked,
and the pope vindicated, the 2nd Nicene council
two years before for not having in theirs: Pau-
linus himself endeavouring to prove both right.
The resemblance between parts of this speech
and the Athanasian creed has been remarked
and is very close. Besides which it is observable

et Proces for Ascension
 ric and prayer: "Then a
 of the canon thou shalt
 fruges novas). The Bene-
 O Lord, these new fruits
 thou, O Lord, hast vouch-
 in the name of our Lord
 nom Thon, O Lord, dost
 good things, &c. *Fruits*
 i, tom. i. col. 588). Else-
 sacramentary, the prayer
 altered, and with the alter-
 an" (*Ibid.*, col. 746). It is
 other benediction of first-
 primitias creaturæ Tuae),
 on of Apples." From some
 Gregorian sacramentary, we
 are blessed on the viii. Kal.
 es' Day (Martene, *De Antiq.*
 xliii. § 51). The prayer from
 ad above is preserved in the
 ntary as a *benedictio* *Cono-*
 l. 109). The oldest MS. of
 of reach beyond the eighth
 of the Gregorian beyond the
 proof that the custom was
 before the eighth century,
 the recognition of it in the
 ies was not an interpolation
 prayer above cited from the
 ch the title, *Benedictio omni-*
Ponartum, in the manuscript
 ar, written in the seventh
 r, found by Mabillon in the
 io, in Italy, and probably
 a Luxeuil by its founder, St.
 13, or by one of his followers
Re, tom. i. p. 290; or
 n. ii. col. 959). In the Lec-
 another happy discovery of
 the Eucharistic lessons of
 uas (sic). The prophecy is
 ii. 21-27; the epistle from
 ad the gospel from St. John
apost. Gallicantu, p. 161).
 of the Passion of
 ptist, Sept. 24 (*Liturg. Gall.*
 the internal evidence of the
 ut it is the benediction of the
 rovision is here made. The
 y carried by our countrymen
), A.D. 723, with the common
 his converts in Germany; for
 his benedictions of fruit, &c.,
 bers, among the *Monachia*
Almannica, published by Gu-
 307). A very brief example
 collection may be given:—
 this fruit of new trees, that
 proof may be sanctified; through-
 resting to add that similar benedictions
 nced in our own country. In
 Egbert, who became archbishop
 re the six following forma-
no ad omni quæ coluntur
Fruges nos as; (iii) *Benedictio*
Alia; (v.) *Benedictio* *Panc*; which
 are is, of course, no mention
 of the Gelasian prayer that we have
 in any other application. Of the
 v. are not in the Roman sacra-
 last runs thus: "Bless, O Lord,

this creature of bread, as Thou didst bless the
 five loaves in the wilderness, that all who taste
 thereof may receive health both of body and of
 soul; through, &c." (*Antiphona* Eggerhiti, p.
 114; ed. Surtees Society, 1854).

It will be perceived that in the West, as well
 as East, the offering of first-fruits as a token of
 gratitude to the Giver of All soon degenerated
 into a mode of asking for a blessing on the con-
 sumption of His gifts. It should be understood,
 also, that both in the East and West the first-
 fruits brought to be blessed were left for the use
 of the priests. "It is becoming and expedient,"
 says Origen, A.D. 230, "that the first-fruits be
 offered also to the priests of the Gospel." "For
 if one believed that the fruits of the earth were
 given to him by God, he would surely know how
 to honour God from His gifts and benefits by
 giving thereof to the priests" (*Hom. xi. in Num.*
 § 2, tom. x. pp. 105, 106; ed. Lommattsch).
 Similarly St. Jerome, commenting on Ezekiel
 xlv. 30: "The first-fruits of our foods are
 offered to the priests; that we may taste nothing
 of the new fruits, before the priest has tasted
 them. For we do this, that the priest may lay
 up a blessing and our offering in his house; or
 that the Lord may bless our houses at his
 prayer."

We have already quoted a rubric from the
 Gelasian sacramentary, which orders that the
 benediction of fruits shall take place "a little
 before the end of the canon." The prayer was in-
 serted immediately after the words, "not weigh-
 ing our merits, but pardoning our offences" (now
 in our first Post-Communion Collect), and im-
 mediately before the concluding clause, "through
 Jesus Christ our Lord." This clause (altered in
 this manner, "in the name of our Lord Jesus
 Christ") was thus made to close the benediction.
 After it the priest added, "Per quem hæc omnia,
 homina, semper bona creata, sanctificas, vivificas,
 benedicas et præstas nobis, Per ipsum," &c.
 These words are now a permanent part of the
 canon; but they do not seem to belong to it.
 The words, "hæc omnia" cannot with any pro-
 priety be applied to the eucharistic elements
 alone. Hence some ritualists, as e.g. Græcohus
 (*Antiquus Liturgicus*, p. 657), and De Vert
 (*Explic. des Cérémon.* tom. iv. Romarque xxx.) &c.,
 suppose that this doxology was at first only used
 when other things were offered to be blessed, and
 formed no part of the service of the mass. Le
 bran (*Explication*, p. iv. art. xvi.), Bonn (*Her.*
Lit. l. 2, c. xiv. § v.). D'Achery (*Spicil.* tom. iv.
 Præf.), and others, maintain that it was a con-
 stant part of the liturgy, but that when there
 was a benediction of fruits, it applied to them
 as well as to the elements. [W. E. S.]

FRONTAL (*Frontalis* or *Frontale*) is defined
 by Lindwood to be "apparatus pendens in fronte
 altaris, qui alius dicitur *Palla*." [ALTAR-CLOTHS;
 ASTEPENDIUM.] The word is not uncommon in
 ancient documents. Thus, for instance, a charter
 of Chladasinthin, king of the Goths, of the year
 645 A.D. (quoted by Ducange, s. v.) runs, "of-
 ferimus . . . vestimenta altaris omnia ad ple-
 num, sive *frontalis*, sive principalia . . ." A
 later charter, quoted by the same authority,
 speaks of "quatuor *frontales* de sericeo." [C.]

FRONTO. (1) Abbot, martyr at Alexandria;

commemorated April 14 (*Mart.* Hieron., Adonis,
 Usuardi).

(2) [FELIX (5).]

(3) Bishop, at Petragoricas; commemorated
 Oct. 25 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FRUCTUOSA. [DONATUS (8).]

FRUCTUOSUS, bishop, martyr at Tarrag-
 onza with Angurius and Eulogius, deacons, in
 the time of Gallienus; commemorated Jan. 21
 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FRUCTUS MEDII TEMPORIS. [VA-
 CANCY.]

FRUMENTIUS. (1) Martyr in Africa with
 Victorianus and another Frumentius, under Hun-
 nericus; commemorated March 23 (*Mart.* Rom.
 1 ct., Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) or Salama; commemorated Maskarram 23
 = Sept. 20 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [SALAMA]. [W. F. G.]

FUGITIVES (from a monastery). Monastic
 codes shew that their framers had to guard on
 the one hand against a leniency which might
 encourage desertion on the part of monks tired
 of their seclusion and anger for the world, and
 on the other against a severity which might close
 the door too fast against deserters wishing to be
 readmitted. The rule of Benedict, as always,
 is very lenient on this point. A monk who escapes
 from a monastery, like one who is expelled, is
 to be received again if he vows amendment, even
 after three desertions (*Reg. Ben.* c. 29, cf. *Reg.*
Cuj. ad Virg. c. 21), but only into the lowest
 grade (*Reg. Ben.* ib. cf. *Reg. Pachom.* c. 79, *Reg.*
Fruct. c. 20, *Reg. Cuj.* ib.). Some commenta-
 tors, indeed, take this rule as implying, that
 the abbat may readmit even after a fourth des-
 ertion, though the culprit has no right to
 require it (Martene, *Reg. Comm.* in loc.). But
 later commentators (e.g. Menard, Hæften) in-
 terpret it more strictly (Martene, *Reg. Com.*
 ib.). The first council of Orleans, A.D. 511, cen-
 sures abbats lenient to fugitive monks, or who
 receive monks from other monasteries (*Conc.*
Aurcl. i. c. 19). The second council of Tours,
 A.D. 567, allows fugitives to be re-admitted on
 doing penance.

In the same spirit of wise tolerance Benedict
 is silent as to the steps to be taken to bring
 back the fugitive, apparently judging it best to
 leave him alone, if without any desire to return
 (*Mart. Reg. Comm.* ib.). But Ferroules pre-
 scribes that the fugitive is to be recalled (*Reg.*
Ferr. c. 20), and Fructuosus forbids him to be
 admitted into another monastery; and orders
 him to be brought back, by force if necessary,
 as a criminal, with hands tied behind his back
 (*Reg. Fruct.* c. 20). It was enacted by Justina-
 nian that a monk returning to the secular life
 should be degraded by the bishop and governor
 of the province from his civil position, and be
 sent back with his worldly goods to his monas-
 tery; if he deserted again, he was to be
 drafted into the army (*Novell.* 123). A similar
 decree was passed by the seventh council of
 Toledo, A.D. 646 (*Conc. Tolet.* c. 5). The second
 council of Constantinople, A.D. 553, sentenced an
 abbat who should be remiss in seeking to bring
 back the stray sheep into the monastic fold to
 deprivation.

Later enactments are very severe against fugi-

tives. The Clstercian rule forbids the reception even into the lowest rank of a monk who has deserted twice, or has stayed away more than eleven days. The renegade is in any case to wear a distinctive dress, as badge of his disgrace, and to be excluded from the choir; the abbat who fails to enforce this rule is to do penance. The original statutes of the Carthusians unfrock the renegade; the modern compel him to resume the dress of his order. The Augustinian rule tempers severity with mercy. The renegade is to live outside the monastery itself, but under the care of the bishop, and the abbat is to shew kindness to him, if penitent (*Mart. Reg. Comm.* in loc. cit.). [I. G. S.]

FULGENTIUS, bishop in Africa; commemorated Jan. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FUNERAL. [BURIAL OF THE DEAD; OBSEQUIES.]

FUNERAL-FEAST. [CATACOMBS, p. 312; CELLA MEMORIAE.]

FUNERAL-SERMONS (*Επιτάφια, λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι*). Christians followed the old custom of many of the heathen nations, of holding an oration over the remains of famous men departed [BURIAL OF THE DEAD, p. 253]. To say nothing of the discourses—triumphal rather than sorrowing—delivered over the remains of martyrs, Gregory of Nyssa held funeral orations on the death of the empress Pulcheria and Placilla, and of bishop Meletius. On the death of Constantine the Great, several bishops celebrated his praises, conspicuous among whom was Eusebius of Caesarea. Gregory of Nazianzus exercised his pathetic eloquence over the bier of his brother Caesarius, of his father and his sister, and over that of Basil the Great; Ambrose preached on the death of his brother Satyrus, of Valentinian, and of Theodosius.* The tone of these orations is, for the most, eulogistic of the "famous men" through whom "the Lord hath wrought great glory" (Ecclus. xlv. 1, 2).

Jerome (*Epist. ad Heliod.* c. 1) says that the old custom was for sons to speak the funeral orations over parents. He alludes here probably to a pagan custom, of which there are many examples (Kirchmann, *De Fun. Rom.* lib. ii. c. 18); but Christianity also (as we have seen) nor furnishes examples of a similar practice. Nor were the clergy the only orators in such cases; Constantine himself did not disdain to pronounce a funeral oration on one of his court, in which, says Eusebius (*Vita Const.* iv. 55) he spoke of the immortality of the soul, of the blessings of the righteous, and the misery of the wicked.

Funeral sermons were not always delivered at the time of the burial, though some—as several of Gregory Nazianzen's—contain indications that they were so delivered. Eusebius (*Vita Const.* iv. 71) gives us to understand that the funeral orations over Constantine were delivered while the remains of the departed lay in state on a lofty bier [FERETRUM]. Ambrose evidently delivered his sermon over Satyrus (see § 78) while the body was yet waiting to be carried to the grave. His oration on Valentinian, on the con-

* We might almost include in funeral orations Jerome's *Epitaphium Nepotiani*, though it is in form a letter to Heliodorus.

trary, was delivered two months (see *Opera*, ii. 1170, ed. Benet.), that on Theodosius forty days, after the death of the person commemorated. The death of bishop Meletius was the occasion of sermons everywhere (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 8); that of Gregory of Nyssa was probably delivered on the day when the remains of Meletius, brought from Constantinople, were received at Antioch. That of Chrysostom on the same bishop, was delivered on the fifth anniversary of his death. The oration of Gregory Nazianzen on Basil was delivered over his tomb on the first anniversary of his death, in the presence (it is said) of 150 bishops.

When the sermon took place at the time of a commemorative service for the dead, it probably took place at the point in the liturgy where the sermon was ordinarily introduced. The Pseudo-Dionysius (*Hierarch. Eccl.* c. 7) speaks of the funeral-sermon being delivered after the catechumens had departed, but while the penitents remained. The eulogy of Hilary of Arles on Honoratus (quoted by Binterim, v. ii. 442), which proves incidentally that the corpse was carried uncovered, and that the people pressed round to kiss the face, or the coffin of the illustrious dead—was probably delivered at the end of some office. The orations over the remains of Constantine were clearly delivered after the funeral service (Euseb. u. s. lv. 71; Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vi. iii. 435, ff.). [C.]

FURNACE. In Bottari (clxxxvi. 0) the three Hebrew brethren are represented standing in something like a kiln or smelting furnace (see woodcut); also excv. and perhaps cxlii. li.; also in Parker's photographs from the catacomb of St. Marcellinus. The furnace is literally insisted on, in a way which, as it appears to the



author, may possibly have been adopted from one of the ustrina (or ae) used for cremation in Rome. One of these, or its remains or traces, the author believes he saw in Pompeii, Christmas 1859. See Murray's *Handbook for South Italy*, p. 327. [R. St. J. T.]

FURSEAS, bishop, confessor at Peronne; commemorated Jan. 16 (*Mart.* Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FUSCIANUS, martyr at Amiens; commemorated Dec. 11 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

FUSCOLUS. (1) Bishop, martyr at Orleans commemorated Feb. 2 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

(2) [DONATIUS (2)]. [W. F. G.]

two months (see *Opera*, II. on Theodosius forty days, a person commemorated, Meletius was the occasion of (Theodore, *H. l. v. 8*); Meletius was probably delivered Meletius, brought Meletius were received at Antioch, the same bishop, was de- anniversary of his death, y. Jaziuzen on Basil was b on the first anniversary presence (it is said) of 150

ook place at the time of a ce for the dead, it probably at in the liturgy where the y introduced. The Pseudo- *Ecd. c. 7*) speaks of the catecha- but while the penitenti gy of Hilary of Arles oo by Binterim, v. ii. 442; ntally that the corpse was and that the woe pressed face, or the coffin of the s probably delivered at the he orations over the remains clearly delivered after the seb. u. s. iv. 71; Binterim's i. iii. 435, ff.) [C.]

Bottari (cxxxvi. 6) the three are represented standing in a furnace (see *ibid.* p. 137). The furnace is literally in which, as it appears to the



ably have been adopted from one (ae) used for cremation in Rome. is remains or traces, the author Pompeii, Christmas 1859. See *Book for South Italy*, p. 327. [R. St. J. T.]

bishop, confessor at Perocce; Jan. 16 (*Mart.* Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

S, martyr at Amiens; commemo- (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

(1) Bishop, martyr at Orleans Feb. 2 (*Mart.* Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

ANUS (2?)]

G

GABALUM, COUNCIL OF (*Gabulitum concilium*), at which the wife of the count of Auvergne was condemned for adultery, says Sir H. Nicolas (*Chron.* p. 222), A. D. 590. Gabalum, where it was held, was not far from Meulle, on the river Lot (*Gall. Christ.* i. 83). [E. S. Fr.]

GABATHA or GABATA. A name of penile lamps suspended in churches. The word is of uncertain orthography and etymology. We find the forms *Gabatha*, *Gavata*, and *Cavata*, which last points to the derivation given by Isidore Hispalensis (*Etymol. lib. xx. c. 4*) from *cavus* "hollow." The original meaning of the word is "a dish" or "bowl;" in which sense it is used by Martial (*Epigr.* vii. 47; xi. 32), and of which the Glossary of Ducange furnishes abundant examples. From its shape it came to be employed for a lamp, which is its most usual ecclesiastical signification. The annexed woodcut from Maeri



Gabatha, from Maeri.

shows one of two bowl-shaped *gabathas* preserved in the pontifical chapel of the Lateran, in which in his time a wax light was always burning before the sacrament. *Gabathas* frequently occur in the catalogues of papal gifts to the churches of Rome contained in Anastasius. Thus Leo III. (A. D. 795-816) gave to the basilica of St. Peter's 15 *gabathas* of purest gold set with gems, to hang on the screen (*pergula*) before the altar (§ 382), and 6 of silver with an appended cross to hang before the Arch of Triumph, 3 on each side (§ 389). These *gabathas* were of different metals, gold, silver, brass, and *electrum*. They were frequently embossed (*maglypha* § 392, &c.), or decorated in bas-relief (*interrasilis*), and ornamented with lilies (*liliiatae*) heads of gryphes (§ 366) or lions (as in the woodcut), or even fashioned in the form of that animal "in modum leonis." Like the *coronae* used for lighting, they very often had crosses attached to them (*simochriatae*, § 418, &c.). The epithet *figurae* is frequently applied to *gabathas* in Anastasius, and would seem, from a comparison with the expression *pari filo* (Lucr. ii. 341), to signify of equal size or thickness. The epithet *variae* or *variae* is interpreted by Ducange to mean of various workmanship; but this interpretation is precarious. [E. V.]

GABINIUS. (1) Presbyter, and martyr at Rome: in the time of Diocletian; commemorated Feb. 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.* Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr in Sardinia with Crispulus, under Adrian; commemorated May 30 (*ib.*) [W. F. G.]

CHRIST. ANT.

GABRA. (1) Mantis Kiblus (i. e. servant of the Holy Spirit), saint of Ethiopia; commemorated Magabit 5 = March 1 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(2) Maska (i. e. servant of the Cross), king of the Ethiopians; commemorated Hediar 30 = Nov. 26 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [W. F. G.]

GABRIEL, IN ART. [ANGELS.]

GABRIEL, the archangel; commemorated March 26 and July 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Magabit 30 = March 26, Senne 13 = June 7, Taxis 19 = Dec. 15 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); also with John, July 12 (*Cal. Georg.*), and with Michael and All Angels, Nov. 8 (*Cal. Armon.*). [W. F. G.]

GAIANA, and companions, virgin-martyrs; commemorated June 4 (*Cal. Armon.*) [W. F. G.]

GAIUS, saint at Bologna; commemorated with Aggeus and Hermes, Jan. 4 (*Mart. Usuardi*). See CAIUS. [W. F. G.]

GALACTION. [EPISTEME.]

GALATA, martyr at Militina in Armenia, with Aristonicus, Caius, Expeditus, Hermogenes, Rufus; commemorated April 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GALLIAEL. [FAITHFUL.]

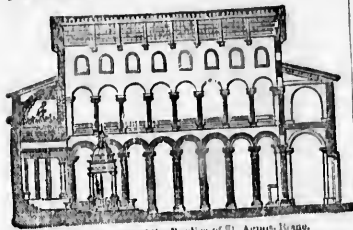
GALLIÉE. [NARTHÉX.]

GALNABIS (also *Galnape*, *Galnyes* [*Isid. Hispal. Etym.* xix. 25], *Ganape*). This is a kind of rough blanket or rug, forming part of the furniture of a monk's couch, which according to the *Rule* of St. Isidore is to include "stora et stragulum, pellesque lanatae duae, galnabis quoque et fucistergium, gemulusque ad caput pulvillus" (*Regula S. Isidori*, c. 14; in Holstenius, *Codex Bequitarum*, part 2, p. 127, ed. Paris, 1863). Similarly the *Rule* of Fructuosus, bishop of Bracara in Spain, speaks of "calnabes yllatus" (c. 4; op. cit. part 2, p. 139). The galnabis was apparently used sometimes as an article of personal dress, for in the testament of Caesarius, bishop of Arles, we read "simul cum casula villosa et tunica vel galnape, quod mellus dimisero" (*Patrol.* lxxvi. 1140).

The etymology of the word is doubtful: we may perhaps connect it with the word *gaulnabena*, used by Varro, and possibly also with the Greek γαυδάκης, καυδάκης, which is defined by Hesychius (under the latter spelling) στρώματα, ἢ ἐπιβάλλια ἱερομαλλῆ. Another derivation has been suggested, connecting the word with *galbanum*, a dye making it descriptive of the colour, but this is very improbable. For further references, see Ducange's *Glossarium* s. v. [L. S.]

GALLERIES. The only galleries known in early ecclesiastical architecture were constructional integral parts of the building, not additions to it. In this they corresponded to the triforia of mediæval churches, which in their original idea were galleries for the reception of worshippers or auditors, for which purpose they are still used in Germany, and where they exist in Italy (e.g. St. Ambrogio at Milan), and to some extent in England. The first Christian churches erected on the basilican plan, and they naturally retained the upper gallery, running entirely round the building above the principal colonnade,

for the accommodation of spectators, men on one side and women on the other, which we know to have formed an essential portion of the basilican arrangement (Vitruv. v. 1). Like them



No. 1. Section of the Basilica of St. Agnes, Rome.

the church galleries were reached by an outside staircase, and were protected towards the nave by a low wall or balustrade (*pluteus*). The only Roman basilican churches that exhibit this arrangement are those of St. Agnes (fig. 1),



No. 2. Section of St. Michele, Pavia.

St. Laurence, in its more ancient portion, and the church of the Quattro Santi Coronati, on the Coelian. A similar upper gallery occurs also in the Lateran baptistery of Constantine. The passion for mosaic pictures of sacred subjects led to the abolition of this gallery in the basilican churches, the space it should have occupied being devoted to pictorial representations, as at St. Maria Maggiore, St. Paul's, and the old St. Peter's, at Rome (see illustrations on pages 370, 371), and S. Apollinare in Classe, and St. Apollinare Nuovo, at Ravenna. But it reappeared in the early Lombard churches, as at S. Ambrogio at Milan, and S. Michele at Pavia (fig. 2), where there are well developed triflorial galleries. But the arrangement never took root in Italy, and was soon lost.

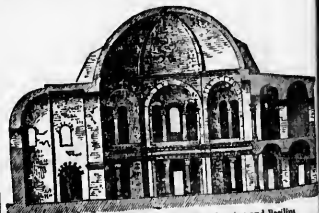
In the East, when the "dromic" or basilican form was adopted, it carried with it the upper gallery above the side aisles. Of this we have an example in the church of St. John at Constantinople (A.D. 463), illustrated in Salzburg's work. The domical church of the lesser Santa

Sophia, (or SS. Sergius and Basilus,) erected by Justinian (fig. 3), also exhibits a gallery or upper story running all round it. In the churches, in what is commonly known as the Byzantine style, of which St. Sophia is the most magnificent example, the side gallery played a very important part. There is a good example in the church of St. Vitale, at Ravenna (see woodcut, p. 376).

Its usual designation was *gynecœitis*, from being the place where the women were accommodated. It was also called the *catechumenium*, because the women assembled there to listen to instruction (Leo, *Noveil.* 73, apud Ducange *Constantinopol. Christ.*), or simply "the upper chambers," *ἄνωρα* (Paul. Silent. i. 256). These galleries ran along the side of the *trapeza* or nave, sometimes quite up to the sanctuary or *bema*. The Pseudo-Amphilochius records that St. Basil, having detected a woman making signs to the deacon attending upon him at the altar, gave orders that curtains should be hung over the gallery to prevent such indecorum.

The women's galleries at St. Sophia are of vast size (fig. 4), ranged to the north and south

of the central area, occupying the upper story of the transeptal space. Each gallery is supported by four monolithic columns of Egyptian granite, and is itself faced by an arcade of six smaller



No. 3. Section of the Church of SS. Sergius and Basilus, Constantinople.

pillars. The galleries are vaulted and paved with marble, and protected towards the church by a low marble wall, four feet high, shaped

like a
Silentia
Apoc

These
staircase

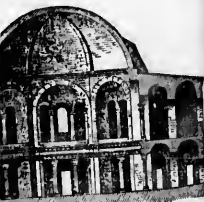
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of the Church of St. Sergius and Basilus, Constantinople

galleries are vaulted and paved... and protected towards the church... ble wall, four feet high, shaped

like a desk, on which, according to Paul the... Silentary, the women reposed their arms.

Ἐνθα καθέβοναι
ἰσχυροῦς ἀνέβοναι ἐνπερὶ αὐτοῦ γυναικῶν.—l. 263.

of the cupola. On the same level as the women's... galleries, further east, were two large vaulted... apartments to the right and left of the *bema*, in... one of which the empress had her position with

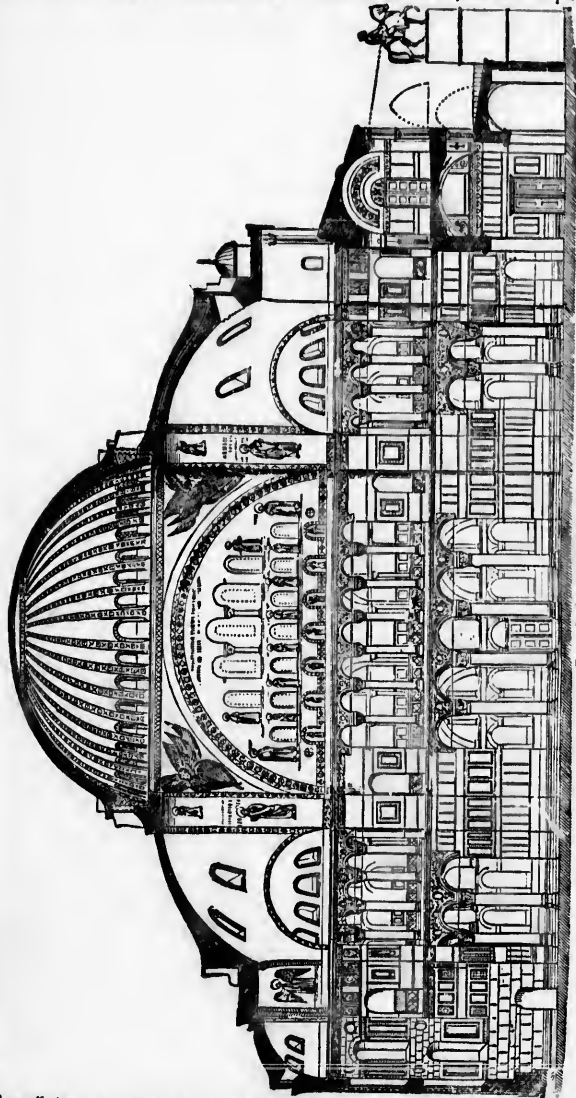


Fig. 4. Section of St. Sophia, Constantinople

These galleries were approached by external... her ladies at the time of divine service. In the... Eastern church the women's gallery by *degress*

became diuised, the narthex serving its purpose. (Ducauge, *Constantinopol. Christ.* lib. iii. c. 38-40; Willis, *Arch. of the Middle Ages*, p. 109, 241; Neale, *Eastern Church*, art. i.; *Evang. Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. c. 31; Paul, *Silentiar.* i. 256-263.) [E. V.]

GALLICAN COUNCILS; councils known to have been celebrated in France, but at some place unknown.

1. A.D. 355. At Poitiers or Toulouse possibly: where St. Hilary, writing to the Eastern A.D. 360, says he five years before then with the bishops of France withdrew from the communion of the Arian bishops Ursacius and Valens, and of Saturninus of Arles, who had espoused their cause. The opening chapters of his work addressed to Constantius are thought, in short, to have emanated from this council (Mansi, iii. 251).

2. A.D. 376. At least there seems a reference to one such in a law of that year, dated Treves, in R. xvi. tit. ii. § 23, of the Theodosian code; but it is not known where or for what object (Mansi, iii. 499).

3. A.D. 444, in which Hilary of Arles presided, and Chelidonius of Besançon, where this council may have met therefore, was accused of being husband of a widow and deposed. On appealing however to St. Leo he was restored; as having been condemned on a false charge. Both their letter to him and his answer are preserved among his epistles (*Ep.* xcix. and cli.; comp. Mansi, vii. 873).

4. A.D. 678, at some place unknown: when St. Leodegar or Leger bishop of Autun was degraded as having been accessory to the death of king Childeric II. five years before (Sirmond, *Conc. Gall.* i. 510; comp. Mansi, xi. 173 and 195).

5. A.D. 678 or 679, against the Monothelists: as appears from the reference made to it by the Gallican bishops subscribing to the Roman synod under pope Agatho, preserved in the 4th act of the 6th council (Mansi, xi. 175 and 306), but they do not say where.

6. A.D. 796, at Tours possibly, where Joseph, bishop of Mans and a suffragan of Tours, was deposed for cruelty (Mansi, xiii. 991).

7. Three more councils may be grouped under this head, usually called councils of Auvergne, but this name is misleading, as it means the town formerly so called, not the province. When, however, the town changed its name to Clermont, councils held there subsequently were styled by its new name, while the earlier retained its old. We may save confusion, therefore, by classing them under Gallican. Of these the first met 8th November, A.D. 535, in the second year of king Theodebert, and passed sixteen canons, to which fifteen bishops, headed by Honoratus, metropolitan of Bourges, subscribed: his suffragan of Auvergne subscribing second. Their canons deprecate lay influences in the appointment of bishops, and lay interference between bishops and clergy. No furniture belonging to the church may be used for private funerals or marriages. The appointment of Jews as judges, and marriages between Jews and Christians are denounced. Presbyters and deacons marrying are to be deposed. In a collective note to king Theodebert, the bishops entreat that neither the clergy, nor others,

GAMING-TABLE

living in his dominions may be robbed of their rightful possessions, and in their fifth canon they declare all spoiliations of church property null and void, and the spoliators excommunicate, wherever it occurs. Several other canons are given to this council by Burchard (Mansi, viii. 850-87).

The second, A.D. 549, was attended by ten bishops, but only to receive the canons passed at the 5th council of Orleans (Mansi, ix. 111-4).

The third, A.D. 588, was occupied solely with a dispute between the bishops of Rodes and Cahors (Mansi, ix. 973). [E. S. F.]

GALLICANUS, martyr at Alexandria under Julian; commemorated June 25 (*Mart. Adonis*, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GALLICIA COUNCIL OF OF, held A.D. 417 or 448, in the province of that name in Spain on the north-west against the Priscillianists: in consequence perhaps of the letter of St. Leo to Taurus, bishop of Asturia, who had applied to him for advice (*Ep.* xv.; comp. Mansi, ii. 491); but is that letter genuine? [E. S. F.]

GALLUS, presbyter and confessor in Germany; commemorated Feb. 20 (*Mart. Adonis*, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GAMALIEL, invention of his relics at Jerusalem, Aug. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GAMING. [DICE.]

GAMING-TABLE (*Tabula lusoria*, *παρσίσιον*). Besides the natural feeling which led the survivors to place in the tombs articles dear to the deceased in his lifetime, the comparison of the life of man to a game of chance was a familiar thought to the ancients. We may trace it through all their literature, whether Greek or Roman (see Raoul-Rochette, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions*, tom. xiii. p. 614). Hence astragali and dice occur more frequently in the Greek and Roman tombs of the Campagna than playthings of any other description, though the amusements of every age and condition are there represented. The dice (tali, tesserae) are usually made of ivory, occasionally of bone; the dice-box (*fritillus*, *tricucla*) is generally of ivory, and the gaming-table marble.

Five of these gaming-tables have come down to our times with inscriptions which leave no doubt of their use. It is a curious circumstance that in several Christian cemeteries in Rome sepulchral niches have been found closed with



this marble gaming-tables, as occasionally with other incised marbles. One of the tables taken from the cemetery of Basilla may be seen in the Kircher museum, and was first described by Lupat (*Dissert. in nuper invent. Serapis epitaph.* p. 57, tab. ix. n. 6). An engraving of it is given above.

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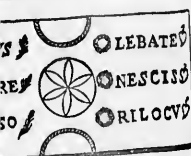
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DICTIONARY

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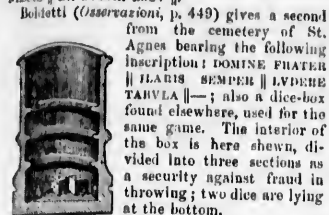
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cemetery of Basilica may be seen in the
sum, and was first described by Lep-
super incant. *Ser. rae epistol.* p. 37.
An engraving of it is given above.

GAMMADIA

The inscription, which was turned inside the
casket, is easily read: VICTVS LEBATE || LYDERE
NESCIS || DA LVSONI LOCV ||.



Baldetti (*Osservazioni*, p. 449) gives a second
found from the cemetery of St. Agnes bearing the following
inscription: DOMINE FRATER
|| HANC SEMPER LYDERE
TABVLA ||—; also a dice-box
found elsewhere, used for the
same game. The interior of
the box is here shown, divided
into three sections as a
security against fraud in
throwing; two dice are lying
at the bottom.

A third table of the same
kind from the Cappont museum is reproduced in
Murator's collection (t. I. CLXI. 3), and bears
an inscription almost identical with the foregoing:
SEMPER IN HANC || TABVLA || LYDERE ||
LYDAMVS AMICI ||. The fourth table, from the
cemetery of Calixtus, is given by Muratori
(*Acta S. Victorii* in append. p. 140). The
words of the inscription, though evidently
relating to play, are difficult of interpretation.
Of the remaining table the place of discovery
is uncertain. Cardinal Passionei (*Inscr. Ant.*
append. p. 176) transcribes a gaming-table
inscription which Raoul-Rochette quotes as an
additional example, but it appears more likely
to be that of the Kircher museum inaccurately
copied.

These having all been discovered in Christian
sepulchres, it seems natural to suppose that they
were in use amongst Christians. Nothing in
the gaming-tables themselves, nor in their inscriptions
militates against such a supposition;
and in fact it is well known that the business of
making dice, and articles of a similar nature,
was one followed by Christians. Baldetti, for in-
stance, gives (p. 416) a Christian sepulchral in-
scription over an ARTIFEX ARTIS TESSALARIE,
who is generally considered to have been a maker
of dice. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chréti.*, s. v.
"Jeux, Tables de.") See DICE. [C.]

GAMMADIA (*γαμμαδία*, or *γαμμαδία*). A
crossed ornament, embrodered on the borders
or woven into the texture of ecclesiastical vest-
ments, both in the West and East. It takes its
name from being composed of four capital *gamma*s
(Γ) placed back to back, thus forming a voided
Greek cross. The *gamma*s were also some-
times placed face to face, so as to consti-
tute a hollow square, in the centre of
which a cross was inscribed. Vestments so
decorated were known by the name of *poly-*
stauria (*πολυσταύρια*). St. Nicholas and
St. Basil are depicted in robes (thus some of
crosses) in the illustrations to Ducauge
(*Gloss. Græc.* fig. vii.). Balsamon assigns, among
other marks of the patriarchal dignity, the
"robe distinguished by *gamma*s," *ἡ ἐν γαμμαδίων*
στοχίον (*de Patriarch.* p. 446). These crosses
were peculiar to the white eucharistic vest-
ments, those of a purple colour being destitute
of them (Ducauge, s. v. *πολυσταύριον*). In the
Western church the word *gamma* is of frequent
occurrence in the local *papal* biographies
in Anastasius, and in the lists of offerings made to
the basilicas and churches, e.g., Leo III., among

GANGRA (COUNCIL OF)

gifts to the church of St. Susanna, gave a triple
vestment, "habentem in medio crucem de chry-
sochivo . . . atque *gamma*das in ipsa veste
chrysochiva quatuor" (§ 396), and Leo IV. to
the church of St. Mary at Anagni, "vestem . . .
cum *gamma*dis auro textis" (§ 536). These
*gamma*das were of gold, others were of silver
(§ 397), or of Tyrian violet (§ 462), (cf. Gaur,
Etich. of. p. 315, col. 2). Not *gamma*s alone
but other letters also are frequently seen em-
brodered on the borders of the robes of the
sacred personages represented in early Christian
mosaics and frescoes, especially H. I. T. X. The
precise meaning of these marks has not been
satisfactorily determined (cf. Bosio, *Rom. Scot.*
c. xxxviii. p. 638). [LETTRES ON VESTMENTS.]
[E. V.]

GANGRA (COUNCIL OF), for which widely
different dates have been assigned; some placing
it before that of Nicea, some not long after;
others indefinitely, between it and that of
Antioch, A.D. 341 (see the notes of Valensius and
Reading on Soc. ii. 43, and Mansi, ii. 1095): all
which discrepancies may be traced to the fact
that one of the Latin versions of the synodical
letter addressed by the assembled bishops to their
colleagues in Armenia contains the name of
Hosius of Corduba amongst the former. But the
episcopate of Hosius, as Cave shows (*Hist. Lit.*
t. v.), extends over a period of seventy years,
ending with A.D. 361; accordingly Pagi finds it
possible to place this council as late as A.D. 358
and admit Hosius to have been there, on his way
back to Spain. And this was unquestionably
the year of the council, as we shall see from
other considerations, so that the absence of his
name in the Greek heading of the letter need
not be pressed. His presence was always coveted
by the Easterns; but as his name occurs among
the last on the list, we may assume that he
attended in no other capacity than that of a
simple bishop. The object of holding the council
is stated in its synodical epistle to have been to
condemn the errors of Eustathius—otherwise
written Eustasius or Eustachius—and his fol-
lowers; and him Socrates and Sozomen are
doubtless correct in making identical with
Eustathius bishop of Sebaste in Armenia Minor
—else why should the bishops of either Armenia
have been addressed on the subject? The father
of bishop Eustathius was Eulalius bishop of
Cæsarea, or rather Neo-Cæsarea, in Pontus, and
it was at a council held there under his own
father this same year, according to Pagi, that he
was first deposed. Sozomen indeed seems to say
that he had been already condemned as a pre-
byter by his father; if so, this would account
for the severity of the new sentence passed upon
him, particularly had he been propagating his
errors as bishop in his father's see. Then, on
his resisting this sentence, as there seems fair
reason for supposing he would, his father would
naturally have recourse to the provincial synod,
which we may assume to have met on this
occasion at Gangra, as the first bishop on the
list is Eusebius, clearly the metropolitan of
Cæsarea in Cappadocia, whom St. Basil suc-
ceeded, and in whose jurisdiction Gangra lay,
while the name of Eulalius occurs further on.
Dius (probably Dianius, the predecessor of
Eusebius, is intended) whom the *Livellus* synod-

ius asserts to have presided, is not found in either version. Gangra therefore was held to confirm what had passed at Neo-Caesarea respecting Eustathius. The similarity of names seems to have led Sozomen to assert that he was first deposed by Eusebius of Constantinople, who died as far back as A.D. 342; and Sozomen, who says in one place (ii. 43) that the synod of Gangra was subsequent to the Constantinopolitan synod of A.D. 360, contradicts himself in the very next chapter by telling us that Meletius succeeded Eustathius at Sebaste, and then either as bishop of Sebaste or Berœa—it does not much matter which—attended the council of Seleucia, which we know met A.D. 359, and in so doing fixes the true date of the synod of Gangra, namely, midway between it and that of Neo-Caesarea the year before. These places were not remote from each other; and it would appear that there had been synods held at Antioch, that, for instance, of A.D. 358 under Eusebius, and at Melitine in Armenia, unfavourable to Eustathius, whose judgments he had set at nought equally with that of Neo-Caesarea. Hence the greater solemnity with which that of Gangra was convened, far enhanced however by the weight which has attached to it ever since; Pope Symmachus in a Roman synod A.D. 504 going so far as to say that its canons had been framed by apostolic authority, meaning that of his see in other words, that his predecessors had received and approved them (Pagi ad Baron. A.D. 319, n. v.). Of these there are twenty in number, and almost all in condemnation of the errors ascribed to Eustathius and his followers in the synodical letter before mentioned, "forbidding to marry, commanding to abstain from meats," and so forth. Their reception by Rome lends additional interest to canon 4, which says: "Should any separate himself from a presbyter that *has married*—as though it were not right to partake of the oblation when he is celebrant—let him be anathema." And the epilogue, reckoned in some collections as a 21st canon, is worth transcribing, not only for "the admirable temper and good sense" which distinguishes it, as Mr. Johnson remarks (*Vade Mecum*, ii. 86), but because it may well be thought to account for their having been incorporated into the code of the universal church. The rulings of fifteen, or, if Hosius was there, sixteen bishops only, must have owed their place there to some great intrinsic excellence. "We commit these canons to writing," so they terminate, "not as if we would cut off those who exercise themselves in works of severity and mortification in the church of God according to the Scriptures: but those, who under pretence of such exercise, do insult those who live in a more plain and simple manner, and would bring in innovations contrary to the Scriptures and the canons of the church. We therefore admire virginity, if attended with humility and a regard for continence, if accompanied with true piety and gravity, and a retreat from worldly business, with a modest humble temper. But at the same time we honour honest marriage, nor do we despise riches when employed in good works and in doing justice. We commend a plain and coarse habit, without art or guiness, and plain apparel. We honour various ostentation of wealth. We honour the houses of God, and affectionately embrace

GATES OF CHURCHES

the assemblies made therein as holy and beneficial; not as if we confined religion within those houses, but as having a respect to every place that is built to the name of the Lord, and approve of the church assemblies as being for the public good; and pronounce a benediction upon signal acts of charity done to our brethren, as being done to the poor of the church according to tradition; and to say all in a word, we cannot but wish that all things may be done in the church according to the traditions of Holy Scripture and the apostles." [E. S. F.]

GARLANDS. [BAPTISM, p. 164; CROWN, p. 511; FLOWERS.]

GARDEN OF EDEN. Represented by trees in various bas-reliefs of the Fall of Man, as on the tomb of Junius Bassus (Bottari, *tav. xv. &c. &c.*). A most ancient MS. picture of the Garden of Eden occurs in the *Vienne MS.* of the Book of Genesis which is given by D'Agincourt. Professor Westwood has shown the present writer an extraordinary representation of the Fall of Man, from a Greek MS. of the Old Testament now in the Vatican of the 7th or 8th century, where the garden is much dwelt on. There is a quadruped serpent or dragon looking up at the tree of knowledge. These pictures were brought to this country in facsimile by bishop Forbes. [K. St. J. T.]

GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE. During the first four centuries and a half at least the subject of our Lord's passion seems to have been approached, but not entered upon—as by representations of the betrayal, the scene before presentations of the betrayal of Professor Westwood's Pilate, &c. In No. 90 of Professor Westwood's ivory carvings, he is brought before Pilate and Herod together, or perhaps Annas and Caiaphas. This is a part of the great casket of the Bibliotheca Quiriniana at Brescia, and is referred to the 5th or 6th century, to the period immediately preceding that of the Rabula MS. when the crucifixion began to be represented (see CRUCIFIX). The Garden of Gethsemane is one of the earliest of these approaches to actual delineation of our Lord's sufferings. The *MS. Gospel of St. Augustine*, very possibly made use of by the bishop himself, contains a most interesting picture of the betrayal in the garden, which is represented not only by trees, but by a curious serpentine representation of the brook Kedron, bursting out of a rock like the Barada at Ain Fil, or the Jordan at Tell-el-Khadry. This subject is carved on the casket of the Brescian library (Westwood, *Ivory casts*, No. 90), dating from the 5th or 6th century.

Indications of a garden occur in various Greek representations of the crucifixion combined with the resurrection. See crucifixion in the *Rabula MS.* in Asseriani, *Bibli. Laurent. Catalogus*, where olive-trees are certainly introduced.

In later MSS. it occurs in the *Bible of Alcuin*, and in a MS. given by count Bastard, which belonged to Drogon, grandson of Charlemagne. [E. St. J. T.]

GATES OF CHURCHES. Our Lord's designation of Himself as "the Door" of the church (John x. 7, 9) impressed a deep impression upon the minds of the early Christians in the entrances to their sacred buildings, which they evidenced by the care displayed in their construction and the richness of their ornaments.

tion. church durable Paul at in 1823: reports ople. the Ave lief with. Mameac gives t before .noaste tains th wood c by Mr. up (New Doors o with pl with iv the pr frequent subjects of "an mends t of the cl "San

The pap psted ro (Doors. of St. Pe orerial silver-gil Lord and (A. 46) favo of bronze i John Lat example have in ample, b in high r to the we those of at Floren the gates floriated great ceo Christ in kneeling the Bajti of the cat very earl (the Korst high by meats cor Church scriptions included' pious app 23xii, § 15 by him o lica of St. "Pax To Above the cross with

merlin as holy and benefited religion within those a respect to every phenomenon of the Lord, and assemblies as being for pronouncement a benediction upon done to our brethren, as of the church according may all in a word, we can think may be done in the traditions of Holy ones." [E. S. F.]

BAPTISM, p. 164; CROWN,

EDEN. Represented by reliefs of the Fall of Man, Junius Bassus (Bottari, most ancient MS. picture occurs in the *Vicini MS.* which is given by D'Agincourtwood has shown the extraordinary representation of a Greek MS. of the Old Testament of the 7th or 8th century garden is much dwelt on and serpent or dragon looking knowledge. These pictures in this country in facsimile by [R. St. J.]

GETHSEMANE. During the passion seems to have been entered upon—as by repetition, the scene before perhaps Amas and Cyprianus the great casket of the Bible is referred to the Rabula MS. when the crucifixion is represented (see CRUCIFIXION). Gethsemane is one of the earliest as to actual delineation of our Lord. The *MS. Gospel of St. Augustine* made use of by the Bishop of a most interesting picture of the garden, which is represented by a curious serpent on the brook Kedron, bursting out the Barada at Aia Pifi, or the Khady. This subject is carried in the Brescian library (Westwood, 1800), dating from the 5th or 6th

a garden occur in various Greek of the crucifixion combined with See crucifixion in the *Rabula MS.*, *Bibli. Laurent. Catalogus*, where certainly intended. It occurs in the *Bible of Alcuin*, given by count Bastard, which son, grandson of Charlemagne. [R. St. J.]

CHURCHES. Our Lord's himself as "the Door" (John 10: 7, 9) impressed upon the minds of the early Christians as to their sacred buildings, which by the care displayed in their richness of their ornamentation.

tion. As a rule the actual gates (*ostias*) of churches were of wood of the most excellent and durable kind. The doors of the basilica of St. Paul at Rome were, until its destruction by fire in 1823, of wood, roughly chiselled, and were reported to have been brought from Constantinople. The doors of the church of St. Sabina on the Aventine are of cypress wood, carved in relief with subjects from the Old and New Testaments. They are of great antiquity, though Namachi, the annalist of the Dominican order, gives them too early a date in placing them before the 7th century. The church of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai retains the ancient richly-carved doors of cypress wood erected by the emperor Justinian, stated by Mr. Curzon to be as perfect as when first set up (*Nesle, Hist. of East. Ch.* Intro. p. 258). Doors of wood were very commonly overlaid with plates of the precious metals and inlaid with ivory (*Hieron. Ep. ad Demetr.* viii.), for the purpose of decoration. These plates were frequently richly sculptured with scriptural subjects in relief. Thus Paulinus of Nola speaks of "aurea limina" (*Poem.* xiv. 98), and commends the piety of those who covered the doors of the church of St. Felix with metal plates—

"Sanctaque præfixis obducunt limina laminis."
(*Poem.* xviii. 34).

The papal memoirs of Anastasius supply repeated references to this mode of ornamentation. (*Doors*, § 3, p. 574.) The "portæ argenteæ" of St. Peter's are often mentioned. These were overlaid by pope Hadrian (A.D. 772-795) with silver-gilt plates embossed with the effigy of our Lord and others (*Anastas.* § 332). Pope Hilary (A.D. 461-487) erected silver gates at the Confessio of the basilica of Holy Cross, and gates of bronze inlaid with silver at the oratory of St. John Lateran (*Il.* § 69). This last is an early example of those doors of bronze of which we have in later times so many magnificent examples, bearing representations of Biblical events in high relief, which reached their artistic climax in the western doors of the cathedral of Pisa and those of the baptistery, "le porte del Paradiso" at Florence. We have another early example in the gates of the "eso-narthex" of St. Sophia. These are of bronze exquisitely embossed with floriated crosses set in doorcases of marble. The great central doorway has above it an image of Christ in the act of giving benediction to a kneeling emperor with the virgin and St. John the Baptist on either hand. The chief entrance of the cathedral of Novgorod has bronze doors of very early date. They are described by Adelung (*die Korm'schen Thüren zu Novgorod*) as 11 feet high by 3 feet broad, divided into 24 compartments containing scriptural reliefs.

Church doors were often furnished with inscriptions either upon or above them. These included: texts of Scripture, doxologies, prayers, pious aphorisms, &c. Paulinus of Nola (*Ep.* viii. § 12) gives the following inscription placed by him over the principal entrance of the basilica of St. Felix:—

"Pax tibi sit quemque Dei penetrata Christi
Festore pacis candido ingrederis."

Above the entrance, he informs us, was a crowned cross with these lines:—

"Cerne coronatam Domini super altaria Christi
Stare cruceo duro post dentem visis labori
Præmia. Tolle cruceo qui via auferre coronam."

The door of the outer basilica, which was entered through a garden or orchard, he also tells us, has these inscriptions on the outer face:—

"Coelestes intrate vias per amœna vireta
Christicolæ: e lætis decet huc ingressus ab hortis
Unde sacrum meritis daret exitus in paradysum."

And this on the inner:—

"Quisquis ab aede Dei perfectis ordine votts
Egrederis, remeae corpore, corde mane."

Church doors were also often inscribed with the names of the builders and the date of the building. [E. V.]

GATIANUS, bishop and confessor in Touraine; commemorated Dec. 18 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GAUDENTIA, virgin, saint at Rome; commemorated Aug. 30 (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GAUGERICUS, bishop and confessor at Cambrai (†619 A.D.); commemorated Aug. 11 (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GAZA IN PALESTINE (COUNCIL OF), A.D. 541, to which Pelagius the first pope of that name, then a deacon and envoy from Rome, came by order of the Emperor Justinian, with letters ordering the deposition of Paul bishop of Alexandria, which was accordingly carried out (Mansi, ix. 706). [E. S. F.]

GAZOPHYLACIUM. The treasury or storehouse attached to a church, for the reception of the offerings of the faithful, made either in bread and wine, or in money, for the service of the altar, the sustentation of the ministers, or distribution among the poor (*Possid. Vit. S. Augustin.* c. 24). These oblations were deposited in the gazophylacium either after having been offered on the altar, or until enquiry had been made by the deacons whether the offerers were orthodox and persons of good life, that the table of the Lord might not be profaned by the gifts of the unholy (*Binus in Can. iv. Apost. Labbe i. 53*). By the 93rd canon of the fourth council of Carthage, A.D. 399, the reception before enquiry even into "the gazophylacium or sacranium" (the modern sacristy) was forbidden. Chrysostom (*Homil. 22 de Eleemos.*) speaks of treasures in the churches, τὰ γαζοφυλάκια τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις; Augustine appears to recognize their existence "quid est gazophylacium? Arca Dei ubi colligebantur ea quæ ad indigentiam servorum Dei mittebantur" (*Homil. in Is. 63*); and Possidius in his life of that father (*u. s.*) records his having warned his hearers, as Ambrose had also done, of the neglect of the "gazophylacium and secretarium, from which the necessities for the altar are brought into the church." Cyprian refers to the place of offering as *corbona* (*de Op. et Elemos.* c. 5), and Paulinus of Nola, as *mensa*, which he complains stood too often for sight rather than use, "visit tantum non usui" (*Serm. de Gazophyl. Ep. 34*). [E. V.]

GELASIVS, martyr at Rome with Aquilinus, Donatus, Geminius, Magnus; commemorated Feb. 4 (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

col, bearing the owner's name, **T. ACI. ACLAVS**, whom he regards as a Christian. The Uzielli Collection (Robinson's *Catal.* n. 293 [277f]) had an intaglio of bloodstone in its original bronze setting, bearing a dolphin, which is considered to be "probably early Christian," and Signor Castellani possesses a fine smethyst cameo^d about 1½ inch by ¾, presumed to be Christian, from one side of which, the more convex, a fish of the form of a carp projects boldly, the other side bearing the name of the possessor, **VALERIAE**, in incised letters. But the most interesting example of this kind is the episcopal ring of Arnulphus, consecrated bishop of Metz in A.D. 614, now preserved in the cathedral treasury; it is set with "an opaque milk-white cornelian," about half an inch in diameter, representing a fish whose head appears above the containing basket, on either side of which is a smaller fish: the work is presumed to be earlier than the fourth century. This is regarded by Cav. de Rossi as a curious illustration of a passage in Tertullian (*De Bapt. c. 1*): "Nos pisciculi secundum Piscem nostrum . . . nascimur, nec nisi in aquis permanendo . . . sumus" (*Pitra, Spicil. Solesm.* tom. iii. p. 543, tab. iii. n. 4. Paris, 1855). Waterton in *Arch. Journ.* xx. n. 4. Paris, 1863; Fortnum, *ibid.* xxviii. 274 [1871]; Marriotti, *Test. of Calcut.* p. 123 [with a figure], Lond. 1870. This type occurs also in subordination to that of the anchor, about to be mentioned. Besides the gems of the fish type here enumerated, the writer is acquainted with the casts of some others, and would also direct the reader to Didron, *Christ. Icon.* p. 345 (Millington's transl. in Bohn's *S.ient. Libr.*); Perret, *u. s.*; Martigny, *Dict. s. v.* "Poisson"; and Fortnum, *Arch. Journ.* xxviii. 274, for further information and references. "De Rossi alone" [in his *De Christ. monum.* **IXOTN** *exhib. Spicil. Solesm.* iii. 555, 576, 577; see Pitra's *ibid.* 578, Paris, 1855] says the last-named author "describes about thirty genuine gems of which the fish and variations of the word **IXOT** occur. Some others have since been found. . . . It is moreover," he tells us, "more frequently forged than perhaps any other." A remarkable sard intaglio, in the possession of the writer, may be mentioned as a kind of postscript. The device is a fantastic compound animal, a gryllus of the common type, being probably Roman work of the second or third century. Some Christian possessor has written the word **IXOT** about it, in order, it



Christianised Gryllus. (In the Collection of the writer.)

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^c The number in the brackets is that of the catalogue (compiled from Mr. Robinson's privately printed catalogue), London, 1861.

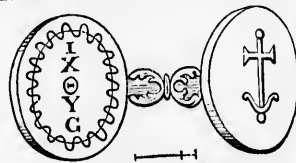
^d A drawing has been sent by the Rev. C. W. Jones. With the exception of late Byzantine works Christian cameos are very rare. Signor Saulini sends a cast of a cameo (?) gem, stone not specified, of a still larger size, representing two similar fishes, looking opposite ways, the lower inverted; it is also figured by Perret, *u. s.*

would seem, to christianize such a heathen production. See **IXOT** 2.

(iii.) *Anchor*.—The anchor, originally as Clement observes, the signet of Solomon (see Eekhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* iii. 212), and frequently occurring on the coins of the Seleucidae, whence it passed over to the Jewish money, was frequently employed as a gem type by the Christians, and so much the more readily from its resemblance to the cross; whence the motto, *Cruz uca anchora*. This type occurs both in connection with the preceding and also independently of it. Of the former sort the British Museum contains the four following examples, all probably of Christian work: anchor between two fish, around it the letters **AP**, in black jasper; another with dolphin twisted round it, like the modern Aldine device, about it the preceptive legend **EMITTXANOT** (*Laybold*) in red jasper; anchor between two fishes, in niccolo; another between two fishes, on whose arms two doves are seated, in chalcedony. But the following are more important and unquestionably Christian. A sard figured by Muntzer (*Ant. Abhandl.* 1816, p. 57, t. i. n. 3), of an octagonal form, gives an anchor with two fishes and the legend **IHCOT** (Böckh, n. 9090). The Berlin Museum has recently acquired a gem bearing an anchor and a sheep and the legend **IXOTC**: *u. s.*



Anchor and Dolphin. (British Museum.)



IXOTC and Anchor. (Martigny.)

the anchor sits a dove with an olive branch in its mouth (Böckh, n. 9081). Passeri (*Thes. Gemm. Afric.* iii. 278) figures a ring cameo in the Vettori Museum, inscribed **IHCOTC** above, **XPEICTOS** below, having between the words an anchor, with a fish hanging from each end of the stock. An opal in the same museum, figured by Martigny (*Dict.* p. 545), has on one side a cruciform anchor, on the other, enclosed in an ornamented border, the legend **IXOTC** written *xarabdv*. The Berlin Museum has a red jasper having the word **IXOTC** and the letters **MT**, perhaps the owner's initials, disposed around an anchor (Böckh, n. 9079). But the anchor has also other accompanying symbols. Thus another gem in the same museum (Böckh, n. 9082) around the figure of an anchor the inscription **IHCOTC** legend **IHCOTC** (Jesus Christ), and also the accompanying symbols of a tree, a sheep, a dove, a palm, and a human hand. (For others see above under the Good Shepherd.) There are also gems, presumed to be Christian, of which casts have been received from Signor Saulini, in which the anchor is figured by itself alone.

(iv.) the Holy Spirit, occurring on the coins of the Seleucidae, whence it passed over to the Jewish money, was frequently employed as a gem type by the Christians, and so much the more readily from its resemblance to the cross; whence the motto, *Cruz uca anchora*. This type occurs both in connection with the preceding and also independently of it. Of the former sort the British Museum contains the four following examples, all probably of Christian work: anchor between two fish, around it the letters **AP**, in black jasper; another with dolphin twisted round it, like the modern Aldine device, about it the preceptive legend **EMITTXANOT** (*Laybold*) in red jasper; anchor between two fishes, in niccolo; another between two fishes, on whose arms two doves are seated, in chalcedony. But the following are more important and unquestionably Christian. A sard figured by Muntzer (*Ant. Abhandl.* 1816, p. 57, t. i. n. 3), of an octagonal form, gives an anchor with two fishes and the legend **IHCOT** (Böckh, n. 9090). The Berlin Museum has recently acquired a gem bearing an anchor and a sheep and the legend **IXOTC**: *u. s.*

Church, it pictures serpents of F. Taylor, a gem of the same material, the legend with olive gathering. Other examples (v.) Saviour rarely found few examples titled *Lazarus* (1833), figures considers man hold other a word **IXOTC** Christian *Lazarus*. from a coin on St. Jerome same inscription speaks of probably *Lazarus*.

[This is a.]

Christianize such a heathen
 anchor, originally as
 of Seleucus (see *Eckhel*,
 212), and frequently of
 the Seleucidae, whence it
 came, was frequently
 used by the Christians, and
 daily from its resemblance
 to the motto, *Cruz mea* an-
 chors both in connection with
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Anchor. (Martigny.)

dove with an olive branch in
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 and a human hand. (For others
 the Good Shepherd.) There are
 named to be Christian, of which
 received from Signor Sautai, in
 or is figured by itself alone.

(iv.) Dove.—This type, usually symbolical of
 the Holy Spirit, has been already mentioned as
 occurring on gems in conjunction with other
 Christian types. Besides these, Passeri (*Thez.*
Gemmae, Ast. p. iii. 235) describes and figures,
 after Mamachi, a gem in which occurs the dove
 on a palm branch, a star above, and the chrisma
 (✱) on the left. The British Museum has a
 garnet with the same device, but no chrisma;
 and also a portion of a cornelian ring, on the flat
 bezel of which is engraved a dove holding a
 branch, considered by Mr. Fortnum to be Christian
 work of the second or third century (*Arch. Journ.*
 1869, p. 140). A sapphire in the same collection
 bears the same device. The French collection con-
 tains a cornelian, the work of which appears to be
 of the sixth century, on which is engraved a dove,
 a palm, and a crown, with a monogram of
 Veranus (?), in style resembling those of the
 Ostrogothic kings of Italy (Chabouillet, *Catal.*
 n. 2167). The dove occurs also on Christian
 gems found in Rome or preserved in the Roman
 collections, in most cases accompanied by the
 chrisma (Sautai, Perret). A pale sard* intaglio
 is the possession of Mr. Ready has two rudely-
 engraved doves with a cross between them.
 "One of the prettiest devices of the class
 that has come to my knowledge," says Mr. King
 (*Ant. Gems and Rings*, vol. ii. p. 26, note),
 "shows the dove with olive twig in beak,
 perched upon a wheat-sheaf, apt emblem of the



Dove and Sheaf. (K. G.)

Church, having for supporters a lion and serpent.
 It pictorially embodies the precept to be wise as
 serpents and harmless as doves. (In possession
 of F. Taylor.) The British Museum, in fine, has
 a gem of large size and late work, reading in
 minuscule letters *απαρτασι. + του θημου*; below
 the legend is a sheaf of corn, and two doves
 with olive branches below, indicating that the in-
 gathering of the harvest of souls will be in peace.
 Other examples are named by Martigny, u. s.

(v.) Fishermen.—The type alludes to the
 Saviour and the apostles as fishers of men. It is
 rarely found on Christian gems, but we have a
 few examples. M. de Belloc, in his work en-
 titled *La Vierge ou Poisson de Raphael* (Lyon,
 1833), figures an engraved cornelian, which he
 considers to be Christian, upon which is a fisher-
 man holding a basket in one hand, and in the
 other a line from which a fish is suspended; the
 word IXOTC is written near the fish (Didron,
Christian Iconogr. pp. 345, 364 in Bohn's *Illustr.*
Litt.). This would seem to be a different gem
 from a cornelian mentioned by Vallarsi in his notes
 on St. Jerome (i. 18), of the same type with the
 same inscription (Didron, u. s. p. 349); Martigny
 speaks of it as excellent in workmanship and
 probably of great antiquity; he regards the
 fisherman as the Saviour (*Dict.* p. 518; Garrucci,
 [This proves to be a paste, and belongs to OLIVAS, §
 III. c.]

Hagiogr. p. 111). A sard intaglio, regarded by
 Mr. King as "purely Christian," in his own
 collection is figured in his *Gnostics*, pl. x. n. 7;
 it gives two winged figures, probably Cupids, in a
 boat, one fishing, the other steering; "the mast
 with the yard, making a true cross, forms a
 significant and conspicuous feature in the design"
 (p. 224). Its Christianity, however, seems
 rather questionable.*

(vi.) Boat or Ship.—These occur on Christian
 gems, as being typical of the church, and then
 sometimes resting on a fish, or of the voyage
 of the soul to the harbour of eternal rest.
 Mr. Fortnum describes and figures a fragment
 of a ring of dark green jasper, probably of the
 second or third century, purchased in Rome, on
 the bezel of which is engraved a boat bearing a
 bird and a branch, probably a cock and palm
 branch. The boat is supposed to be the church,
 and the victory of the soul over the world to be
 indicated by the other types (*Arch. Journ.* 1869,
 p. 140). Aleander (*Nov. Eccles. Ref. Symb.* p. 13,
 Rom. 1926) figures a ring-stone; and Ficoroni
 gives another (*Gemmae Antiq.* p. 105, t. xi. 8), on
 which the ship seems to rest on a fish. A ring
 figured by cardinal Borgia (*De Cruce Velt.* p. 213)
 is set with an antique jasper intaglio, the subject
 of which is a ship, having six rowers on one side,
 which, supplying the corre-
 sponding six on the other, would
 represent the twelve apostles;
 there is also a pilot, or helms-
 man, and the name IHCOT
 inscribed on the reverse (Fort-
 num in *Arch. Journ.* 1871, pp.
 274, 275; Mart. *Dict.* p. 432).
 A cornelian in the British Mu-
 seum (intaglio) has a ship with
 mast and yard-arm in the form of a cross, bear-
 ing also a cross at the prow. A fine black jasper
 intaglio, in the possession of Rev. S. S. Lewis,
 shows a boat with a
 Greek cross in the
 centre. A cornelian,
 belonging to count
 Marcolini, an impres-
 sion of which is pub-
 lished by Lippert (iii.
 361), bears a trirème
 with the labarum, on
 which is the chrisma
 and two palm trees;
 the prow is in the
 form of a bird's head;
 the vessel enters into
 port, and the sea is marked by a fish; in the
 field are two stars and the unexplained letters
 E. T. RA.; below, VGBP. (Rasppe's *Cut of Tasse's*
Engraved Gems, n. 271). Other gems, whose



Boat with Cross.
 (British Museum.)



Boat with Cruciform Mast. (In the
 Collection of Rev. S. S. Lewis.)

* The gem reproduced by Martigny (u. s.) from Costa-
 doni, showing a fish in human form holding a basket,
 which Poldardi interprets to be the Saviour, is rather, to
 judge by the figure, an Assyrian or Babylonian gem, rep-
 resenting Dagon (see Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. i.
 p. 381).

† With this may be compared an antique paste in the
 Hertz Collection (No. 2521), having a ship with cock-
 shaped prow, rowed by four benches of sailors; a butter-
 fly above. The allusion to the immortality of the soul
 can hardly be doubted, but the emblem is pagan rather
 than Christian.

‡ This gem is more fully described below, § XII.

276). For some of these the *Gems in Fitzwilliam's* p. 9. Fortnum in *Arch.* and 1871, p. 276.

type, in connection with a ring of the same material, engraved in the form of a cross, and an onyx described above. The ring is a cornelian engraved with a cross, and is set in a church of St. Mark at an onyx intaglio in the same material. (Arch. Journ. 1859, p. 281.) The ring is a cross, and is accompanied by a Latin cross, from the same collection. (Arch. Journ. 1871, p. 281.)

Mr. Fortnum has a ring of excellent workmanship, purchased at Athens, of massive gold, set with an onyx intaglio bearing the christa, "the P being crossed with the third stroke" (Arch. Journ. 1869, p. 142). Mr. King (*Antique Gems and Rings*, p. 142) mentions a ring cut out of crystal, bearing the christa alone, on the face of an oblong tablet, said to have been found in Provence. The same author (*l. c.* p. 141) mentions an elegant device given in *Giorn. D'Art.* 211, where the sacred monogram, cut on the face of a solid crystal ring, rests upon the head of a Cupid (or angel?) on each side of whom stands a dove. This style is considered to have been derived from the Sassanid stone rings. Passeri (*Thes. Græc.* *Antiq.* vol. ii, p. 220, t. cc.) figures a gem on which the christa is surmounted by a star, the X being formed by two branches of palm. This symbol is also sometimes accompanied by inscriptions both Greek and Latin. Martigny (*Dict.* p. 418) mentions a cornelian given by Macarius (*Hieroglyphica*, p. 235, ed. Gar.), inscribed with the word $\chi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, the X being combined with a P to express the christa; possibly the same gem as that described above under § ii. The Berlin Museum has a heliotrope in which the christa is accompanied by a fruit-bearing tree and the following inscription: $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\ \chi\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\alpha\sigma\alpha\pi\eta\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$. . . (Böckh, n. 9094; the fragment is here given in part only and in minuscules). The British Museum contains a cornelian bearing the acclamation, DEVS DEIDIT VIVAS IN DEO, to the right of which is the christa, and to the left a small wreath. Mr. King figures a gem in the Vernon Collection (*Antique Gems and Rings*, ii, 28, 37) where the christa of a not quite usual form appears in the middle of an olive-garland, with the name



Christa. (King.)

of the possessor, $\Phi\omicron\text{IBE}\iota\omega\text{N}$, Phœbion (like Hephæstion, from Hephæstus), of which the work is unusually fine. The sacred monogram under various forms is found, as Mr. Fortnum observes (*Arch. Journ.* 1871, p. 271), "more frequently than any other on Christian rings. . . We find it alone and accompanied by almost all the other emblems, with inscriptions and monograms."²

² Various impressions of gems bearing the christa, which are more or less similar to those described above,

the possessor" (King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, ii, 28), in the British Museum gives the monogram, having a straight line at right angles to the P on its summit (Φ), which forms a Tau, allusive to the cross. This is also the case with a crystal signet ring, "annulus vetustissimus," formerly in cardinal Barberini's museum (its resting-place being now unknown, Fortnum, in *Arch. Journ.* 1871, p. 272), figured by De Corte (*Syntryp. de Ann.* p. 120), where a serpent, pecked by two cocks, entwines itself about the base of the Tau: on either side of the upper part are the letters A and ω , and the stone is also inscribed beneath the bezel with the word SALVS.

Whether the lion was intended to have any Christian significance is uncertain. The phenix occurs on an engraved stone in conjunction with the palm, a combination which occurs on other monuments which are indubitably Christian, Perret (vol. iv, pl. xvi, 68; Martigny, *Di. l.* p. 534). In the British Museum are more than one gem bearing sheep, from the collection of the abbé Hamilton, of Rome, which are presumed to be Christian. On one are two sheep, on each side a dolphin; on another are two sheep and palm branches. It might not be difficult to increase the enumeration of these ambiguous types; but they are scarcely worthy of a more extended notice.³

Before proceeding further we may observe that the British Museum contains a large pale sard in which the pastor, the christa, dove and branch, fish, dolphin, ship, and various adjuncts are combined; another, of smaller size, in two compartments, has the pastor, dove, anchor, fishes, with other figures and animals; they were formerly in the Hamilton Collection, and are figured (with several others from the same collection, which is now in the British Museum) by Perret (iv, pl. xvi, figs. 5, 8).

The following subjects appear to have been introduced upon gems at a later period than the types already mentioned.⁴

have been sent from Rome by Signor Saullin: on one the X is formed of two fishes, one holding a wreath (crown of thorns) the other having a dove on its tail; palm on either side of the monogram.

Mr. King (*Antique Gems and Rings*, ii, p. 25) mentions that the frog, whose body passes through so many stages, was employed for a Christian signet as an emblem of the Resurrection; he does not however refer to any authority for this. In Raspe's *Catalogue of Tuscan Gems* (No. 13,315) is a gem bearing a frog with a palm and a serpent; these adjuncts rather suggest that the work may be Christian. See GLASS.

The first place would be due to representations of God the Father, if such really existed in the period embraced in this work, abhorrent as such images may appear to many. Mr. King (*Antique Gems and Rings*, ii, 32) mentions "a large nicolo in an antique massy gold ring, engraved with the Heavenly Father enthroned amidst the twelve patriarchs, the work carefully finished and well drawn." This gem, which he saw in the possession of the late Mr. Forrest, appeared to him to date from the times of the Western Empire. But there seems to be some error here. "During the first centuries of Christianity," says Dildon (*Christian Iconogr.* p. 20), "English," "even as late as the 12th century, no portraits of God the Father are to be seen." The band seems to have been the only permit symbol. Either, therefore, the work is likely to be later than the 12th century, or (more probably) the interpretation of the group is erroneous. One might suspect the Saviour and the apostles to be intended. Upon a cornelian formerly in the possession of Dr. Nott, the Saviour is represented on a column, with extended arms, having six figures on each side, in the exercise a sheep: in the field and over $\epsilon\eta\chi\omicron$ (sic, for $\chi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$) $\chi\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. It is obvious that these are the twelve apostles, but the Jewish and Gentile churches, as symbols of them, are most probably intended. See § VIII, and GLASS. (A cast sent from Rome by Signor Saullin.)

bust. An agate measuring nearly four inches, in the Bibliothèque Impériale, shows his bust with the palm-branch and cross, on the latter is a cross. His head is naked, and his eyes are raised to heaven, as on some of his coins. Formerly the ornament of the extremity of the choir-staff (15th-century work) in La Sainte-Chapelle. (Chabouillet, *Cat. n.* 287, who refers to Murand's *Hist. de la Sainte Chapele de Paris*, (p. 36) as a figure of the gem incorporated with the baton.) Besides this noble piece we have several others also, but of inferior execution.

Passeri describes and figures a gem, preserved at Venice, representing a horseman spearing a dragon with a long lance terminating in a cross above; he regards it as a representation of a Christian emperor, conquering his enemies with the cross; a star, an emblem of Divine providence, in his judgment, is seen above (*Thes. Gemm. Astrif.* t. 2, pp. 289-297). This interpretation is somewhat confirmed by the types of certain coins of the fourth century, to which age this coin may probably be assigned.

The Mertens-Schauffhausen collection possessed an agate intaglio, which passed into the Leturcq cabinet, exhibiting a full-faced bust of the emperor Mauritius, wearing the Imperial crown of the lower empire, and holding a globe, on which rests a Greek cross inscribed, D. N. MAURITIUS P. P. A. Supposed to be a work of the sixth century, Leturcq, *Cat. n.* 210. The Leturcq collection contained also a green Jasper intaglio, giving full-faced portraits of Constantine II. (crowned) and of his son Constantine IV. (Pogonatus), both bearded, with a Greek cross between their busts, having a scorpion engraved on the back in the rude style of the so-called Gnostic gems (n. 211). The same collection in fine had an agate intaglio bearing busts of Leo IV. and his son Constantine VI. (Flavius), inscribed, D. N. LEO ET CONSTANTINUS P. P. A., both full-faced and crowned, and holding between them a double-headed cross (n. 212). These rare portraits of the Byzantine Caesars, of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, appear in the same general style as those which appear on their money (see Sabatier, *Monn. Byz.* pl. xxiv. xxxiv. xli.).

There is one more gem of this class, which falls a few years later than the chronological limits of this work, but which ought hardly to be passed over here in consequence of its extreme interest in helping to fix the limits of gem-engraving in the West before the age of the Renaissance. The magnificent gold cross of King Letharius, said to be of about the date 823, now preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, is remarkable for the variety of gems, rubies, sapphires,ethysts, and emeralds with which its surface is studded. At the intersection of the arms is inserted a very fine oval cameo of Augustus, probably a contemporary work, and just below this an oval intaglio of rock crystal, of Frankish work and of very tolerable execution, two inches long and an inch and a half wide, giving the bust of Letharius,

Mr. King, however, has some doubt about its genuineness (*Antique Gems*, pp. 163, 164). The Leturcq Cabinet was sold by Messrs. Solihy, Wilkinson, and Hodge, in 1874, the accompanying catalogue by the owner being in French and English.

his head covered with a close-fitting helmet, with a slightly-projecting frontlet, like those of the latest Roman period; around the bust is the legend, in well-formed Roman letters, + XPE ADIVVA MOTHARIVM REG. (figured in Cahier et Martin, *Mé. d'Arch.* vol. I. pl. xxxi.; King's *Ant. Gemm.* p. 305; King's *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, p. 116).

There still remain to be considered some ancient gems bearing manifest traces of Christianity, which may be separately classed, viz., the Gnostic and the Sassanian.

Gnostic Gems.—A Gnostic origin has been hesitatingly assigned to one or two gems already mentioned, and a great number of gems called Gnostic have been described in Chabouillet's *Cat. n.* (See also ABELASAX in the DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY.) Of these, a considerable number bear the word ABPA-CAE, more rarely (in the Greek) ABPAEAC, (variously written in Latin); and this in itself, in the judgment of some, proves a Gnostic origin. Assuming that Basilides, a Christian Gnostic of the second century, be the inventor of the word, as St. Jerome evidently thought and as several other Christian writers appear to intimate (see the authorities collected by Jablonski, *Opus. t. iv.* pp. 82-86, and Bellefleur, *Ueber die Gemmen der Alten mit dem Abraxas-Bilde*, *Erst Stück*, pp. 10-28), the numerous stones on which the word is written must either be looked on as Gnostic or else as derived through Gnosticism to other forms of faith or superstition. The latter view seems on the whole to be the more probable; for there is no doubt that the word, as transformed into the magical *Abraxas*-Bilde, passed over to the pagans, and was even employed in Christian times until quite lately as a charm against various forms of disease (Passeri, *De gemm. Basilid.* in *Thes. Gemm. Astrif.* vol. I. p. 236, sqq.; King in *Ar. u. Instr.* 1869, p. 33; Halliwell, *Diet. of Archæol. Words*, s. v. *Abraxas* and *dabra*). We have *Abraxas* occurring in connection with the names, IAOI (Jehovah), CABAOE, ADOENAI, and with the titles or representations of Harpocrates, Mithras, Mercury, &c. (see Passeri, v. s. &c.), but in no single instance known to the writer, though very possibly such may exist, does this word occur on any engraved stone in any connection which can be safely counted upon as Christian. These stones consequently, as well as all others which have been called Gnostic, but shew no manifest sign of Christianity, are passed over in this article. Very few of them, if any, can be fixed to any particular Gnostic sect or to Gnosticism gene-

Some, as Moshelm (*De Heb. Christ. ante Constant.* p. 359) have thought that the word is probably identical with Basilides' on what grounds we know not. This matter deserves a searching examination.

A very few monuments, which must needs be Christian, bear the word ABPAEAC. A large story being found at Arles, bears the monogram of Christ between A and I (as it appears on the coins of Constantine I. &c. of the fourth century), but accompanied by the title ABPAEAC, "a sufficient proof of the identity of the two personages in the estimation of its owner" (King's *Antique Gems*, p. 355). A copper amulet found at Hildesheim (Sicca Venerea), which is very distinctly Christian, contains the same word apparently, but in a corrupt form (PANGACA). See INSCRIPTIONS.

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ally by which the greater part appear to have been charms. The following very scanty list, however, of unmistakably Christian gems may be with some reason looked on as Gnostic:—

(1.) A portrait of Christ, headless, to the right; XPICTOT above, a fish underneath. Figured by Raoul-Rochette (*Traité des Ovaleaux de Rome*, frontispiece, Paris, 1853) who regards it as Gnostic (p. 295) from the original in the possession of the marquis de Fortia d'Urban, formerly in the Luján collection. The stone is white chalcedony, the form is oval; ascribed to the second or third century (*Art. Dict.*, p. 40).



Portrait of Christ. (Raoul Rochette.)

(2.) Another portrait with the same types and legend, on a truncated cone of white chalcedony, in the Bibliothèque Impériale (Chabouillet, n. 1334). This gem, probably of Eastern origin, is considered to be not later than the middle of the fourth century, and "presents the combination of the ancient Oriental form and of Greek decoration in the same monument" (King, *Gnostics*, p. 143). Figured by Perret, u. s. n. 47; very similar to the preceding.

Ephippianus makes it a charge against the Gnostic sects that they kept painted portraits and images in gold and silver, and other materials, which they pretended to be portraits of Jesus (*Heres.*, c. 27, § 6). These gems, therefore, may probably be the work of some Gnostic sect.

The seven vowels, the "Musæ of the Spheres" occur frequently in this class of stones, and are also mentioned in the lately discovered Gnostic work entitled *Platón*, which, but their veneration or magical use can hardly be regarded as exclusively Marcionite or Gnostic (see *Walsh, Ess. on Ancient Coins, Medals, and Gems*, pp. 1841; King, *Gnostics*, p. 91; King in *Arch. Journ.*, 1848, pp. 1-10). From the names of the angels mentioned Matter (*Ann. Crit. du Gnost.*, p. 16, t. i. p. 93) thinks that a gem which he figures after Chifflet (fig. 24) may belong to the sect of the Ophites. One of the very few gems which really appear to savour of the Gnostic philosophy is a sard, of which an impression has been sent by the Rev. W. T. Drake; reading $\alpha \delta \iota \alpha \pi \alpha \nu \tau \omega \nu \nu \omega \nu \alpha \theta \eta \nu \alpha \nu \nu \omega \nu \nu \epsilon \mu \nu \alpha \nu \epsilon \lambda \omega \epsilon \nu \nu \omega \nu$; i. e. *Elohim*; there was also an inscription round the edge which has been a good deal broken: in the field are monograms or mystic characters. The letters may be of the third or fourth century.

If indeed we could with B-Hermann (*Gemmen mit den Abraxas-Bildern*, pl. pp. 11, 12) interpret the letters CEMEC EIAAM (misread by him) occurring on gems with the ABPAZAC legend or figure, to mean, *This is the Word of God*, $\eta \nu \kappa \omega \nu \iota \omega \nu \eta \nu$, the number of Gnostic gems might be increased considerably; but in truth the words signify in Hebrew *Elohim* Sun (Matter, u. s. p. 17, 29, t. i. p. 5; King, *Gnostics*, p. 76).

The numerous portraits of the Saviour which existed in St. Augustine's time differed much from each other; so that his face "innumerablem cogitationum diversitate variatur et fingitur, quae tamen una erat, quaecumque erat" (*Aug. De Trinit.*, viii. 4). A portrait quite different from the above is rudely engraved, apparently by a much later hand, on the back of a tiny ancient cornelian in the possession of M. Forst, which bears on the other side a fish only. It is figured by Le Blanc, *Inscr. Chyél.*, *Ant. Gnost.*, vol. I. p. 371. The realistic representation is seen, as in both the preceding gems, combined with the

CHRIST. ANT.

(3.) The sun between two stars, EICVVC. [PABPIEA.] ANANIA. AMEN.] in two lines (Passeri, *Thea Gemm. Ant.*, ii. p. 277, who does not name the stone). The names of angels, as planetary or astral gem, were invoked by the Ophites, and probably by other Gnostic sects; Gabriel presided over the serpent (King, *Gnostics*, p. 88). This gem (n. 155 in the Cappello Museum), which is doubtless magical, may well have been produced by some Christian Gnostic, perhaps of the fourth century, when similar barbarous orthography occurs.

(4.) Four-winged deity, standing on a circle formed by a serpent, holding two sceptres; legend obliterated. R The christa in the midst of a circle formed by a serpent biting its tail. Hematite, in the Bibliothèque Impériale (Chabouillet, n. 2178). The figure is a good deal similar to one on another gem, bearing the inscription ABPAZAC (Chabouillet, n. 2176); the reverse shows it to be the work of a Christian, perhaps of a later Basilidian.

(5.) Iao (Jehovah) under the form of a four-winged mummy, which has the heads of a jackal, a vulture, and a hawk; in the field three stars, legend obliterated; below on a cartouche, IAO. R. Trophy between a monogram made up of I and N (possibly for Jesus of Nazareth) and the christa; at the base of the trophy is another christa. In the Bibliothèque Impériale; serpentine (Chabouillet, n. 2224).

Chabouillet regards the trophy as a figure of the cross triumphant, and thinks the gem belongs to one of the Gnostic sects, who especially revered the Saviour.

Later Persian and Sassanid Gems.—This is a class of engraved stones, which may best be treated separately as being of a different form, conical or hemispherical, to those already named; and bearing legends, when legends are present, in the Pehlvi character. The following meagre list consists wholly of intagli; those in the French collection are thought by Chabouillet to be earlier than the middle of the fourth century; but some appear to be later.

(1.) *The Sacrifice of Abraham.*—The patriarch holds the knife to slay his son lying on an altar (shaped like a Persian fire-altar); he turns back and sees the angel pointing out the ram; striped sarbonyx. Bibl. Impériale (Chabouillet, n. 1330). Another gem, of which Mr. Forst sends an impression, represents an angel, Jew, in the field a child; whether this be the same subject or not, is uncertain.

(2.) *The Visitation of the Virgin.*—St. Elizabeth



The Visitation. (King.)

h a close-fitting helmet, long frontlet, like those of the; around the bust is the Roman letters, + XPE VM REIG." (figured in *d'Arch.*, vol. 1. pl. xxxi.; 005; King's *Handbook* of

o be considered some ancient traces of Christianity, y classed, viz., the Gnostic Gnostic origin has been to one or two gems already at number of gems called scribed in Chabouillet's o ABRAZAC in the Dic- BIOPHAGY.) Of these, or bear the word ABPA- e Greek) ABPAZAC, (vari- in); and this in itself, in a, proves a Gnostic origin. des, a Christian Gnostic of the inventor of the word; tly this, and as several ers appear to intimate (see ed by Jahnsnik, *Opiac.* and Belleaun, *Ueber die it den Abraxas-Bildern, Erst e rmerous stones on which ust either be looked on as ized through Gnosticism to r superstition. The latter ole to be the more probable; ut that the word, as trans- magical *Abrahadava*, passed and was even employed in ail quite lately as a charm ms of disease (Passeri, *De Thea Gemm.*, *Asirif.*, vol. ii. in *Ann. d. Journ.*, 1869, p. 33; *Archaeol. Words*, s. v. *Abraxas* occurring in connect- s, IAO (Jehovah), CABA, &c. in the titles or representations thras, Mercury, &c. (see Pas- in no single instance known ough very possibly such may word occur on any engraved section which can be safely Christian. These stones cum- ns all others which have been t shew no manifest sign of passed over in this article. b, if any, can be fixed to any sect or to Gnosticism gene-*

m (*De Heb. Christ.*, ante Constant. that the word is probably older than rounds we know not. This meter examination, which must needs be onuments, which must needs be word ABPAZAC. A large story bears the monogram of Christ he appears on the coins of Constantine II. tury), but accompanied by the title nitive proof of the identity of the two simation of its owner" (King's p. A copper amulet found at A which is very distinctly Christian, and d apparently, but in a corrupt form INSCRIPTIONS.

Inscr. Chret. de la Ovale.

It was not uncommonly used for signet rings, and to be marked with the emblem. Avitus, bishop of signet in iron; and a red empire, in the Bosquet. STONINSVS, in monogram, probably be Christian King. One of the earliest episcopal by one which was found at in a bronze ring, inscribed SCOPVS (the stone is not a all likelihood be referred (Hübner, *Inscr. Hispan.* series may fitly those with reserved in the public library in three lines, the text of ION COMVINEMVS ES (sic) n. 208).

enumeration, though professional more full, it is believed, published; and the great rarity renders an apology for a desiderata unnecessary. A few words on materials and the style of art. The most usual material is the cornelian* is only in the allied stones, the eye, sardonyx; next to these in point placed other kindred stones, or red, green, or black. Some heliotrope (or bloodstone), nephryt, plasma, emerald, opal, and, very rarely, sapphires. Usually found, a stone in which engravings are often formed, we have a Christian example, especially the material on which signs, commonly called Gnostic, one of the few Christian gems this enumeration is of that

which range in all likelihood to the ninth century* (and some entailed, being of uncertain even than that), we must have a considerable amount in style and excellence of the work. When the work is fine, the fact is known to the writer. Much the work is mediocre. *The

well distinguished in the preceding nomenclature here adopted is that of the gem; and this remark must be understood in relation to the stones mentioned. For much in space on the materials of gemstone's introduction to the Marborough (see *Antique Gems and Rings*, ii. 29).

that anything save the work of the date for conjecturing its age. How- ever, bearing a fish, described above, as a seasonal gold setting, which Mr. King announcing for date the early years of (Antique Gems and Rings, ii. 29). The great difficulty of fixing the age of things that a good many of those (type or legend) and anchor are of the centuries, none being later (in *Plin.* 555, 556).

GENERALIS

art exhibited in early Christian gems is almost invariably of a low order," observes Mr. Fortson; "they were for the most part the production of a period of decadence. The greater number have been cut by means of the wheel. Hence arises an additional difficulty in distinguishing the genuine from the false. Their workmanship is easy to copy with the same instrument as that with which they were cut; and stones are abundant at hand, and Roman artists are apt and facile in imitation" (*Arch. Journ.* 1871, p. 299).

By much the greater part of the gems mentioned were used for finger-rings, those in intaglio being also employed as seals. Others, however, especially the Gnostic, were amulets, and carried about the person, suspended or otherwise, as charms. The larger camel, of the Byzantine period, appear to have been made for the purpose of decorating church plate or other ecclesiastical objects. (Martigny, *Des anneaux chez les premiers Chrétiens et de l'anneau épiscopal en particulier*, Meaux, 1858; Fortson in *Arch. Journ.* 1869 and 1871; *Early Christian Finger-rings*; and King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, vol. ii. pp. 24-37 (*Early Christian Glyptic Art*), Lond. 1872, as well as his earlier books referred to above.) Much information also is to be gleaned from various catalogues of gems and other books, to which reference is made in the above works and in this paper. [C. B.]

GENERALIS. [VICTOR (14).]

GENEIOSA. [SCILLITA.]

GENEIOSUS. [SCILLITA.]

GENESIUS. (1) Martyr at Rome in the time of Diocletian; commemorated Aug. 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi); Aug. 24 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Ctl. Allatii et Frontonis).

(2) Martyr of Arles (circa A.D. 303); commemorated Aug. 25 (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GENETHLIA. [CALENDAR; FESTIVAL.]

GENETHLIACI, says Augustine, who condemns all such arts (*De Doc. Christ.* ii. 21), were so called on account of their founding their predictions on the planets which ruled a man's birthday (*γενέθλια*); a more common name was *Mathematici* [ASTROLOGERS; DIVINATION]. He again refers, in the *Confessions* (iv. 3; vii. 6), to the folly and impiety of supposing that a man's vices were attributable to the fact that the planets Venus, Mars, or Saturn presided over his birth. The passage relating to this matter given in the Decree of Gratian (causa 26, qu. 4, c. 1) as from Augustine, is in fact from Rabanus Maurus *De Mag. Praestigiis*, and was by him compiled mainly from Augustine and Isidore. In another passage of Augustine (*Conf.* iv. 3, quoted in *De ret. can.* 26, qu. 2, c. 8) Gratian seems to have read "planetarios" for the "planos" of recent editions. All augurs, aruspices, mathematici, and other impostors of that kind were condemned by a law of Con-

* To the last-named author the writer is deeply indebted for impressions of several gems and for the loan of his beautiful plates for the present article; they are drawn, like all the others (when not copied from other books), to twice the diameter of the original.

GENUFLEXION

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stantius, A.D. 357 (*Code*, lib. v.; *De Maleficio et Mathematicis*, in Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, p. iii. tit. iv. co. 12-14).

[C.]

GENIUS OF THE EMPEROR. In the early centuries of the church, one of the tests by which Christians were detected was, to require them to make oath "by the genius or the fortune of the emperor;" an oath which the Christians, however willing to pray for kings, constantly refused as savouring of idolatry. Thus Polygnp (Euseb. *H. E.* lv. 15, § 18) was required to swear by the fortune (*τύχην*) of Caesar. And Saturninus (*Acta Mart. Scillit.* c. 1, in Rulnart, p. 80, 2nd ed.) adjured Speratus, one of the martyrs of Scillita, "tantum iura per genium regis nostri;" to which he replied "Ego Imperatoris mundi genium nescio."

Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, c. 29) reproaches the delinquency of the emperor, and the heathen practice of swearing by his "genius" or "dæmon;" and Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 32) says that, although Christians did not swear by the genius of the Caesars, they swore by a more august oath, "per salutem eorum." We do not, says Origen (*c. Celsum*, bk. 8, p. 421, Spencer), swear by the emperor's fortune (*τύχην βασιλέως*), any more than by other reputed deities; for (as some at least think) they who swear by his fortune swear by his dæmon, and Christians would die rather than take such an oath (*Biographiam Antiquitatis*, xvi. vii. 7). [C.]

GENII. [FRESCO, p. 693.]

GENOFEVA or GENOVEFA, virgin-saint, of Paris († circa 514 A.D.); commemorated Jan. 3 (*Mart. Bedae*, Adonis, Usuardi); translation Oct. 28 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

GENTILLY, COUNCIL OF (*Gentiliense Concilium*), held A.D. 797, at Gentilly, near Paris, but authentic records of its proceedings are wanting. Annalists of the next age say that it was assembled by Pepin to consider a twofold question that had arisen between the Eastern and Western churches respecting the Trinity and the images of the saints (*Pertz*, i. 144). Quite possibly the iconoclastic council of Constantinople, A.D. 754, may have been discussed there, but there is no proof that the dispute between the two churches on the procession of the Holy Ghost had commenced as yet. The letter of pope Paul to Pepin (Mansi, xii. 614) is much too vague to be relied on, and what embassies are recorded to have come from the east in his reign are still less to the purpose (*Ind.* p. 677; comp. Pagi, *ad Baron.* A.D. 766, n. 3). [E. S. F.]

GENUFLECTENTES. [PENITENTS.]

GENUFLEXION, PROSTRATION, ETC.

The early Christians used five different postures in their worship. They stood upright, or with the head and back bent forward, they knelt on both knees, and they prostrated themselves at length (*prostrato omni corpore in terra*); said of penitents at their reconciliation, *Sacram. Gelas.* lib. i. n. xvi. xxxviii. in *Liturgy. Rom. Vet. Murat.* tom. i. coll. 504, 550).

Standing had been the more common posture in prayer among the Jews (Neh. ix. 2-4; St. Matt. vi. 5; St. Luke xviii. 11, 13); but they knelt (2 Chron. vi. 13; Dan. vi. 10; Ezra ix. 5) and prostrated themselves also (Num. xiv. 5;

Josh. v. 14; 1 Kings xviii. 39, &c.); and the first converts to the gospel imported their former customs into the church. Thus Stephen knelt in his last prayer (Acts vii. 60); St. Peter knelt when he besought God for the life of Dorcas (ix. 40); St. Paul, when at Ephesus he prayed for the elders (xx. 36); the brethren at Tyre and their wives and children knelt with him on the shore, when he left them to go to Jerusalem (xxi. 5). In the language of the same apostle, "bowing the knee" to God is synonymous with "praying" to him (Eph. iii. 14). The Christian knelt in prayer more than the unconverted Jew; and this was natural, for the greater knowledge of God produced a stronger sense of unworthiness, and thus led to more marked and frequent expressions of humility in drawing nigh to him. "The bending of the knees is as a token of penitence and sorrow" (Cassian. *Coll.* xxi. c. xx. p. 795). This was the recognized principle, and it ruled the occasions on which the posture was employed. "The knee," says St. Ambrose, "is made flexible, by which, beyond other members, the offence of the Lord is mitigated, wrath appeased, grace called forth" (*Hexameron*, lib. vi. c. ix. n. 74).

Before we proceed it should be explained that the early church made no distinction in language between "kneeling" and "prostration." It is evident that men did not kneel upright, but threw themselves more or less forward, so that the posture might have either name. Sometimes indeed they so supported themselves by putting their hands or arms on the ground, that "kneeling" was a position of rest compared with standing. Thus Cassian complains that some western monks, when prostrate on the ground, "often wished that some bowing of the limbs (which he expressly calls *genu flectere*) to be prolonged, not so much for the sake of prayer as of refreshment" (*Instit.* lib. ii. c. 7). The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the third class of public penitents were indifferently called kneelers or prostrators, were said either *γόνυ κλίνειν, genu flectere,* or *προσκύνειν, se substerne.* Thus in a canon made at Neocesarea in Pontus about A.D. 314, we read, can. v., "Let a catechumen . . . who has fallen into sin, if he be a kneeler (*γόνυ κλίνων*), become a hearer." Similarly the eighty-second canon of the so-called fourth council of Carthage held in 398: "Let penitents (the prostrators were especially so called) kneel even on days of relaxation." But the same class were far more frequently described as prostrators. For example, in the eleventh canon of Nicea, A.D. 325, it is decreed that certain offenders "shall be prostrators (*ὑποτασσόμενοι*) for seven years." (Compare can. xii.; *Conc. Ancyr.* can. iv. v. &c.; *Greg. Thaum.* vi. ix.; *Basil. ad Amphitoch.* lvi. lvii. &c.; and many others.) A more direct piece of evidence comes from the 7th century. Pseudo-Dionysius (*De Eccles. Hierarch.* c. v. sed. lii. § 2, tom. i. p. 364) says that "the approach to the Divine altar and the prostration (of candidates for holy orders) intimates to all who are admitted to priestly functions that they must entirely submit their personal life to God, from whom their consecration comes." &c.; whereupon his scholiast Maximus, A.D. 615 explains "prostration" to mean "kneeling" (p. 375). So in the West, as late as the 9th century, in the same canon, "fixis in terram

genibus" and "humiliter in terram prosterni" (*C. n. Turon.* A.D. 813, can. 37) are employed to describe the same posture. Other indications of similar usage will be observed in some passages below.

Kneeling or prostration was probably the general posture of the early Christians in prayer not regulated by public authority. Thus Clemens Romanus, in a general exhortation, "Let us fall down before the Lord, and beseech Him with tears," &c. (*Epist. i. ad Cor.* c. 48). When St. Ignatius prayed for the churches before his martyrdom, it was "eum genuflexione omnium fratrum" (*Martirium S. Ign.* c. vi.). Hieron. represents himself, before his first vision, "kneeling down and beginning to pray to God and confess his sins" (lib. i. vis. i. § 1). Hegesippus, A.D. 170, relates that St. James the Just "used to enter the temple alone, and to be found lying on his knees (*κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι*)" (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. xlii.). He adds that his knees from continual kneeling became callous like those of a camel. When Eusebius relates the story of the Melitine legion in the Marcomannic war, about 174, he says of the Christian soldiers, "They put their knees on the ground, as our custom is in prayer" (*Ibid.* lib. v. c. v.). Tertullian, having referred to the same event some sixteen years after its occurrence, asks, "When have not even droughts been driven away by our kneelings and fastings?" (*Ad Scapulam*, c. iv.). We read in the Life of St. Cyprian, by Pontius his deacon, that on his way to death he "knelt on the earth, and prostrated himself in prayer to God" (*Vita Cypri.* prefatio). Eusebius tells us that Constantine the Great used "at stated times every day, shutting himself up in secret closets of his palace, there to converse alone with God, and falling on his knees to ask importunately for the things whereof he had need" (*Vita Constant.* lib. iv. c. xxii.). In his last illness, "kneeling on the ground, he was a suppliant to God," &c. (*Ibid.* c. lxi.). Gregory Nazianzen, speaking of his sister's habits of devotion, mentions "the bowing of her knees become callous, and as it were grown to the ground" (*Orat.* viii. § 13. Compare St. Jerome in *Epist. ad Marcellian. de Asellâ*). Augustine, pointing a miraculous answer to prayer in the healing of a sick person, says, "While we were fixing our knees and laying ourselves on the ground (*terne incumbentes*) in the usual manner, he flung himself forward, as if thrown heavily down by some one pushing him, and began to pray," &c. (*De Civ. Dei*, lib. xxii. c. viii. § 2). Elsewhere the same father, speaking of private prayer, says, "They who pray do with the members of their body that which belitt supplants, when they fix their knees, stretch forth their hands, or even prostrate themselves on the ground" (*De Corpâ pro Mortis*, c. v.). Only in this last passage, it will be observed, are kneeling and prostration distinguished from each other.

But the early Christians knelt or prostrated themselves as each chose, in the stated common worship of the church also. Thus Arabius writes to Him (i. e. Christ) we all by custom prostrate ourselves: I with united (collective) prayers adore" (*Adv. Gent.* lib. i. c. 27). Epiphanius adds "The church commands us to send up prayers to God without ceasing, with all frequency, and earnest supplications, and kneeling on the up-

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olated days, by night and in the day, and in
some places they celebrate *synaxes* even on the
sabbath," &c. (*De Fide*, § 24). St. Jerome says
that it is according to "ecclesiastical custom to
bend the knee to Christ" (*Comm. in Isai.* c. xlv.
v. 23). St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* xviii. in 2 Cor.
viii. 24), of the celebration of the Holy Commu-
nion:—"Again, after we have shut out from the
sacred precincts those who cannot partake of the
Holy Eucharist, there must be another kind of prayer,
and we all in like manner lie on the floor (*ὅμοιως*
ἱδραὸς κελεβα), and all in like manner rise
up." We understand this better on a reference
to the liturgy in the so-called *Apostolical Con-*
stitutions. There we find (lib. viii. c. ix. Cotelier
tom. i. p. 396) that the "first prayer of the
faithful" was said by all kneeling, the deacon
crying out, "Let us, the faithful, all kneel!"
During the rest of the liturgy all stood.

At other times of service the rule was for all
to kneel in prayer, except on Sundays and be-
tween Easter and Whitsuntide. Few customs
are more frequently mentioned by early writers,
and none perhaps more frequently said to be de-
rived from the age of the apostles. The earliest
witness is Irenæus, in a fragment of his work on
Ester preserved in the "Questions and Answers
to the Orthodox;" *Quæst.* 115, ascribed to Justin
Martyr. Irenæus traced it to the apostles. In
answer to a question respecting the reason and
origin of the custom, the latter writer says,
"Since it behoved us always to remember both
our own fall into sins and the grace of our Christ
through which we have arisen from the fall,
therefore our kneeling on the six days is a sign
of our fall into sins, but our not kneeling on the
Lord's day is a sign of the rising again, through
which, by the grace of Christ, we have been
delivered from our sins and from death, their
due, now itself put to death." *Ibid.* Other wit-
nesses are Tertullian, speaking both of Sunday
and the paschal season (*De Cor. Ml.* c. lii.;
similarly, *De Orat.* c. xxiii.); Peter of Alex-
andria, A.D. 301, can. xv. of Sunday only. The
council of Niceæ, 325, both of Sunday and the
days of Pentecost, can. xx; St. Hilary, also of
the "Week of Weeks" and the Lord's day both
(*Prolog. in Psalm.* § 12), who refers it to the
apostles. His expression is, "No one worships
with his body prostrated on the ground." Epi-
phanios, also of both (*De Fide*, § 22). St. Basil,
of both, as an apostolical tradition (*De Spûitu*
Sancto, c. lvi., al. xxvii.). St. Jerome, likewise
of both (*Diad. contr. Luciferianos*, c. iv.); and,
again, of the fifty days, in *Proem. in Ep. ad*
Epâ. "We neither bend the knee nor bow our-
selves to the ground." St. Augustine, after
giving the Scriptural reason, says, "On this
account both are fasts relaxed [during the
paschal quinquagesima] and we pray standing,
which is a sign of the resurrection, whence also
the same is observed at the altar on all Lord's
days." (*Ep. iv. ad Januar.* c. xv. n. 28. Compare
c. xvii. n. 32.) From St. Maximus of Turin,
A.D. 422, we learn the same facts and the reason
(*Hom. lii. De Pentec.*). Cassian, A.D. 424, men-
tions the restriction on kneeling at those times
(*Ita d. lib. ii. c. xxvii.; Collat. xxi. c. xx.*). In
the collection of canon put forth by Martin, in
Pannonian by birth, but bishop of Bracara in
Spain, A.D. 580, the same prohibition occurs,
borrowed from a Greek or oriental source (can.

[vii.) His words are, "non prosterni, nec humi-
liti." The 90th canon of the Trullan council,
held at Constantinople in 691, forbids kneeling
"from the evening entrance of the priests to the
altar on Saturday until the next evening on the
Lord's day." The council does not mention the
longer period, and its object seems to have been
merely to settle the hours at which the obser-
vance should begin and end.

From the fact that the 20th canon of Niceæ
is not found in the abridgement of canons by
Rufinus (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. x. c. v.), nor in an
ancient codex supposed to be the authorised
collection of the church of Rome, Quænel (*Diss.*
xii., at the end of St. Leo's Works, c. v.) supposed
that the custom of not kneeling on Sunday, &c.
was never received at Rome. See Routh, *Opus-*
cula, tom. ii. p. 444, or *Reliquiæ Sacrae*, tom. iv.
p. 73, ed. 2. We find, however, that the prohibi-
tion was enforced in the dominions of the
Frankish princes after they had imposed the
Roman office on their subjects. Those times
were excepted from the general order for knee-
ling at prayer made by the third council of Tours,
A.D. 813, can. 37. It was forbidden by a capitu-
lary of Louis the Godly, A.D. 817 (*Capit. Reg.*
Franc. tom. ii. col. 586, cap. li.) during "the
Pentecost week." Rabanus Maurus, also, at
Mentz, A.D. 847, says, as if vouching for a present
fact, "On those days the knees are not bent in
prayer." "On the Lord's day we pray standing"
(*De Instit. Cler.* lib. ii. cc. 41-2). It is very
improbable, therefore, that the custom was not
known and observed at Rome.

In all the ancient liturgies except the Roman,
if, indeed, that be an exception (see Scudamore's
Notitia Eucharistica, p. 579), the bishop gave a
blessing before the communion. In all but the
Clementine this was preceded by a monition from
the deacon: e.g., in St. James and St. Basil,
"Let us bow down our heads unto the Lord;"
in St. Chrysostom, "Bow down your heads unto
the Lord" (*Liturg. I.P.*, pp. 32, 66, 102); in
St. Mark, "Bow your heads to Jesus Christ"
(Rennaud, tom. i. p. 160); in the Mozarabic,
"Humiliate vos benedictioni" (*Miscell.* Leslie,
pp. 6, 246); in a Roman Ordo, early, but of un-
certain date, "Humiliate vos ad benedictionem"
(Ord. vi. § 11, *Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 75). Several
liturgies had a benediction after the communion
also, for which the people bowed themselves.
In some, indeed, the deacon here repeated his
direction. See St. James (*Lit. I.P.* p. 39); the
Greek Alexandrine of St. Basil and of St. Cyril
(Rennaud, tom. i. pp. 85, 125). In Egypt, for
this reason, benedictions were usually called "Prayers
of Inclination," or "Of Bowing the Head" (Ren-
naud, u. s. pp. 35, 36, 50, 77, &c.). The same
gesture, similarly bidden by the deacon, was em-
ployed in other parts of the service. See St.
James, u. s. p. 9, and Rennaud, u. s. pp. 77, 79,
105, &c. In particular, the catechumens bowed
while the prayer proper to them was said before
their dismissal. Thus the deacon, in St. Basil
and in St. Chrysostom: "Ye catechumens, bow
down your heads unto the Lord" (*Lit. I.P.*, pp.
48, 87). The Malabar: "Incline your heads for
the laying on of hands, and receive the blessing"
(*Dist. Eccl. Malab.* Raulin, p. 304).

Two sermons of Caesarius, bishop of Arles,
A.D. 602, illustrate our subject, as regards the
habits of the people, in a graphic manner:—"I

intend and admonish you, dearest brethren, that as often as prayer is said by the clergy at the altar, or prayer is bidden by the deacon, ye faithfully bow, not your hearts only, but your bodies also; for when I often, as I ought, and heedfully take notice, as the deacon cries, 'Let us bend our knees,' I see the greater part standing like upright columns." "Let it not be grievous to him, who from some weakness cannot bend his knees, either to bow his back or incline his head." Again: "In like manner I admonish you of this, dearest brethren, that as often as the deacon shall proclaim that ye ought to bow yourselves for the benediction, ye faithfully incline both bodies and heads; because the benediction, though given to you through man, is yet not given from man." (*Serm. Cues. lxxxv. §§ 1, 5; Sim. lxxxiv. §§ 1, 2.*)

The priest himself often inclined his head during the prayers. (See St. James, u. s. pp. 7, 13, 17, &c., and St. Mark, u. s. pp. 150, 153.) Many observances of this kind are lost to us from the want of rubrics in the ancient liturgies, or from their incompleteness. This is especially the case with those of the West; but there is one *Ordo* of the age of Charlemagne in which the priest is directed to say the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis* "lowed before the altar." (*Martene, De Ant. Eccl. Lit. lib. i. c. iv. art. xii. ord. v.*) We might here also cite the Mozarabic and Milanese missals, if the antiquity of their rubrics were not generally uncertain.

From pseudo-Dionysius we learn that while bishops and priests at their ordination knelt on both knees, deacons knelt on one only (*De l'eccl. Hier. c. v. § ii. tom. i. p. 364.*) [W. E. S.]

GEOGRAPHY, ECCLESIASTICAL. [NOTITIA.]

GEORGIUS. (1) Chozebita, Holy Father, A.D. 820; commemorated with Acemilianus, Jan. 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Of Malanm, Holy Father, (sæc. v. VI.); commemorated April 4 (*Ib.*).

(3) Bishop of Mitylene († circa 816), Holy Father; commemorated April 7 (*Ib.*).

(4) Dencen, martyr at Cordova with Aurelius, Felix, Nathalin, and Lilliosa, A.D. 852; commemorated Aug. 27 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(5) Μεγαλομάρτυρ καὶ τροπαιοφόρος, A.D. 298; commemorated April 23 (*Cal. Byzant.*); "Natale," April 23 (*Mart. Bedae*); the dedication (ἑγκαίνια) of his church in Lydia is commemorated on Nov. 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(6) De monte Atho; commemorated June 27 (*Cal. Georg.*).

(7) Victoriosus; commemorated Sept. 28 (*Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

GERASIMUS, Holy Father, δ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ, in the time of Constantine Pogonatus; commemorated March 4 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

GEREON, martyr with 318 others at Cologne under Maximian; commemorated Oct. 10 (*Mart. Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

GERMANICA CONCILIA, councils celebrated in Germany, but at places unknown.

1. A.D. 743, probably, being the first of five said to have met under St. Boniface by his biographer, but great obscurity hangs over their date, number, and canons, to say the least.

Mansi really settles nothing (xii. 355 and seq.), and the Oxford editors of Wilkins still less (iii. 382, note). Again, in the preface to this council it is Carloman, mayor of the palace who speaks, and its seven canons, besides running in his name form the first of his capitularies (*Mansi, ib. 366, and App. 104*). Certainly, the first of them constituting Boniface archbishop over the bishops of his dominions cannot have been decreed but by him. True, there is a letter from Boniface to pope Zachary requesting leave for holding a synod of this kind, which was at once given (*Mansi, ib. 312-19*), and in another, purporting to be from Boniface to archbishop Cuthbert (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 376), three sets of canons are quoted as having been decreed by the writer, of which these form the second. Still, even so, when and where were the other two sets passed? What Mansi prints (xii. 38-1) as "statutes of St. Boniface" in one place, were probably the work of a later hand, as he says in another (*ib. 362*).

2. A.D. 745, at Mayence possibly, where Aldebert and Clement were pronounced heretics, and Gervilius of Mayence deposed to be succeeded by Boniface (*Mansi, ib. 371*).

3. A.D. 747, at which the first four general councils were ordered to be received. Possibly the tenth of the letters of pope Zachary may relate to this (*Mansi, ib. 409 and 342*).

4. A.D. 759, at which Othmar, abbot of St. Gall, was unjustly condemned (*Mansi, ib. 660*). [E. S. F.]

GERMANICUS, martyr at Smyrna under Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius; commemorated Jan. 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

GERMANUS. (1) Bishop of Paris and confessor († 576 A.D.); commemorated May 28 (*Mart. Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*); translation (*disposition*, Ado) July 25 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Bishop of Auxerre and confessor; "transitus" commemorated July 31 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*); Aug. 1 (*Mart. Bedae*); translation (*actalis*, Ado) Oct. 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) [DONATIANUS (2).]

(4) Martyr in Spain with Servandus; commemorated Oct. 23 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(5) Martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia, with Caesarius, Theophilus, and Vitalis, under Decius; commemorated Nov. 3 (*Ib.*).

(6) Of Constantinople, A.D. 730; commemorated May 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

GERONA, COUNCIL OF (*Gerundense concilium*), held A.D. 517, at Gerona in Catalonia, and passed ten canons on discipline, to which seven of the ten bishops present at the synod of Tarragona the year before subscribed. By the first the order laid down for celebrating mass and saying the psalter and ministering in general throughout the province of Tarragona is to be that of the metropolitan church. By the last the Lord's prayer is to be said on all days after matins and vespers by the priest. By the second and third rogation days are to be kept with abstinence twice a year; viz., the three last days of Whitsun week, and the first three days in November; or, one of them being a Sunday, the

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nothing (xii. 355 and seq.), of Wilkins still less (iii. in the preface to which many of the palace who canons, besides running in first of his capitularies (I App. 104). Certainly, constituting Boniface arch- of his dominions cannot by him. True, there is a o pope Zachary requesting synod of this kind, which, Mansi, *ib.* 312-19), and in o be from Boniface to arch- ddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, of canons are quoted as by the writer, of which l. Still, even so, when and or two sets passed? What (3) as "statutes of St. Boni- ere probably the work of a s in another (*ib.* 362).

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which the first four general ed to be received. Possibly tters of pope Zachary may e, *ib.* 409 and 342).

which Othmar, abbot of tly condemned (Mansi, *ib.* [E. S. F.].

, martyr at Smyrna under d Lucius Aurelius; comm- *Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usa- [W. F. G.]

(2) Bishop of Paris and D.); commemorated May 23 is, Usuardi); translation (*ib.* 25 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

ierre and confessor; "trans- ed July 31 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Aug. 1 (*Mart. Bedae*); trans-) Oct. 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

s (2).
Spain with Servandus; com- s (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis,

Caesarea in Cappadocia, with us, and Vitalis, under Decius; v. 3 (*ib.*).

tinople, A.D. 730; commemo- r. 3 (*ib.*).

COUNCIL OF (*Gerundense con-* 517, at Gerona in Catalonia, canons on discipline, to which bishops present at the synod of ear before subscribed. By the down for celebrating mass and er and ministering in general orovince of Tarragona is to be opulation church. By the last s is to be said on all days after ers by the priest. By the ronation days are to be kept v. 3 (*ib.*); viz., the three last week, and the first three days in e of them being a Sunday, the

three last days of the week following (Mansi, viii. 547 and seq.). [E. S. F.]

GERONTIUS, bishop of Sevilla in Vieja in Spain (sac. 1.); commemorated Aug. 25 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

GERTRUDIS, virgin, martyr in Ireland; commemorated March 17 (*Mart. Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

GERUNDENSE CONCILIUM. [GERONA, COUNCIL OF.]

GERVASIUS, martyr at Milan with Protasius, his brother, under Nero; commemorated June 19 (*Mart. Bedae, Hieron., Cal. Carthay., Cal. et Sacrament. Frontonis, Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*); also with Nazarius, and Celsus, June 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*), and Oct. 14 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

GERVASIUS AND PROTASIIUS, SS., IN ART. The basilica of St. Ambrose in Milan was dedicated by him, June 19th 387, to these martyrs, whose bones he transferred to it. The name of the church has, however, been derived by posterity from that of its founder. The author may refer to the personal testimony of Father Ambrose St. John of the Oratory, as to a late discovery of bones in the Basilica of St. Ambrose, which seems strongly to confirm the tradition of the burial of actually martyred persons among its foundations.*

St. Gervasius appears repeatedly in the paintings of the Ambrosian basilica, especially in the great mosaic of the apse (Sommerard, *Album des Arts*, pl. xix. 9 série). St. Protasius is with him, as in other parts of the church. This mosaic cannot be later than the 9th century, and may probably be of the same date as that in the great church of St. Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna, 7th century. (See Ciampini *let. Monumenta*, tom. ii. pl. xxv. No. 11, and p. 95 in text.) Two portrait medallions of these saints are to be seen in the church of St. Vitale in the same city. [R. St. J. T.]

GETULIUS, martyr at Rome with Amanian, Cerealis, and Primitivus, in the time of Adrian (circa 124 A.D.); "passio," June 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GIDEON or GEDEON, the prophet; commemorated with Joshua, Sept. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GIFTS. [ARRIAR; ELEMENTS, p. 600.]

GILBERTUS, "in territorio Parisiensi, vice Caristollo," commemorated with Agodanus, and innumerable others of both sexes, June 24 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

GILDARDUS, bishop of Rouen († post 508); "actus," June 8 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

GILDING. A frequent mode of decorating the interiors of churches was by gilding. The earliest reference we have to it is in the letter of the emperor Constantine to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, relating to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which he was about to have built, consulting him, among other points, as to the

character of the ceiling he wished to have constructed. The emperor evidently inclined to a ceiling divided into panels (*Akakovopia, laqueata*), inasmuch as it could be decorated with gold (Euseb. *l'it. Const.* iii. c. 32). This plan was carried out on the most magnificent scale, and, "by means of compartments, stretched its vast expanse over the whole basilica, covered throughout with resplendent gold, so as to make the whole temple dazzling as with a blaze of light" (*ib.* c. 36). The beams of the roof of the basilica of St. Paul at Rome were originally, A.D. 386, covered with gold-leaf.

"Bracteolas trabibus sublevit. ut omnis aurulenta Lux esset intus. ceu jubar sub ortu."

(Petron, *l'astio Beat. Apoll.*)

The church built by St. Paulinus at Nola had also a panelled ceiling, "alto et lacunato culmine" (Paulin. *Epist.* xxiii. 12), but gilding is not expressly mentioned. References to these ceilings of gilded panelling are frequent in Jerome, who speaks of "the laquearia and roof gleaming with gold," "the gilded ceilings," and the like, with some expression of regret that so much that might have been devoted to Christ's poor was lavished on architectural decoration (*Hieron. lib. ii. in Zach. viii.; Epist. ii. ad Nepot.; Epist. viii. ad Demetriad.*). From the last-quoted passage we learn that the capitals of the pillars were also gilt, and that the altars were ornamented with gold and jewels. In the more magnificent churches erected in Justinian's reign, the altars were often of silver plated with gold. The altar given by Pulcheria, A.D. 414, to the church at Constantinople was elaborately constructed of gold and precious stones (*Soz. H. E.* ix. 1). This was surpassed by the altar given by Justinian to St. Sophia, which was all of gold resplendent with gems (Ducauge, *Constantinop. Christ.* lib. iii. p. 47). The altar at St. Ambrogio, at Milan, made A.D. 835, is covered with plates of gold and silver, with subjects in high relief [ALTAR, p. 64]. The domes which crowned the early churches in the East were often gilt externally. (Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* VIII. viii. 5; Neale, *Eastern Church*, introd. p. 182.) [E. V.]

GIRDLE, (*ζώνη*; *baltus, cingulum, zona*). Among nations who wore long flowing robes, it is obvious that the use of the girdle would be necessary for convenience in walking, or in active work. This very way, however, of using the girdle would cause it to be more or less hidden by the dress: and thus we are à priori prepared for the fact that, while in the early Christian centuries we continually meet with the girdle used as a matter of practical convenience, it is not till the eighth century that we find it recognized as an ecclesiastical vesture strictly so called. The use of it in these earlier times seems not unfrequently to have carried with it the idea of an imitation of the ancient Jewish prophets, and thus to have been worn by those who followed a monastic life, and those who professed, in reality or in seeming, to imitate their austerities. We find, for example, pope Celestinus I. (ob. 432 A.D.) finding fault with those who, by affecting this style of dress ("amiciti pallio et hincbae praecincti"), seemed to claim for themselves a sanctity of life not rightly theirs (*Epist. 4 ad Episc. Vienn. et Narb.* c. 2; *Patrol.* l. 431). Salvianus (ob.

* See note, p. 433, J. H. Newman's *Historical Sketches*, Folioing, 1872. A letter of the greater interest, which seems to leave little room for doubt as to the authenticity of the bodies of St. Ambrose and the two martyrs.

circa 495 A.D.) refers to the same idea, in the words addressed to an unworthy monk, "licet fidem cingulo afferas" (*Adv. avaritiam* iv. 5; *Patrol.* liii. 232). See also Basil (*Epist.* 45 ad monachum lapsurum; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxii. 366). To take an instance of a different type, Fulgentius (ob. 533 A.D.) on his elevation to the see of Kuspe, is said in his biography (formerly attributed to Ferrandus Diaconus) to have retained the girdle with the rest of the monastic habit—"pelliceo cingulo tanquam monachus utebatur," (*Patrol.* lxx. 136). The *Rule* of St. Benedict forbade the laying aside of the monastic girdle even at night; for the monks were to sleep "vestiti . . . et cincti cingulis aut funibus;" (*Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 22; see also *Regula S. Donati*, c. 65).

It may further be remarked that the girdle was commonly worn as an ornament by sovereigns and nobles. Thus, in a homily once assigned to Chrysostom, but now generally believed to be a work of the sixth century, the girdle is spoken of as an ordinary ornament of kings, and with this royal use of it is compared the girdle of our Lord (*Hon. de Uno Legislatore*, c. 3; vol. vi. 409, ed. Montfaucon). It will readily be seen how important a bearing the above facts have on the main general question, to which we can only refer thus in passing, as to whether the dress of the early Christian ministry was derived from that of the Levitical priesthood. In this last, it will be remembered, the girdle was a very important element.

It has been said that it was not till the 8th century that we meet with the girdle as an ecclesiastical vestment in the strict sense of the word. It is true that we do meet with references to it at an earlier period, as to that worn by Gregory the Great, which later generations are said by his biographer to have regarded as a precious relic (Joannis Diaconi *Vita S. Greg. Magni*, iv. 80; *Patrol.* lxxv. 228). Still, it must be remembered, the use of an article of dress by ecclesiastics is a totally different thing from their use of it because they are ecclesiastics; and for instances of this latter we must pass on to a later period.

Perhaps the earliest reference of this kind is one by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (ob. 740 A.D.), in his description of the various priestly vestments (*Historia Ecclesiastica et Mystica Contemplatio*; *Patrol. Gr.* xxviii. 39-4), in which he also alludes to the napkin attached to the girdle worn by deacons (ὡς ἐρχέσθω τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς ζώνης). Rabanus Maurus, in his treatise *de Institutione Clericorum* (i. 17; *Patrol.* cvii. 306), a work probably written about the year 819 A.D., refers to the girdle as one of the regular Christian vestments, and dwells on the symbolism of it at some length. A curious injunction, for which a curious reason is given, as to the wearing of the girdle, is found in one of the so-called Arabic canons of the council of Nicaea, edited by Abraham Ecchelenensis (can. 66; Labbe ii. 335). According to this, the clergy are forbidden to wear a girdle during divine service.

In earlier times the girdle was often doubtless richly adorned: the reference we have already given to its regal use is illustrative of this, and we may further cite Chrysostom (*Hon. in Psal.* 48; vol. v. 521), where, inveighing

against various articles of luxury in dress, he speaks of golden girdles. Apparently, too, this state of things prevailed after the girdle became a recognized ecclesiastical vestment, the excessive ornamentation being, it would seem, viewed as a secular element in the ecclesiastical dress. Thus we find Durandus (ob. 1296 A.D.) speaking of the clergy in the time of the emperor Louis I. the son of Charlemagne, as laying aside "Cingula auro texta, exquisitas vestes, et alia secularia ornamenta" (*Ratione Div. Off.* li. 1). A further illustration of this is furnished by the will of Riculfus, bishop of Helena (ob. 915 A.D.), in which he bequeaths, among other precious articles, "zonus quinque, una cum auro et gemmis pretiosis, et aliis quattuor cum auro" (*Patrol.* cxxiii. 468).

Later liturgical writers [*e.g.* Honorius Augustodunensis (*Gemma Animae*, i. 206; *Patrol.* clxxii. 606), Innocent iii. (*de Sacro Altit. mysterio*, i. 52; *Patrol.* ccxvii. 793), and Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* iii. 4)] speak further of an outer girdle (*subcingulum, subcinctorium, saccinctorium*), and generally as a vestment peculiar to bishops. So in the ancient mass given by Menard (*Greg. Sacr.* col. 249) from the Cd. Ratoldi, the bishop puts on both a *cingulum* and a *balteus*, the former perhaps the unseen and simple primitive girdle, the latter the elaborate ornament of later times. This subject, however, falls beyond our limits; reference may be made to Boan *de Rebus Liturg.* i. 23. 15.

A brief remark may be made in passing as to the special significance of the girdle in reference to the bestowal or deprivation of office. Thus Gregory the Great congratulates a friend "prae-fecturae vos suscepisse cingula" (*Epist.* x. 37; *Patrol.* lxxvii. 1094). Atto, bishop of Vercellae (ob. circa 960 A.D.), writing to one bishop Azo, orders that a man who should contract a marriage within the prohibited degrees "cinguli sui patiatur amissionem" (*Epist.* 5; *Patrol.* cxxxiv. 107). Similar references are often found in the Theodosian code, and elsewhere (see *e.g.* *Cod. Theodos.* lib. viii. tit. i. l. 11; lib. x. tit. 26. l. 1), in a way that often suggests the belt of knighthood of later times.

For further references to the subject of the girdle in its different aspects, see Ducange's *Glossarium* s. vv.; Marriotti's *Vestitorium Christianum*, p. 213, etc.; Heile, *Die liturgischen Gewänder*, pp. 178 sqq.; Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, ii. pp. 30 sqq. [R. S.]

GLADIATORS. A passion for gladiatorial combats had a strong hold upon the popular mind of pagan Rome; and under the empire magnificent amphitheatres were built for such exhibitions, and others of an almost equally barbarous nature, which seem to have presented a peculiarly fascinating attraction both to men and women in those times.

Augustine mentions a case in which even a Christian, having been induced to be present at one of these exhibitions, and having kept his eyes closed for a time—on opening them, at a sudden outcry which he heard, instead of being shocked or disgusted at the sight, was hurried along with the spirit of the assembled people—was overcome with a wild and savage delight at beholding the scene of bloodshed and death, and carried

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 [R. S.]

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away with him an inextinguishable desire to
 witness the same spectacles again (August.
Conf. vi. 8).

Some pagan moralists expressed more or
 less strongly their disapprobation of the gladiatorial
 shows, as being inhuman and demoralizing
 (Seneca, *Ep.* vii. and Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 22); but
 they were too popular to be checked by such
 remonstrances; and nothing effectual was done
 to stop them until they were opposed and finally
 suppressed by the intervention of Christian prin-
 ciples and Christian heroism.

The church expressed its abhorrence of these
 barbarous games as soon as it came in contact
 with them, not only by discountenancing attend-
 ance at them, but by refusing to admit gladiators
 to Christian baptism (see *Constit. Apostol.* viii.
 32). In this canon, charioteers, racers, and many
 others, are included in the same condemnation;
 probably because the public exhibitions in which
 they took a part were more or less connected
 with idolatry. And for the same reason such
 persons, if they had already been received into
 the church, were to be punished by excommuni-
 cation (*Concil. Arelat.* i. 4).

The first imperial edict prohibiting the exhibi-
 tion of gladiators was issued by Constantine in
 A.D. 325, just after the council of Nice had been
 convened (*Cod. Theod.* xv. 12, 1). Forty years
 later Valentinian forbade that any Christian
 criminals should be condemned to fight as gladi-
 ators; and in A.D. 367 he included in a similar
 exemption those who had been in the imperial
 service about the court (Palatini) (*Cod. Theod.*
 ii. 40, 8 and 11).

Honorius, at the end of this century, ordered
 that no slave, who had been a gladiator, should
 be taken into the service of a senator (*Cod. Theod.*
 ix. 12, 3).

All these edicts resulted from the operation of
 Christian principles and feelings, and they show
 the rise and growth of a more civilized opinion,
 which these imperial utterances also helped to
 promote; but they produced little or no direct
 effect in putting a stop to such exhibitions.

The decree of Constantine seems to have ap-
 plied only to the province of Phoenicia—to the
 prefect of which it was addressed; or, at any
 rate, it very soon became a dead letter; for a
 few years later Libanius alludes to gladiatorial
 shows as still regularly exhibited in Syria
 (Libanius, *de vita sua*, 3). And although they
 were never seen in Constantinople—where a
 passion for chariot races seems to have supplied
 their place—yet at Rome and in the Western
 empire they continued unrestricted, except by
 some trifling regulations. Even Theodosius the
 Great, though in some things very submissive to
 church authorities, compelled his Sarmatian
 prisoners to fight as gladiators; for which he
 was applauded by Symmachus, as having imi-
 tated approved examples of older times, and
 having made these minister to the pleasure of
 the people, who had previously been their dread
 (Symmachus, *Ep.* x. 61).

Thus these sanguinary games held their place
 among the popular amusements, and afforded
 their savage gratification to the multitude until
 their suppression was at last effected by the
 courage and self-devotion of an individual
 Christian.

In the year 404, while a show of gladiators

was being exhibited at Rome in honour of the
 victor of Stilicho, an Asiatic monk named
 Telemachus, who had come to Rome for the
 purpose of endeavouring to stop this barbarous
 practice, rushed into the amphitheatre, and
 strove to separate the combatants. The spec-
 tators—enraged at his attempt to deprive them
 of their favourite amusement—stoned him to
 death. But a deep impression was produced.
 Telemachus was justly honoured as a martyr,
 and the emperor Honorius—taking advantage of
 the feeling which had been evoked—effectually
 put a stop to gladiatorial combats, which were
 never exhibited again (Theodoret, *H. E.* v. 26).
 [G. A. J.]

GLASS. (i.) *Window glass.*—The use of glass
 in windows in Roman times was much more
 common than was formerly supposed, and ex-
 amples of such glass have been met with not
 only in Pompeii, but in our own country in
 various places. It was also used by Christians
 in early times, though perhaps not very com-
 monly, for the windows of their churches, and then
 it was sometimes coloured. Thus Prudentius,
 speaking of the Basilica of St. Paul, built by
 Constantine, says: "In the arched window nar-
 (panes of) wonderfully variegated glass: it shone
 like a meadow decked with spring flowers."*
 Glass, probably of the church destroyed A.D. 420,
 has been lately found at Trèves (*Archaeol.* xl. 194).
 Venantius Fortunatus (*cir.* a 560) thus speaks
 (lib. ii. poem. 11) of the windows of the church
 in Paris:

"Prima capit radios vitreae colorata fenestras;
 Artificisque manu clausit in arce diem."

From Gaul artists in glass were first introduced
 into Britain (A.D. 678) by Benedict Biscop
 for the church windows at Weremouth in Dur-
 ham, "ad cancellandas ecclesias porticumque et
 coenaculorum ejus fenestras" (*Bed. Vit. S. Bened-*
icti, § 5). Other early examples may be seen
 in Ducange, s. v. Vitreae, and Bentham's *Hist.*
and Antiq. of Ely, p. 21 (ed. 2). Pope Leo III.
 (circa 795) adorned the windows of the apse of
 the basilica of the Lateran with glass of several
 colours, "ex vitro diversis coloribus" (Anastasius
Vitae Pontiff. p. 208, C. ed. Murat.); and this,
 as some think, "is the earliest instance of the
 kind that can be cited with confidence" (Winston,
Anc. Glass Paint., p. 2; Fleury, *H. E.* xlvi. 20).

Painted glass belongs apparently to an age
 a little later than the present work embraces.
 "It is a fact," says M. Labarte, "acknowledged
 by all archaeologists, that we do not now know
 any painted glass to which can be assigned with
 certainty an earlier date than that of the 11th
 century" (Handbook, p. 69). The invention
 itself, however, may perhaps have been somewhat
 earlier.*

* "Tum camuros hyalo in-ferri varie occurrit arcus.
 Sic prata vernis floribus resplendit."
Perist. p. xii. 83, 54

The above interpretation, which is substantially that of
 Emeric David and Labarte, seems much preferable to that
 which makes *hyalo* mean *mosaic* (Labarte, *Handbook of*
Arts of Middle Ages, c. ii. p. 66, Engl. trans.).

* Two examples only, belonging to this century, are
 figured by M. Lesteyrie in his great work, *Histoire de la*
Peinture sur Verre.

* The art is described with many details by the monk
 Theophilus, whose age is unfortunately uncertain. Leasing

(ii.) *Glass vessels.*—These were used by the Christians as well as by the heathen for interment with the dead, and the so-called lacrymatories, which are really unguent bottles, have been found in the catacombs of Rome (Scrux d'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art par ses Monum.* t. viii. f. 21, "Sculpture"), and elsewhere, as Todi, Villeja, and Sardinia: the vessels are of various kinds, and are sometimes ornamented with letters and sometimes with palm-branches (De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1864, p. 89). Perret figures a long drinking-glass, copied here, ornamented with palms (incised), from the catacombs; at the bottom is some red substance: see below. The Slade Collection, recently acquired by the British Museum, contains a vessel of the same general form, of white glass, found at Cologne, probably of the 4th or 5th century, with incised figures of Adam and Eve, and of Moses striking the rock.



Glass Incised Cup. (Perret.)

The Sloane Collection in the same museum has a plain glass beaker from the catacombs embedded in the original plaster: likewise a glass ampulla marked with a cross and on each side, also from the catacombs. At the bottom of some of these small vessels has been found a dark crust, and it has been made a question whether this is the sediment of the blood of the martyr buried there or of some other substance. There are even some vessels inscribed SANGVIS, or SANG, or SA (Aringhi, *Rom. Subt.* t. i. p. 499); but De Rossi, Garrucci, and Martigny (*Dict.* p. 592 q. r.) are agreed that they are forgeries. These, however, do not necessarily prove that the substance found in genuine glass vessels is never in any case blood; and according to Martigny, the chemical researches of Broglia in 1845,

supposed that he wrote in the 8th century; if this were so, the invention may have been before 800; but it is now generally admitted that his age must be later: Labarte thinks that he probably lived in the 12th century. His *Dictionnaire des arts* *Schedula* does not speak of the art of glass as being a new invention. See Labarte u. s. pp. 48-51.

and others, have shewn that at the bottom of glass vessels found in Christian tombs at Milau blood is still to be recognised. Without impugning the honesty or the correctness of these researches, although as regards the latter it would be satisfactory if some confirmatory evidence should be discovered, it is allowable to suppose that the usual unguents (or perhaps wine) may have been contained in other of these vessels. The early Christians also employed glass as one of the materials for chalices.⁴ See CHALICE. Their most remarkable glass vessels, however, are those which have figures in gold leaf inside their flat bases; and these have hitherto been found almost exclusively in the Roman catacombs, and are generally considered to have been made in Rome alone. Of these some (about thirty) are in the British Museum, a smaller number in Paris, a few others in various Italian museums and in private continental and English collections, more particularly that of Mr. Wilshire; from which last the South Kensington Loan Court, and the Leeds Art Exhibition in 1868, having been largely enriched, these curious relics have become tolerably familiar to many of our countrymen. It is, however, in the Kircherian Museum and in that of the Propaganda, and above all, in the Vatican at Rome, that the greatest number are preserved. From these various sources, and from the works of Aringhi, Buonarrotti, Boldetti, &c., Padre Garrucci drew up his great work on the subject, entitled *Vasi ornati di figure in oro*, fol. with 42 plates, comprising figures of about 320 specimens; many, however, being quite fragmentary and of little value. The first edition appeared in Rome in 1858, the second (much enlarged) in 1864. As nearly all that is known of them is contained in this one work, which has been also used in illustration of various articles in this Dictionary, a somewhat slight notice may suffice for this place. The greater part of these glasses are manifestly the bottoms of drinking cups (the inscriptions on many of them implying as much), some few have been plates. "Their peculiarity," say Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow, "consists in a design having been executed in gold leaf on the flat bottom of the cup, in such a manner as that the figures and letters should be seen from the inside. . . . The gold leaf was protected by a plate of glass which was welded by fire, so as to form one solid mass with the cup. These cups, like the other articles found in the catacombs, were stuck into the strata cement of the newly closed grave; and the double glass bottom imbedded in the plaster has resisted the action of time, while the thinner portion of the cup, exposed to accident and decay by standing out from the plaster, has in almost every instance perished. Boldetti informs us that he found two or three cups entire, and his representation of one of them is given in Padre Garrucci's work, t. xxxix. 7, 7^b" (*Roma Sotterranea*, p. 278).

⁴ The far-famed *Sacro Catino* of Genoa, taken by the Crusaders at Caesarea in 1101, made of glass (now as formerly supposed, of a single emerald) has been taken to be merely the dish used at the Saviour's Last Supper; but although the dish used at the Saviour's Last Supper is quite unknown. Some account of it is given in Murray's *Book-book of Northern Italy*, under "Genoa."

⁵ About twenty others are described only; the genuineness of some of them is suspected.

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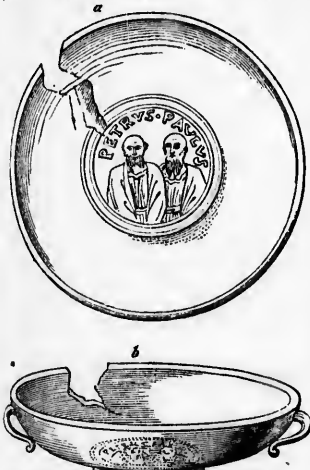
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a that at the bottom of Christian tombs at Milan recognised. Without impairing the correctness of these as regards the latter it is, if some confirmatory evidence, it is allowable to all unguents (or perhaps contained in other of these Christians also employed materials for chalices.⁴ See remarkable glass vessels, which have figures in gold leaf; and these have hitherto exclusively in the Roman generally considered to have one. Of these some (about British Museum, a smaller others in various Italian continental and English particularly that of Mr. Wil last the South Kensington e Leeds Art Exhibition is greatly enriched, these curious tolerably familiar to many of is, however, in the Kirchin that of the Propaganda, and Vatican at Rome, that the re preserved. From these from the works of Aringhi, i, &c., Padre Garrucci drew on the subject, entitled *Terzaro*, fol. with 42 plates, containing about 320 specimens, many, its fragmentary and of little edition appeared in Rome in much enlarged) in 1864. As down of them is contained in ch has been also used in illustrations in this Dictionary, notice may suffice for the part of these glasses are bottoms of drinking cups (the of them implying as much), in plates. "Their peculiarity," ecote and Brownlow, "consists been executed in gold leaf on f the cup, in such a manner s of the cup, and letters should be seen from the gold leaf was protected by a ch was welded by fire, so as to ass with the cup. These cups, articles found in the catacombs, the still cement of the ve; and the double glass bottom plate," has resisted the action the thinner portion of the cup, ment and decay by standing out, has in almost every instance utli informs us that he found two entire, and his representation of given in Padre Garrucci's work, (Roma Sotterranea, p. 276).

† Sacro Catino di Genova, taken by the area in 1101, made of glass (now a single emerald) has been fabled to be a single emerald) has been fabled to be the Saviour's Last Supper, but although very ancient, its history is quite account of it is given in Murray's *Book Italy*, under "Genoa." † Others are described only; the genuine is suspected.

The cup, whose figure is referred to, is a species of cylix, with two small handles (their bases being recurved) at the sides, without a stem: upon its flat bottom are two three-quarter-length figures in a medallion, inscribed PETRVS, PAVLVS, the two apostles who, above all persons, are by far the most frequently represented in the glass of the catacombs. Garrucci figures a fragment of another vessel with channelled ribs, which must have been nearly of the shape of our tumblers (t. xxxvii. f. 9, b). He thinks that others must have been in the form of a half-egg (Pref. p. vii.). Many of the medallions found in the catacombs are of very small size, little more than an inch in diameter; these were long supposed to be centres of the bottoms of small drinking-cups, but the discovery in 1864 and 1865 of two flat gilded glass plates at Cologne (both broken) has revealed their real character.



Shallow Cylix, with Peter and Paul in gold leaf. (Garrucci, from Bollett.)

On one of these plates, found near the church of St. Severinus, about 10 inches in diameter, made of clear glass, were "inserted, while in a state of fusion, a number of small medallions of green glass exactly similar to those found in Rome, and which together form a series of scriptural subjects." These medallions being of double glass

¹ The pattern found near the church of St. Ursula differs from the other discovered two years before, in having the subjects depicted in gold and colours on the surface of the glass instead of being within medallions of double glass. The drawing is also of a better style of art. It is now in the Sibde Collection" (Brownlow and Northcote, u. s. p. 277, 284; figured in *Catalogue of Sibde Collection*, p. 60). The subjects represented on this glass are Moses at the Red Sea, Jonah, Daniel in the lions' den, the three children in the fiery furnace, the sacrifice of Isaac, the Nativity, and the healing of the man sick of the palsy.

² A figure of the two fragments of this plate is given by Messrs. Brownlow and Northcote, u. s. p. 290. They

have resisted the ravages of time and accidents, which have destroyed the more thin and fragile glass of the *patena*. De Rossi has seen in the plaster of local in the catacombs the impression of large plates of this description, which have probably perished in the attempt to detach them from the cement" (Brownlow and Northcote, u. s. p. 291).

The cups, whose bottoms (or parts of them) now remain, were of various dimensions; the largest hitherto found have medallions of about five inches in diameter, others are about half that size: around the painted part there was a margin of plain glass. Sometimes, but very rarely as it would seem, the side of the cup as well as the bottom was ornamented with figures in gold leaf. Garrucci figures one fragment of such a side which is preserved in the Kircherian Museum³ (t. xxxix. f. 9). The figures on the gold leaf were rendered more distinct by edging the outlines and other parts with dark lines; and other colours as green, white, and red of various tints were sparingly introduced: also on the outside of the glass bottoms various colours are found, especially azure, also green, violet, indigo, and crimson (Garrucci, Pref. p. vii.).⁴

The subjects represented on these glasses may now be considered. A few of them are taken from the classical mythology or represent secular subjects, whether games or trades, and these may probably not have been the works of Christian artists at all.⁵ It is indeed an unexplained

contain twenty medallions. Eight of these have only a star in the centre. Three others appear to have the three children in the Babylonian furnace, one figure in such medallion. Four others have the history of Jonah in as many parts—in the ship; under the gourd; swallowed by the whale; and vomited out by the same. Another gives Adam and Eve, the serpent round the tree being between them. The interpretation of the others is less certain. One has a figure holding a rod, which is supposed to be the Saviour; probably another medallion contained Lazarus. It is in the possession of Mr. Peyss of Cologne. See De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crit.* 1864, pp. 80-91, and a beautiful figure in gold and colour.

³ He observes "è l'unico esempio di figura dipinta intorno al corpo di una tazza e non sul fondo. . . l'aspetto presenta poi l'estremo lembo di un pallio orlato di una striscia di porpora, e notato ancora dal segno ☩ in color di porpora" p. 82.

⁴ The figures in Garrucci's work are uncoloured, at least no coloured copy has been seen by the writer. In Messrs. Brownlow and Northcote's work, so often laid under contribution, are two beautiful plates (xvii. and xviii.) shewing the pale bluish colour of the glass and the pencilling of the gold leaf with deep green. Martigny gives examples of the use of colour in the following specimens, figured by Perret, vol. iv. Purple in bands on the drapery (pl. xxxiii. 114); green in the sea-waves (xxix. 76); flesh-colour in the face of the Saviour (xxviii. 102). Silver is occasionally used for white garments and the bandages of a corpse (Lazarus). In other cases we have gold or silver figures on an azure ground (*ibid.* p. 278).

⁵ Garrucci and Wiseman consider this art to have been exercised by the Christians alone; but this is both *primæ facie* improbable and does not very well accord with the existence of pagan types on some specimens "such as no Christian artist of the early æra would ever have thought of depicting," being wholly incapable of any Christian adaptation. See Brownlow and Northcote, u. s. p. 274. It must be confessed, however, that Garrucci (pref. p. xiv.) is able to refer to a silver caelée bearing Christian elements and also a triton and a herald; as well as to Sidonius

redemption to Adam
snac; Moses striking
sick man to carry his
(*id. t. i. f. 3*).
a single subject occu-
ss. Thus we have on
e Good Shepherd bear-



merit. (Garrucci.)

ers, with a sheep and tree
used in a circle; and the
in another circle outside,
IC META TON CUN
BIOT?), i.e. *Drink, Pupa,*
with all yours! long life to
assa (*t. vi. f. 9*) occurs the
a little differently, with
e Latin legend: *DIGNITAS*
TVIS FELICITER, i.e. *Here's*
may you live happily with
antorum, a frequently re-
on these glasses, is thought
digni amici, the form in



Water into Wine. (Garrucci.)

most drank his friends' health
(*f. 7*), bearing the same subject
are, we have the legend: *BIBAT*
TVIS IN PACE DEI CONCORDIA, a
dentals being enclosed in an oblong
On another, Christ is repre-
length in the midst of seven water

pets (for the six of the Gospel are invariably
changed into seven, probably from a symbolical
feeling, and with a secret reference to the
ecclesiast), surrounded by the legend *DIGNITAS*
AMICORVM VIVAS IM (sic) PACE DEI ZESES:
where *vivas* may either be taken for *bas*, or
which seems better) *zeses* may be regarded as
a superfluous repetition of *vivas* (*t. vii. f. 2*).

It will now probably be thought sufficient to
indicate briefly the subjects from the Old Testam-
ent including the Apocrypha and from the
New, which can be recognised with certainty or
probability upon these glasses, excluding those
on the Cologne fragments. They are all con-
tained in the first eight plates of Garrucci's
work, but are here set down nearly in their
Biblical order. Adam and Eve; Noah in the
Ark; Sacrifice of Isaac; Joseph in the pit (?);
Moses striking the rock; Moses lifting up the
brazen serpent (?); the candlestick and other
instruments of Mosaic worship; the Spies bear-
ing the grapes of Canaan; Joshua commanding
the Sun to stand still (?); Jonah's history (in
several parts); the Three Children in Nebu-
chadnezzar's furnace; Daniel and the Lions;
Daniel destroying the Dragon; Susannah and
the Elders (?); Tobit and the Fish.

The Wise Men offering gifts (?); Christ turn-
ing water into wine; Christ healing the sick of
the palsy; Christ multiplying the seven loaves;
Christ raising Lazarus; Christ as the Good
Shepherd.

The chrisma or monogram of Christ is also of
frequent occurrence, sometimes in connection
with Saints, sometimes interposed between a
husband and wife, sometimes between a and ω
(*serv. i. vii. xi. xiv. xvii. xx. xxv. xxvi. xxix.*
xxiii.).

The only representation of the Crucifixion
(*t. xi. 1*) is considered to be false.

"The Blessed Virgin is represented sometimes
alone, with her name (MARIA) over her head,
praying between two olive-trees, sometimes with
the apostles Peter and Paul on either side of her;
sometimes accompanied by the virgin martyr
St. Agnes" (Brownlow and Northcote, *u. s.*
p. 289). The apostles most frequently repre-
sented (on more than seventy glasses) are St.
Peter and St. Paul, their names being added;
sometimes singly, more often conjointly. "The
two apostles are represented side by side, some-
times standing, sometimes seated. In some in-
stances Christ is represented in the air . . .
holding over the head of each a crown of vic-
tory; or in other instances a single crown is
suspended between the two, as if to show that
in their death they were not divided. This
crown becomes sometimes a circle surrounding
the labarum or chrisma, which is often sup-
ported on a pillar, thus symbolising 'the pillar
and ground of the truth'" (Brownlow and
Northcote, *u. s. p. 285*).^a We have also single

^a These learned writers try to persuade themselves
that these glasses give us real portraits of the apostles,
"excepting a few which are of very inferior execution."
They rely principally on their resemblance to a brnze
medal said to have been found in the cemetery of Domi-
tilla, now in the Vatican, of which they give a beautiful
figure (*pl. xvii*), and which they say "has every appear-
ance of having been executed in the time of the Flavian
emperors, when Greek art still flourished in Rome."
In Rome, who also figures this medal (*Bull. Arch. Critic.*

examples of the names of John, Thomas, Phillip,
and Jude, most probably the apostles; and two
or three other names which occur in the New
Testament, are also found: Lucas, Silvanus, Timo-
theus, Stephen (written Istephanus); these are
probably the same persons whose names are men-
tioned in the New Testament. (For the glasses
on which these names occur, see Garrucci's *Index*,
p. 109.)

There are, besides the persons mentioned in
Scripture, a good many others which are of note
in ecclesiastical history. St. Agnes occurs more
than a dozen times, St. Laurence seven times,
and St. Hippolytus four times; the following
among others occur less frequently, St. Callis-
tus, St. Cyprian, and St. Marcellinus, the last
of whom was martyred under Diocletian, A.D. 304
(see Garrucci's *Index*, as above). Besides these,
many other proper names, probably of the pos-
sessor, occur either along with their miniatures
or without them (see Garrucci's *Index*, as before).
There is nothing which deserves to be called a real
portrait in any of these representations, which
are mostly, perhaps all, executed in the debased
style of the 4th century; and as the saints have
no emblems attached their figures have but little
interest. We have also on these glasses scenes
of domestic Christian life—married life, and
family life. The occurrence of the chrisma
makes their Christian character certain: where
this or the name of Christ or God does not occur,
it is rash to say anything definite (Garrucci,
tabv. xxvi.—xxxix.).

A few more words may suffice for the inscrip-
tions. The acclamations, of which several speci-
mens have been given, are mostly of a convivial
character, and either in Greek (rarely), or in
Latin (most usually), or in a mixture of the
two (not infrequently); none of them at all
favour the supposition that they were used as
chalices. Other acclamations, as *VIVATIS IN DEO*;
and *MARTYRA EFFICETE VIVATIS*, express good
wishes to the married couple (*id. t. xxvi. 11, 12*).
On a very few of the glasses we have, as it ap-
pears, invocations of saints or legends which
acknowledge their patronage. Thus a broken
fragment has *PETRVS PROTEG*; whether any
letters followed, it is impossible to say: the
word may either be *protegit* or *protegit* or even
protege (*id. t. x. f. 1*). Another fine but men-
fragment exhibits the Saviour (apparently) with
the chrisma and the α and ω , bearing a Latin
cross with legend, . . . ANE (*Salviane*, or some
other proper name) *VIVAS IN CN[ISTO ET] LAV-*
RENTIO (*id. t. xx. f. 1*). Another (*u. s. f. 2*),
which is also broken, but slightly, has *VITO* (or perhaps
VICTOR) [*VIVAS IN NOMINE LAVRETI* (for *Lau-*
renti)]. The inscription *PETRVS*, written in two
instances against Moses striking the rock (*id. t. 1*

Nov. 1861), thinks it is of the second or third century.
Notwithstanding these high but somewhat discordant
authorities, the writer ventures to express his own strong
suspicion that the style of the metal bespeaks the age of
the Renaissance: it is most probably of the 15th century
or thereabouts.

• We give here two or three of this mixed character.
CVM TVIS FELICITER ZESES (Garr. *t. xii. 1*); *DIGNITAS*
AMICORVM PIR ZESES CVM TVIS OMNIVS RISIT ET PROPI-
PIA (*id. t. xii. 2*). (Both the above glasses have figures of
Peter and Paul, with their names added). On the same
plate are other examples of bilingual redundancy: such
as—*VIVAS PIR ZESES, VIVAS CVM TVIS ZESES*.

2. 9; Brownlow and Northcote, u. s. p. xvii. 2, and p. 287.) is also of some theological importance as indicating that Peter was then looked upon as the Moses of the new Israel of God, as Prudentius speaks. The honour, however, appears to be divided between Peter and Paul on another glass, unfortunately mutilated. Christ stands on a hill between Peter and Paul. Above is the common legend *PIE ZEVES*; below are the words *IERSVALE*. *IORDANES*. *BECELE* (for *Bethlehem*, C. - Ø?). Peter is here the apostle (for the Jews, Paul of the Gentiles, who first worshipped the Saviour at Bethlehem. Below are sheep adoring the Lamb on a hill between them, sheep adoring both churches (Garrucci, t. x. f. 8.)

The orthography of the legends is sometimes barbarous. This Jesus is written *ZESVS* (viii. 5); *ZESVS* (vii. 17), &c. *CHRISTVS* is spelt *CHRISTVS* (viii. 2); *HIPPOLVTVS*, *EPHOCIVS* becomes *TIMOTHEVS* (xvii. 2); *HIPPOLVTVS*, *EPHOCIVS* (xix. 7), or *IPOLVTVS* (xv. 5); *CYPRIVANVS* (xix. 6); *SYCVINVS*, *TZVCINVS* (xxviii. 6); *SEVERE*, *SRBERE* (xxix. 5); *PHILIPPVS*, *FILVVS* (xv. 6). We have also *BIVAS* for *VIVAS* (vi. 7); *VIVATVS* for *VIVATVS* (xxix. 4); *IN PACE* for *IN PACE* (vii. 2, xv. 3); *PIE* for *PIE*



The Adoration of the Saviour. (Garrucci.)

(l. 3, &c.); *PIEZ* for *PIVS* (xxvi. 10). There are a few other instances of similar orthographic changes, to say nothing of such blunders as *DIGNITIVS* for *DIGNITAS*, and *CRITVVS* for *CRISTVS* (*Christus*) (Garr. p. 53).

The dates of these works are defined to some extent by their subjects. On one of them (xxiii. 5) a heap of money is depicted, among which we recognise the coins of Caracalla and one of the *Faustinas*. On another, as has been said, occurs the name of Marcellinus, probably the bishop of Rome, martyred A.D. 304. The martyrdom of St. Agnes, who is so often represented, probably took place about the same time. The appearance of the dress, arrangement of the hair, and of the general art and orthography induces Garrucci (*Prof.* p. ix.) to consider them all anterior to Theodosius (A.D. 380). De Rossi attempts a

Garrucci lays stress on this orthography for fixing the date: "questa maniera di scrittura costantemente al secolo quarto" (*prof.* p. ix.). He appears to consider that these glasses all belong to that century.

The martyrdoms of Vincentius and of Genesius, whose names singularly occur, also took place under Diocletian (Garrucci, *prof.* pp. viii. ix.).

more precise limitation, and thinks that they range from the middle of the 3rd to the beginning of the 4th century (Brownlow and Northcote, u. s. p. 279). We shall probably be not far wrong in saying that few or none of them are much earlier or later than the 4th century. The art of the coins of that century, as well as of the MS. illuminations which are assigned to about the same age, strongly remind us of these glasses, more especially of those on which the *chrisma* is depicted. The execution of some glasses is indeed better than that of others, and occasionally reaches considerable excellence; but to speak generally, they belong to a period in which taste and vigour and correctness of drawing have sensibly declined. They possess, however, apart from their main subjects, much interest as showing the styles of borders and other ornamentations then prevalent, besides giving costume and a variety of domestic objects.

With regard to the uses of these glasses a consideration of the types, coupled with the inscriptions, will lead us to secure conclusions. Even if it were well established that in Tertullian's

Mr. Marriot (*Testim. of the Catacombs*, p. 16), after observing that "these glasses with few exceptions, belong to a period of very degraded art," considers that "there are very strong reasons, for assigning many of them to the use of the nimbus," in reference to the 6th century. But if these glasses were found in the catacombs, it is hardly possible to place any of them later than the first quarter of the 5th century: after the year 410 no inscriptions occur in the catacombs, and they have become rarer and rarer from the beginning of the last quarter of the 4th century. See *Inscriptions of the last quarter of the 4th century*, in *Ann. Hist.* It is true that "Pope's Symmachus Vigilius and his ill did their best to repair the damage towards and others" in restoring the inscriptions of Pope Damasus, but they would scarcely have replaced the glass vessels which had been stuck into the cement which closed the graves. See Brownlow and Northcote, u. s. p. 170.

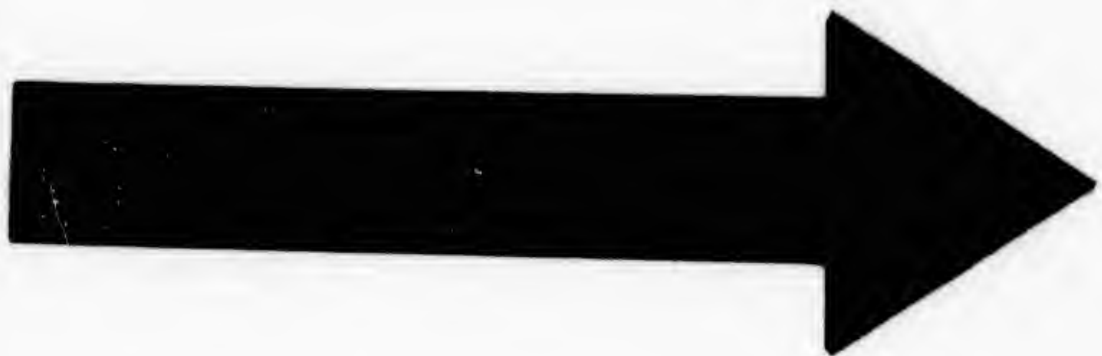
The *chrisma* with the *a* and *s* (xxix. 1) is identical in treatment with the same types upon the coins of Constantius II., Magnentius, and Decentius. And this monogram, whenever it occurs, with scarcely an exception (see, however, xvii. 7, where the general style and art differ also), is of the same form (P) that is usual on the coins of the fourth century: another form (Q) is said to occur on a coin of Licinius Jun. (Garrucci, *Numism. Constantinian.* p. 102; appendix to his *Vetri Ornati*).

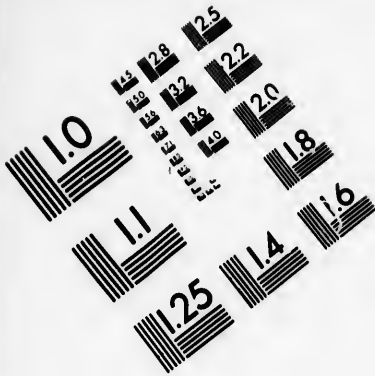
Martigny observes that those of the best work (including the Good Shepherd, Garr. vii. 1, reproduced here, which is perhaps the best executed of all and the oldest) have Greek legends, being probably the work of Greek artists (*Dict.* p. 279).

It is altogether certain that *calices* are chalice for the communion? St. Ambrose speaks of those "qui calices ad sepulchra martyrum deferunt *atque illic in vesperam bibunt*" (*De obseq. et sac. potest.*). If not, it is alluding to that Tertullian is alluding to some such glasses as these: but scarcely any which remain to us can be so early as A.D. 200. Chrysostom (*Hom. in S. Mel.*) says that the portrait of Meletius was depicted in *κεράματα* and *φύλλα*; such vessels may possibly have been similar to those of which we have specimens; if so, the art will probably be Asiatic as well as European. We have indeed a bottom of a small glass vessel which simply reads *MELETI* (for *Meletis* probably) *IN LOIS ANIMA* (xxviii. 4): yet this can hardly be the same person; it may be a present from a parent to a child, or the like. The remark of Cardinal Wiseman appears to be well founded, that "not a single author, certainly not a single profane author, mentions the

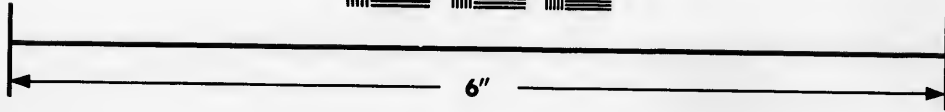
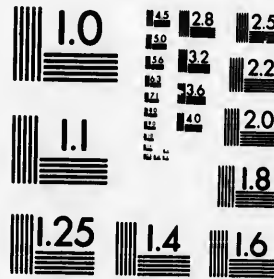
time the possibly calices pretio, is certain type or the concunial, ritual, meetings Such we rations riages. these gla be, in th Paul (so " observ the tour u. s. p. 2 Augustin mother (pocilian martyrs haps betr be comm With which h ones at of entire obvious be that tivities employe u. s. p. 2 Saints, a bread an reasona purpose used in which w erer, as them by Northcot some of (u. s. p. 7. Zep tation of glass par front of nuss wit that in ceire the Messrs. L. this pass the tu correspond tioned. of any al inscription with so fairly pr found in may also

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blessing the twelve apostles; a third, probably Christian, has a frog, which was sometimes taken as a symbol of the Resurrection, being found on a Christian lamp, accompanied by a cross and the inscription, ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΣ (Chabouillet, nos. 3474, 3473, 3453). M. Le Blant has a small oblong glass plaque, which he acquired in Rome, which was once, he thinks, part of an ancient Christian necklace; it bears

O M N
I B V S

in golden characters the word in two lines, enclosed in a parallelogram and a crenulated outer margin. He regards it as a "concise expression of the charity which should unite all men" (*Insc. Chrét. de la Grèce*, vol. i. p. 43, with a figure). The British Museum and the French Collection contain various other Christian works in this material, some of which are more or less similar to those which have been already described, or to the Byzantine piece named under GEMS; but as they are of uncertain date (perhaps none of them being earlier than the 9th century, while some may probably be much later) they need hardly be mentioned here.

(v.) *Mosaics*.—Glass, in fine, was employed from very early times in the construction of mosaics. The cubes were sometimes coloured; sometimes, in the ages of the Lower Empire, underlaid with a ground of gold or silver leaf, "by this means shedding over the large works of the artists in mosaic a splendour before unknown" (Labarte, u. s. p. 94). See MOSAICS.

[C. B.]

GLEBE. The word *Gleba* is used for a farm or estate in the Theodosian Codex (*Leg. 72, De Decurion.*); but the technical sense in which it is used by English writers, to designate certain lands belonging to an ecclesiastical benefice, is later than our period. See ENDOWMENT, PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.

[C.]

GLORIA. [NIMBUS.]

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS. There is considerable difficulty in tracing out the history of this hymn, because at one period both it and the *SANCTUS* were entitled indiscriminately *Hymnus Angelicus*. In later years the latter is called *Hymnus Seraphicus*; whilst the title *Hymnus Angelicus* or *Hymnus Angelorum* is confined to the former. The hymn is found in various forms.

1. We have simply the words of St. Luke, ii. 14. This is of course the primitive form, everything that has been added to it having been composed,—as the 4th council of Toledo (A.D. 633, *Mansi*, x. 623) reminds us,—by the ecclesiastical doctors. For this reason the council would not allow any expanded form to be sung in the churches. In this short form the words were recited by the priest, according to the liturgy of St. James, when the priest "sealed" the gifts. (Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, iv. 103.) The same simple form may be seen elsewhere: and is continued to this day in the

† A bust of the Saviour (to be compared with the earlier Byzantine coins) on a circular plaque of blue glass (14 inch in diameter) brought from Constantinople, now in the Museo Collection; and a paste polychrome rosette, inscribed BENEDICAT NOS D^s (Chabouillet, n. 3478) may probably not be later than that century.

morning service of the Horology (p. 35, ed. Venice, 1870).

2. The seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, c. 47, contains an enlarged form of the hymn,—without any introduction in the oldest manuscript; but two, of the 14th and 16th century respectively, entitle the chapter "Morning Prayer." (Lagarde, p. 229.) This version has a peculiar reading: "We worship Thee through the great High Priest, Thee who art one God, unbegotten, alone, inapproachable." We read "O Lord, only begotten Son, Jesus Christ, and Holy Spirit." The hymn ends "Thou only art holy, Thou only art Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen."

3. The treatise which is ascribed to Athanasius "de Virginitate" (Migne, xxviii. 251) is undoubtedly spurious, but it gives some insight into the life of a Greek virgin, within our chronological limits. In § 20 (Migne, ut sup. 275) we read "In the morning, say the Psalm O God, my God, early will I seek Thee (Psalm lxxi). At dawn, the 'Benedicite' and Glory to God in the Highest, and the rest." This is the reading of the Basle and English MSS. But others proceed with the first three clauses: "We hymn Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, and the rest." As this difference of the text may be due to a late interpolation, we are left in uncertainty as to the words of the hymn when this treatise was composed. (Mr. Palmer, *Orig. Liturg.* ii. 138 does not note the doubts regarding this passage.)

4. The famous *Codex Alexandrinus* in the British Museum, of the close of the 5th century, puts some of our doubts at rest. This manuscript, after the psalms, contains the thirteen canticles of the Greek church: i. the song of Moses in Exodus; ii. ditto in Deuteronomy; iii. the prayer of Hannah; iv. prayer of Isaiah (xxvi. 9-20); v. prayer of Jonah; vi. of Habakkuk; vii. of Hezekiah (Isaiah, xxxiii.); viii. of Manasseh; ix. prayer of the three children (εὐλόγητος, Daniel iii. 28); x. hymn of the three children (our *Benedicite*) entitled "Hymn of our fathers;" xi. prayer of Mary, the Mother of God; xii. of Symeon; xiii. of Zachariah (compare CANTICLES). These conclude with the Gloria in Excelsis in Greek, the hymn being entitled *Ἕμνος ἐξουθενός*. This version has been often printed, as by Usher, in his tract *De symeonis Romano*; Bunsen, *Anecdota anto-Nicena*, iii. 8; Dr. Campion, *Interleaved Prayer Book*, 1873, p. 321. It differs slightly from the version of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and proceeds with words which distinctively mark it as a morning hymn, some of which words have passed into our Te Deum. It is thus found in the beautiful Zurich psalter reprinted by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta Sacra*, and in other great psalters; and in a form very nearly resembling this, it is met in the Greek communion to this day (*Horology*, ut sup. pp. 69, 70).

5. A Latin translation of this Greek version of the "Gloria in Excelsis," adapted for evening prayer, is contained in the book of hymns of the ancient Irish church, which once belonged to Archbishop Usher, and which has been edited by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society by Dr. Todd (part ii. p. 179). In the famous *Bezae* antiphony discovered at Milan by Muratori, and reprinted imperfectly by him in his *Anecdota*, tom. iv. pp. 121, &c. (see Migne, tom. 72) it

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and at the very end "ad vesperum et ad matutium: Gloria In Excelsis Deo et in terra pax &c." but Muratori unhappily did not copy it out. Thus we are ignorant of the text. However, the hymn given by Thomasius (*Psalterium cum antiochia*, Rom. 1697, p. 76), or Oper. tom. iii. p. 613) as the *Hymnus Anselmi* of the Ambrosian Breviary, is another and independent translation of the Greek form of the hymn. It was directed to be used daily at matins.

6. Thus it seems clear that when the well known Latin form of the hymn was inserted in the Latin psalters, it was used in the daily or weekly hour services of the clergy. We have additional evidence of this in the rule of Caesarius, c. xxi. and in that of Aurelianus. It is there ordered to be used at matins on Sundays.

7. This Latin form Bunsen considered to have been as old as Hilary of Poitiers, to whom indeed Aleuin ascribed the additions to the scripture words. The Roman Catholic ritualists are not satisfied with the testimony of Aleuin, and seem to consider that the hymn in the modern Latin form is of more recent origin. Yet it is found in this form in a very interesting manuscript in the British Museum—Royal 2 A xx.—which is of the eighth century: in the famous *Codex Bobiensis*, from which Mabillon extracted the "Sacramentarium Gallicanum" (*Museum Italicum*, i. 273; Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* ii. 776; or Migne, 72, p. 455): in the so-called Mozarabic liturgy ascribed to St. Isidore (see Migne, 85, p. 531) and in a form very slightly different in the Gothic breviary (Migne, 86, p. 888).

8. The first introduction of the "Gloria in Excelsis" into the Eucharistic service has been ascribed to Telesphorus, but no confidence can be placed in the tradition. The sacramentary of Gregory directed that a bishop might use the "Gloria in Excelsis" on all Sundays and festivals: a presbyter only at Easter. This rule continued long in the Roman church, and constituted one point of difference between the Roman and Gallican churches, in the latter of which no such difference between bishop and presbyter had been observed. Etherius and Beatus shew that in Spain they always sang it on Sundays and festivals; but they quote only the scriptural words, and if we bear in mind the decree of Toledo, we may suppose that only these words were used (the Mozarabic liturgy shews many marks of interpolations). In the liturgies the hymn was generally sung at the commencement of the service; but Mr. Palmer notes that in the Gallican sacramentary (see above) it was used amongst the thanksgivings after communion.

9. The absence of the hymn from St. Germain's account of the Gallican liturgy has been noted. He says that the words at the end of the gospel, "Glory be to Thee O Lord," were uttered in imitation (?) of the angels' words "Glory to God in the highest" (clamantibus clericis Gloria tibi Domine in specie angelorum qui nascente Domino Gloria in excelsis pastoribus apparentibus cecinerunt. Migne, 72, p. 91). St. Germain died about the year 585 or 587. This seems to give a superior limit to its introduction into the eucharistic service.

10. It is worthy of notice that whilst the Alexandrine manuscript has in the text of St. CHRIST. ANT.

Luke εὐδοκίας (the reading of N* P* D) yet in the morning hymn it as well as all the other copies of the hymn read εὐδοκία. [C. A. S.]

GLORIA PATRI [DOXOLOGIA.]

6. GLOVES. (χειροσθῆναι: Chirotheca, Gantus, Gwantus, Vantus, Wantus, Wanto.) It would seem that gloves in the strict sense of the word were unknown to the early Greeks and Romans. (See on this point Casaubon's *Animadv. in Athenæum*, xii. 2.) That they were in use, however, among the ancient Persians appears from Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, viii. 8. 17). The European custom of wearing them seems to have originated with the German nations, as the Teutonic origin of the common Latin word for them clearly shews; and although, as an ecclesiastical vestment, properly so called, gloves do not appear till the 12th century (the first extant mention of them in that character being in Honorius Augustodunensis, ob. circa 1152 A.D.), they had been used for centuries in articles of practical convenience. Thus we find them mentioned in the life of St. Columbanus, by Jonas Bobbiensis (formerly included among the works of Bede)—"tegmentum manuum quae Galli wantos vocant" (*Vita S. Columbani*, c. 25; *Patrol.* lxxxvii. 1026). In the above instance, the gloves are spoken of as used "ad operum laboris," but sometimes they were obviously of a costly nature, for in the will of Riculfus, bishop of Helena (ob. 915 A.D.), in a long list of valuable articles, he mentions "annulum aureum unum cum gemmis pretiosis et vnanctos parianum" (*Patrol.* cxxii. 468).

The employment of a glove in connection with the granting or bequeathing of land, is a custom which hardly falls within our present limits: an example may, however, be given. (See Notgeri Leodiensis [ob. 1008 A.D.] *Vita S. Hadilini*, c. 10; *Patrol.* cxxxix. 1146; also Martene, *Anecd.* i. 57.) For further early references to the subject of gloves, see Ducange's *Glossarium*, s. vv.

[R. S.]

GLYCERIA, martyr A. D. 141; commemorated May 13 (*Cat. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

GNOSTIC. [FAITHFUL.]

GOAR, presbyter and confessor at Treves (ssec. vi.); "natalis" July 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi); deposition July 6 (*Mart. Adonis*). [W. F. G.]

GOD THE FATHER, REPRESENTATIONS OF.

For the first four centuries, at least, no attempt was made at representing the actual Presence of the First Person of the Trinity. It was indicated invariably by the symbolic HAND proceeding from a cloud. Martigny quotes the words of St. Augustine (*Epist.* cxlviii. 4), "Quum audimus manus, operationem intelligere debemus," from which it would seem that the great father saw a tendency to anthropomorphic mis-application of the words hand and eye, or ear of God, as they are frequently used in the Old Testament. The distinction between analogy and similitude has been so often neglected, that bodily parts as well as passions (like those of anger, repentance, &c.) are often attributed to

* Most representations of the living presence have their proper place under the word TETRART.

the incorporeal and infinite being. This has been repeatedly noticed, as (c. g.) by Drs. Whately and Mansel. St. Augustine's expressions show that he was thoroughly awake to the misconception, and consequent irreverence, involved in the forgetful use of such terms as the Divine hand or eye for the Divine power or knowledge. "Quidquid," he says, "dum ista cogitas, corporee similitudinis occurrerit, abige, abnege, nega, respice, fuge."

The symbolic hand appears in Christian representations of several subjects from the Old Testament, principally connected with events in the lives of Abraham and Moses. The two are found corresponding to each other in Bottari (*Sculture e Pitt. sigre*, vol. i. tav. 27; also i. tav. 89). Moses is receiving the book of the law in i. tav. 128. Elsewhere Abraham is alone (vol. ii. tav. 59, and i. tav. 33, from the Callixtine catacomb). In vol. iii. 37 (from cemetery of St. Agnes), the Deity appears to be represented in human form. He is delivering to Adam and Eve respectively the ears of corn and the lamb, as tokens of the labours of their fallow state, and their sentence to "delve and spin." See also Buonarrotti, p. 1. Cardinal Bosio, and latterly M. Perret (vol. i. 57 pl.), give a copy of a painting of Moses striking the rock, and also in the act of loosening the shoe from his foot. Ciampini's plates (*Vol. Mon. t. ii. pp. 81, tav. xxiv. also tavv. xvii. and xx. tav. xvii. D.*) are important illustrations of this symbol, more especially those of the mosaic of the Transfiguration in St. Apollinaris in Classe, and of the Sacrifice of Isaac in St. Vitale. The author does not find the hand as representing the First Person of the Trinity in pictures of the baptism of our Lord; but it probably occurs in that connexion.

The hand proceeding from clouds appears in the Sacramentary written for Drogon bishop of Metz, and son of Charlemagne, above the Canon of the Mass.

The Creator is represented in the MS. of Aquino. See Westwood's *Palaographia Sacra*. [R. St. J. T.]

GODFATHERS. [SPONSORS.]

GOLDEN NUMBER. [EASTER.]

GOOD FRIDAY. The anniversary of Christ's Passion and Death was from very early times observed with great solemnity by the church. It was known by various names, *ἡμέρα τοῦ σταυροῦ, σαρπηλία, or τὰ σωτήρια; πάσχα σταυρώσεως*, in contrast to *πάσχα ἀναστάσεως*, Easter Day; or, adopting the Jewish designation (Joh. xix. 14, 31, 42), *καρσάκευθ*, either alone, or with the adjectives *μεγάλη, or ἁγία*: in the Latin church *Parascove, Feria Sexta in Parascove (Antiphonar. Gregor.), Sexta Feria Major, in Hierusalem (Sacramentar. Gregor.)*. The day was observed as a strict fast, which was continued by those who could endure it to beyond midnight on the following day (*Apost. Constit. v. 18*). The fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633, severely condemned those who ended their fast on this day at 3 P.M. and then indulged in feasting, and ordered that all save the very young and the very old and the sick should abstain from all food till after the services of the day were concluded. All who refused obedience to this rule were denied a participation in the

Paschal Eucharist (can. viii.; Labbe, *Concil. v. 1707*). Not food alone, but the use of oil and the bath were forbidden by a canon of Gangra (*Nomocanon, can. 434, apud Coteler. Eccl. Græc. Monum. i. 138*) with the indignant apostrophe, *Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ καὶ οὐ ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ*; In process of time the day came to be distinguished by a peculiar ritual and customs marking the solemn character of the day. The bells were silent from the midnight of Wednesday (*Ordo Roman. apud Muratori, ii. 714*). The kiss of peace was prohibited (*Tert. de Ord. 18*). The altar was stripped of its ornaments, and even of its covering. The processions were without chanting (*Sacram. Gelas. Muratori i. 559*). The lamps and candles were gradually extinguished during matins (*Ordo Roman. u. s.*). A long series of intercessory collects was used. A cross was erected in front of the altar, blessed, and adored (*Sacram. Gelas. u. s.*). There was no consecration of the Lord's Supper, but the reserved eucharist of the previous day was partaken of by the faithful.

This communion subsequently received the name of "the Mass of the Presanctified," *Massa Presanctificatum*, but incorrectly, the term *Missal* usually implying consecration. Thus Amalaricus states that on Good Friday "the mass is not celebrated" (*de Eccl. Offic. iv. 20; Rah. Manr. de Instit. Cler. ii. 37; pseudo-Alcuin, Hittorp col. 251*). The reason of this prohibition of celebration is evident. The eucharist being the highest Christian feast, was deemed out of harmony with the penitential character of the day, for "how," says Balsamon (*Beræg. Panlect. i. 219*), "can one mourn and rejoice at the same time?" As early as the council of Laodicea, c. A.D. 365, this prohibition was extended to the whole of Lent, with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays (can. 49; Labbe *Concil. i. 1506*). In the letter to Decree attributed to Innocent I. c. A.D. 402, but probably written to be placed so early, the restriction was limited to Good Friday and Easter Eve, on which days the tradition of the church was that the sacraments were not to be celebrated at all; "isto die sacramenta penitus non celebrari" (Labbe *Concil. ii. 1246*). At this period there was no communion of any kind on Good Friday. How early the natural desire to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood on the day when it was offered for us on the cross, led to the reservation of the previously consecrated elements for the purpose of communion, we have no certain knowledge. It is evident from a decree of the 4th council of Toledo, A.D. 633, that in the first half of the seventh century, there was no celebration of the Lord's Supper on Good Friday in Spain. At that time it was a wide-spread custom, which the council condemned, to keep the doors of the churches closed on Good Friday, so that there was no divine service, nor any preaching of the Passion to the people. The council ordained that the Lord's death should be preached on that day, and that the people should pray for the pardon of their sins, that so they might be better fitted to celebrate the resurrection and partake of the eucharist at Easter (can. viii. Labbe *Concil. v. 1707*). We learn also from the acts of the 16th council, held sixty years later, A.D. 680, that on that day "the altars were stripped and no one was permitted to celebrate mass" (*Jb. ii.*

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1355). In the Greek church the custom of
 communicating in the previously consecrated
 elements was established before the middle of
 the seventh century, for we find it mentioned
 as a general practice during the whole of Lent,
 in the acts of the Trullan (or Quinlsex)
 council A.D. 692 (*can. 52, Labbe vi. 1165*). It
 first appears in the West in the *Regula Magistri*,
 a monastic rule compiled probably in the seventh
 century, printed by Broekie (*Codex Regul. I. li.*
p. 269). It was established in Rome before the
 end of the eighth century, when the ritual of
 Good Friday is prescribed in the *Ordo Romanus*
 (*Muratori Liturg. Rom. Vet. li. 995*). The observ-
 ance of Good Friday commenced at midnight, when
 all rose for service. Nine Psalms were said with
 their responses, these were followed by three
 lectures from the Lamentations, commencing
 Lam. li. 8, "Cogitavit Dominus dissipare;" three
 from the Tractatus of St. Augustine on Psalm
 53, and three from the Epistle to the Hebrews,
 beginning c. iv. 11, "Festinus ergo &c." *Martin*
 follows, during which the lights
 in the church were gradually extinguished,
 beginning at the entrance, until by the end of
 the third nocturn only the seven lamps burning
 at the altar were left alight. These were also
 put out, one by one, alternately right and left at
 the commencement of each Psalm, the middle
 lamp, the last left burning, being extinguished at
 the gospel. At the third hour all the presbyters
 and clergy of the city assembled in expectation
 of the pontiff. On his arrival the subdeacon
 commenced the lecture from Hosea v. 15, "Hae-
 licit Dominus Deus; In tribulatione sua, &c." *Martin*
 then was sung as an antiphon Hab. iii. 1-3,
 "Domine auidi, &c." After some prayers said
 by the pontiff and the second lecture, Exod. xii. 1,
 "In diebus illis dixit Dominus ad Moysen et
 Aaron, &c." *Px. xci. or xli.* was sung, and the
 Passion according to St. John was recited by the
 deacon. This over, two deacons strip the altar
 of the white linen cloth, previously put on
 "sub evangelio," in a stealthy manner,
 "in modum furantis." The pontiff came
 before the altar and recited a series of eighteen
 prayers, a portion of which form the basis of the
 Good Friday collects of the church of England.
 The first and last collect stand alone. The other
 sixteen are in pairs. Before each pair the deacon
 warned the people to kneel and after it to rise.
 "Advocant diaconus flectamus genua; iterum
 dict levate." These collects are—(1) for the
 peace and unity of the church; (2) for perse-
 verance in the faith; (3) for the pope and chief
 bishop (antistes); (4) for the bishops of their
 dioceses; (5) for all bishops, priests, deacons, sub-
 deacons, &c.; (6) for all orders of men in the
 holy church; (7) for the emperor; (8) for the
 Roman empire; (9) (10) for catechumens; (11)
 against sickness, famine, pestilence, and other
 evils; (12) for all in trouble; (13) (14) for
 heretics and schismatics; (15) (16) for Jews;
 (17) (18) for pagans and idolaters. A direction
 is given that the prayers for the Jews are not to
 be said kneeling. The collects are given in the
 Sacramentary of Gregory, as printed by Pamelius,
 and in that of Gelasius, as well as in the old
 Gallian missal. This last contains the direction
 to the celebrant "eodem die non salutat (i. e.
 does not say *pax vobiscum*), nec psallet." These
 collects finished, all were to leave the church

in silence: the presbyters going to perform the
 same service in their own churches.

"Adoration of the cross succeeds." The
 cross is placed a little distance in front of the
 altar, supported on either side by acolytes. A
 kneeling stool being placed in front, the pontiff
 kneels, and adores and kisses the cross, followed
 by the clergy and people in order. The Ambro-
 sian missal given by Pamelius contains four
 prayers for the ceremony: "Oratio super
 crucem;" "Benedictio crucis;" "Oratio ad
 crucem adorandam;" "Oratio post adoratam
 crucem." In the Antiphonarium of Gregory also
 given by Pamelius we have an "Antiphon ad
 crucem adorandam." The adoration of the cross
 was followed by the communion of the pre-
 sanctified. "Two presbyters enter the sacristy
 or other place in which the Body of the Lord
 which remained from the previous day was placed,
 and put it in a paten, and let a subdeacon hold
 before them a chalice with unconsecrated wine,
 and another the paten with the Body of the
 Lord. One presbyter takes the paten, the other
 the chalice, and they carry and set them on the
 strip altar" (*Orl. Rom. u. s.*). The cross is
 meanwhile saluted by the lady, while the
 hymn *Ecco lignum Crucis* is sung, and Ps. exix.
 recited. The salutation of the cross being com-
 pleted, the Lord's Prayer is recited, "and when
 they have said Amen the pontiff takes of
 the holy thing, and puts it into the chalice
 saying nothing (*nihil dicens*), and all communi-
 cate *cum silentio*." The rubrics of the Gelasian
 Sacramentary agree in the main with the *Ordo*,
 except that they speak of the reservation of the
 Blood as well as of the Body of the Lord, and
 direct that the reserved sacrament be brought
 out of the sacristy and set on the altar by
 deacons instead of presbyters. The adoration of
 the cross by the clergy succeeds the placing of
 the consecrated elements on the altar, and is
 followed by the actual communion (*Muratori u. s.*
i. 559, sq.) It merits notice that all early
 authorities prescribe a general communion on
 Good Friday, "all communicate silently." This
 custom had entirely ceased in Rome at the
 beginning of the 9th century (*Amalar. de Eccl.*
Off. i. 15), and though it lingered for a long time
 in some parts, it gradually died out in the West,
 and at the present day in the Roman church no
 one but the celebrant communicates on Good
 Friday. The pontiff pronounces peace to them
 "in the name of the Father, &c." The people
 answer, "and with thy spirit." "After a little
 space each says his vespers privately, and so they
 go to table" (*Muratori ii. 995-996*). [E. V.]

GOODS, COMMUNITY OF.

The idea that all property should belong to a community
 and not to individuals may be traced to a very
 high antiquity. The Pythagorean society is
 commonly supposed to have been constituted on
 the basis of a community of goods, though prob-
 ably only those who had reached the highest
 grade of the initiated renounced all private
 possessions (*Ritter and Preller, Hist. Phil., p. 58*).
 Plato, also, in his imaginary Republic, condemns
 the institution of private property in the
 strongest manner, as the source of all greed and
 meanness; he therefore allows it only to the
 third and lowest class of his citizens—those who
 are by nature qualified to seek only low and

maternal ends in life, and are consequently excluded from all share in the government of the state. The two higher classes are to live wholly for the state, a condition—the philosopher holds—incompatible with the possession of private property (*Politia*, iv., p. 421 c ff.; *Leges*, v. p. 739 n.).

To turn from heathen to Jewish social institutions, Josephus tells us (*Bellum Jud.* ii. 8, § 3) of the Essenes, that each member on entrance threw his goods into the common stock, so that there was found among them neither poverty nor riches. In like manner the Therapeutae on Lake Moeris had all things in common.

It was while the Therapeutae and Essenes were still flourishing communities that the gospel of Christ was first proclaimed. And here, too, we read of the earlier church of Jerusalem, that they "had all things common" (Acts ii. 44)—a passage which has often served fanatical sects as a justification of their communism. And yet it is clear from the book of the Acts itself that property made over to the community that property made over of a voluntary gift; those who entered the church were not deprived of the right to possess property (Acts v. 4); Ananias was not punished for failing to contribute the whole of his property, but for fraud and lying in pretending to give the whole while he only gave part.

In the apostolic age generally it is past all controversy that nothing like a community of goods existed in the church. The churches are evidently contemplated as containing the same variety of wealth and station as ordinary society; contributions are made of freewill; the rich are charged to "be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate;" the cheerful giver is commended (2 Cor. ix. 7; 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18). The disturbed state of the Thessalonians, and their unwillingness to labour while they expected the immediate advent of Christ, had (so far as appears) no connexion with any communistic views. Nor does the testimony of the next age favour the idea that the earliest Christian society was communistic. The writer of the *Epistle to Diognetus* (c. 5) speaks of a "common table," and no more. Tertullian, indeed (*Apolog.* c. 39), says, in so many words, that Christians had all things in common except their wives (*omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos praeter uxores*); but it is evident that this is nothing more than a characteristically violent expression for their mutual love and charity; for in the very same chapter he states expressly, that the contributions of the brethren to the common fund were wholly voluntary (*modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit*). Lactantius (*Epit. Div. Instit.* c. 38) especially condemns communism as one of the cardinal vices of Plato's Republic, which he would hardly have done if he had supposed the same principle to have animated the first society of believers. The interpretation of Acts ii. 44 as relating to an absolute community of goods seems in fact to have taken its rise from Chrysostom (*Hom. xi. in Act. App.*). Some writers in modern times have seen in this supposed communism of the early Christians at Jerusalem an indication of an Essene influence. (See against this view Von Wegnern, in *Illgen's Zeitschrift* xi. 2. p. 1 ff.)

As, however, within the church so strong an expression was given to the duty of mutual love and succour, and of the brotherhood of man in Christ, it could scarcely fail but that here and there enthusiastic sects would exaggerate and develop these principles into absolute renunciation of property. This was in fact the case. During the ecclesiastical troubles in Africa in the 4th century, the Donatists were never weary of reproaching their orthodox opponents with the wealth and power which they derived from their connexion with the state. Some of their own adherents, in consequence of these denunciations, renounced private possessions altogether—a renunciation which led to vagabondage and mendicancy rather than to holiness. These **CIRCUMCELLIONS**—as they came to be called—became the nucleus of a band of discontented peasants and runaway slaves, whose excesses at last required the forcible interference of the government to put them down. And other sects also rejected the idea of property; the Apotactici or Apostolici, as they arrogantly called themselves (says St. Augustine, *De Haeres.* c. 40), admitted none into their community who lived with wives or possessed private property (*res proprias habentes*); and, a common characteristic of heresy, denied salvation to all outside their own sect. The Eustathians also, who were condemned at the council of Gangra about the year 370 (*Conc. Gangr. Praef.*) held that those who did not give up their private wealth were beyond all hope of salvation. The laws of the empire imposed upon *Apotactici* the same penalties that were laid upon other heretics, except the confiscation of goods; they could not be deprived of that which they had already renounced (*Colect. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. 5, *de Heret.* li. 7 et 11).

When Pachomius († 348) first drew together into one body [**COENONIUM**] a number of anchorites and wandering mendicants at Tabenne in Upper Egypt, he instituted a system of organized labour and common participation in the fruits of labour. Stewards [**OECONOMI**] managed the property of the society for the benefit of the whole, and distributed the excess of income to the poor and needy of the neighbourhood. St. Basil, St. Benedict, and other founders of monastic orders, enjoined the same rule of individual poverty on the members of their societies, and so there arose throughout Christendom, in East and West, religious societies of celibates organized on communistic principles [**MONASTICISM**]. From the 8th century onward the secular clergy also, who lived the canonical life, adopted, to some extent, the principle of community of goods [**CANONICI**]. (C.)

GORDIANUS. (1) [EPIMACHUS (1)].

(2) Martyr with Macrinus and Valerianus at Nyon; commemorated Sept. 17 (*Mart. Usuardi, Hieron.*). [W. F. G.]

GORDIAS, martyr, circa 320 A.D.; commemorated Jan. 3 (*Cal. Hyzant.*). [W. F. G.]

GORGONIUS. [DOROTHEUS (3)].

GOSPEL, THE LITURGICAL. I. *Introduction.*—Among the Jews, certainly from the time of the Maccabees, and probably before, one lesson from the Pentateuch and another from the "Prophets" (i. e. from some of the later historical books, and from those more properly called

within the church so strong as to en to the duty of mutual love of the brotherhood of man is scarcely full but that here and sects would exaggerate and principles into absolute reanqu- y. This was in fact the case. Asiatic troubles in Africa in the Donatists were never weary their orthodox opponents with power which they derive from with the state. Some of their a consequence of these deman- private possessions altogether which led to vagabondage and er than to holliness. These — as they came to be called — of a band of discontented away slaves, whose excesses at the forcible interference of the at them down. And other sects idea of property; the Apocatacti- they arrogantly called them- Augustine, *De Heres.* c. 40, into their community who lived possessed private property (*res* s); and, a common characteristic sal- vation to all outside their Eustathians also, who were con- of Gangra about the year 343. Praef.) held that those who their private wealth were beyond ration. The laws of the empire *potestati* the same penalties that other heretics, except that the es- s; they could not be deprived of y had already renounced (*Coelz* tit. 5, *de Heret.* li. 7 et 11). mius († 348) first drew together [CONONITUS] a number of an- dering mendicants at Tabenne pt, he instituted a system of ur and common participation in labour. Stewards [CONONITUS] property of the society for the whole, and distributed the excess the poor and needy of the neigh- Basil, St. Benedict, and other onastic orders, enjoined the same al poverty on the members of , and so there arose throughout in East and West, religious societies ganized on communistic principles. From the 8th century onward ergy also, who lived the canonical to some extent, the principle of goods [CANONICI].

US. (1) [EPIMACHUS (1)] with Macerinus and Valerianus at 303, martyr, circa 320 A.D.; commo- 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

US. [DOROTHEUS (3)].

THE LITURGICAL. I. In- Among the Jews, certainly from the Maccebes, and probably before, on the Pentateuch and another from the (i. e. from some of the later bito- and from those more properly called

prophetical) were read in the synagogues every sabbath day. Fifty-four portions from the Pentateuch (colled Parashioth), and as many from the "Prophets" (Hapthoroth), were appointed for this purpose. As the Jews intercalated a month every second or third year, this number was required. When there were not fifty-four sabbaths in a year, they read two of the shorter lessons together, once or twice in the year, as might be necessary; so that the whole of both selections was read through annually. The Parashioth are generally very long, some extending over four or five chapters; but the Hapthoroth are as a rule short, often only a part of one chapter. Tables of both may be seen in Horne's *Introduction to the Scriptures*, p. iii. ch. i. sect. iv. The foregoing facts will enable the reader to judge how far the first Christians were indebted to the traditions of the synagogue for the practice of reading Holy Scripture in their synaaks, and for the method of reading it. At all events we may be certain that the Old Testament, so long the only known repository of the "oracles of God," and still acknowledged to be "able to make men wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus" (2 Tim. iii. 15), would be no more neglected in their common exercises of religion than it was in their private study. At the same time it was inevitable that, when the New Testament came to be written, lessons from that should be read either in addition to or instead of those from the Old. There was, however, a short period during which the Old Testament only would be read in Christian assemblies, viz. before the events of the Gospel were committed to writing; and there is in the most ancient liturgy, that of St. James, a rubric, evidently genuine, which appears to have been framed during this interval. "Then the sacred oracles of the Old Testament and of the Prophets are read at great length (*δὲ τοῖς κτάρων*, some understand "consecutively," but the Jewish precedent favours the former reading); and the incarnation of the Son of God, and His sufferings, His resurrection from the dead, and ascension into heaven, and, again, His second coming with glory, are set forth." As Mr. Trollope points out (*The Greek Liturgy of St. James*, p. 42), we have here the Old Testament read, but the great events of the Gospel related to the people as if not yet in writing.

II. *Evidence of use.*—Justin Martyr, A.D. 140, describing the celebration of the Eucharist, says, "The commentaries of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read as time permits" (*Ap. l.* c. 67). A lesson from the gospels was without doubt included under the former head. St. Cyprian, A.D. 250, speaks of a con- lector whom he had ordained lector, as "reading the precepts and the gospel of the Lord" from the stand (pulpitum) (*Ep.* xxxix.). Eusebius, A.D. 315, says that St. Peter authorised the use of the gospel of St. Mark "in the churches." For this he refers to the *Hypotyposes* of Clemens of Alexandria (not of Rome, as Bona and others) and to Papias; but elsewhere he cites both passages, and neither of them contains the words *deus* not, as many have imagined, prove from Papias the custom of the apostolic church, but is only a proof of the practice of his own age, in the light of which he read those earlier writers

(see *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. xv.; and compare lib. vi. c. xiv., lib. iii. c. xxxix.). Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 350, speaks vaguely of the "reading of Scripture" (*Praef. in Catech.* §§ iii. iv.); nor are any of his catechetical homilies on lessons from the gospel. Optatus, A.D. 368, addressing the Donatist clergy, says, "Ye begin with the lessons of the Lord, and ye expand your expositions to our injury; ye bring forth the gospel, and make a reproach against an absent brother" (*De Schism. Donat.* lib. iv. c. v.). The so-called Constitutions of the Apostles put an order into their mouths, which begins thus: "After the reading of the law and the prophets and our epistles, and the acts and the gospels, let" &c. (lib. viii. c. v. Cotel, tom. i. p. 392). Pseudo-Dionysius tells us that in the liturgy, "the tablets of the Psalms," "follows the reading of the tablets of Holy writ by the ministers" (*De Eccles. Hierarch.* c. iii. § ii. tom. i. p. 284). These tablets are explained by Maximus the scholiast on Dionysius, A.D. 645, to be the Old and New Testament (*Ibid.* p. 305). St. Chrysostom frequently gave notice of the text on which he proposed to preach some days before; but in one homily he says, "On one day of the week, or on the sabbath (Saturday), at least, let each take in his hands, and, sitting at home, read that section (*περικώριον*) of the gospels which is going to be read among you" (*Hom. xi. in St. Joh. Ev.* § 1). This implies that they knew what the lesson from the gospels would be; and therefore that a table of such lessons was drawn up and accessible to all. St. Augustine, in Africa, often preached on the gospel. Thus one of his sermons begins, "The chapter of the holy gospel which we heard, when it was just now read," &c. (*Serm.* lv. § 1). Another: "We heard, when the gospel was read," &c. (*Serm.* liii. § 1). The council of Laodicea, probably about 365, has a canon ordering the "gospels to be read with other scriptures on the sabbath" (Can. xvi.). The omission of the gospel on Saturday had without doubt been merely a local custom. A council of Orange, A.D. 441, can. xviii., ordered that thenceforward the gospel should be read to the catechumens, as well as the faithful, in all the churches of the province. That of Valencia, A.D. 524, ordered that "the most holy gospels be read in the mass of the catechumens before the illation of the gifts, in the order of lessons after the apostle," i. e. the epistle (Can. l.). In France, 554, a constitution of Childebert mentions the gospels, prophets, and apostle, as read from the altar (*Capit. Reg. Franc.* ed. Baluz. tom. i. col. 7). Germanus of Paris, A.D. 555, in his exposition of the liturgy, similarly recognises the prophecy, apostle, and gospel (printed by Martene, *De Aut. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. iv. art. xii.). Gregory of Tours, A.D. 573, tells a story of certain clerks in the days of Childebert, who "having laid the three books, i. e. of the prophecy, the apostle, and the gospels on the altar," prayed for an nugery from the passages at which they should open, each "having made an agreement among themselves that every one should read at mass that which he first opened on in the book" (*Hist. Franc.* lib. iv. c. xvi.). This implies that in Gaul at least the lessons were still left to the choice of those who were to read them. In the next century, however, the Gallican church had a lectionary, a

copy of which, nearly complete, in Merovingian characters, was found by Mabillon in the monastery at Luxeuil. It provides a gospel for every mass (*Liturg. Gall.* lib. ii. pp. 97-173). Luxeuil is in the province of Besançon; but the eucharistic lessons (of which the gospel is always one) in the Sacramentary found at Bobio, which is believed to be of the use of that province, and is certainly of about the same age as the lectionary, differ nevertheless from those in that book. From this we may perhaps infer that although the lessons were then generally fixed, every bishop was at liberty to make his own selection. There is another ancient lectionary, ascribed to St. Jerome, and known as the *Liber Comitis*, or *Comes Hieronymi*; but from internal evidence shown to be the work of a Gallican compiler in the 8th century. This has been printed from two MSS., one of which provides three lessons for above two hundred days and occasions; the other for the most part only two; but the gospel is never omitted in either. The shorter recension may be seen in the *Rituale SS. Patrum* of Panelius, tom. ii. pp. 1-61. The longer is printed by Baluze in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, tom. ii. coll. 1309-1351.

III. *Provision for use.*—In the West, generally, a gospel has been always provided for every Sunday and for other holy days. The number of gospels (and other lessons) in the *Liber Comitis* already mentioned suggests that at one time there was a partial attempt to assign proper lessons to every day in the year. However this may be, the Roman use retained them for every day in Lent, and the Mozarabic for every Wednesday and Friday (except the first) during that season (see *Missale Mixtum*, Leslie, pp. 89-154). There was no such provision in the Gallican Sacramentary found at Bobio (see Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* tom. ii. coll. 815-835, or *Mss. Ital.* tom. i. pp. 301-319), nor, so far as we can judge in the Lectionary of Luxeuil (Mabillon, *Liturg. Gall.* p. 124). Eight leaves are missing in this MS. between Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday, but they could hardly have contained more than the Sunday lessons. The ancient Irish Sacramentary, of which but one copy exists in manuscript, probably of the 6th century, is singular in the West in having but one gospel and epistle for the whole year, the former being the sixth chapter of St. John, the latter the eleventh chapter of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. See O'Connor's *Append.* to vol. i. of the *Catal. of the MSS. at St.owe*, p. 45. The fact is also attested by Dr. Todd (see *Pref.* to the *Liber. Eccl. do B. Terrenani de Arbuthnot*, p. xxiv.).

In the West the gospels appear to have been chosen without any reference to their place in the books of the New Testament. But, in the Greek church, those four books have been divided into lessons (*τμήματα, μέρη, περιχώρας, ἀναγνώσματα, ἀναγνώσεις*); so that they may be read through in order, only interrupted when a festival with its proper lesson intervenes (Leo Allatius, *De Libr. Eccl. Gr. Diss.* i. p. 35). It is probably in accordance with this arrangement that the canon of Laodicea, already cited, does not order lessons from the gospels, or sections, or portions, or the like, to be read on Saturday with other scriptures, but the gospels themselves, *i. e.* the four books so called. From this it may

be inferred that the Greek method was the normal practice of the whole Eastern church before the separation of the Nestorians and Monophysites. There was an exception, however, at one period, whether beginning before or after that separation, in the church of Malabar, the ancient liturgy of which presents but one epistle and gospel for every celebration—the former composed from 2 Cor. v. 1-10, and Heb. iv. 12, 13; the latter taken from St. John v. 19-29. As neither have any special reference to the Eucharist, it may be inferred that the peculiarity was, unlike that of the Irish missal, unintentional, and resulting, probably, from the destruction of sacred books in a season of persecution, and from the ignorance that followed it.

IV. *The Book of the Gospels.*—The book which contained the four gospels as divided for eucharistic use was called by the Greeks *Εὐαγγέλιον*. The oldest writer cited as using the word in this specific sense is Palladius, A.D. 400: "He brings the 'gospel' to him and exacts the oath." (*Hist. Lausica.* c. 86.) Another proof of the antiquity of the usage is the fact that the Nestorians, who were cut off from the church in the 5th century, retain the term *Euanghelion* in this limited sense to the present day (Badger's *Nestorians*, v. ii. p. 19). The book is similarly called "the gospel" in the liturgy of St. Mark (Renaud, tom. i. p. 136) and others.

V. *By whom read.*—In Africa the eucharistic gospel was read by those of the order of readers in the 3rd century (see *Cypr. Ep.* xxxix. and *Ep.* xxxviii.). It was generally, however, assigned to a higher order: "After these (*i. e.* the other lessons), let a deacon or presbyter read the gospels" (*Constit. Apostol.* lib. ii. c. lvii.). Sozomen, A.D. 440, tells us that among the Alexandrians the "archdeacon alone read that sacred book (of the gospels); but among others the deacons, and in many churches the priests only" (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. xix.). He adds that "on high days bishops read it, as at Constantinople, on the first day of the paschal feast." The liturgies of St. Mark (Renaud, tom. i. p. 138), St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom (Goar, pp. 161 and 69) give this office to the deacon. This was also the common practice in the West. Thus St. Jerome says to Sabinian, "Thou wast wont to read the gospel as a deacon" (*Ep.* xciii.). St. Isidore of Seville, writing about the year 610, is a witness to the same practice (*De Eccl. Off.* lib. ii. c. 8). We observe it also in the most ancient "Orlines Roman" (*Mss. Ital.* tom. ii. pp. 10, 46); and it became the rule throughout Europe, when a deacon was present.

VI. *Where read.*—The gospel was perhaps generally read from a stand called *Ambo* (*Ἀμβών*) or *Pulpitum* even in the earliest ages. It certainly was so when the celebrant himself did not read it. Thus St. Cyprian, as before quoted, speaks of Celerinus, the reader, as officiating "on a pulpit, *i. e.* on the tribunal of the church," and generally of confessors raised to that order as "coming to the pulpit after the stocks" (*Épp.* xxxviii., xxxix.). The Ordo Romanus in use in the 8th century orders the gospel to be read from the higher step of the ambo, the epistle having been read from a lower (*Ord.* ii. un. 7, 8). In some churches there was a separate ambo for the gospel. An example occurred in the church

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of St. Clement at Rome, where also the gospel *ambo* was a "little higher and more ornate" (*Martene, De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. l. c. iv. art. lv. a. iii.). This became to some extent a rule (*Scutimore, Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 222). We hear of the *ambo* in the East also. Thus Sozomen, speaking of a tomb over which a church had been built, says that it was "near the *ambo*, that is to say, the *rostrum* (*βήμα*) of the readers" (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. ix. c. 11.). The same historian tells us that St. Chrysostom, that he might be better heard, used to preach at Constantinople "sitting on the *rostrum* of the readers" (lib. v. c. v.), and Serates, referring to a particular occasion, speaks of him as "seated on the *ambo*, from which he was wont also before that to preach in order to be heard" (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. v.). The council in Trullo, A.D. 681, forbade any who had not received the proper benediction to "proclaim the words of God to the people on the *ambo*" (*can. xxxiii.*). In the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the deacon who reads the gospel "stands elevated on the *ambo* or in the appointed place" (*Goar*, p. 69).

VII. *Read towards the South.*—It was an early, but we think not primitive, custom in the West for the gospel to "stand facing the south, where the men were wont to assemble" (*Ord. Rom.* li. c. 8). Analarus, an early commentator on the Ordo Romanus, suggests that this was because the men were supposed to receive the gospel first, and to teach it to their wives at home (*1 Cor.* xiv. 35). See his *Ecloga*, n. xv. *Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 553. It is probable, however, that a different custom prevailed at the same time in France, or very soon after. For in the latter part of the 9th century Remigius of Auxerre tells us that "the Levite (deacon), when about to pronounce the words of the gospel, turns his face towards the north," as defying Satan, who was supposed (*from Isai.* xiv. 13) to dwell there (*De Fide, Missæ, od. calc. Libri Pseudo-Alcuini, de Div. Off.* Hitrop, ed. 280).

VIII. *Attendant rites.*—From a very early period the reading of the gospel was attended with circumstances of solemnity. In the Greek church it has for many ages been brought into the church out of the chapel of Prothesis in a rite known as the Little Entrance, the bringing in of the gifts being the Great Entrance. While the choir is singing the *Gloria* at the end of the third antiphon the priest and deacon, after bowing thrice before the altar, go out for the book of the gospels. They return into the church, the deacon carrying the gospel, preceded by lights, and welcomed by a special anthem. After a circuit of some length on the north side of the church they stop at the holy doors, where the priest says, secretly, the "Prayer of the Entrance." The deacon then asks for, and the priest gives, a "blessing on the Entrance," *troparia* being sung meanwhile. When they are ended, the deacon shows the gospel to the people, saying, "Wisdom. Stand up." They then enter the *ambo*, and the book is laid on the holy table still required for use (*Euch. optum*, *Goar*, pp. 67, 124, 160). This is found in the older liturgy of St. Basil, as well as that of St. Chrysostom, but it is impossible to say how much of it was practised in the age of those great bishops. There is no trace of the Little Entrance in the liturgy of Jerusalem, from which that of Caesarea (St.

Basil) was derived, nor in the Nestorian liturgies, which came from an independent source before the 5th century. On the other hand, there is a simpler form of the rite in the Armenian liturgy, which was borrowed from Caesarea in the time of St. Basil, and influenced in its subsequent growth by the residence of St. Chrysostom in Armenia, where he died (*Le Brun, Diss. sur les Liturgies*, x. art. iv. xlii.). We observe, also, an elaborate ordering of the same rite in liturgies that can hardly have been indebted to those of the Greek church after the 6th century at least. "As the book of the gospels," remarks Renaudot, "is carried to the *ambo* with great ceremony among the Copts, so it is certain that it is in like manner done among the Syrians; and they received it from the Greeks" (*tom. ii. p. 69*). For the Coptic Entrance see *tom. i. p. 210*. A short rubric in the liturgy of St. Mark tells us when the Entrance takes place; but it is not described (*Renaud.* tom. i. p. 136).

Another proof of the antiquity of the Little Entrance is found in its resemblance to a ceremony practised at Rome in certain pontifical masses of the 7th and 8th centuries. The gospel was brought in a case or casket from the basilica of St. John Lateran to the regium church in which the celebration took place by an acolyte in attendance on the bishop, but under the care of the archdeacon. It was made ready by the reader at the door of the *Secretarium*, while the bishop was within preparing for the service. The acolyte then carried it "into the presbytery to before the altar," preceded by a subdeacon, who then took it from him, and "with his own hands placed it with honour upon the altar." (*Ord. Rom.* i. §§ 3, 4, 5; ii. 2, 4, 5).

As an example of the ritual when the gospel was to be read, we may, for the East, cite St. Mark: "The deacon, when about to read the gospel, says, 'Bless, sir.' The priest, 'The Lord bless and strengthen, and make us hearers of His holy gospel, who is God blessed now and ever, and for ever, Amen.' The deacon, 'Stand, let us hear the holy gospel.' The priest, 'Peace be to all.' The people, 'And to thy spirit.' Then the deacon reads the gospel" (*Renaud.* tom. i. p. 138). At Rome, in the pontifical masses before mentioned, the deacon having received a blessing from the bishop, "The Lord be in thy heart and on thy lips," after kissing the gospels, took the book off the altar, and went towards the *ambo*, preceded by two subdeacons—one with incense—and followed by a third. There the acolytes made a passage for the preceding subdeacons and the deacon. The latter then rested his book on the left arm of the subdeacon without a censor, who opened it at the place already marked. The deacon then, with his finger in the place, went up to that stage of the *ambo* from which he was to read, the two subdeacons going to stand before the steps by which he would descend. The gospel ended, the bishop says, "Peace be to thee," and "The Lord be with you." Resp., "And with thy spirit." As the deacon came down, the subdeacon who had opened the book took it from him, and handed it to the third subdeacon who had followed. He, holding it on his planeta, before his breast, offers it to be kissed by all engaged in the rite, and then puts it into the case or casket before

mentioned, held ready by the acolyte who had brought it into the church (*Ord. Rom.* i. § 11). An *Ordo*, somewhat later, but not lower than the 8th century, tells us that "the candles were extinguished in their place after the gospel was read" (*Ord.* ii. § 9). The custom of lighting candles at the reading of the gospel came from the East, where it prevailed in the 4th century. "Through all the churches of the East," says St. Jerome, "when the gospel is to be read, lights are burned, though the sun be already shining" (*Contra Vigilant.* § 7). St. Isidore of Seville, in a work written in 636, says that "acolytes in Greek are called *ceroferrii* in Latin, from their bearing wax candles when the gospel is to be read," &c. (*Etymol.* lib. vii. c. xii. § 29). This is probably the earliest notice in the West, though the first *Ordo Romanus* belongs almost certainly to the same century. The symbolism of the lights needs no explanation (see St. John i. 9; viii. 12).

IX. *Heard standing.*—It was probably from the very first the custom for the people to hear the gospel standing, out of reverence. Thus the *Apostolical Constitutions*, lib. ii. c. lvii.: "When the gospel is being read, let all the presbyters and the deacons and all the people stand with great quietness." Philostorgius, A. D. 425, says that Theophilus the Indian, when visiting his native country, about the year 345, found that the people "performed the hearing of the gospel lessons sitting, and had some other practices which the Divine law did not sanction" (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. § 5). His language shows how important the rite was considered. Isidore of Pelusium, 412, says, in the same spirit, "When the True Shepherd becomes present through the opening of the adorable gospels, the bishop both rises and lays aside the habit (the *επιφώρατον*) which he wears symbolical of Him" (*Ep.* cxxxv. *Hermineo Comiti*). In accordance with this, Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. vii. c. xix.) tells us that there was "a strange custom among the Alexandrians, for, when the gospels were read, the bishop did not stand up, which," he adds, "I have neither known nor heard of among others." The same rule prevailed in the West. Amalarius, writing about 827, says: "During the celebration of these, i. e. the lesson (epistle) and the prophecy, we are wont to sit, after the custom of the ancients." Then, when he speaks of the gospel: "Up to this time we sit; now we must rise at the words of the gospel" (*De Eccl. Off.* lib. iii. cc. 11, 18). At the same time all turned to the East, and hid down the staff on which, at that period, they commonly leaned, "nor was there crown or other covering on their heads" (*Ord. Rom.* ii. § 8; *Amal. u. s.* c. 18).

X. *The Doxologies.*—The doxology now common after the announcement of the gospel is mentioned by writers within our period. Thus Heterius and Beatus, in Spain, A. D. 785: "The deacon commands all to be silent, and says, 'The lesson of the holy gospel according to Matthew.' All the people answer, 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord.'" (*Adv. Elipand.* lib. i. c. lxvi.). Compare the Mozarabic Missal (Leslie, pp. 2, 45, &c.). Amalarius only recommends it. After advising the people to pray for a profitable hearing, he adds: "Let him who is not quick to take in the words of the gospel, at least say, 'Glory,'" &c. (lib. iii. c. 18). The practice probably

came through Spain, like several other rites, from the East. In the homily *De Circo* ascribed incorrectly to St. Chrysostom, we read, "When the deacon is about to open the gospel, we all fix our eyes on him and keep silence; but when he begins the course of reading, we forthwith stand up, and respond, 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord'" (*Opp.* St. Chrys. tom. viii. p. 723, ed. Gaume). Compare the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom (Goar, pp. 161 and 69). The use of this form was probably not very extensive before the 6th century, or we should have found it in all the Nestorian and Eutychnian rites. The liturgy of Malabar (Nestorian), however, does give "Glory to Christ the Lord" (*Hist. Eccl. Malab.* Baulin, p. 306); the Ethiopic, "Glory be to Thee alway, O Christ, our Lord and God," &c. (Benaud, tom. i. p. 510); and the Armenian, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord, our God" (*Neale's Eastern Church, Introd.* p. 414).

There is no very early evidence of a doxology after the gospel. The liturgy of Malabar repeats that given above. The Ethiopic has, "The cherubim and seraphim send glory up to Thee." The Armenian, like the Malabar, has the same after as before. There was none in the early Roman liturgy, and *Amen* seems to have been the common response in the middle ages (*Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 228).

XI. *In what language read.*—As the first converts to the gospel spoke Greek, all the liturgies were originally in that language. It is not known when Latin was adopted in the services at Rome, but the church there had been founded more than a century and a half before it produced a single Latin writer. It was, therefore, natural that Greek should be occasionally and partially used in the services after the general use of Latin had begun. In particular the eucharistic lessons were on certain days read in both languages. The chief evidence of this is the fact that it continued as a traditional custom throughout the middle ages (see *Notitia Euch.* p. 207); but we also find some early testimony to the usage. Thus Amalarius: "Six lessons were read by the ancient Romans [on the Saturdays of the Ember weeks] in Greek and Latin (which custom is kept up at Constantinople to this day), for two reasons, if I mistake not; the one, because there were Greeks present, to whom Latin was not known; the other, because both people were of one mind" (*De Eccl. Off.* lib. ii. c. 1). This statement obtains collateral support from the earliest *Ordo Romanus* in which the four lessons used at the general baptism on Easter Eve are ordered to be read in Greek and Latin (§ 40). Nicholas I., A. D. 858, writing to the emperor Michael, confirms the statement of Amalarius as to the practice at Constantinople. He affirms that "daily, or any how, on the principal feasts," the church there was "reported to recite the apostolic and evangelic lessons in that language (the Latin) first, and afterwards pronounce the very same lessons in Greek, for the sake of the Greeks" (*Ep.* viii. *Labb. Conc.* tom. viii. col. 298). When John VIII., in the same century, gave permission for the celebration of the Holy Communion in the Slavonic tongue, he made this proviso, that "to show it greater honour, the gospel should be read in Latin, and afterwards published in Slavonic in the ears of the people who did not

in, like several other rites, the homily *De Circo* ascribed Chrysostom, we read, "When it to open the gospel, we read it and keep silence; but when ready of reading, we forthwith pound, 'Glory be to Thee, O Chrys. tom. viii. p. 723, ed. the liturgies of St. Basil and Chrys., pp. 161 and 69). The use probably not very extensive tury, or we should have found rian and Eutychnian rites. The r (Nestorian), however, does Christ the Lord" (*Hi t. Eccl.* 306); the Ethiopic, "Glor O Christ, our Lord and God," i. p. 510); and the Armenian, e, O Lord, our God" (*Saie's ntrod.* p. 414).

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understand Latin; as appears to be done in some churches" (*Ep. cxxvii.*; *Labb. Conc.* tom. I. col. 177). In the churches of Syria the gospel and epistle are still read both in the old Syriac and in the better understood Arabic (Renaud, tom. II. p. 69); and in Egypt in both Coptic and Arabic (Renaud, tom. I. pp. 5-8). When they were first read in Arabic we do not know; but it was probably before the 9th century, as both countries were conquered and overrun by the Arabs in the former half of the 7th.

XII. From the 6th century downward we meet with repeated instances of a custom of inclosing the gospels in cases, covers, or caskets, adorned with gems and the precious metals. The first *Ordo Romanus*, in giving directions for the pontifical mass, to which we have referred above, orders, that on festivals the keeper of the vestry at St. John's Lateran shall give out "a larger chalice and paten, and larger gospels under his seal, noting the number of the gems that they be not lost" (§ 3). Childobert I., A.D. 531, is said by Gregory of Tours to have retired from an expedition into Spain, bringing with him, among other spoils, "sixty chalices, fifteen patens, twenty cases for the gospels (evangeliorum capas), all adorned with pure gold and precious gems" (*Hist. Franc.* lib. liii. c. 2). The same writer tells us that one of the emperors of Rome caused to be made for the church at Lyons "a case for inclosing the holy gospels and a paten and chalice of pure gold and precious stones" (*De Glor. Confess.* cap. liiii.). Gregory the Great gave to the king of the Lombards "a lectionary (lectionem) of the holy gospel inclosed in a Persian case (theca)" (*Ep. lib. xii. Ep. vii. ad Theodet.*) [W. E. S.]

GOSPELLER. [GOSPEL, § V. p. 742.]

GOSPELS, BOOK OF. [LITURGICAL BOOKS: GOSPEL, § IV. p. 742.]

GOSPELS IN ART. [See FOUR RIVERS, EVANGELISTS.] The sources of the four rivers, represented continually on the sarcophagi (Bottari, *Sculture e Pitture.* tav. xvi. and *passim*) have doubtless reference to the four gospels, as well as to the streams which watered the garden of Eden. See also the woodcut of the Lateran Cross s. v. CROSS.

Rolls of the gospels, or other sacred books are often represented on glasses and cups (Buonarrotti, *Vetri*, tav. ii. viii. 1, xiv. 2). A case containing the gospels is represented in the chapel of Galla Placidia at Ravenna (see Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* I. lxvii.). They are generally rolls, sometimes with umbilici and capsules. In Buonarrotti, *Frammenti di casi antichi*, tav. viii. 1, the rolls of the four gospels surround a representation of the miracle of the seven loaves, with probable reference to Matt. iv. 4, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

The portraits or symbolic representations of the Evangelists very commonly bear the gospels from the earliest date; indeed the symbol of four scrolls or books, placed in the four angles of a Greek cross, are asserted by Mrs. Jameson to be the earliest type of the Four Evangelists, and most certainly be among the earliest. In the baptistery at Ravenna (Ciampini, *V. M.* p. 1. p. 234), there is a mosaic of the four gospels

resting on four tables, each with its title. This dates from A.D. 451.

The figures of apostles, *passim* in ancient mediæval and modern art, bear rolls or volumes in their hands; but Marigny remarks very ingeniously and thoughtfully, that in the earliest examples of apostles the volume must be considered to be that of the Law and the Prophets, to which and to whom they referred all men in their preaching, even from the day of Pentecost. In one instance a picture at the bottom of a cup representing an adoration of the Mugi (Buonarrotti, *l. z.*) the book of the gospels is placed near one of the three, in token of their being the first, with the shepherds, to bear the good tidings of the Saviour of Mankind.

A symbol of the gospel, and of the evangelists, of the highest antiquity (indeed, as Mr. Hemans thinks, of the Constantian period) is the painting of four jewelled books at the juncture of the arms of a large cross, also jewelled, on the vault of a hall belonging to the Thermae of Trajan; consecrated for Christian worship by pope Sylvester in the time of Constantine, and still serving as a crypt-chapel below the church of SS. Martino e Silvestro on the Esquiline Hill.

[R. St. J. T.]

GRACE AT MEALS. The Jews went to give thanks at table, one of the company saying the prayer "in the plural number, *Let us bless, &c.*" and the rest answering *Amen* (Berncoth cap. vii.; *Lightfoot Horæ Hebr.* in St. Matt. xv. 36). When our Lord was about to feed the multitudes He took the loaves and fishes, and "blessed" (St. Matt. xiv. 19; St. Mark vi. 41; St. Luke ix. 16) or "gave thanks" (St. Matt. xv. 36; St. Mark viii. 6; St. John vi. 11) before He distributed them. This was in accordance with the Jewish custom, which thus, with the sanction of our Lord's example, passed into His church. St. Chrysostom, commenting on Matt. xiv. 19-21, says that He then "taught us that we should not touch a table before giving thanks to Him who provides this food" (*Hom. xlix.*). In commenting on the account of the Last Supper, he refers to the "Grace" said after meat also:—"He gave thanks before distributing to the disciples, that we may give thanks too. He gave thanks and sang hymns after distributing, that we may do the same thing" (*In St. Matt. xxvi. 30; Hom. lxxxii.*). That this was the general practice of the early Christians is proved by many testimonies. St. Paul, to whatever else he may allude beside, certainly recognizes it in 1 Tim. iv. 3-5. Meats, he there teaches, were "created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." Clemens of Alexandria, A.D. 192, both owns the principle, and vouches for the observance. "As it is meet that before taking food we bless the Maker of all these things, so also does it become us, when drinking, to sing psalms unto Him; forasmuch as we are partaking of His creatures" (*Pædagog.* lib. ii. c. iv. § 44; see also § 77). Of the model Christian, he says, "His sacrifices are prayers and praises, and the reading of Scripture before the banquetting; psalms and hymns after it" (*Strom.* lib. vii. c. vii. § 49). Aguin: "Referring the reverent enjoyment of all things to God, he ever offers to the giver of all things the first-fruits of meat and drink and anointing oil, yielding

thanks," &c. (*Ibid.* § 36). Tertullian, writing probably in 202: "We do not recline (at an entertainment) before prayer be first tasted . . . After water for the hands and lights, such, as he is able, is called out to sing to God from the Holy Scriptures, or from his own mind. In like manner prayer puts an end to the feast" (*Liber Apol. adv. Gentes.* c. xxxix.). St. Cyprian, writing in 246: "Nor let the banqueting hour be void of heavenly grace. Let the temperate entertainment resound with psalms, and do ye each undertake this wonted duty according to the strength of your memory or excellence of voice" (*Ad Pont. et. sub fin.*). St. Basil, A.D. 370: "Let prayers be said before taking food in meet acknowledgment of the gifts of God, both of those which He is now giving and of those which He has put in store for the future. Let prayers be said after food containing a return of thanks for the things given, and request for those promised" (*Ep. ii. ad Greg. Naz.* § 6). Sozomen, A.D. 440, says of the younger Theodosius, that he would eat nothing "before he had blessed the Creator of all things" (*Hist. Eccles. Orat. ad Imp. libro i. præfixa*).

Examples remain of the early Graces, both of the East and West. *E.g.* the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. vii. c. 49) furnish the following Εὐχὴ ἐκ' ἀποστόλων, *Prayer at the midday meal*: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who feedest me from my youth up, who givest food to all flesh. Fill our hearts with joy and gladness; that always having a sufficiency we may abound unto every good work, in Christ Jesus our Lord, through whom be glory and honour and power unto Thee, world without end, Amen" (*Patres Apostol. Cotel. tom. i. p. 385*). This prayer (slightly varied) is also given to be said after meals in the treatise *De Virginitate* ascribed (most improbably) to St. Athanasius. The writer first gives it and then proceeds as follows: "And when thou art seated at table and hast begun to break the bread, having thrice said the sign of the cross, thus give thanks, 'We give thanks unto Thee, our Father, for Thy holy resurrection [i. e. wrought and to be wrought in us, if the reading be correct]; for through Thy Son Jesus Christ hast Thou made it known unto us; and as this bread upon this table was in separate grains, and being gathered together became one thing, so let Thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.' And this prayer thou oughtest to say when thou breakest bread and desirest to eat; but when thou dost set it on the table and sittest down, say *Our Father* all through. But the prayer above written (Blessed art Thou, O God [Lerd, *Const. Apost.*]) we say after we have made our meal and have risen from table" (§§ 12, 13, inter Athanas. Opp.). A short paraphrase, as it appears, of an Eastern Grace at meals may also be seen in the anonymous commentary (probably of the sixth century) on the Book of Job printed with the works of Origen (lib. iii.).

The following examples from the Gelasian Sacramentary are probably the most ancient Graces of the Latin church now extant: *Prayers before Meat*. (1) "Refresh us, O Lord, with Thy gifts, and sustain us with the bounty of Thy riches; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

(2) "Let us be refreshed, O Lord, from Thy

grants and gifts, and satiated with Thy blessing through, &c." (3) "Protect us, O Lord out God, and afford needful sustenance to our frailty; through, &c." (4) "Bless, O Lord, Thy gifts, which of Thy bounty we are about to take; through, &c." (5) "O God, who dost always invite us to spiritual delights, give a blessing on Thy gifts; that we may attain to a sanctified reception of those things which are to be eaten in Thy name; through, &c." (6) "May Thy gifts, O Lord, refresh us, and Thy grace console us through, &c." *Prayers after Meals*.—(1) "Satisfied, O Lord, with the gifts of Thy riches, we give Thee thanks for these things which we receive from Thy bounty, beseeching Thy mercy that that which was needful for our bodies may not be burdensome to our minds; through, &c." (2) "We have been satisfied, O Lord, with Thy grants and gifts. Replenish us with Thy mercy, Thy who art blessed; who with the Father and Holy Ghost livest and reignest God for ever and ever. Amen." Muratori, *Liturgia Rom. Vetus*, tom. i. col. 745. Compare the *Benedictio ad Mensam*, and *Benedictio post Mensam levitam* in the Gallican Sacramentary of the 7th century found at Bobio (*Ibid.* tom. ii. col. 959).

[W. E. S.]

GRACILIANUS. [FELICISSIMA.]

GRADO, COUNCIL OF (*Gradense concilium*), held A.D. 579 at Grado for the transfer thither of the see of Aquileia, supposing its site genuine, but Istria was at this time out of communion with Rome for not accepting the 5th council, and the part assigned to Elin, bishop of Aquileia, throughout is suspicious. A legate from Rome at his instance exhibited a letter as from pope Pelagius II. to him authorising this change, which was accordingly confirmed. This he requested that the definition of the 4th council might be recited, which was also done. In the subscriptions which follow his own comes first, after him that of the legate, nineteen bishops or their representatives follow, and last of all twelve presbyters in their own names. Mansi regards it as a forgery (ix. 927).

[E. S. F.]

GRADUAL (*Responsorium Graduale* or *Gradale*; or simply *Responsorium* or *Responsum*; or *Graduale*. In mediæval English *Græd* spelt variously).—1. This was an anthem sung after the epistle in most of the Latin churches. Originally, it seems that a whole psalm was sung, at least in Africa, as we gather from several allusions in the Sermons of St. Augustine. Thus in one he says, "To this belongs that which the apostolic lesson (Col. iii. 9) before the canticle of the psalm presignified, saying 'Put off, &c.'" (*Serm. xxxii. c. iv.*). "We have heard the apostle, we have heard the psalm, we have heard the gospel" (*Serm. clxv. c. l.*). Again: "We have heard the first lesson of the apostle, 'This is a faithful saying, &c.' (1 Tim. i. 15) . . . Then we sang a psalm, mutually exhorting one another, saying with one voice, one heart, 'O come, let us worship,' &c. (Ps. xcv. 6). After these the gospel lesson showed us the cleansing of the ten lepers" (*Serm. clxxvi. c. i.*). In his *Retractations* (lib. ii. c. xi.) St. Augustine speaks of a custom which began at Carthage in his time of "saying hymns at the altar from the Book of Psalms, either

entitled with Thy blessing
 "Protect us, O Lord our
 "alms-tennance to our frailty;
 "Bless, O Lord, Thy gifts,
 "by we are about to take;
 "O God, who dost always
 delights, give a blessing on
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[W. E. S.]

[S. FELICISSIMA]

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[E. S. FL]

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 age in his use of "saying hymns
 on the Book of Psalms, either

before the oblation or when that which had
 been offered was being distributed to the people."
 The hymn before the oblation has been under-
 stood by some to be the psalm before the gospel;
 but a hymn sung before the catechumens left
 would hardly have been called by so precise a
 writer as Augustine a hymn before the oblation.
 He must rather have meant the offertory which
 immediately preceded the offering of the elem-
 ents. Nor was the Gradual sung at the altar,
 but, as we shall see, from the lector's ambo. We
 infer, therefore, that the psalm after the epistle
 was a custom of the church before the age of
 St. Augustine. Genulius of Marseilles, A. D.
 495, tells us that Musæus, a presbyter of that
 city, A. D. 458, at the request of his bishop,
 selected "from the Holy Scriptures lessons suit-
 able to the feast-days of the whole year, and
 besides, responsory chapters of psalms adapted
 to the seasons and lessons" (*De Viris Illust.* c.
 lii.). Another witness is Gregory of Tours,
 who relates that on a certain occasion in the
 year 585, his deacon "who had said the res-
 ponsary at the masses before day" was ordered
 by king Guntram to sing before him, and that
 afterwards all the priests present sang a res-
 ponsary psalm, each with one of his clerks (*Hist.*
Franc. l. viii. § iii.). The Antiphony ascribed
 to Gregory I. must have undergone a change
 down to the 11th or 12th century, if it was not
 originally compiled then. It contains Graduals
 (there called Responsories) for use throughout
 the year; but from our uncertainty about their
 age, we need only state the fact. It was printed
 by Pamelius (*Liturgicon*, tom. ii. p. 62), and by
 Bonanus extant, which describes a pontifical mass
 of the 7th century, fully recognizes the use of
 the Gradual: "After he (the subdeacon) has read
 (the epistle) the cantor ascends [the steps of the
 ambo] with the cantatory, and says the Res-
 ponsary" (§ 10; *Mus. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 9). Again:
 "With regard to the Gradual Responsory, it is
 [the Leaf] sung to the end by him who begins it,
 and the verse in like manner" (§ 26, p. 18).
 Compare Ordo ii. § 7. Amalarius (*Prod. in Lib.*
de Ord. Antiph. Hittorp. col. 504) explains the
 term 'cantatory.' "That which we call the
 gradual (*Gradale*) they (the Romans), call *Canta-*
 torium; which in some churches among them is
 still, according to the old custom, comprised in
 one volume." It was, in fact, a book containing
 all the Graduals for the year.

II. Strictly only the first verse of the anthem
 was called the Gradual. The rest was technically
 called the "verse." The mode of singing it was
 not everywhere the same; but Amalarius de-
 scribes at some length how this was done at
 Rome, whence, he assures us (*De Eccles. Off.*
 l. iii. c. 11; *De Ord. Ant. u. s.*), the Gradual was
 derived to other churches.—"The precentor in
 the first row sings the Responsory to the end.
 The successors respond (i. e. sing the Responsory)
 in like manner. The precentor then sings the
 verse. The verse being ended, the successors at
 second time begin the Responsory from the first
 word, and continue it to the end. Then the
 precentor sings, 'Glory be to the Father and to
 the Son and to the Holy Ghost.' This being
 ended, the successors take up the Responsory
 about the middle, and continue it to the end.
 Lastly the precentor begins the Responsory from

the first word and continues it to the end.
 Which being over the successors to the third
 time repeat the Responsory from the beginning
 and continue it to the end." Amalarius also
 tells us that "the Gloria was not sung with
 Responsories from the first" (*De Ord. Antiph.*
 c. 18); from which we infer with probability
 that they were in use before that doxology was
 composed.

III. The mode of singing adopted for the Grad-
 dual, in which one sang alone for a while and
 many responded was probably in use from the
 very infancy of the church. In the *Apostolical*
Constitutions the apostles are made to direct
 that at the celebration of the holy eucharist
 one of the deacons shall "chant the hymns of
 David, and the people subchant the ends of the
 verses" (l. ii. c. lvii.). When St. Athanasius
 (A. D. 356) found his church surrounded by more
 than 5000 soldiers, and a violent crowd of Ari-
 ans, he placed himself on his throne and "di-
 rected the deacon to read a psalm, and the
 people to respond, 'For His mercy endureth for
 ever'" (*Apol. de Fugit. s. d.*, § 24). Eusebius,
 too, citing Philo's account of certain "Ascetæ"
 in Egypt, among other of their customs which
 he declares to belong to the Christians, mentions
 that one would "chant a psalm in measured
 strains, the rest listening in silence, but singing
 the last parts of the hymns together" (Euseb.
Hist. l. ii. c. xvii.). Whether these ascetics
 were Jews or Christians the narrative of Philo
 shows that the practice must have been known
 to the Jewish converts of the 1st century, and
 may even then have been adopted by them.

IV. From Easter Eve to the Saturday in
 Whitsun week inclusively the Gradual was fol-
 lowed, and at last supplanted by the Alleluia.
 This had been long known in the West and used,
 though not prescribed, on public occasions of
 religious joy. At Rome it was only sung on
 Easter day, as Sozomen informs us (*Hist. Eccl.*
 lib. vii. cap. xix.), and his statement is copied by
 Cassiodorus (*Hist. Eccl. Tripart.* l. xiii. c. xxxix.),
 who lived at Rome, A. D. 514. Their authority,
 however, can only prove the fact for an age
 before their own; for Gregory I. affirms that it
 was introduced at Rome in masses by St. Jerome
 (who had learnt it at Jerusalem) in the time of
 Damasus, A. D. 384 (*Epist.* lib. vii.; *Ep.* lxxv.).
 This, of course, refers to its use between Easter
 and Pentecost; as Gregory himself extended it
 "beyond the time of Pentecost" (*ibid.*). In
 the Antiphony ascribed to him it is only
 omitted between Septuagesima Sunday and
 Easter (Pamel. *Liturg.* tom. ii. pp. 81-110).
 Amalarius (*u. s.* cap. 13) speaks of it as "sung
 on feast days."

V. The Tract was another anthem sometimes
 sung after the epistle. Originally it was always
 from the Book of Psalms; and like the Gradual
 was a remnant and evidence of their early use
 in celebrations as a part of Holy Scripture.
 The Tract and Gradual differed at first, in all
 probability, only in being sung differently; or
 in other words the Tract was nothing more than
 the Gradual as it was chanted in seasons of
 humiliation. It is for this reason that we treat
 of them together. Very soon, however, a Tract
 was often sung after the Gradual; or, as it
 would, we presume, be then viewed, a third
 verse was added to the anthem, which was sung

ii. cap. 11). This was, we
 onal view. It is suggested
 uner of referring (see above)
 in his day formed part of
 ce in Roman Africa, as well
 gospels. The same thought-
 al comment of Pseudo-Bon-
 sung, according to him, put
 ny with things divine, and
 which have been mystically
 them are plainly and fully
 from the other parts of
cel. Hier. c. iii. n. iii. § 5).
 lay sung before the gospel in
 aud. tom. i. pp. 7, 210). In
 titable psalm is recited" im-
 the first eucharistic lesson
 red (Le Brun, *Diss.* 2. art.
 aene a Psalmellus (Pamelli
 p. 295), and in the Mozarabic
 'Psallendo (Leslie, *Miss. Mor.*
 t a Tractus (*ibid.* pp. 98, 101,
 ven the prophecy and the
 psalms or anthems we find
 s, akin to the Roman Gradual
 palmody which accompanied
 other Scriptures in the primi-
 vers was also, we may mention
 substitute for it left in the Old
 in the Hymn of Zacharias,
 prophecy, which was sung be-
 tament Lesson (S. Germani
 Martene *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* l.
 ord. 1.; Mabill. *Liturg. Gall.*
 &c.), and in the Song of the
 (Germanus, u. s.; Mabill. *ibid.*
 is sung between the epistle and
 [W. E. S.]

RIUS, in a monastery, one of
 the assistants or the house-
 ganei cellerario," quaintly styled
 "ii" in the old Benedictine rule,
 the yearly corn-harvest of the
 keeper of the granary (Mart.
 am. c. 31) and of the firm stock
 19). In some monasteries his
 provide all household necessities
 . *Lat. a. v.*) The word is also
 is " or "gynnetarius." [L. G. S.]

"HOTINUS."
 DEO. [DEO GRATIAS.]
 [ARCOSOLIUM; AREA; BISONUS;
 CEMETERY; CELLA MEMORIAL;
 WEEK. [HOLY WEEK.]
 USED IN SERVICES. [CREED,
 § XI. p. 744.]
 THURSDAY. [MAUNDY THURS-

ING. [SALUTATION.]
 ING, THE ANGELICAL. [LITUR-

ING-HOUSE, a reception-room
 of a church, receptorium, saluatorium,
 parlor) next to the praesbiterium
 Ducange *Gloss. Lat. s. v. saluta-*
 the narrative of the famous inter-
 in Ambrose and Theodosius, the

bishop is described as sitting in his reception-
 room before going to the church (Theodoret,
Eccl. Hist. v. 15), and Gregory the Great speaks
 of a bishop as proceeding from his reception-
 room to church (Greg. M. *Ep.* iv. 54). Bingham
 corrects the opinion of Scalliger that the place
 spoken of by Theodoret was a part of the bishop's
 palace used for entertaining strangers, and pro-
 nounces it "a place adjoining the church"
 ("extra ecclesiae adjuncta," Ducange, v. s.) for
 the bishop "to receive the salutations of the
 people" coming for his "blessing," or on "busi-
 ness" (Bingh. *Orig. Eccles.* viii. vii. 8; cf.
 Vales. *Annotat. in Theodoret.* l. c.). It is re-
 corded of St. Martin of Tours that he sat on a
 three-legged stool in a room of this kind, in pre-
 ference to using the bishop's throne which was
 there (Sulp. Sev. *Vit. S. Mart.*); and that on his
 visitations he spent night and day in this room
 (Sulp. Sev. *Ep.* 1). In this "saluatorium" the
 rule of the convent was read over to candidates
 for admission (*Reg. Aurel. ad Virgines.* c. 1). The
 nuns, and even the abbess, were forbidden to see
 any stranger here alone (*Reg. Don. et. ad Virg.* c. 57;
Reg. Cæsarij ad Virg. c. 35); and by the council
 of Macon, A. D. 581, bishops, priests, and deacons,
 as well as laymen, were prohibited from entering
 the reception-room of a nunnery, Jews especially
 being excluded (*Conc. Matiscon.* c. 2).^a On the
 same principle, women, even nuns, were excluded
 from the bishop's "saluatorium" (Ducange, s. v.).
 In a Benedictine monastery this chamber was
 usually on the east side of the quadrangle, be-
 tween the chapter-house and the south transept
 of the church (Whitaker's *Hist. of Whalley,*
 p. 124, 4th ed 1874).

A room of this kind was used, according to
 Mabillon, for robing, for hearing causes, for
 synods, for keeping relics in, and sometimes for
 temporary residence (Mabill. *Ann. Bened. Saec.*
 iv. l. p. 370, cited by Ducange *Gloss. Lat. v. s.*;
 cf. Sulp. Sev. *Ep.* i.). According to Menard,
 there was a similar room for the use of the
 priests (Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* v. 25; cf.
 Sulp. Sev. *Diad.* II. l.).

This receiving-room, or audience-chamber,
 seems identical with the "sacrarium," or vestry,
 where the vessels for use in church were kept
 (Ducange *Gloss. Lat. s. v.*) See DIACONICUM,
 GAZOPHYLACIUM. [L. G. S.]

GREGORIAN MUSIC. [MUSIC.]

GREGORY. (1) Bishop of Nyssa in Cappa-
 docia († 390 A. D.); commemorated March 9 (*Mart.*
Rom. Vet., Adonis); Jan. 10 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Hedar
 26 = Nov. 22 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); deposition March 9
 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Magus, the pope, "apostolus Anglorum"
 († 604 A. D.); commemorated with Innocent I.,
 March 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis,*
 Usuardi); deposition March 12 (*Mart. Bedne*).

(3) Bishop and confessor of Eliberis (Elvira)
 (see IV.); commemorated April 24 (*Mart.*
 Usuardi).

(4) Theologus, bishop of Nazianzus and of
 Constantinople († 389 A. D.); commemorated Jan.

^a The reading in the text, "extra saluatorium," ob-
 viously wrong, is corrected by Labbe in the margin to
 "infra." The "oratorium" here mentioned and in the
 passage quoted above from the Rule of Donatus, is
 perhaps another place.

25 (*Cal. Byzant., Mart. Bedae*); May 9 (*Mart.*
Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi); Aug. 3 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(5) Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea
 and martyr († circa 270 A. D.); commemorated
 July 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usa-*
uardi); July 27 (*Cal. Armen.*); Nov. 17 (*Mart.*
Bedae, Cal. Byzant.); Hedar 21 = Nov. 17 (*Cal.*
Ethiop.).

(6) The Illuminator, bishop and patriarch of
 Greater Armenia in the time of Diocletian
 († 325-330 A. D.), *leopardus*; commemorated
 Sept. 30 (*Cal. Byzant.*); March 23 (*Cal. Armen.,*
Cal. Georg.); Maskarram 19 = Sept. 16 (*Cal.*
Ethiop.); invention of his relics, Oct. 14 (*Cal.*
Armen.).

(7) Bishop of Agrigentum; commemorated
 Nov. 23 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(8) Bishop of Auxerre; commemorated Dec.
 19 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(9) Presbyter and martyr at Spoletum in
 Tuscany, in the time of Diocletian and Maxi-
 mian; commemorated Dec. 24 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.,*
Adonis, Usuardi).

(10) Ab Shandzal; commemorated Oct. 5
 (*Cal. Georg.*). [W. F. G.]

GRIFFIN. See "Cherub" in DICTIONARY
 OF THE BIBLE, vol. i. pp. 300 sqq.; and Ruskin's
Modern Painters, vol. iii. p. 112.

The connexion between the various symbolismes
 of Cherub and Griffin in Biblical and Northern
 tradition is strengthened by the etymological
 resemblance of the words. There is certainly a
 great likeness between the names γρῦρ (with s
 affirmative) and גרין. Both are titles of the
 most ancient existing symbols of Divine om-
 nipotence and omniscience; as it cannot be
 doubted that the sphinxes of Egypt and winged
 bulls or lions of Assyria conveyed kindred ideas
 to the hieratic, or indeed the popular mind. It
 would seem that all the chief races of men have
 been taught to set forth such mysterious forms;
 as this composite idea is so nearly universal.
 Some figure of this kind must have been the
 popular shape of the cherub or gryps known to
 the children of Israel: and the fact that it was
 a permitted and prescribed image, taken to-
 gether with the command to make the brazen
 serpent, forms a very large portion of the sub-
 structure of iconodulist arguments. See Johannes
 Damsceus *De Imaginibus*, Orat. ii. Such in-
 stances of griffin forms as appear in the earliest
 Christian decoration seem to the writer to be
 in all probability merely ornamental; and, as
 fact, unmeaning adaptations of Gentile patterns.
 See, however, Guendebault, *Dictionnaire Icono-*
graphique, s. v. "Griffon." The use of the sym-
 bolic griffin by the Lombard race, however,
 dates from well within our period; though the
 great Veronese works so frequently mentioned
 by Professor Ruskin are probably as late as the
 11th century. Those of the duomo of Verona
 and the church of San Zoonone deserve especial
 mention.

That the griffin is the Gothic-Christian rep-
 resentation of the cherub, the "Mighty one," or
 the "Carved Image" of Hebrew sculpture,
 seems highly probable, further, from the follow-
 ing connexion of ideas in different ages.
 The glorified forms of living creatures and of

wheels in the great opening vision of Ezekiel have necessarily been always connected with those of the *Zōa*, the Beasts of the Apocalypse [See EVANGELISTS, p. 633]. The latter, as representing the writers of the four gospels, are an universal symbol after the 5th century. It did not escape the eye of Professor Ruskja that the marble wheel by the side of his Veronese griffin is an indisputable reference on the part of the unknown Lombard artist to the first chapter of Ezekiel (Ezek. i. 21): "When those (Living Creatures) went, these went: and when those stood, these stood, and when those were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit of the Living Creatures was in the wheels." And this is fully confirmed (were that necessary) by Dr. Hayman's researches in the *DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE*. But the wheels appear in a more ancient work by a great and mystical genius whose name and date alone remain to us, the monk Rabula, scribe and illustrator of the great Florentine MS., A. D. 586 (See Assemani's *Catalogue of the Laurentian Library*). A woodcut of this is given in this work, p. 85. It represents the Ascension; our Lord is borne up by two ministering angels on a chariot of cloud, by two ministering angels on each side, with two other angels, who are apparently receiving His garments, the vesture of His flesh. The sun and moon are in the upper corners of the picture; which is one of the most important works in Christian art as a specimen of imaginative symbolism of the highest character, and also as a graphic illustration of the connexion between Hebrew and Christian vision, or Apocalypse of the Unseen. And to this the Veronese griffin and its wheel, and the whole Christian usage of that composite form as a symbol, really refer. "The winged shape becomes one of the acknowledged symbols of Divine power: and in its unity of lion and eagle, the workman of the middle ages always meant to set forth the unity of the human and Divine natures. In this unity it bears up the pillars of the church, set for ever as the corner stone."

In its merely ornamental use it is derived simply from Heathen or Gentile art and literature. [R. St. J. T.]

GROTESQUE. We have the authority of Prof. Mommsen for assigning the word *grotesco* as the original derivation of this adjective, formed, probably, immediately from grot or grotto, a cavern or subterranean recess, and therefore connected in its use, as a word of Renaissance origin, with ideas of Pan, the Satyrs, and other cavern-haunting figures, combining noble with ignoble form. The very numerous and various meanings of the word all point to the idea of novel contrast; either between the noble and ignoble, or less noble, or of the beautiful with the less beautiful. In Christian art, moreover, both of earlier and later date, a large number of works may be called grotesque in the general or popular sense of the word, because they are very singular in their appearance. This may arise in one or in two ways, or be caused by one or both of two conditions: either by the difficulty of the subject, or the archaic style of the workmen, or by a mixture of originality of mind and im-

perfect skill in craft. Many heathen grotesques of the earlier empire, as those of Pompeii, the Baths of Hadrian, and the newly-discovered frescoes of the Doria Pamphili Villa (see Parker, *Antiquities of Rome*, and appendix by the present writer) are extremely beautiful and perfect in workmanship, and come under the first or second classes mentioned, where the less pleasing form is contrasted with the more beautiful; this is the principle also of much cinque-cento grotesque. Early Christian work of this kind is not unfrequent in the catacombs, as in the "Seasons" of the catacombs of SS. Domitilla and Nereus, in many of the mosaic ornaments of St. Constantia and the other Græco-Roman churches. The employment of actual ugliness for surprise or contrast seems to be a characteristic of the art of the Northern races, found in Italy only in the earlier work of the Lombard race, and then always distinguishable in its manner from that of the French or Germans. Excepting the carvings of St. Ambrogio at Milan, and the churches of St. Michele at Pavia and Lucca, this species of grotesque is not part of our period; but the most characteristic and important of all these buildings, St. Zenone at Verona, cannot be altogether omitted. It seems as well to classify the various meanings of the Grotesque as follows, according to the examples found in various places and periods.

1. Grotesque, where more elaborate or serious representations are contrasted with easier and less important work by the same hand, as in ornamental borders round pictures, fillings-up of vaultings or surfaces round figures, &c. This embraces all the earlier grotesque of ornament, as in the frescoes of Hadrian's villa, or the Doria Pamphili columbarium.

2. Grotesque where the importance of the subject, and the workman's real interest in it, are for a time played with; he being led to do so by the natural exuberance of his fancy, by temporary fatigue of mind, or other causes—this includes the Lombard work.

3. Grotesque where either the imperfection of the workman's hand, or the inexpressible nature of his subject, render his work extraordinary in appearance, and obviously imperfect and unequal. This applies to the productions of all times and places where thoughtful and energetic men have laboured. Among its greatest and most characteristic examples are the Triumph of Death by Orgagna at Pisa, and the Last Judgment of Torcello; its most quaint and absurd appearance may be in the strange Ostrogothic mosaic in the sacristy of St. Giovanni Evangelista at Ravenna; or see Count Bastard's *Peintures des MSS.* passim; but this description of grotesqueness applies to almost all the Byzantine apses and arches of triumph where the spiritual world is depicted, and indeed to all Byzantine work in as far as it attempts naturalist representation, unless it be in the single pictures of birds, found in MSS., and occasionally in mosaic, as at St. Vitale at Ravenna.

Few of the works of the catacombs have any pretence to beauty. The birds and vine ornament of the tomb of Domitilla (perhaps the earliest Christian sepulchre, which is known by dated bricks to be certainly not later than Hadrian, and is very probably the actual grave of a granddaughter of Vespasian) are of the same

Many heathen grotesques are, as those of Pompeii, the and the newly-discovered Pampilli Villa (see Parker, and appendix by the present) very beautiful and perfect in come under the first or second where the less pleasing form the more beautiful; this is of much cinquecento Greek-Christian work of this kind is in the catacombs, as in the catacombs of SS. Domitilla many of the mosaic ornamenta and the other Graeco-

The employment of actual or contrast seems to be a part of the Northern races, and in the earlier work of the then always distinguishable in that of the French or German carvings of St. Ambrogio and the churches of St. Michele at this species of grotesque is not; but the most characteristic of all these buildings, St. Zenone it be altogether omitted. It classify the various meanings as follows, according to the various places and periods, where more elaborate or serious be contrasted with easier and less by the same hand, as in ornamental pictures, fillings-up of spaces round figures, &c. This earlier grotesque of ornament, of Hadrian's villa, or the Doria garden.

where the importance of the workman's real interest in it, played with; he being led to deal in exuberance of his fancy, by use of mind, or other causes—this is the Lombard work.

where either the imperfection of hand, or the inexpressible nature render his work extraordinary in obviously imperfect and unequal, the productions of all times and thoughtful and energetic men have among its greatest and most complex are the Triumph of Death in Pisa, and the Last Judgment of most quaint and absurd appearance strange Ostrogothic mosaic in the Giovanni Evangelista at Ravenna; Bastard's *Peintures des MSS.* passing description of grotesques applies to the Byzantine apses and arches of the spiritual world is depicted, all Byzantine work in as far as it is a natural representation, unless in its pictures of birds, found in MSS. ally in mosaic, as at St. Vitale at

the works of the catacombs have a beauty. The birds and vine ornament the tomb of Domitilla (perhaps the Christian sepulchre, which is known by to be certainly not later than Hadrian, very probably the actual grave of the mother of Vespasian) are of the same

date as the tomb, which is anterior to the catacomb. These, with some remains of the paintings in the catacomb, and the 2nd century paintings of the catacomb of St. Praxetatus, are beautiful examples of playful naturalistic ornament, probably the work of heathen hands, under Christian direction, and taken in the Christian sense. They are mentioned here, rather as parallel works to the beautiful secular-Roman grotesques, than as true grotesques themselves. They are symbolic in the strict sense (see J. H. Parker's *Photographs and Antiquities of Rome*, and art. 'SYMBOLISM' in this Dictionary).

The grotesqueness of the early mosaics is of the same nature as that of the forms and figures in the best glass-painting. In both, the advantages of light and shade, correct drawing and perspective, are sacrificed entirely to colour and graphic force of impression. To express the plainest meaning in the brightest and most gemlike colour is the whole object of the artist. Of course in the works from the 5th to the 8th century, down to the baths of Graeco-Roman art, the rigid strangeness of the mosaics may have much to do with the incapacity of the workmen. Nevertheless the gift of colour is seldom wanting; and this, together with the painful asceticism of faces and forms in these works, points to an Eastern element in the minds and education of these artists. The great Medici MS. of Rabula is perhaps the central example of the genius and originality of design and graphic power, possessed by some of the unknown ascetics of Syria and the East. The mosaic of the Transfiguration at Mount Sinai, of the age of Justinian and many of those in Rome, as the apses of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, of St. Venantius, and above all St. Praxetatus, are instances giving evidence of necessarily imperfect treatment of a transcendent subject. Those of Ravenna have been already mentioned; but their workmanship greatly excels that of the Roman mosaics, and their quaintness strikes one less than their beauty.

The Lombard invasion of Italy dates 568 A.D., and it is in the earliest work of this extraordinary race that the Christian grotesque, properly speaking, may be said to arise. The best account of some of its examples, in Pavia, Lucca and Verona, is to be found in Appendix 8 of Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. i. p. 360-65, accompanied by excellent descriptive plates, and comparisons between the Lombard subjects and workmanship in St. Michele and St. Zenone, and the Byzantine masonry and carvings of St. Mark's at Venice. Invention and restless energy are the characteristics of the new and strong barbarian race; graceful conventionalism and exact workmanship, with innate but somewhat languid sense of beauty, belong to the Greek workmen. Neither of them can ever be undervalued by any one who is interested in the bearings of art on history; for there can be no doubt, that as the Lombard churches are the first outbreak of the inventive and graphic spirit which grew into the great Pisan and Florentine schools of painting and sculpture, so the Romano-Greek or Eastern influence, generally called Byzantine, extended over all the Christian world of the early medieval ages. To trace the Christian grotesque northward and westward

through early MSS., bas-reliefs, and church decoration would be to write a history of Christian art in the dark ages. One of the first accomplishments of the denizens of a convent would of course be calligraphy, and to multiply Evangelinaria and missals was a part even of the earliest missionary work.

On the edge of every wave of progress made by the Faith, the convents arose first of all things, and the monks at once employed themselves on copies of the Holy Scriptures. Now it cannot be doubted, that a Schola Græca, a regular set of artists working according to Greek traditions of subject and treatment in art, existed in Rome from the 6th century, if not before, and received a great accession of strength in the 8th during the iconoclastic struggle in Constantinople, when many ecclesiastical artists must have withdrawn thence to Rome. There in fact, as elsewhere, the first faint revival of Christian art took place, entirely in churches and convents, and under what are called Byzantine forms. Whether Byzantinism be considered as the last embers of Graeco-Roman art, kept alive by Christianity for the Northern races, or as the first sparks of a new light feebly struggling for existence through all the centuries from the 6th to the 11th, there is no doubt that the characteristics of Byzantinism



No. 1. Merovingian Initial and Bird.



No. 2. Carolingian, 8th century. (Bastard, vol. I.)

—many of them characteristics of weakness, no doubt—prevailed in Christian ornamental work of all kinds, and were grotesque in all the senses of the word. The beautifully illustrated works of Prof. Westwood on Saxon, Irish and Northern MSS. in particular, are of the highest value in this connection, and are in fact almost the only works generally accessible in this country, which illustrate the connection between the Eastern and English churches through the Irish, by way of Iona and Lindisfarne (see MINIATURE).

The splendid works of D'Agincourt and Conant Bastard are the best authority and sources of information on the Southern Grotesque in min-

ture carving within the limits of our period, and the art of photography is now bringing the remains of the ancient Lombard churches within reach of most persons interested in them. Descriptions fail in great measure without illustration, and few pictures or drawings are really trustworthy for details of ornamental work (see *Stones of Venice*, App. vol. I. ubi sup.). Mr. Ruskin has secured many valuable workmen. Deixon's *Annales Archéologiques* contain much excellent illustration; and a parallel work of equal value is still, we believe, carried on in Germany, called the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Alterthums-freunden in Rheinlande*. Mr. Parker's photographs and *Roman Antiquities* above men-



No. 3. Medicus Saplens. (Bastard, vol. I.)

tioned, are of great value to the historical student of art or of archaeology. The Northern Teutonic grotesque of actual sport of mind, ultra-naturalism, and caricature extends far beyond the limits of our period. But the term grotesque is generally applied to so many things within it, that some early specimens of Gothic humour seem necessary for the purposes of this Dictionary; and three selections from Count Bastard's work are accordingly given. No. 1 is a Merovingian initial letter; No. 2 Carlovingian of the 8th century; and No. 3 is the initial portrait of a monk-physician in a *lettres-à-jour* MS. of the 8th century of the medical works of Orbases, Alexander of Tralles, and Dioscorides. All will be found in colour in Count Bastard's first volume, with innumerable others. [R. St. J. T.]

GUARDIANS. The duties and liabilities of guardians as defined by the old Roman laws, were but slightly affected by the Christian religion [See *DICT. OF GREEK AND ROM. ANTIQ.* a. v. Tutor].

The principal church regulation, which concerned them, arose from the generally admitted maxim, that the clergy ought not to be entangled in secular affairs. Hence a guardian was not allowed to be ordained to any ecclesiastical function, until after the expiration of his guardianship. (*Council Carthage*, I. c. 9, A.D. 348.) For the same reason none of the clergy were allowed to be appointed guardians; and those who nominated any of them to such an office were liable to church censures. Thus Cyprian mentions the case of a person named Geminus Victor, who having by his will appointed a presbyter as

guardian to his children, had his name struck out of the *DIPTYCHUS*, so that no prayer or oblation should be offered for him. (*Cyprian Ep.* 66, *ad Clerum Furnit.*)

Under the old Roman law a guardian was forbidden to marry his ward, or to give her in marriage to his son, except by special licence from the emperor (*Cod. Justin.* v. 6).

But Constantine altered this provision, so far as to allow such marriages, provided that the ward was of age, and that her guardian had offered her no injury in her minority, in which case he was to be banished and his goods confiscated. (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 8.) [G. A. J.]

GUBA on the EUPHRATES (COUNCIL OF), A.D. 583, a meeting of the Monophysites of Antioch under their patriarch Peter the younger, to enquire into the opinions of an archimandrite named John, and Probus, a sophist, his friend, and ending in their condemnation (Mansi, ix. 985-8). [E. S. F.]

GUDDENE, martyr at Carthage, A.D. 203; commemorated July 18 (*Mart. Rom. Fel.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

GURIAS, martyr of Edessa, A.D. 288; commemorated with Abibas and Samsons, Nov. 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*, *Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

GUTHBERTUS. [CUTHBERT.]

GYNAECONITIS. [GALLERIES.]

GYROVAGI, vagabond monks, reprobated by monastic writers. Benedict, in the very commencement of his rule, excludes them from consideration, as unworthy of the name of monks (*Bened. Reg.* c. 1). He pronounces them worse even than the "sarabaites," or "remeloth" (*Hieron. Ep.* 22 *ad Eustoch.* c. 34), who, though living together by twos and threes, without rule or discipline, at any rate were stationary, and built themselves cells; whereas the "gyrovagi" were always roving from one monastery to another. After staying three or four days in one monastery, they would start again for another; for after a few days' rest it was usual for strangers to be subjected to the discipline of the monastery, to the same fare, labour, &c., as the inmates (*Martene Reg. Comm. ad loc. cit.*); always endeavouring to ascertain where in the neighbourhood they would be most likely to find comfortable quarters (*Reg. Magist.* c. 2; cf. *Isidor. Pelus. I. Ep.* 41, Joann. Climac. *Scol. Grad.* 27). Martene (v. s.) and Ménard (*Bened. Anton. Concord. Regul.* iii. li.) identify these "gyrovagi" with the "circumcelliones," or "circelliones." [v. *CIRCUMCELLIONES.*] They were of importance enough to be condemned in one of the canons of the Trullan council, A.D. 691, and are there described as wandering about in black robes and with unshorn hair: they are to be chased away into the desert, unless they will consent to enter a monastery, to have their hair trimmed, and in other ways to submit to discipline (*Conc. Quinisextum* c. 42). Bingham (*Origin. Eccles. vii. ii. 12*) and Hospinian (*de Orig. Monach.* ii. li.) merely repeat what is contained in the rule of Benedict. [I. G. S.]

children, had his name struck from the list, so that no prayer or oblation should be offered for him. (Cyprian *Ep.* 6.)

Roman law a guardian was appointed for his ward, or to give her in marriage, except by special licence (Cod. Justin. v. 6). It is interesting to note that this restriction, so far as marriages, provided that the guardian had the ward in her minority, in which case he was to be satisfied with his goods confirmed in law. (G. A. J. i. ix. 8.)

EUPHRATES (COUNCIL OF), one of the Monophysites of the 5th century; patriarch Peter the younger, opinions of an archimandrite Probus, a sophist, his friend, and his condemnation (Mansi, i. 100). (E. S. Ff.)

EVAGRIUS (MARTYR AT CARTHAGE, A.D. 209; also at Antioch, A.D. 263). (W. F. G.)

EVAGRIUS (MARTYR AT EDNESSA, A.D. 288; also at Antioch and Samonns, Nov. 15). (W. F. G.)

EVANGELISTS.

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EVANGELISTS (GALLERIES). Vagabond monks, reprobatelike. Benedict, in the very beginning of his rule, excludes them from the name of monks (1). He pronounces them worse than "sarabaitae," or "remoboth" (*ad Eustoch.* c. 34), who, though they were two and three, without rule or discipline, were stationary, and built their cells; whereas the "gyrovagi" were nomadic, and from one monastery to another, for three or four days in one monastery, and then start again for another; for their rest it was usual for strangers to be received into the monastery to the discipline of the monks, and labour, &c., as the law of the *Reg. Comm. ad loc. cit.*; always ascertain where in the neighborhood would be most likely to find quarters (*Reg. Magist.* c. 2; cf. *Ep.* 41, Joann. Climac. *Scol. Grad.* c. 10), and Menard (*Bened. Anab.* c. 10, v. s.) and Menard (*Bened. Anab.* c. 10, iii. ii.) identify these "gyrovagi" with "circelliones," or "circelliones." They were of importance in the 6th century, and were to be condemned in one of the canons of a council, A.D. 681, and are there mentioned in black robes and wandering about in black robes and hair: they are to be chased away from a monastery, unless they will consent, and to have their hair trimmed, and to submit to discipline (*Conc. Oec.* c. 2). Bingham (*Orig. Monach.* ii. 4), and Hospinian (*de Orig. Monach.* ii. 4), mention that what is contained in the rule of St. Benedict is contained in the rule of St. Basil. (G. G. S.)

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HABAUKKUK, the prophet; commemorated *Clabot* 24 = May 19, and *Hadar* 3 = Oct. 30 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); also Dec. 2 (*Cal. Byzant.*). See also *ANACOT.* [W. F. G.]

HABIT, THE MONASTIC. (*Habitus monasti* us, σχῆμα μοναδικόν or μοναχικόν). A distinctive uniform was no part of monachism originally. Only it was required of monks that their dress and general appearance should indicate "gravity and a contempt of the world" (*Bingh. Orig. Eccl.* vii. iii. 6). Hair worn long was an effeminacy (*August. de Op. Mon.* c. 31, *Hieron. Ep.* 22, *ad Eustoch.* c. 28, cf. *Epiphani. adv. Haeres.* lxxx. 7), the head shaven all over was too like the priests of Isis (*Hieron. Comm. in Ezek.* c. 44, *Ambros. Ep.* 58 *ad Sabini*). In popular estimation persons abstaining from the use of silken apparel were often called monks (*Hieron. Ep.* 23 *ad Marcell.*). The same writer defines the dress of a monk merely as "cheap and shabby" (*Ep.* 4 *ad Rustic.*, *Ep.* 13 *ad Paulin.*). And the dress of a nun as "sombre" in tint, and "coarse" in texture (*Ep.* 23 *ad Marcell.*). He warns the enthusiasts of asceticism against the eccentricity in dress, which was sometimes a mere pretence of austerity, a long untrimmed beard, bare feet, a black cloak, chains on the wrists (*Ep.* 22 *ad Eustoch.* c. 28, cf. *Pallad. Hist. Lav.* c. 52). So Cassian protests against monks wearing wooden crosses on their shoulders (*Coll.* viii. 3). Hair closely cut, and the cloak (pallium), usually worn by Greek philosophers and lecturers, were at first badges of a monk in Western Christendom; but even these were not peculiar to him. The cloak was often worn by other Christians, exposing them to the vulgar reproach of being "Greeks" and "impostors" (*Bingh. Orig. Eccl.* i. ii. 4), and any one appearing in public with pale face, short hair, and a cloak, was liable to be hooted and jeered at by the unbelieving populace as a monk (*Salv. de Gubernat.* viii. 4).

Cassian is more precise on a monk's costume, and devotes to it the first book of his Institutes. But he allows that the sort of dress suitable for a monk in Egypt or Ethiopia may be very unsuitable elsewhere, and he condemns sack-cloth, or rather, a stuff made of goats' hair or camels' hair (cilicium vestis) worn outside as too conspicuous. He speaks in detail of the various parts of a monk's dress; the hood (cucullus), which is to remind the monk to be as a little child in simplicity; the sleeveless tunic (colobatum), in Egypt made of linen, which reminds him of self-mortification; the GIRDLE or waist-band (cingulum), to remind him to have his "loins girded" as a "good soldier of Christ"; the cape over the shoulders (mafors, palliolium); the sheepskin or goatskin round the waist and thighs (melotes, pera, penula); and for the feet the sandals (CALIGAE), only to be worn as an occasional luxury, never during the divine service (*Cassian Instit.* i. cc. 1-10 cf. *Ruffin. Hist. Mon.* c. 3).

Benedict characteristically passes over this item in the monastic discipline very quickly; summing up his directions about it in one of the last chapters of his rule; and discreetly leaving

CHAPT. ANT.

questions of colour and material, as indifferent, to be decided by climate and other circumstances. He lays down the general principle, that there are to be no superfluities, adding, that a tunic and hood, or, for outdoor work, a sort of cape to protect the shoulders (scapulare), instead of the hood, ought to suffice generally; two suits of each being allowed for each monk, and some suits of rather better quality being kept for monks on their peregrinations. The worn out articles of dress are to be restored to the keeper of the wardrobe, for the poor. Benedict, however, "to avoid disputes" appends a short list, corresponding very nearly to Cassian's, of things necessary for a monk, all which are to be supplied to the brethren, at the discretion of the abbat, and none of them to be the property or "peculiare" of any one. The only addition to the Egyptian costume is that of socks (pelules) for the winter; the Benedictine "bracie" apparently corresponding with "cingulum," and the "scapulare" with "palliolium." Benedict allows trowsers [FEMORALIA] on a journey, and on some other occasions; underclothing he is silent about; consequently commentators and the usages of particular monasteries differ on this point. To the list of clothing Benedict adds, as part of a monk's equipment, a knife (cultellus), a pen (graphium), a needle (acus) a handkerchief or handcloth (mappula), and tablets for writing on (tabulae). He specifies also as necessaries for the night, a mattress (matta), a coverlet (sagum), a blanket (henna), and a pillow (capitale) (*Bened. Reg.* c. 55). Martene quotes Hildemarus for the traditional custom, by which each monk was provided with a small jar of soap for himself and of grease for his shoes (*Reg. Bened. Comment.* ad loc.).

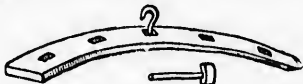
Laxity of monastic discipline soon began to provoke fresh enactments about dress, sometimes more stringent and more minute than at first (e.g. *Reg. Isidor.* c. 14, *Reg. M-g.* c. 81). Councils re-enact, and reformers protest. The council of Agde, A.D. 506, and the 4th council of Toledo, A.D. 633, repeat the canon of the 4th council of Carthage A.D. 398, "ne clericus communi nutrietur" (*Conc. Agath.* c. 20; *Conc. iv. Toletan.* c. 40; *Conc. iv. Carthag.* c. 44). Ferreolus, in southern Gaul, A.D. 558, repeats the old edict against superfluities, and forbids his monks to use perfumes, or wear linen next the skin (*Ferreol. Reg.* cc. 14, 31, 32). In Spain, Fructuosus of Braga, A.D. 656, insists on uniformity of apparel. Irregularity about dress seems with monks, as in a regiment, to have been an accompaniment of demoralisation. (See, further, Menard *Conc. Regul.* lxiii.; *Alterser. Asceticon.* v.; *Hildemard. Orig. Ascet. Syta.* xiii.)

The Greek *Euchologion* gives an office for the assumption of the ordinary habit of a monk (ἀναλογία τοῦ μικροῦ σχήματος), and another for assuming the greater or "angelic" habit distinctive of those ascetics who were thought to have attained the perfection of monastic life (ἀκ. τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος). See *Daniel's Codex Lit.* iv. 659 ff. [See *NIVICE.*] [G. G. S.]

HAEREDIPETAÆ. [CAPTATORÆ.]

HAGGAI, the prophet; commemorated *Tak-* and 20 = Dec. 16 (*Cal. Ethiop.*, *Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

HAGIOSIDERON. One of the substitutes for BELLS still used in the East is the Hagiosideron (ἅγιος ἰσίδηρον, ἁγίωμα) [see SEMANTRON]. These usually consist of an iron plate, curved like the tire of a wheel, which is struck with a



hammer, and produces a sound not unlike that of a gong. They are occasionally made of brass. The illustration is taken from Dr. Neale's work (Neale's *Eastern Church*, Int. 217, 225; Daniel's *Codex Lit.* iv. 199). [C.]

HAIL MARY or AVE MARIA. An address and prayer commonly made to St. Mary the Virgin in the unreformed Western churches.

What it is, and when used.—It consists of two parts: 1. The words used by the angel Gabriel in saluting St. Mary, as rendered by the Vulgate, slightly altered by the addition of St. Mary's name, "Hail Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee;" followed by the words of Elizabeth, "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." 2. A prayer, subsequently added to the salutation, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now, and at the hour of our death."

This formula is ordered by the breviary of pope Pius V. to be used daily, after the recitation of compline, and before the recitation of each of the other canonical hours, i.e., matins, prime, terce, sext, nones, and vespers. It is also commanded, on the same authority, to be used before the recitation of the "Office of the Blessed Virgin," and before each of the hours in the "Little Office." It is also used nine times every day in what is called the "Angelus." It is also used sixty-three times in the devotion called the "Crown of the Virgin," and one hundred and fifty times in the "Rosary of the Virgin." It also occurs in many of the public offices, and is used before sermons, and it most commonly forms a part of the special devotions appointed by bishops for obtaining indulgences.

Its date.—Cardinal Baronius and Cardinal Bona have used an expression which, while not committing them to a declaration of fact, or a statement of their own belief, has yet led subsequent writers (see Gaume, *loc. inf. cit.*) to claim their authority for the assertion, that the second, or precatory, part of the Ave Maria was adopted in, or immediately after, the council of Ephesus, at the beginning of the 5th century. "At that time," says Baronius (*loc. inf. cit.*), "the angelical salutation is believed to have received that addition, 'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us, &c.,' which came to be constantly repeated by the faithful." "The angelical salutation," says Bona (*loc. inf. cit.*), "is believed to have received this addition in the great council of Ephesus." It is quite certain that the two cardinals and their followers have ante-dated this part of the Ave Maria by more than a thousand years. The first, or Scriptural, part, consisting of the words of the angel and of Elizabeth, is older by some five hundred years than the second, or precatory, part, which has been attached to it, and the first part did not become used as a formula

HAIL MARY

until the end of the 11th century. The earliest injunction authorising its being taught together with the previously existing formulas of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, is found in the Constitutions of Odo, who became bishop of Paris in the year 1196. The Benedictines of St. Stephen of Caer, in 1706, maintained the following thesis: "The angelical salutation began to be in use in the 12th century, but these words 'Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us, &c.,' seem to have been added a long time afterwards, in the 16th century;" a thesis which was denounced by the then bishop of Bayeux as scandalous, but was then defended and maintained against him by Père Massuet. The earliest known use of the first, or scriptural, part, is in the *Liber Antiphonarius*, attributed by John the Deacon to St. Gregory the Great, and generally published with his works. If St. Gregory is the author of the *Liber Antiphonarius*, and if the antiphon in which these words occur (p. 657, *Ed. inf. cit.*) is not a later insertion (the same words in the previous page are undoubtedly a modern insertion), the angelical salutation, as found in the Bible, was used as early as the beginning of the 7th century; not, however, as a formula of devotion, but as we might use an anthem on one day of the year. This passage from St. Gregory is the only thing which brings the Ave Maria within the chronological limits assigned to this Dictionary, for it is allowed (see Mahillon, *loc. inf. cit.*) that similar words in the so-called liturgy of St. James the Less are of late introduction there.

The addition of the second, or precatory, part of the Ave Maria, is stated by Pelbartus to have been made in consequence of a direct injunction of St. Mary, who appeared to a pious woman, and gave her instructions to that effect. The use of it sprang up in the 15th century, and is first authorised in pope Pius Vth's breviary, in the year 1568.

The "Crown of the Virgin" consists of sixty-three recitations of the Ave Maria, one for each year that St. Mary was supposed to have lived, with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer after every tenth Ave Maria. Its institution is attributed by some to Peter the Hermit. It appears to have sprung up and spread in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The "Rosary, or Psalter of the Blessed Virgin" consists of one hundred and fifty Ave Marias, after the number of the Psalms of David, together with fifteen Pater Nosters, distributed at equal intervals among the Ave Marias. Its institution is attributed by some to St. Dominic, and to the year 1210.

The "Angelus" consists of three recitations of the Ave Maria at the sound of the Angelus bell in the morning, three at midday, and three at night. On each occasion the first Ave Maria is to be preceded by the sentence, "The angel of the Lord announced to Mary, and she conceived of the Holy Ghost;" the second, by "Behold the handmaid of the Lord." Be it unto me according unto thy word;" the third, by "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." The Angelus appears to have been originated in the year 1287, by Buonvicino da Riva, of Milan, of the order of the Humiliati, who began the practice of ringing a bell at the recitation of the Ave Maria. In 1318 John XXII. gave an indulgence

11th century. The earliest of its being taught together with existing formulas of the Creed is found in the Constitutions of the Council of Paris in the year 1024. St. Stephen of Caen, the following thesis: "The Virgin began to be in use in these words 'Holy Mary, pray for us, &c.' seem to have time afterwards, in the 16th which was denounced by the eyes as scandalous, but was stained against him by Peter the first known use of the first, or in the *Liber Antiphoniarum*, in the Deacon to St. Gregory generally published with his Gregory is the author of the antiphons, and if the antiphon in question occurs (p. 657, *Ed. inf. cit.*) mention (the same words of the antiphon) undoubtedly a modern interpolation, as found in the early as the beginning of the 14th, however, as a formula of devotion might use an anthem on one of these passages from St. Gregory which brings the Ave Maria to its original limits assigned to this devotion (see Mabillon, *loc. cit.*) is allowed (see Mabillon, *loc. cit.*) similar words in the so-called *Less* are of late introduction.

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of ten days for saying an Ave Maria to the sound of a bell rung at night. In 1458, Calixtus III. gave three years and one hundred and twenty days' indulgence for reciting the Ave Maria; and the Pater Noster three times a day. In 1518, Leo X. ordered that the Angelus bell should be rung three times a day, and he gave 500 days' indulgence for saying the Angelus morning, midday, and evening. Finally, Benedict XIII. and Benedict XIV. gave a plenary indulgence, to be obtained once a month, to all who recited it three times daily.

The dates, therefore, are as follow:—
The earliest known use (in the form of an antiphon, or anthem) of the Scriptural words, afterwards adopted as the first part of the Ave Maria—the 7th century.
The earliest known use of the same part as a formula—the 11th century.

The earliest authoritative recommendation of the said formula—the 12th century.
The Crown of the Virgin—the 12th century.
The Rosary or Psalter of the Virgin—the 13th century.

The Angelus—the 14th century.
The earliest known use of the prayer which forms the second part of the Ave Maria—the 15th century.

The earliest authoritative recommendation and injunction of the same—the 16th century.

Authorities and References.—*Breviarium Romanum* Pii V. Pont. M. jussu editum; Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. ad ann.* 431, tom. vii. p. 404, num. 179, Lucae, 1741; Bona, *Divine Psalmologie*, c. 16, § 2, p. 497, Antverpiæ, 1694; Gaume, *Catechismo di Perseveranza*, vol. iii. p. 506, Milan, 1859; Marchantius, *Hortus Pastorum*, tract iv. Lugli., 1672; Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar. 25, Aug. 4, pp. 539, 422, Antverpiæ, 1668, 1733; S. Gregorii Magni *Opera*, tom. iii. p. 657, ed. Ben. Venet. 1744; Hospinianus, *De Festis*, p. 69, Genevæ, 1674; Mabillon, *Præfationes in Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti; Præfatio in Saccl.* v. p. 439, Venet., 1740; Migne, *Summi aurea de Laudibus Virginis*, tom. iv., *Liturgiæ Mariana: De cultu publico ab Ecclesia B. Mariae exhibitio: Dissertationes* iv. v. vi. vii. auctore J. C. Trombelli, p. 209, Parisiis, 1862; Zaccaria, *Dissertationi varie Italiane*, Dissertazione vi. tom. ii. p. 242, Romæ, 1780; *Enciclopedia dell' Ecclesiastico*, s. v. "Ave Maria," Napoli, 1843.

[F. M.]

HAIR, WEARING OF. The regulations of the ancient church on this subject may be divided into three distinct classes, as relating—
i. to the clergy; ii. to penitents; iii. to believers in general.

i. The hair in ancient times appears to have been sometimes worn at great length. Thus Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 23), speaking of James the Apostle, notes that a razor never came upon his head. But shortened hair appears to have been considered a mark of distinction between the heathen philosopher and the Christian teacher. Thus Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* 28) says of Maximus, that he brought no qualification to the pastoral office except that of shortening his hair, which, before that time, he had worn disgracefully long. It is also recorded of one Theotimus, bishop of Seythia, that he

still retained the long hair which he had worn when a student, in token that, in becoming a bishop, he had not abandoned philosophy (*Soz. H. E.* vii. 26). But this liberty was restricted by various decrees of councils. The fourth council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (c. 44), provides that the clergy shall neither permit their hair nor beards to grow. Another reading of this decree is, that they were neither to let their hair grow nor shave their beards. The first synod of St. Patrick, A.D. 456 (c. 6), provides that the hair of the clergy should be shorn according to the Roman fashion, and (c. 10) that any who allow their hair to grow, should be excluded from the church. The council of Agde, A.D. 506 (c. 20), ordains that clergy who retain long hair, shall have it shortened, even against their will, by the archdeacon. The first council of Barcelona, A.D. 540 (c. 3), provides that no clergyman shall let his hair grow nor shave his beard. The first council of Braga, A.D. 563 (c. 11), provides that lectors shall not have love-locks (granos), hanging down, after the heathen fashion. The second council of Braga, A.D. 572 (c. 66), decrees that the clergy ought not to discharge their sacred functions with long hair, but with closely-cut hair and open ears. The fourth council of Toledo, A.D. 633 (c. 41), denounces certain lectors in Galicia, who, while retaining a small tonsure, allowed the lower portion of the hair to grow. The council in Trullo, A.D. 692 (*Cone. Quinisæc.* c. 21), ordains that clergy who have been deprived of their office, should, on their repentance, be shorn after the fashion of the clergy; if they refused this, their hair was to be left long, in token of their preference of a worldly life. At a council held at Rome, A.D. 721 (c. 17), anathema was pronounced against any of the clergy who should allow his hair to grow. The same was repeated at another Roman council, held A.D. 743 (c. 8).

These decrees, however, appear to have been difficult of enforcement. Heretical sects especially appear to have been fond of adopting eccentric fashions of wearing the hair and beard as badges and tokens of their opinions. Epiphanius (*Haeres. in Massil.* n. 6, 7) denounces certain heretical monks, dwelling in Mesopotamia, in monasteries which he calls "Mandras," who were in the habit of shaving the beard and letting the hair grow, and contends that such practices are contrary to the apostolic injunctions. Jerome (*Comm. in Esch.* c. 44) says that the clergy should neither have their heads closely shaven, like the priests of Isis and Serapis, nor let their hair grow to an extravagant length, like barbarians and soldiers, but that the hair should be worn just so long as to cover the head. In another place (*Epist.* 18, al. 22, ad Eustoch.), he denounces certain monks who indulged in beards like goats and ringlets like women. In his "Life of Illarion," he commends the saint for cutting his hair once a year, at Easter. Augustine (*De Op. Mon.* c. 31) speaks of certain monks who, fearing lest they might lose reverence by their shorn heads, "ne vilior habentur tosa sanctitas," allowed their hair to grow, in order to suggest to those who saw them a resemblance to Samuel and the elder prophets. Against these he quotes the saying of the apostle, that in Christ the veil shall be taken away (2 Cor. iii. 14). Gregory the Great

(*Pastoral*, p. 2, c. 7) says that priests are rightly forbidden either to shave their heads, or to let their hair grow long. The hair on the head of a priest, is to be kept so long that it may cover the skin, and cut so close that it may not interfere with the eyes. The practice seems to have been, to wear the hair short and the beard long. Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* iv. 24) speaks of one Maximus Palatinus, a clergyman, as wearing his hair short and his beard long. Gregory the Great is described as wearing a beard of the old fashion and of moderate size, a large round tonsure, and his hair neatly curled, "intorto," and hanging to the middle of his ears (Joann. Diae. *Vita Greg. Max.* c. 4, c. 83). Bede (*Eecl. Hist.* i. 4, c. 14), describing a vision of SS. Peter and Paul, says that the one was shaven (and tonsured), as a clergyman, the other wore his beard long. For other particulars regarding the hair of the clergy, see TOSSURE.

ii. Closely-cut hair was always enjoined on penitents, as a condition of their reception into the church. The council of Agde (c. 15) provides that no penitents shall be received unless they have parted with their hair, "comas depheuerint." The first council of Barcelona (c. 6) speaks of the shaven heads of male penitents. The third council of Toledo (c. 12) provides that the first step to the admission of a male penitent, shall be to shave his head. So Optatus (*Contra Donatist.* l. 23) finds fault with the Donatists for having shaven the heads of certain priests whom they had admitted to penance. With regard to women, Ambrose (*Ad Virg. Laps.* c. 8) speaks of cutting off the hair, which by vain glory had tempted to the sin of luxury; but Jerome, in describing the repentance of Fabiola (*Ep.* 30, al. 84, ad Ocean.), speaks of her dishevelled hair. But before their restoration, penitents and excommunicated persons were obliged to let the hair and beard grow. Thus a certain Ursicinus, bishop of Cahors, being excommunicated, was forbidden to cut either his hair or his beard (Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* l. 8, n. 20). In general, neglected hair appears to have been a sign of mourning. Chrysostom (*Serm.* 3, on Job) says that many in time of mourning let the hair grow, whereas Job shorn his. The reason being, that where the hair is honoured, it is a sign of mourning to cut it short, but where it is worn short, it is a sign of mourning to let it grow. Baronius (*Annals*, A.D. 631, n. 4) speaks of a certain bishop, named Lupus, exiled by Clothaire, who came mourning to the king with long dishevelled locks, and the king, in token of forgiveness, commanded his hair to be shorn.

iii. The laity were sometimes recognised as usually wearing their hair long. The council in Trullo (*Conc. Quinisext.* c. 21) ordains that delinquent and impudent clergy should wear their hair long, as the laity. Yet immoderately lengthened hair appears to have been considered a token of effeminacy and luxuriousness. When the emperor Heraclius succeeded to the throne, his hair was immediately cut short (Baronius, *Annal.* A.D. 610, n. 5). Many attempts were therefore made to restrain the liberty of the laity, in this respect, within due bounds, founded partly on a sense of what was decent and becoming, partly on the principle that it is not right either for men or women to obliterate the characteristics of their sex. The council in

Trullo (c. 96) asserts that it is inconsistent with the baptismal profession, that baptised men should wear their hair in cunningly woven plaits or tresses, and orders that such as would not obey this admonition, should be excommunicated. The council of Gangra (c. 17) anathematizes any women who, through pretended asceticism, should cut close the hair which was given to them as a token of subjection. The decree was confirmed by the emperor Theodosius, with the addition that any bishop who should admit such women into the church, should be deprived of his office (*Soz. H. E.* vii. 26). In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (i. 3), the followers of Christ are ordered not to promote the growth of their hair, but rather to restrain and shorten it. Men are forbidden to wear ringlets, or to use ointments, or in any way to imitate the adornments in use among women. They are also forbidden to collect their hair into a knot or crown, ποικίλεις ἐν ᾧ ἴσται σπατάλιον, or to indulge in tresses, either artfully dishevelled or carefully arranged, ἢ ἀποχόμα ἢ μεμυρισμένη, or to curl and crisp it, or dye it yellow. They are also forbidden to shave the head, as if thereby obliterating the peculiar distinction, τῆς μορφῆς, of mankind. Clemens Alexandrianus (*Pædagog.* ii. c. 8) speaks of the folly committed by aged women in dyeing their hair; and (*l. i.* c. 3) reprehends the folly of which some men were guilty, in eradicated the hair, apparently not only from their beards, but from all parts of their bodies, with pitch plaisters. He also (*l. iii.* c. 11) gives full directions for the arrangement of the hair. The hair of men is to be cut close, unless it is crisp and curly, ὄφλας. Long curls and love-locks are strictly forbidden, as effeminate and unseemly. The hair is not to be allowed to grow over the eyes, and a closely-cropped head is alleged not only to be becoming a grave man, but to render the brain less liable to injury, by accustoming it to endure heat and cold. The beard is to be allowed to grow, since an ample beard becomes the male sex; if cut at all, the chin must not be left quite bare. The moustache may be clipped with scissors, so that it may not be dirtied in eating, but not shorn with a razor. Women are to wear the hair modestly arranged upon the neck, and fastened with a hair pin. The habit of wearing false hair is strongly denounced, since, it is said, in such cases, when the priest, in bestowing his benediction, lays his hand upon the head, the blessing does not reach the wearer of the hair, but rests upon the person to whom the hair belongs. [P. O.]

HAIR-CLOTH (Cilicium). The rough hair-cloth for which Cilicia was anciently famous was used in several ways, both as an actual instrument, and as a symbol, of mortification.

1. The hair-shirt has frequently been worn, as is well known, as a means of mortifying the flesh without ostentation. Thus Jerome (*Epist. to J. Nepot.* c. 9) says that some other way narrate how the young Nepotianus, when in the imperial service, wore hair-cloth under his chlamys and fine linen. And Paulinus Petrucius (*Vita S. Martini*, ii. p. 1019 D, Migne) says of the monks of St. Martin:

"Multis vestis erat setis contexta camel."

So in Hucbald's *Life of St. Rictrudis*, who died

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HALLELUJAH

about A.D. 688 (c. 9, in Mabillon's *Acta SS.*
Bened. Sæc. ii.), we read that the saint wore an
 inner garment of hair-cloth (*esophorio amictivo*
cilicino). One of the saints who bore the name
 of Theodore was distinguished as *τριχίνας* from
 his constant habit of wearing a hair-shirt (*Maeri*
hierolox, s. v. Trichinus).

Monks frequently used the hair-shirt. Cassian,
 however (*Instit. l. 1*) does
 not consider it suit-
 able for their ordinary garb, both as savouring
 of over-righteousness and as hindering labour
 [HAIR, THE MONASTIC]. In his time—Cassian
 died about A.D. 430—few monks seem to have
 used it; in after times we find it constantly
 used, at any rate by those who claimed superior
 sanctity. On the whole subject, see O. Zöckler,
Krit. Geschichte der Askese, p. 82 [Frankf.-a.-
 M. 1863].

2. Of the symbolic uses of hair-cloth the
 following are the principal:—The candidates for
 baptism anciently came to the preliminary ex-
 amination [SCRUTINIAM] with bare feet, and
 standing on hair-cloth (Augustine, *De Symb. ad*
Catech. ii. 1; compare iv. 1). Penitents in the
 ceremonies of Ash Wednesday were clothed with
 a hair-cloth, as well as sprinkled with ashes
 (Martene, *Rit. Ant. IV. c. xvii.*; *Ordo. 7, 16*,
 etc.). The altar was sometimes covered with
 hair-cloth in times of affliction (*Ib. III. iii. 2*).
 The dying were covered with a hair-cloth
 blessed by the priest (*Ib. I. vii. 4, Ordo 19*).
 The bodies of the dead were sometimes wrapped
 in hair-cloth; as, for instance, that of Bernard
 of Hildesheim (*Life*, c. 43; in Surius, Nov. 20).
 Charles the Great was buried in the hair-shirt
 which he had worn in life (*Life* by the monk of
 Angoulême, c. 24; quoted by Martene, III. xii.
 13). In an ancient form for the reception of
 penitents on Maundy Thursday, given by Mar-
 tene (IV. xxii. § ii. Ordo 6) from a Sarum missal,
 a banner of hair-cloth (vexillum cilicinum) is
 directed to be borne in the procession to the
 church. [C.]

HALLELUJAH. [ALLELUIA.]

HAND, THE, is used as symbolic of the
 manifested presence of the First Person of the
 Holy Trinity, GOD THE FATHER.

The declining skill of the earliest Christian
 workmen, and their utter technical incapacity
 after the time of Constantine, appears in the
 strongest light in their attempts to delineate
 the extremities of the human figure. Mar-
 tigny remarks that the hands of the martyrs
 presenting or receiving their crowns in heaven
 are covered or concealed in token of adoration;
 but this applies only to the left hand. The
 comparative skill, or want of skill, with which
 these parts of the body are treated, might
 possibly be a test of ancient work in the cata-
 combs, could paintings be discovered of very
 ancient date, and thoroughly ascertained authen-
 ticity without modern retouch.

The hand representing God occurs in the
 great Transfiguration of St. Apollinaris in Classe
 at Ravenna (Martigny, p. 639, s. v. Transfigura-
 tion). Also in a carving of the same sub-
 ject on the Ivory Casket of the Library at
 Brescia (Westwood, *Ficile Ivory Cests*, 94, p. 37,
 catalogue). [R. St. J. T.]

HANDS, IMPOSITION OF. [IMPOSITION
 OF HANDS.]

HANDS, THE LIFTING OF 737

HANDS, THE LIFTING OF IN PRAYER. 1. The strict observance of this cus-
 tom, and the importance attached to it among
 the early Christians, will hardly be understood,
 unless we take into consideration the habits and
 opinions of their Jewish and heathen forefathers.
 It was a rite that had descended to them from
 both. Among the children of Israel it accom-
 panied acts of praise as well as prayer. Witness
 the Book of Psalms:—"Thus will I bless Thee
 while I live: I will lift up my hands in Thy
 name" (Ps. lxxiii. 4); "Lift up your hands in
 holiness, and bless the Lord" (Ps. cxxxiv. 2).
 Before Ezra read the law to the people after
 their return from Babylon, he "blessed the
 Lord, the great God, and all the people answered
 Amen, Amen, with lifting up of their hands"
 (Neh. viii. 6; compare 1 Esdr. ix. 47). In prayer
 the gesture was so universal that to pray and to
 lift up the hands were almost convertible terms.
 Thus in Lamentations, "Lift up thy hands to-
 wards Him for the life of thy young children"
 (Ch. ii. 19). Again in Psalm xxviii. 2: "Hear
 the voice of my supplications, when I cry unto
 Thee; when I lift up my hands towards Thy
 holy oracle." When Heliodorus came to take
 away the treasures in the temple, the inhabi-
 tants of Jerusalem "all holding their hands to-
 ward heaven, made supplication" (2 Macc. iii.
 20; comp. xiv. 34; Ps. cxli. 2; Is. i. 15; 1
 Esdr. viii. 73; Eccles. ii. 19). This gesture in
 prayer was without doubt so highly valued
 among the Jews, partly in consequence of the
 victory obtained over the Amalekites, while the
 hands of Moses were held up (Exod. xvii. 11);
 but it was nevertheless "not of Moses, but of
 the fathers." We might infer this from the
 manner in which the story is related; but more
 conclusively from the fact that the same rite
 prevailed among the Gentiles. "All we of
 human kind," says Aristotle, "stretch forth our
 hands to heaven, when we pray" (*De Mundo*, c.
 vi. comp. Hom. II. viii. 347; Virg. *Aen.* iii. 176;
 x. 667). Minutius Felix proves that it was
 still common among the heathen in the 3rd
 century, "I hear the common people, when they
 stretch their hands towards heaven, say nothing
 but God" (*Octavius*, c. 5).

2. A practice thus universal and of such anti-
 quity, could not fail to have a place in the re-
 ceived ritual of the first Christians. It is more
 than once recognized in the New Testament
 itself; as when St. Paul says, "I will therefore
 that men pray everywhere lifting up holy
 hands" (1 Tim. ii. 8). Clemens of Alexandria,
 A.D. 192, is an early witness to the continued
 observance of the rite. After defining prayer
 to be "converse with God," he proceeds to
 say that therefore, as if reaching up to Him,
 we "raise the head and lift the hands to-
 wards heaven" (*Strom.* vii. c. vii. § 40). Ter-
 tullian, his contemporary:—"Worshipping with
 modesty and humility we the more commend
 our prayers to God, not even lifting up our
 hands too high, but with self-restraint and be-
 comingly" (*De Orat.* c. xiii.). Again: "We
 Christians, looking upwards, with hands out-
 spread, because free from it; with head bare,
 because we are not men; lastly, without a
 remembrancer [of the names of the gods], be-
 cause we pray from the heart" (*Apol.* c. xxx.).
 Origen, A.D. 230, says that among the many

nesses to the lifting up of
 nation; but they are now
 less, to take service under
 The reader will observe
 now cited all belong to the
 sence so far as the present
 that the custom before us
 also. [W. E. S.]

ING OF. I. In the law of
 8-21) it was ordained that
 made of the congregation and
 and studded a brazen laver full
 of priests were to "wash
 their feet" before they entered,
 and was built, this laver was re-
 ten sea;" "for the priests to
 v. 2, 6). Again, when murder
 by an unknown person, the
 ence made by the elders of
 associated with a ceremonial
 is (Deut. xxi. 9). These two
 new world, it is conceived, be
 themselves to create among
 a general custom of washing
 drawing near to God in the
 of worship and religion. That
 and was held to be of a
 water may be inferred from
 fusion in the Book of Psalms,
 hands in innocence; so will I
 ur" (Psalm xxvi. 6); "Verily
 my heart in vain, and washed
 innocency" (Lxxii. 13). The
 hands" "to denote righteous-
 come into such frequent use
 9; xxxi. 7; Ps. xviii. 20, 24;
 had been no familiar rite of
 its before entering into God's
 an example of later usage,
 that the seventy-two who
 Testament into Greek at the
 they were wont each morning to
 wash and purify themselves,"
 and on their sacred task (Antiq.
). It is most probable, how-
 custom before us was much
 of Moses, for it appears to
 and among the heathen at an
 Thus Hesiod gives a warning
 washed hands to pour out the
 horn to Zeus or the other im-
 a et Dies, line 722). He also
 ge of a stream on foot before
 and in it with prayer (ibid. l.
 ge to some ancient authorities
 elled *delubra* from *delus*, because
 ed fountains, or pools so called,
 am for the use of those who
 s ad Virg. Aen. ii. 225). Nor
 rite before mentioned unknown
 Pilate "took water and washed
 the multitude," when he pre-
 sence of the blood of Christ
 ad Virg. Aen. ii. 719.
 24). Compare Virg. Aen. ii. 719.
 ed, "it was a custom or other
 the killing of a man or other
 wash the hands with water to
 pollution" (Scholiast. in Sophoc.
 l. i. p. 80; Lond. 1758).
 us familiar to all classes of the
 and so patient of a Christian

adaptation, was certain to be retained in some
 form or other. To facilitate its observance there
 was in the atrium of many churches a FOUNTAIN
 or reservoir of water resembling those
 with which the temples had been furnished.
 Thus Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, at the beginning of
 the 4th century, in an open space before a church
 which he built in that city, caused to be made
 a fountain opposite the temple, which by their
 plentiful flow of water afforded the means of
 cleansing to those who passed out of the sacred
 precincts into the interior" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*
 l. x. c. 4). In the West, Paulinus of Nola,
 A.D. 394, gives a poetical description of a basin
 (cantharus) in the court of a church built by
 him. "With its ministering stream," he says,
 "it washes the hands of those who enter" (*ad
 Seren. Ep.* xxiii. § 15). From the same writer
 we learn that there was a cantharus in the
 atrium of the basilica of St. Peter at Rome,
 which "spouted streams that ministered to the
 hands and faces" of the worshippers (*ad Lam-
 mach. Ep.* xiii. § 13). St. Chrysostom says, "It
 is the custom for fountains to be placed in the
 courts of houses of prayer, that they who are
 going to pray to God may first wash their
 hands, and so lift them up in prayer" (*Tom. de
 Sic. N. T. loc. n. xxv. on 2 Cor. iv. 13*). Sozomen
 tells us that in a riot at Constantinople in the
 reign of Constantius "the court of the church
 (of Aecadius the martyr) was filled with blood,
 and the well therein overflowed with blood,"
 (*Hist. l. cct. l. ii. c. 38*).

II. Frequent allusions to the practice for
 which public provision was thus made occur in
 Christian writers. For example, Tertullian,
 A. 192: "What is the sense of entering on
 prayer with the hands, indeed, washed, but the
 spirit unclean?" (*De Orat. c. xi.*). This is said
 of all prayer, private as well as public. With
 regard to private prayer in the morning, the
Apostolical Constitutions give the following direc-
 tion: "Let every one of the faithful, man or
 woman, when they rise from sleep in the morn-
 ing, before doing work, having washed [not
 bathed the whole body, but *νιψάμενοι*, having
 washed parts of it, especially the hands] pray"
 (lib. viii. c. 32). St. Chrysostom in the follow-
 ing passage is speaking of public worship in
 general: "I see a custom of this sort prevailing
 among the many, viz., that they study how they
 may come (into church) with clean clothes, and
 how they may wash their hands, but consider
 not how they may present a clean soul to God.
 And I do not say this to prevent your washing
 hands or face, but because I wish you to wash,
 as is befitting, not with water only, but with the
 virtues correlative to the water." (*Hom. li. in
 st. Math. Ec. c. xv. 17-20*).

More frequently it is spoken of as part of the
 preparation for Holy Communion. For example,
 St. Chrysostom: "Tell me, wouldst thou choose
 to draw near to the sacrifice with unwashed
 hands? I think not; but thou wouldst rather
 not draw near at all than with filthy hands.
 Wouldst thou, then, while thus careful in the
 little matter, draw near having a filthy soul?"
 (*Hom. liii. in Ep. ad Eph. c. i. 20-23*). Similarly
 in the West, Caesarius of Arles, A.D. 502: "All
 the men, when they intend to approach the
 altar, wash their hands, and all the women use
 for been cloth on which to receive the body of

Christ . . . As the men wash their hands with
 water, so let them wash their souls with alms,"
 &c. (*Serm. cccxix. § 5 in App. iv. ad Opp.
 S. August.*). Again: "If we are ashamed and
 afraid to touch the eucharist with filthy hands,
 much more ought we to be afraid to receive the
 same eucharist in a polluted soul" (*Serm. cccxli.
 § 6; ibid.*).

IV. The celebrant and his assistants washed
 their hands between the dismissal of the cate-
 chumens and the offering of the gifts. Thus in
 the *Apostolical Constitutions* "Let one subdeacon
 give water to the priests for washing their
 hands, a symbol of the purity of souls consecrated
 to God" (lib. viii. c. 11). Cyril of Jerusalem:
 "Ye saw the deacon who gave to the priest and
 to the elders surrounding the altar of God
 (water) to wash (their hands, *νιψάσθαι*) . . .
 The washing of the hands is a symbol of guilt-
 lessness of sins" (*Catech. Myst. q. v. § 1*).
 Pseudo-Dionysius: "Standing before the most
 holy symbols the high priest (i.e. the bishop)
 washes his hands with the venerable order of
 the priests" (*De Eccl. Hierarch. cap. iii. sect. 3,
 § 10; sim. sect. ii.*). We find the same rite in the
 West. Thus in one of the Questions out of the
 Old and New Testaments, probably compiled by
 Hilary the deacon, A.D. 354, it is implied that
 at Rome the deacons did not "pour water on the
 priest's hands, as" (adds the writer) "we see in
 all the churches" (Qu. ci. *On the Arrogance of the
 Roman Levites in App. iii. ad Opp. Aug.*). We
 may remark, in passing, that the Clementine
 liturgy, as above quoted, assigns the office to a
 subdeacon. In the earliest *Ordo Romanus* extant,
 probably of the 7th century, it is ordered
 that, after the reception of the gifts, the bishop
 "return to his seat and wash his hands," and
 that "the archdeacon standing before the altar
 wash his hands, when the receiving (of the obla-
 tions) is completed" (*Ord. i. § 14; Mus. Ital.
 tom. ii. p. 11; compare Ord. li. § 9, p. 47*).

Since the clergy, as well as the people, washed
 their hands before they entered the church, it
 may be asked, how they came to do so a second
 time? Ancient writers give only a symbolical
 reason, but it is not probable that the custom
 originated in that. The words of the *Ordo
 Romanus* suggest that the hands might be soiled
 by the oblations, which at that time were large
 and various in kind. They certainly were
 washed immediately after these were taken from
 the offerers, and before the celebrant proceeded
 to offer the elements selected out of them for
 consecration. Another reason which might
 make it necessary is suggested by Sala (*Not. (1)
 in Bonn. Ber. Lit. l. ii. c. ix. § 6*), viz., that a
 little time before the bishop and priests had
 laid their hands on the heads of the catechumens
 and penitents. The washing of the hands, or
 rather fingers, by the celebrant after his com-
 munion, now ordered in the church of Rome,
 was not practised for more than a thousand
 years after Christ. [W. E. S.]

HANGINGS. Some few notices may be
 added to those already given under CURTAINS.
 The curtains which closed the doors of the
 chancel screen in later times often bore the
 pictorial representation of some saint or angelic
 being. At the present day St. Michael is often
 represented upon them as prohibiting all access

on the beams (Nolo, *Eastern* (i. 195). It was on the curtain of the *bona* of the church at Anabotha that St. Epiphanius saw the painted figures which gave him so much offence, and caused him to tear the curtain, and desire that it should be replaced by one of a single colour (Epiphanius, *Epist. ad Joann.*, p. 319). The censure passed by Asterius of Amasia on the excessive luxury displayed in the textile fabrics of his day proves that at the end of the fourth century representations of sacred facts were woven in the stuffs in ordinary use for hangings, and even for dresses. The same author also describes the painted hangings of the sepulchre of St. Euphemia at Chalcodon representing the martyrdom of that saint (Aster. Amas. *Homil. de Divit. et Lucavo; Eucarist. in martyr. Euphem.*). Paulinus of Nola is another authority on the decoration of these *vela* with pictorial designs:—

“*Vela coloratis textum fucata figuris.*”

A *velum* concealing the altar from the gaze of the laity is mentioned in the office for the dedication of a church in the *Sacramentary of Gregory*. When the bishop, having brought the relics which were to be deposited within it, had arrived at the altar, he was to be concealed from the sight of the people by a veil, before he proceeded to anoint the four corners with the chrism (*extenso velo inter clerum et populum*, Muratori, ii. 481). An offering of hangings *vela* was made to the church of St. Peter's by a lady of rank named Rusticiana, which were carried to their destination by the whole body of the clergy chanting a litany (Greg. Magn. *Epist.* ix. 38). The supposititious *Second Epistle of Clement* to James the Lord's brother, “*de sacratis vestibus et vasis*,” gives minute directions for the washing of the altar cloths and other vestments of the church by the deacons and other ministers of the church, in vessels specially set apart for the purpose, near the sacristy. The door-keepers are also enjoined to take care that no one thoughtlessly wiped his hands on the curtain of the door, and to remind those who were guilty of such irreverence that “*the veil of the Lord's Temple is holy*” (Labbe, *Conc.* i. 99). Gregory of Tours informs us that on the conversion of Clovis, solemn processions were instituted in the streets, which were shaded with painted veils, while the churches were adorned with white curtains (Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* ii. 31). According to Hebele (*Beiträge zur Archäologie*, ii. 252), tapestry curtains were employed to protect the apertures of windows in churches before the general introduction of glazing. [E. V.]

HARE. The boy who represents Spring among the Four Seasons frequently carries a hare in his hand. The idea of speed in the Christian calendar was associated with it. It is sometimes connected with the horse (Perret v. lvi.) or with the ox (Baldetti, 506). Its presence in Christian decoration seems to be connected with the human taste for ornamenting their rooms with domestic, agricultural, or hunting subjects. Many places of assembly, no doubt, contained pictures by Pagan hands in the earliest days; and the ingenuity of Christian preachers would in all probability make use of them for type and metaphor; and so the animal or other object would become a recognized and customary

subject of Christian ornament, acquiring a symbolical meaning. In such examples as the vine or shepherd, that meaning of course existed before; and the distinction between scriptural and all other symbols is on the whole sufficiently well-marked in early work. [R. St. J. T.]

HARLOTS. [ASTROLOGY; DIVINATION.]

HARLOTS. Compare FORNICATION. The maintaining and harbouring of harlots was severely punished by the laws of the empire; a man who permitted his house to become a place of assignation for improper purposes was punished as an adulterer (*Pandect.* lib. xviii. tit. 5, l. 8); if a man discovered his wife to be a procuress, it was a valid ground of divorce (*Codez Theod.* lib. iii. tit. 16, l. 1); careful provision was made against fathers or masters prostituting their children or slaves (*Codez Just.* lib. xi. tit. 49, l. 4). Socrates (*H. E.* v. 18) commends Theodosius the Great for demolishing the houses of ill fame in Rome. Theodosius the younger performed the same service for Constantinople, enacting that keepers of infamous houses should be publicly whipped and expelled the city, while their slaves were set at liberty (Theod. *Nord.* 18, *de Leonadius*). All these laws were confirmed by Justinian (*Nord.* 14) who also increased the severity of the punishments.

The church, as was natural, visited prostitution with the severest censure. Harlotism was denied to harlots (*πόρναι*) and to those who maintained them (*πορνοβοσκούς*). (*Const. Apod.* viii. 32). The council of Elvira, A.D. 305, enacts that if a parent, or any Christian whatever, exercise the trade of a procurer, forasmuch as they set to sale the person of another, or rather their own, they shall not be admitted to communion, no, not at their last hour; and the same penalty is denounced (c. 70) by the same council against a wife who prostitutes herself with her husband's connivance. [C.]

HATFIELD, COUNCIL OF (*Hæthfeldthense*, or *Hæthfeldense, Concilium*), 17 Sept. A.D. 680, at Bishop's Hatfield in Hertfordshire, attended by all the bishops of Britain, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, presiding, held for making a declaration against Eutychianism and Monothelism. Pope Agatho wished that Theodore should have attended his council of 125 bishops at Rome, March 27 of the same year, preliminarily to the 6th general council, and had sent John, precentor of the Lateran council under pope Martin I. A.D. 649, against Monothelism, to invite him thither. But Theodore, being either unable to leave for other reasons, or unwilling to come from knowing that Wilfrid, bishop of York, whose case had caused so much strife, was already there, collected this synod instead, and despatched a copy of its synodical letter to Rome by John, where it was read with great satisfaction, and probably before the 6th council, which met Nov. 7, had commenced. Bede, who was about eight years old when this synod took place, gives three different extracts from its letter, in substance as follows:—

1. The bishops declare that “they have set forth the right and orthodox faith, as delivered by our Lord to His disciples, and handed down in the symbol of the holy fathers, and by all the sacred and universal synods, and by the whole

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[R. St. J. T.]

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body of approved doctors of the Catholic church.
Following whom, they also confess the Father,
Son, and Holy Spirit, the Holy Trinity in Unity,
consubstantial, and the Unity in Trinity, one
God in three consubstantial Persons of equal
honour and glory."

2. They "receive the five general councils,"
mentioning each by name.

3. "Likewise the synod of Rome, A.D. 649,
under Martin I.," after which they say: "We
receive and glorify our Lord Jesus, as they
glorified Him, neither adding nor subtracting
anything. We anathematise from the heart all
they anathematized, and receive all they re-
ceived; glorifying God the Father without be-
gining, and His only begotten Son, born of the
Father before all worlds, and the Holy Spirit
proceeding inseparably from the Father and the Son,
according to the preaching of the above-named
holy apostles and prophets and doctors, to all
which we have subscribed, who with archbishop
Theodore have expounded the Catholic faith."
This assertion of procession from the Son as well
as the Father, which is not found in any docu-
ment received by the 6th council, may seem to
imply that the interpolated form of the creed
had got into Britain by then; but it may be
explained in another way. We are told in
another place by Bede, that when Theodore was
consecrated at Rome by Vitalian, it was ex-
pressly stipulated that abbot Adrian should ac-
company him into England: "Et, ut ei doctrinæ
cooperator existens, diligenter attenderet, nequid
ille ostantiarum veritatis fidei, *Græcorum more,*
in ecclesiam cui preeset, introduceret" (*E. H.* lv.
1). Adrian remained in that capacity till his
death, A.D. 710, and Theodore commenced work,
"per omnia constantia et cooperante Adriano"
(*ib. c. 2*). Now Adrian was a foreigner, as well
as Theodore. He was a learned African, and
Africa was the country that boasted of the
clearest authorities as yet, for procession from
the Son as well as the Father, in SS. Austin and
Fulgentius. In conclusion, Bede tells us that
John the preceptor also took part in this synod,
and was floored by the whole country for
instruction in the Roman chant (*Mansi*, xi. 175-
80; *Haddan and Stubbs*, iii. 141-51).

[E. S. FE.]

HAWKING. [HUNTING.]

HEAD-COVERING OF THE. Christian
men in ancient days prayed with uncovered
head, according to the apostolic injunction
(1 Cor. xi. 4, 5). Chrysostom's comment on the
passage shows clearly that this was the practice
of his own time, as well as of the apostolic age.
Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 30) says that Christian men
prayed with bare head, as having no need to
conceal a blush, insinuating that the heathen
might well blush for some of the prayers which
they uttered; and Cyprina may perhaps be al-
luding to the same custom, when he says (*De
Lapsis*, c. 2) that the head of a Christian was
uncontaminated by the head-covering of the
heathen sacrificer. On the other hand, as both
the apostolic precept and the custom of the East
made it indecent for women to be seen with un-
covered head, the women of the Oriental and
African churches covered their heads not only in
the congregations, but generally when they ap-
peared in public. The breaking in upon this

custom led Tertullian to write his treatise *De
Virginitate Velanda*, in which he contends that
not only matrons, but maidens—who had been
allowed a somewhat greater licence—should
cover their heads effectually. He is especially
severe (c. 17) on those who wore a simple band
or fillet, which did not cover the top of the
head; or laid a mere slip of linen on the top of
the head, which did not reach even to the ears;
he insists that the veil or head-covering should
at any rate come down to meet the top of the
dress; the whole space which would be covered
by the hair if it were let down should be covered
by the veil; and he holds up for admiration and
imitation the Arab women, who so covered the
head and face as to leave only one eye visible.
Contrary to Roman practice, they preferred to
see rather than to be seen. But most of all does
he inveigh against those women who, even when
psalms are said and the name of God named,
continued uncovered, or with veils thrown back
(*retectæ perseverant*); who even in prayer fan-
cied themselves covered with a strip of lace or
fringe on the top of the head. But Tertullian's
rigorous views were not those of the Church at
large; as a general rule Christ's women have
worn the head-dresses of their country and
station, and have covered their heads in the
place of assembly. Men, to speak generally,
have always prayed with uncovered head. Yet
about the 8th century the *Ordo Romanus II.*
(c. 8, p. 46) says that at the reading of the
Gospel neither crown nor any other covering is
kept on the head, an expression which seems to
imply that during the saying of some portions
of the office crowns or other coverings were
retained.

2. With regard to the head-covering of clerics,
the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (p. 38) lays down
the rule, that no cleric stands in the church at
any time with covered head, unless he have an
infirmary. In spite, however, of the generality
of the expression "allo tempore," the meaning of
the sentence is probably limited by the words
which stand at the head of the rubric, "per
totum Quadragesimam." That some kind of
ceremonial head-dress was worn by bishops and
priests from the 4th century onward seems
certain. See INFULA, MITRE.

3. For the head-covering of monks, see CU-
CULLA, HOOD. [C.]

HEAD OF ALL CHURCHES. The emperor
Justinian in a rescript (*Codex*, lib. 1, tit. 2, l. 24)
gives to the patriarchal church of Constantinople
the title of "Head of all the Churches"—"Con-
stantinopolitana ecclesia omnium aliarum est
caput." See PATRIARCH; POPE. [C.]

HEARERS. [AUDIENTES; CATECHUMENS;
DOCTOR.]

HEATHEN, THE. in relation to the Church.
1. The duty of praying for the heathen was
amply recognized by the early Christians. Thus
in the Ignatian letter to the Ephesians (c. 10)
we find the exhortation, "pray also without
ceasing for the rest of mankind; for there is in
them a hope of repentance, that they may attain
to God." St. Augustine (*Epist.* 217, *ad Vitalien.*
c. 2) declares that one who did not believe that
the seed of faith was sown in the heart by God,
must needs mock at the words of the priest at
the altar exhorting the people to pray for un-

Lelievers, that God may turn them to the faith. And again (*De Dono Persec.* c. 22, § 63) he asks, "When was not prayer made in the Church for unbelievers and for its enemies, that they might believe?" Prosper (*De Vocat. Gentium*, l. 12) tells us that "the Church prays to God everywhere, not only for the holy and those already regenerate in Christ, but also for all unbelievers and enemies of the cross of Christ, for all worshippers of idols. . . . And what does she ask for them, but that leaving their errors they may be converted to God?" Such prayers occur in the liturgies; in that of St. Mark, for instance, we have (Renaudot, *Litt. Orient.* i. 153), "Turn back those who have gone astray, enlighten those who are in darkness." So the Clementine (*Const. Apost.* viii. 15): "We beseech Thee on behalf of those who hate us and persecute us for Thy Name's sake, for those outside the Church and in error, that Thou mayest turn them to good and soften their hearts." In the West, the conversion of the heathen was an especial subject of prayer—as it is still in the English church—on Good Friday. Thus, in the Gelasian *Sacramentary* (l. 41; Migne's *Patrol.* lxxiv. 1105 B) the deacon, after bidding prayer for heretics, schismatics, and Jews, proceeds, "Let us pray also for the pagans, that Almighty God may take away the wickedness from their hearts, and that forsaking their idols they may turn to the true God and His only Son Jesus Christ." So in the Gregorian (p. 64), the prayers to be used on the Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week include one for the pagans.*

2. While it is clear that heathen were carefully excluded from the Christian mysteries, it is equally clear that from the earliest times they were admitted to that part of Christian worship which consisted mainly of instruction. St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 23) evidently contemplates the possibility of heathen entering the place where preaching took place, whether it were in the shape of an utterance in "tongues," or prophesying. At the end of the 2nd century, all portions of divine worship were not open to all alike; for Tertullian (*De Præscript.* c. 41) reproaches certain heretics with their want of order and discipline, in that not only catechumens were admitted to the same privileges as the faithful, but even heathen, if they chanced to enter the place, had equal access; so did the heretics cast their mock-pearls before swine. In this it is implied that the orthodox were more careful of their treasure. [DISCIPLINA ALCANI.] The words of Origen (*c. Celsum*, iii. p. 142, Spencer), where, speaking of the care bestowed upon catechumens, he says that Christians had in view to prevent persons of evil life from coming to their common assembly (*ἐπι τὸν κοινὸν αὐτῶν σύλλογον*), seem to imply that some kind of scrutiny took place before men were admitted to any Christian assembly whatever; for he contrasts the Cypic practice of receiving all comers to their harangues with that of the Christians, and the word *σύλλογος* does not appear to be taken (like *συναγία*) in the limited sense of "the Eucharistic mystery." However this may be, it is certain that at the end of the 4th century the African canons (*IV. Conc. Carth.* c. 84) specially provide

that the bishop is not to hinder any one, whether heathen, heretic, or Jew, from entering the church and hearing the word of God, as far as the dismissal of the catechumens (inque ad missam catech.) and a later Council (*Conc. Vult. unan.* c. 1; A. D. 524) orders the Gospel to be read after the Epistle, before the bringing in of the gifts [EUKHARISTIA; § 2] or the dismissal of catechumens,^b in order that not only catechumens and penitents, but all who belong to the contrary part (e diverso sunt) may hear the wholesome precepts of the Lord Jesus or the sermon of the bishop (sacerdotes); for many had been drawn to the faith by the preaching of the prelates (pontificum). The liberty which was granted to heathen does not seem in all cases to have been allowed to heretics (*Conc. Latol.* c. 6). The liturgies themselves contain evidence that heathen were permitted to present during the introductory portion of the Eucharistic office. In the Clementine, for instance (*Cons. L. Apost.* viii. 12), the deacon proclaims before the offertory, "Let no one of the catechumens, no one of the hearers, no one of the unbelievers (*τῶν ἀπίστων*), no one of the heterodox [be present];" from which it appears that heathens had not been excluded during the whole of the previous service.

3. It does not appear that the infant children of heathen parents, remaining in the heathen family, were in ancient times ever baptized. It would have been held a profanation of the sacrament to baptize those who were likely to be brought up as pagans. But baptism was not refused to children of heathen slaves brought to baptism by their owners, who could of course ensure them Christian nurture; and orphans and foundlings—the latter at any rate almost always the offspring of heathen—were frequently presented for baptism by the virgins or others who had taken charge of them (Augustine, *Epist.* 23, *ad Bonifac.*; compare Pseudo-Ambros. *de Vocat. Gent.* ii. 18). We may probably discover in this presentation of infants for baptism by persons other than their parents the origin of SPOXONS.

When the time came that Paganism was proscribed and Christianity enjoined, special care was taken that whole families should be brought within the pale of Christianity, and that the head of a household should not undergo baptism *pro forma*, while the household remained heathen. "As for those who are not yet baptized," says the Code of Justinian (lib. i. tit. ii. *de Pagani*, l. 10), "let them, with wives and children and all their households, betake themselves to the holy churches; and let them provide that their infants (parvuli) be baptized without delay; but let the older children (majores) before baptism be instructed in the Scriptures according to the canons. But if any, with a view to entering the public service, or to acquiring an office or a property, go through a form of baptism (ingant baptizant) and leave in their error their children, wives, and others who belong to and depend upon them; they are to be punished by confiscation of goods and other penalties, and excluded from the public service." The special case of the Samaritans is provided for by another law (*Novel.* 144, c. 2); adults were to pass through two year's

* For the substance of this paragraph the writer is indebted to the Rev. W. E. Scudamore.

^b This is given from the text of Bruns (*Concord.* li. 23) some texts have "in missa" for "vel missam."

not to hinder any one, whether Jew, or Gentile, from entering the word of God, as far as the catechumens (asque ad) and a later Council (Conc. A. N. 524) orders the Gospel to be preached before the bringing in of the sacrament, § 2) or the dismissal of the order that not only catechumens, but all who belong to the delivery (sunt) may hear the words of the Lord Jesus or the words of the priests (sacerdotes); for many had faith by the preaching of the word. The liberty which was does not seem in all cases to be granted to heretics (Conc. Latol. c. 6), themselves contain evidence that was admitted to present during the celebration of the Eucharistic office, for instance (Cons. t. Apostol.) on proclamations before the offering of the catechumens, as one of the unbelievers (sunt) of the heterodox (be present); appears that heathens had not perceived the whole of the pre-

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struction and probation, while children not capable of instruction in the doctrines of the faith were to be admitted to baptism at once. Both these laws were included by Photius in his *Nicomœnon* (tit. iv. c. 4, p. 907) [CODEX CANONICUM, p. 400].

4. It does not appear that the Church in the earliest times had special organizations for the conversion of the heathen. It was of course the duty of the bishops and clergy of any church to endeavour to bring over to the faith those pagans who dwelt about them, and men were raised up entirely heathen. The monastic orders, in particular, especially that of St. Columba, were constantly active in propagating the faith of Christ [MONASTICISM]. The lives of the great missionaries will be found in the **DICTIONARY OF CHRISTIAN BIOGRAPHY**.

It is worth observing, that in the Coronation-office given by Meuard with the Gregorian *Sacramentary* (*Id. Regimam benedicendum*, pp. 283, 284) the conversion of heathen nations is regarded as especially the work of a queen. After putting on the ring, the consecrating bishop prays that the queen on the point of being crowned "may be enabled to call barbarous nations to the knowledge of the truth."

5. The social intercourse of heathen and Christian, while paganism was still a flourishing system, was rendered difficult by two circumstances; the prevalence of more or less idolatrous practices in the family life of heathens—libations, feasts on sacrificial meats, songs implying the recognition of pagan deities, and the like; and afterwards by the horror and hatred with which the heathen came to regard the votaries of what they thought an "ill-omened superstition," destructive of the greatness of the empire.

[FAMILY; IDOLATRY.]

Christians who feasted with the heathen in a spot appropriated to heathen festivities, even if for fear of defilement they took with them their own food and ate no other, were sentenced to a two-years' penance among the Substrati [PENITENCE] (*Conc. Ancyr.* c. 7; A. D. 314.)

6. Until Christianity had developed a literature of its own, those Christians who studied literature at all, beyond the limits of Scripture, of course studied pagan literature; but at the end of the 4th century we find the peremptory prohibition (*VI. Con. Carth.* c. 16), "that the bishop should not read the books of the gentiles." It is not to be supposed I however that this precept was literally and universally observed; the vast pagan learning (for instance) of Jerome and Augustine is matter of notoriety, and it is not to be supposed that it was wholly acquired before they entered the Christian ministry. Jerome, in fact (*Epist.* 10 [al. 70] ad *Magnum*), expressly defends Christian writers against the charge that they were ignorant of pagan writings, and points with pride to the long series of writers who had defended Christianity with weapons drawn from the pagan armory. See further under **PROHIBITED BOOKS**.

[C.]

HEAVEN. [See **FIRMAMENT**.] The weird figure on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (Bottari, *tr.* xv. and elsewhere a female head, *id.* *lav.* xxxiii.) is always held to represent the firmament of heaven. Considering the word

as denoting the future spiritual state of happiness in the presence of God, we can hardly pass over the symbolic representations of the Lord in glory which seem from the 6th century to have been the accustomed decorations of Byzantine churches. The choir and apse of a church from that date were constantly made to symbolize heaven and earth; the churches triumphant and militant, the new heaven of glory, and the renewed earth of the soul regenerated in baptism. The churches of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, St. Venantius, and especially of St. Prassede, at Rome, may be taken as types of the Byzantine treatment of this great subject. In the former Our Lord stands on the firmament of clouds, a figure of indescribable grandeur. He is not only come to His sanctuary, and present with a congregation of the church, but he is also and at the same moment in heaven, apart from time, and in St. Prassede, the apse, and the upper part of the arch of triumph in advance of it, represent Him in glory with His own; saints and martyrs, in white robes on gold ground, casting their crowns before Him. But at their feet flows the mystic Jordan, the river of baptism into His death, and also the river of death, the Lethe of life and death. It separates the glorified church in heaven from the sheep of the fold below, who are yet militant on earth.

Parallel representations of the adoration of saints and martyrs in glory are, of course, universal from the 6th century; the great processions at St. Apollinare Nuova, in Ravenna, will be remembered as belonging to the time of Justinian. The Last Judgment of Torcello has its side of accepted souls (see s. v.). [R. St. J. T.]

HEBDOMADARIUS. The word signifies a weekly officer, and was applied in monasteries to those monks who served, a week in rotation, the office of cook or reader during refection. In Egypt and the Thebaid it was customary in the 5th century for all the monks in turn to act as cooks, and Cassian traces the custom to the monasteries in the East (*Cass. Instit.* iv. 19, cf. Hieron. *Reg. Pachom. Prof. Ep.* 22 ad *Eustach.* c. 35). But see *Cass. Instit.* iv. 22. Similarly Benedict ordered that none should be excused from this duty except on the score of health or urgent occupations, intending thus to promote a fellowship of brotherly feeling; but with his usual consideration, he allowed those who might be unskilful in this sort of work to have assistants (*Bened. Reg.* c. 35).

By the rule called of Magister each "decad" or "decuria" (ten monks) under its two deans (præpositi), was to hold this office for five weeks together, two of the number in turn with one dean being told off each week for the kitchen, and the rest under the other dean working in the field (*Reg. Mag.* c. 17). Even abbats, were not always exempt. By the rule of Ferreolus, written in the south of France during the 6th century, the abbat was to be cook on three great festivals in the year, at Christmas, at Pentecost, and on the Founder's Day (*Reg. Ferreol.* c. 38). It is recorded of Benedictus Anianus the compiler of the *Concordia Regularum*, that he would be intent on literary work while at work in the kitchen (*Vita Bened. Anian.*

c. 14). By the rule of Caesarius, bishop of Arles in the 6th century, abbats and priors were excused altogether.

In some monasteries it was part of the duty of the hebdomadarii to prepare the dinner-table, and to act as waiters. Benedict indeed, distinguishes the "Septimanarii coquinae" from the "servitores" (Bened. *Reg.* cc. 35, 38); but the rule of Isidorus, bishop of Seville, in the 7th century, combines the offices (Isid. *Reg.* c. 11); and in the rule of "Magister" the cooks or their assistants are ordered not only to wait at table, but to carry water, chop wood, clean shoes, wash towels, dust the mats in the oratory, and perform various other menial tasks (*Reg. Maj.* c. 19). In the same rule it is provided, that if the weekly officers are negligent in having the table ready for the refectio, the abbat himself is to put them to the blush by doing it himself publicly (*ib.* c. 23). In the Cluniac and Cistercian monasteries the hebdomadarii were waiters as well as cooks (Martene. *Reg. Bened. Comm.* ad loc. cit.).

The week of the hebdomadarii commenced on Sunday by a solemn form of admission in the oratory after "matins" (*Reg. Bened.* c. 35), or after "prime" (*Reg. Mag.* c. 19); the monks going out of office, as well as those just coming in, entreating the prayers of their brethren, and the blessing of their abbat. On the Saturday those, whose term of office was over, were to deliver up to the "cellarer" for the use of their successors all the utensils &c. under their charge in perfect order (*Reg. Bened.* v. s. *Reg. Mag.* v. s.). It was an old custom, symbolic of humility and brotherly love, for the hebdomadarii, closing and commencing their week, to wash the feet of their brethren, during which operation silence was to be kept, or psalms chanted (Cassian. *Instit.* iv. 19. *Bened. Reg.* v. s.). By the rule of "Magister," they were to set about preparing the refectio three hours before the hour fixed for it; immediately after "none" if, as was usual, the dinner was at midday, immediately after "sext" for a dinner at three in the afternoon (*Reg. Mag.* v. s.). The refectio was to be served on the stroke (*Reg. Bened.* v. s.); for any punctuality they were to be mulcted of the ration of bread or a part of it for certain days (*Reg. Mag.* c. 19); the *Concordia Regularum* quotes an anonymous rule (not the "Regula Cujusdam," usually ascribed to Columbanus) sentencing hebdomadarii guilty of any trivial irregularity to twenty-five strokes of the open hand (*Reg. Cujusd.* c. 12), just as Cassian cautions them against losing even a pea (Cass. *Instit.* iv. 20). Benedict wisely arranged that the cooks should have some refreshment, a piece of bread and a small cup of beer, (panem ac singulos biberes) an hour before the refectio, on ordinary days; on festivals they were to wait till after the midday mass (*Bened. Reg.* v. s.). Various reasons are supposed by commentators for the latter part of this injunction (Martene *Reg. Comm.* ad loc.).

The "lector hebdomadarius" or reader aloud during refectio held office, like the "coqui," for a week; but Benedict ordered that only those brethren should be readers, whose reading was likely to edify (*Bened. Reg.* c. 38). On the Sunday commencing his week of office the reader was thrice to repent in the oratory the

"Domine, aperi os meum," and before beginning to read was to ask the prayers of his hearers, lest he should be elated with pride (*ib.*). Not a word was to be spoken during the lecture even by way of asking a question on what was being read; unless the prior (or abbat), should think right to interpose an explanation or exhortation; the monks were to help another to anything wanted without a word (*ib.*). The reader was to have a little bread and wine (for so "mixtum" is to be understood, according to Martene, and not as wine and water), just before reading, for fear of faintness or exhaustion; he was to dine with the other hebdomadarii after the public meal (*ib.*). The passages for reading were chosen by the abbat either from the Holy Scriptures or from lives of saints. Cassian derives the custom of reading aloud at refectio from Cappadocia (Cass. *Instit.* iv. 19). [See also, *Alteser. Asceticon* ix. 10]. [L. G. S.]

HECATONTARCHAE. The council in Trullo (c. 61) condemns to six years' excommunication those who resort to "the so called hecatontarchae, or such-like persons" (ταῖς λεγομένοις ἑκατονταρχαῖς ἢ ταις τοιαύταις) with the view of learning from them what they may choose to reveal. The title of "hecatontarches," is said by Balsamon (quoted by Van Espen, iii. 415) to be equivalent to "Primitivus," and to have been conferred on certain old men who gave themselves out to be possessed of supernatural knowledge and deceived the simple. Gothofred (quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* Xv. l. v. 6) thinks that these hecatontarchae are to be identified with the "centenarii" of the Theodosian Code (tit. xvi. tit. 10, l. 20), who were officers of certain corporations or companies for managing idolatrous pomps and ceremonies, and frequently claimed the power of divination. [DIVINATION; SOOTHSAVERS.] [C.]

HEDFELDENSE CONCILIUM. [HARTFIELD, COUNCIL OF.]

HEDISTIUS, martyr at Ravenna (see. iv.); commemorated Oct. 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HEGESIPPUS, historian, "Vicius Apostolorum temporum" (flour. 180 A.D.); commemorated April 7 (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Tom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HEGIRA or **HILRAH** (هجرة). The era commonly used by the Mohammedan historians is that of the Hijrah, or flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina. The epoch is the first day of the first month, Moharrem, of the year in which this took place (not the day itself, which was about sixty-seven days later). The epoch fell, according to the best Arabian authors and astronomers, cited in Ideler (*Hambuch.* ii. 483), on Thursday, July 15, A.D. 622; but according to civil usage and the phase of the moon, a day later. This discrepancy has to be noted. We shall take as the epoch July 16, A.D. 622, or 5335 Julian Period, with interval days from Christian era [E.A.], 227,014.

In Mohammedan authors the year is a lunar year of 30 and 29 days alternately, having 354 days. In intercalary years, of which there are 11 in every 30 years, viz., those marked * in

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ARCHAEM. The council in ademas to six years' excom- who resort to "the so called such-like persons" (τοὺς ῥάψαυς ἢ τοὺς τοσοῦτοι) with from them what they may The title of "hecatontarches," on (quoted by Van Espae, iii. ent to "Primitivus;" and to ad on certain old men who gave be possessed of supernatural received the simple. Gothofred nam, *Antiq.* XVI. v. 6) thinks antarche are to be identified nari" of the Theodosian Code l. 20), who were officers of on or companies for managing and ceremonies, and frequently of divination. [DIVINATION; [C.]

ENSE CONCILIIUM. [HAT- OF.]

martyr at Ravenna (sæc. iv.); ct. 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, [W. F. G.]

S, historian, "Vicinus Aposto- n" (fœira 180 A.D.); commo- (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Rom. Vet.*, [W. F. G.]

HLJRAH (هجره). The

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HEGUMENOS

Table I. the last month has one more day. In a complete cycle of 30 years there are 10,631 days.

To convert a Mohammedan Date into Old Style.—Find the number of cycles by dividing the Mohammedan year-date less 1 by 30. Let Q be the quotient, R the remainder. Multiply Q by 10,631, to which add the number of days corresponding to R in Table I. and the number of days corresponding to the months and days in Table II., and also 227,014, the interval days from the Christian era. The number of days divided by 1401 will give the number of quadriennia A.B., and table in ENA § 5, p. 623, will suffice to find the residual year and day of year.

Add 1 for the current year.
To convert an O. S. Date into Mohammedan.— Convert into days from Christian era, by same rule as in ENA, § 5. Subtract 227,014; divide remainder by 10,631. Let quotient be Q and remainder R. To 30 × Q add the number of years corresponding to the number of days in Table I. next less than R, and with those over the months and days in Table II.
Add 1 for the current year.

TABLE I.

Years.	Days.	Years.	Days.	Years.	Days.
1	354	11	3899	21*	7442
2*	769	12	4732	22	7796
3	1063	13*	4807	23	8150
4	1417	14	4961	24*	8505
5*	1772	15	5315	25	8859
6	2126	16*	5670	26*	9214
7*	2481	17	6024	27	9568
8	2835	18*	6379	28	9922
9	3189	19	6733	29*	11277
10*	3544	20	7087	30	10631

TABLE II.

Months.	Days.	Months.	Days.	Months.	Days.
1	30	5	148	9	266
2	69	6	177	10	295
3	99	7	207	11	325
4	116	8	236	12	354 or 355

Observe that two Mohammedan years may begin in the same Julian year. This happens every 33 or 34 years.

It may be worth noting that the Persian era of Yazdegerid commenced June 16, 632, ten years later. [L. H.]

HEGUMENOS. (Ἡγούμενος) The Hegu- menos of a monastery in the Greek church corresponds to the Latin ABBAT (see that word). He was also termed archimandrite. But, according to Helyot (*Hist. des Ordre. Monast. Diss.* Prelim. c. 11), the term archimandrite passed in time from the superior of a monastery to the superior-general, originally called the etarch, whose office it was to "visit" all the monasteries in a province. Any monastery so desirous at its foundation was exempted from the bishop's jurisdiction and placed under the sole authority of the patriarch; and the superior general of these monasteries was a grand archimandrite (cf. Thomas. *Disc. Eccles.* l. iii. 23). The words Hegumene (Ἡγουμένη), Hegu- menos (Ἡγούμενος), and Hegumeneia (Ἡγου- μενεία) (all from the classical term for the head- ship of a confederacy) signify abless, monastery

HEMIPHORION

(or abbat's rooms), and office of abbat. (*Suic. Thes. Eccles. s. v.*) [I. G. S.]

HEILETON. [EILETON.]

HELENA. (1) Mother of Constantine the Great (fœira 328 A.D.); commemorated Aug. 18 (*Mart. Usuardi*); Baskarran 18 = Sept. 15 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). See also CONSTANTINE.

(2) Virgin-saint of Auxerre; "Natalis" May 22 (*Mart. Usuardi*); translation and deposition May 22 (*Mart. Adonis*, in Appendixe). [W. F. G.]

HELIAS, presbyter and martyr at Cordova with Isidorus and Paulus, monks; commemorated April 17 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

HELIMENAS, or HELYMAS, presbyter of Babylon, and martyr at Cordula, under Decius, with Chrysotolus and Parmenius, pres- byters, and the deacons Lucas and Mucius (or Lucius and Mucus); commemorated April 24 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HELIODORUS, martyr in Africa with Ven-ustus and seventy-five others; commemorated May 6 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

HELIOLATRAE. [FAITHFUL.]

HELISAEUS, HELIZAEUS, or ELISHA, the prophet; commemorated June 14 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi). See also ELISHA. [W. F. G.]

HELL. A frequent subject of mediæval Christian art in the sense of the appointed places or state of future punishment; but the writer is not aware of any such representation of un- questionable date and authenticity within the first eight centuries, unless the judgment- mosaic of Torcello may be considered an ex- ception, which is very doubtful. See LAST JUDGMENT. The Book of Kells, and Saxon and Irish MSS. contain numerous dragons, and even grotesque devils; but they certainly seem to have more to do with the prevailing taste for lacertine or serpentine ornament, and general melancholy or ferocity of mind, than with any doctrinal idea of evil spirits. The regular Inferno begins with the early Florentine revival, in the baptistry of St. Giovanni. [R. St. J. T.]

HELLADIUS, *λεπομόρτυς*; commemorated May 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

HELPIDIUS, bishop and confessor at Lyons; commemorated Sept. 2 (*Mart. Adonis*, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HEMIPHORION (ἡμιφόριον), seemingly some kind of upper garment, worn by men and women. Epiphanius (*Haeresis* 69, § 3) describes Arius as wearing a colobion (see the word) and a hemiphorton; the latter probably over the former, which was a close tunic. And Palladius (*Hist. Lausiaca*, p. 148) says that the younger Melania gave her silken hemiphorton to make "καλύματα τοῖς θύσιαστροῖς," hangings for the sanctuary, or altar-cloths, whichever it may be. Besychius and Suidas write the word *ἡμιφόριον*, connecting it with *φόρος* (a shawl or wrapper), and translating it "dimidium vestis," "dimi- diata vestis." It was probably therefore one of the many forms of the pallium, smaller than that commonly worn. (*Suicer's Thesaurus*, s. v.). [C.]

HEOTHINA (τὰ ἑοθινά). The *Heothinon* is an anthem sung in the Greek office of lauds (τὸ ἑσπέρου), and occurs after the *alvai*: (i.e. on ordinary days, Pss. cxviii, cxlix, cl, on Sundays and important festivals, a short equivalent); and certain versicles called *Stichoi* and short anthems called *Sti hera* which follow them, and is placed between the clauses of the doxology, "glory, &c." (δόξα), and "both now, &c." (καὶ νῦν). The *Heothinon* varies with the musical *tone* of the week; there being one to each tone; and they are found in the *Paracheitice*, or book containing the various antiphons or *troparia*, arranged according to the different tones. The form of the *Heothinon* is that of any other Greek antiphon.

(2.) τὰ ἑοθινά (εὐαγγέλια). These are Gospels relating to the Resurrection, one of which is read on Sundays in the Greek office of lauds. They are eleven in number. [H. J. H.]

HERACLEAS. (1) Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 246; commemorated July 14 (*Mart. Usuardi*), Taksas 8=Dec. 4 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(2) Martyr in Thrace with Euticus and Plautus; commemorated Sept. 29 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

HERACLIDES, martyr at Alexandria with Heros, Plutarchus, Potamiana, Serenus, and three others; commemorated June 28 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HERACLUS. (1) Bishop and confessor at Sens (between 522 A.D.); commemorated June 8 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Saint, of Nyon; commemorated with Paulus Aquilinus, and two others, May 17 (*ib.*).

(3) Martyr at Tuscany, with Felicissimus and Paulinus; commemorated May 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HERASTUS, or **ERASTUS**, bishop of Philippi, and martyr; commemorated July 26 (*Mart. Usuardi*, *Ado de Festiv. SS. Apostolorum*). [W. F. G.]

HERCULANUS. (1) Saint, of Rome: "Natalis" Sept. 5 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Soldier, saint at Lyons; commemorated Sept. 25 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Bishop, martyr at Perugia; commemorated Nov. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HERESY, considered as a *delictum*, or offence against the law of the church.

The Greek word *αἵρεσις* imports (1) a choosing (Lev. xxii. 18, l.XX.; 1 Macenb. viii. 30); (2) that which is chosen, especially an opinion which one chooses to hold, as *αἵρεσις ἀνωθέλας* (2 Pet. ii. 1); used by ecclesiastical writers for opinions deviating from the true Christian faith; (3) a body of men holding a particular opinion, as (e.g.) those holding particular opinions in philosophy (Diog. Laert. i. 13 etc.). In the New Testament it is used of the Sadducees (Acts v. 17), the Pharisees (*ib.* xv. 5, and perhaps xxvi. 5), of the Christian community (*ib.* xxiv. 5, 14;

* The Greek form of doxology after the Psalms does not contain the clause "Sicut erat in principio" (*Gen. Ezechol. notae in Laud. Off.*).

xxviii. 22). So Constantine (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 5, §§ 21, 22) speaks of the church as ἡ αἵρεσις ἢ καθολικὴ, ἢ ἀγιωτάτη αἵρεσις. We are concerned with the term mainly in the second of these significations.

The word was used by the early fathers with a good deal of latitude to designate systems which adopted, or professed to adopt, any Christian element whatever (Burton, *Bampton Lect.* p. 12); so the Trullan council (c. 95) applies the word "heretic" alike to those who were, and to those who were not, reckoned Christians; but it is generally applied to those who, holding the leading truths of the faith, deviate in some point or points.

To define heresy is, as St. Augustine says (*De Haeret. Praef.*), "altogether impossible, or at any rate most difficult;" and when first asked to write a book on heresy himself, he illustrated the difficulty by pointing out (*Ep.* 222, *ad Quod. cult.*) that Philastrius bishop of Brescia, in his book of heresies, enumerated 28 which had originated among the Jews before Christ, and 128 afterwards, but that Epiphanius of Cyprus discovered only 80 altogether. But he is careful to note (*Epist.* 43) that, whatever be the definition, it is not the mere falseness of an opinion, but the spirit in which it is held, that constitutes heresy; they who do not defend a wrong opinion in an obstinate temper (pertinaci animositate), especially they who are in error mainly by the accident of birth, are not to be reckoned heretics. With which accords the common definition, that heresy is "pertinax defensio dogmatis ecclesiae universalis iudicio condemnati." See *Decretum Grat.* C.ao. xiv. qu. iii. c. 29 ff. The law of the emperor Arcadius, dated A.D. 395, and given in the *Codez Theod.* (XVI. v. 28), is the first legislative definition. "Qui vel levi argumento a iudicio aetholicae religionis et tramite detesti fuerint levari," which is modified by another expression of the same Arcadius (*Codez*, l. 13, *De Fagnis*), "qui a Catholicae Religionis dogmate deviare contendunt," where the word "contendunt" is held to refer to the same pertinacity in maintaining an opinion on which Augustine dwells (Van Espen, pt. iii. tit. iv. c. 22 ff.). Van Espen considers this, if not an absolutely accurate description, to be that which has governed the subsequent practice of the church. He maintains its soundness as a definition, because on the one hand it allows no deviation whatever from the Catholic creed, and on the other tolerates a reasonable latitude of speculation by taking no cognizance of constructive heresy. To constitute the canonical offence the heresy must consist—i. in a departure, not from the implied belief of Christianity, but from that which the church through her creeds and canons has declared to be a matter of faith; ii. the error must be persistent and wilful, and, as Augustine points out (*De Civ. Dei*, xvii. 51), after admonition; iii. it must not only be suspected but detected and adjudicated upon. (Van Espen, *Jus Eccl.* III. iv. 2; Field, *Of the Church*, iii. cc. 3, 4).

2. i. The cognizance of heresy was vested in the bishops separately, as well as collectively. It belongs exclusively to the spiritual office, says Ambrose (*Ep.* 21), addressing the emperor Valentinian, to decide on matters of doctrine.

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The episcopate was held to be one, where the faith was concerned, and each bishop was charged with maintaining it, although for practical convenience his government extended only over a single diocese. This jurisdiction granted to the bishop in matters of faith appears from the power possessed by him in the ante-Nicene church of varying the expressions of the creed in use in his diocese, in order to meet prevailing heresies; provide], of course, that the fundamental unity of the faith was unimpaired; instances of such variations are given in Bingham, *Antiq.* II. vi. 3. The reference to the belief of individual bishops as a standard of doctrine is further evidence in the same direction. Thus Theodosius in a rescript quoted in Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 4) exhorts his subjects to keep the faith delivered by St. Peter, and by Damasus of Rome, and Peter of Alexandria. Other references of the kind are collected in Gothofred's commentary on *Code* *Theod.* xvi. 1, *de fide Catholicā*. It was an exercise of this authority by Gelasius bishop of Rome, A.D. 492-6, condemning in a decretal epistle the writings of Faustus the Semi-pelagian archbishop of Riez, which gave rise to the first Roman catalogue of forbidden books.

After the empire became Christian, attempts were made by some of the emperors to arrogate to themselves this spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops. The first instance of the kind, unless the laws of Theodosius on heretics are to be regarded as such, is that of the usurper Basiliscus, emperor of the East, 475-7, who issued an encyclical letter condemning the council of Chalcedon, and laying down definitions of faith. An example followed with more success by Justinian, whose edicts on doctrine as well as discipline obtained acceptance by being promulgated through the patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops. The ecclesiastical legislation of Charlemagne also trenchoned upon the same prerogative; discussion was permitted in the synods summoned by him, but the emperor reserved the decision to himself, and issued the decrees in his own name. But no ecclesiastical authority superseded that of the bishops till A.D. 1204, when two Cistercian abbots were sent by Innocent III. to the south of France to investigate the Albigensian heresy; and in 1231 Gregory IX. issued a commission to the Dominicans to constitute a special court of heresy; this was the beginning of the Inquisition. (Van Espen, *Jus. Eccl.* I. xvii. 3.)

ii. The general power of each bishop to defend the faith was restricted, in dealing with an individual heretic, to his own diocese. If there occurred was one of the clergy, the bishop was required in the African church to take neighboring bishops to sit with him (1 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 11; 2 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 10); but this rule was not confined to accusations of heresy. With the bishop in some instances sat the presbyters—whether or not this privilege was universally conceded to them. The synod of Antioch, A.D. 264, which condemned Paul of Samosata, contained presbyters (*Euseb.* *H. E.* vii. 28). So the first condemnation of Arius was not pronounced by Alexander bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 319, till he had summoned the presbytery and some other bishops to hear the charge (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 69, c. 3). And the accusation against Pelagius was first heard before John, bishop of Jerusalem, and a

synod of his presbyters, A.D. 415. If objection was made to the decision of the bishop, an appeal lay to a larger council, either of the province, or finally of the whole church; instances of which are too notorious to need citing. A bishop charged with heresy could be tried only by a synod of bishops. The officer charged with the preliminary investigation is designated by one of the laws of Justinian (*Novel.* 137, c. 5). "If any clergyman is accused in point of faith, if he is a bishop he shall be examined before his metropolitan, but if he is a metropolitan then before the patriarch."

3. The penalties attached to heresy were both ecclesiastical and civil.

i. By ecclesiastical law an obstinate heretic was excommunicated, and if he continued contumacious, his exclusion from church-membership was made more rigorous. The 6th canon of the council of Laodicea forbids those who continue in their heresy to enter the house of God. But this exclusion could not have been universal, for the 4th council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (c. 84) distinctly prohibits the bishop from preventing Gentiles, Jews, or heretics from being present in church during the Missa Catechumenorum; and the council of Valencia, A.D. 524 (c. 1.) orders the gospel to be read before the oblations, so that heretics, among others, may have an opportunity of hearing [cf. HEATHEN]. Another stigma affixed to heretics ecclesiastical court against a Catholic. The Apostolical Canons (c. 74) say expressly that the evidence of a heretic shall not be received against a bishop. The 129th canon of the African code also mentions heretics among other infamous persons whose testimony was inadmissible (4 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 96). The so-called 6th canon of the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, guards this disability from abuse by confining it exclusively to ecclesiastical causes; if a heretic had a civil cause of complaint against a bishop, the council allowed him his remedy; but the Justinian code deprived him even of this. Another class of penal enactments was directed to the protection of the orthodox from the infection of heresy. One of the Apostolical Canons (c. 45) forbids, under pain of suspension, any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, to pray with heretics, or permit them to officiate; another (c. 63) inhibits either clergy or laity from worshipping in a synagogue of heretics. The council of Laodicea (c. 9) would not permit Catholics to frequent the cemeteries or celebrations of so-called martyrdoms of heretics, nor (c. 33) tolerate any devotions with them. The 4th council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (c. 71), pronounces the assemblies of heretics to be not churches but conventicles; and (c. 72) prohibits both praying and singing psalms with them. The Spanish council of Lerida, A.D. 523 (c. 13), rejects the oblation of any who has presented his children for baptism by a heretic; this must mean, not in a case of necessity, where it would be admitted, but deliberately. (Bingham, *Antiq.* XVI. i. 4). Social intercourse with heretics was also prohibited. "A clergyman must avoid both the entertainments and the society of heretics" (4 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 70; 1 *Conc. Tolct.* c. 15; 1 *Conc. Taron.* c. 8; *Conc. Venet.* c. 3). Augustine relates (*Confess.* iii. 11) that while he was a Manichean his mother would not sit at the

same table with him. The council of Laodicea (c. 32) forbids Christians to receive the EULOGIAE of heretics, and also (cc. 10, 31) to intermarry with them. This last prohibition appears to have been universally enforced (*Conc. Ekber.* c. 16; *Conc. in Trull.* c. 72). The laws of the church are not so strict as the civil edicts afterwards became in prohibiting the study of heretical books; there is one canon (4 *Conc. Carthag.* c. 16) which forbids a bishop to read heathen authors under any circumstances, and heretical ones unless time or necessity require.

ii. The civil proceedings against heretics began with some edicts of Constantine against the Donatists, A.D. 316; but a much more extensive series of laws was enacted by Theodosius the Great with a view to put an end to the divisions of the church arising from the controversies of the 4th century, and to enforce uniformity of belief by legal penalties. The first of these was passed immediately after the general council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, and between that period and A.D. 394, fifteen other such edicts were published. A further law was enacted by Honorius, A.D. 408, and others in the East by Arcadius and the younger Theodosius, and others again by Justinian, A.D. 529. The laws are chiefly contained in book xvi. tit. v. *de Hæreticis* of the Theodosian Code, although a few are to be found under other titles. Here it will be sufficient to give a bare abstract of the most severe of them. Heretics were deprived of all offices of profit or dignity in the state; they could neither receive nor bequeath property; no civil contract with them was binding; they were fined, banished, subjected to corporal punishments, and even sentenced to death. Other laws were designed to prevent the propagation of heresy. No heretical assemblies might be held, nor conventicles built, nor clergy ordained; their books were to be burnt and their children disinherited. These edicts were not directed against all heretics indiscriminately, but against various sects which were held to be most dangerous to faith or morals. From the account of Sozomen (*H. E.* vii. 12), they were intended to strike terror rather than to be executed; but heretics were always exposed to them, and, in one conspicuous instance, the most severe penalty, that of death, was inflicted on Priscillian and some of his adherents; the first example in the church of any one being put to death for his opinions.

4. i. The admission of heretics to the church is closely involved with the controversies of the 4th century on the validity of heretical baptism [BAPTISM, ITERATION OF, p. 172]. Their bearing on the reconciliation of heretics, and the further question of the relation in which the practice of anointing converts from heresy stands towards the rite of confirmation, are discussed in Morinus (*de Poenit.* ix. 7-11). This article is concerned only with any rites or terms of admission which indicate the course of canonical discipline. The council of Eliberis (c. 22) appoints ten years' penance to those who had deserted the faith and afterwards returned, with a provision that if they had lapsed in infancy they should be received back without delay. Later councils (*Conc. Agath.* c. 60; *Conc. Epaon.* c. 29) deprecating this severity, reduce the term to two years, on condition that the penitent fasts three days a week and comes frequently to

church. Longer penalties were exacted from those who had submitted to re-baptism among the heretics, the earlier practice in this too being more severe; the 1st council of Valence, A.D. 374 (c. 3), denies communion to them till the hour of death, that of Lerida, A.D. 523 (c. 9), only for nine years. In this, however, as in other points of discipline, much was left to the discretion of the bishop (*Conc. Agath.* c. 60; 4 *Conc. Aurd.* c. 8). In general the practice of the church, which is involved in some obscurity, appears to have been to admit converts without any actual penance, submitting them however to some outward form or ceremonial of penitence (*sub imagine poenitentiae*, Innocent; *Ep.* 18, *ad Alex-m.* c. 3). A letter of Gregory the Great (*Epist.* ix. 61, *ad Cyprian.*) directs that those who had once been baptized in the name of the Trinity should be received by imposition of hands, which was the Western use, or by unction, which was that of the East, or by a profession of faith.

Of these forms of reconciliation that by imposition of hands was the earliest. It is spoken of by Eusebius (*H. E.* vii. 2) as a practice which was ancient in the time of Stephen, bishop of Rome, A.D. 253-7; Cyprian also calls it the ancient custom in his time (*Ep.* 71 *ad Quintum*). It was prevailing in the time of Innocent (*Ep.* 2 *ad Iulian.* c. 8, 22 *ad Epi.* Mucedon. cc. 4, 5); it was known to Augustine (*de Bapt.* c. 5); and was the subject of the decrees of various councils (1 *Conc. Arid.* c. 8; *Conc. Nicæan.* c. 8). By a canonical epistle of Siricius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 384-98, heretics were to be admitted by imposition, together with invocation of the Spirit. But the statement of Gregory that imposition of hands was the Western custom, and unction the Eastern, is only partially correct. Uction was in use in both the Spanish and the Gallic churches (1 *Conc. Aransic.* c. 1; *Conc. Epaon.* c. 16), and it is likely that when Gregory wrote he was referring only to the principal church of the West, that of Rome (*Martene de Lit.* iii. 9).

ii. In the 4th century, converts from some heresies were received into the church by unction, with formal renunciation of their errors (*Conc. Laod.* c. 7; 1 *Conc. Constant.* c. 7). The Trullan council, following the 1st of Constantinople, describes the manner of admission; "We receive Arians, Macdonians, Novatians, Quartodecimans, and Apollinarians, when they give in written forms of belief (*Ἀριθμοί*); for instances of this practice see *Soc. II. E.* iv. 12, *Soz. II. E.* iii. 22), and anathematize every heresy not according with the mind of the holy and apostolic church; sealing (that is, anointing) them with the holy ointment on the forehead, and eyes, and nostrils, and mouth, and ears; and as we seal them, we say, 'The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost.'" The Arabic version of the Nicene canons (c. 21, Hardouin, vol. i. p. 468) has another form of admission. "If any one is converted to the orthodox faith he must be received into the church by the hands of the bishop or presbyter, who ought to instruct him to anathematize all who oppose the orthodox faith and contradict the apostolic church. He ought also to anathematize Arius and his heresy, and openly and sincerely profess the faith. After this the bishop or priest whose office it is, shall receive him and anoint him with the unction of Christ, and sign

penalties were exacted from unbaptized to re-baptism among earlier practice in this too being 1st council of Valencia, A.D. 374 unmention to them till the fourth Lerida, A.D. 523 (c. 9), only for this, however, as in other points which was left to the discretion of c. *Agath.* c. 60; 4 *Conc. Aurd.* and the practice of the church, and in some obscurity, appears to admit converts without any actual thing them however to some ceremonial of penitence (*sub imagine* recent: *Ep. 18, ad Alexon.* c. 3). *Gregory the Great* (*Epist.* ix. 61, ad s. that those who had once been a name of the Trinity should imposition of hands, which was e, or by unction, which was that by a profession of faith.

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version of the Nicene canons (c. 20, vol. I. p. 468) has another form of "If any one is converted to the with he must be received into the hands of the bishop or presbyter, to instruct him to anathematize all the orthodox faith and contradict the church. He ought also to anathe-mize and his heresy, and openly confess the faith. After this the bishop whose office it is, shall receive him and with the unction of Christ, and sign

him three times while anointing him, and praying over him in the prayer of Dionysius the Arrogante, and prayer shall be made earnestly to God for him, and then he may be received." With regard to other heresies, the canon of the Trullan council already cited proceeds to make the following provisions. "About the Paulinists the Catholic church defines, that they are to be baptized anew; but as to the Eunomians, . . . and the Sabellians . . . and all the other heresies . . . ; all who will come over to orthodoxy from these we receive as converts from paganism (ὡς Ἑλληνας); and the first day we make them Christians, the second catechumen, and on the third day we exorcise them, after breathing thrice on the forehead and ears (Ἐξορισμῶν); and so we go on to catechise them, and cause them to tarry in the church and listen to the Scriptures; and then we baptize them. And the Manicheans, and the Valentinians, and the Marcionites, and those who come from such-like heresies must give in *libelli*, and anathematize their own heresy, and Nestorius and Eutyri-queles, and Dioscorus and Severus, and the other ringleaders of such-like heresies, and those who hold their own and the other aforementioned here-com-munion."

iii. In the case of those who came into the orthodox faith from the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyriques, the church appears to have been satisfied with a solemn profession of faith by the convert. This is frequently insisted upon by Leo (*Epp.* i. 6; vi. 2; xiv. xxvii. 4). The 2nd council of Seville, A.D. 618, received in this form at its twelfth sitting an heretical Syrian bishop. The bishop made a solemn statement of his errors and of the truth, and confirmed it with an oath. In later periods an oath became an indispensable part of the ceremonial. A Roman synod under Leo III, A.D. 799, required a certain bishop Felix not only to abjure his heresy and write out a form of faith, but also to swear over the holy mysteries to observe his orthodox profession; he was then required to place it over the body of St. Peter, and swear he would never dare repeat his heretical opinions. *Cotelierus* (*Apost. Const.* v. 13, note) prints part of an ancient Eastern ritual containing a form of renunciation of the Armenian heresy, which concludes with the following imprecation: "If I make this profession with hypocrisis, or return to my heresy openly or secretly, may all calamities overtake me, the dread of Cain and the leprosy of Gehazi, and in the world to come may I be anathema and anathema, and may my soul be sent to Satan and his devil."

iv. The form of admission in use in the East in the 8th century is given by Morinus (*de Poenit.* ix. 9) from a very ancient Greek Euchologion. Those to be received must fast ten or fifteen days, and prostrate themselves in prayer morning and evening like the Catechumens; they may then be thought worthy of the orthodox faith and be initiated. The priest is to bring each into the baptistery, and say to him, "Curse X. and his doctrines, and those who agree with him, for I renounce him and every heretical doctrine, and I believe in the holy and consubstantial Trinity." And the priest shall say to the convert three times, "Dost thou believe in the holy and con-

substantial Trinity?" and the convert shall reply "I do." He shall then kneel, and the priest shall lay his hand upon his head and pray as follows After which he shall anoint him with oil with the same form as if he were a neophyte, and say this prayer The convert may then communicate, and he must be instructed but, as the baptized do, persevere for seven days, and on the 8th day wash and be dismissed.

The following example of a prayer used for those who were reconciled, after having been rebaptized by heretics, is from a ritual found at Toulouse, at Rheims, and in Sicily: "God who restorest man, made after thine own image, to that which Thou hast created, look down in mercy upon this Thy servant, and whate'er in ignorance and heretical perverseness has crept into him, do Thou in Thy pity and goodness pardon, so that any wickedness which he has committed through the fraud of the devil or the iniquity of the Arian falsehood, may not be laid to his charge, but that having been transformed by Thy mercy, and having received the communion of Thy truth at the sacred altars, he may be restored a member of the catholic church."

Heresy as a canonical offence is dealt with by Van Espen (*Jus Eccl.* Pars iii. tit. iv. c. 2). The admission of heretics to the church is a very complicated subject, owing to the endless varieties of heretical sects. See Martene (*de Lit.* iii. 6), Morinus (*de Poenit.* ix. 7-11), Sailer (s. v. *αἰρετικός*), and Bingham (*Antiq. X.C.I.* ii.). A list of the early and medieval writers on heresy is given in the preface to Burton's Bampton lectures on *Heresies of the Apostolic Age.* [G. M.]

HERETICAL BAPTISM. [BAPTISM, ITERATION OF, p. 172.]

HERMAGORAS, bishop and martyr under Nero at Aquileia, with Fortunatus his archdeacon; commemorated July 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HERMAS, saint (supposed bishop of Philippi); commemorated May 9 (*Mart.* Usuardi, *Ado de Festiv. Apostolorum*). [W. F. G.]

HERMEAS, of Comana, *λεπιδωπρος* under Antoninus; commemorated May 31 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

HERMELANDUS, abbot in Antron, an island of the Loire (circa 720 A.D.); commemorated March 25 (*Mart.* Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HERMELUS, martyr at Constantinople; commemorated Aug. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HERMENEGLDUS, son of Leovigildus, king of the Goths, martyr in Spain (†586 A.D.); commemorated April 13 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HERMENEUTAE. [INTERPRETER.]

HERMES. [GAIUS.]

(2) Saint at Marselles; commemorated with Adrianus, March 1 (*Mart.* Hieron., Usuardi).

(3) One of the seventy; commemorated with Agabus, Asyncritus, Hierodion, Phlegon, Rufus, April 8 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) Martyr at Rome (A.D. 116); commemorated Aug. 28 (*Mart.* Bedae, Usuardi).

(5) [EUSEBIUS (7).]

(6) Exorcista, saint of Retiaria; commemorated Dec. 31 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

HERMITS. Some medieval writers on monasticism define hermits (eremite) as solitaries in cells, and anchorites (anachoretæ) as solitaries without any fixed dwelling place; more correctly anchorites are solitaries who have passed a time of probation as cenobites, and hermits those who enter on the solitary life without this preparation (Martene, *Reg. Cœna. Bened.*, c. 1; Isid. *De Div. Off.*, ii. 15). Generally the word "eremite" includes all solitary ascetics of one sort or another; other designations of them in early ecclesiastical writers are ἀσκηταί, ἀκηταί, μονάζοντες, φιλόθεοι, φιλοσοφούντες, κατεργυμένοι, viri Dei, renunciantes, continentes, cellulani, Inclusi, reclusi, monachi, &c.; and, later, religiosi. The words μοναχὸς and μοναστηρίου were soon transferred from the hermit in his solitary cell to the cenobite in his community.

The asceticism of the desert was among Christians the first step towards the asceticism of the cloister. It was prompted by a passionate longing to fly from the world to escape not merely the fury of the Decian or Diocletian persecutions, but the contaminations of surrounding heathenism. It commended itself to devout Christians by reasons, which, however specious, really contradict and cancel each other, for it seemed at once a refuge from spiritual dangers, and a bolder challenge to the powers of darkness to do their worst; at once a safer, quieter life than the perilous conflict day by day with an evil world, and, in another aspect, a life of sterner self-denial. In the pages of its panegyrics the solitary life presents itself now in one and now in the other of these irreconcilable phases, according to the mood or temperament of the writer. It may be replied, that, far from being either more heroic or more free from danger, it is neither.

Until about the middle of the 3rd century the more austere Christians were only distinguished by such epithets as οἱ σπουδαῖοι or οἱ ἐκλεκτότεροι, without withdrawing from the society of their fellows (e.g. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 11; Clem. Alex. *H. mil.* "Quis Dives?" n. 36). About that time, Antony and Ammon in Egypt, and Paul in the Thebaid led the way to the desert; and their example soon found a crowd of imitators (Soer. *H. E.* iv. 23; Soz. *H. E.* i. 13, 14; Hier. *Ep.* 22, ad *Eustoch.*). In Syria Hilarion, in Armenia Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, in Cappadocia Basil urged on the movement. It spread quickly through Pontus, Illyricum, and Thrace westwards; and the personal prestige of Athanasius, an exile from his see, helped to make it popular in Italy at Rome (Niceph. *H. E.* ix. 16; Aug. *de Op. M. n.* c. 23; Hier. *Ep.* 16; *Epit. ph. Marcell.*). But the solitary life never found so many votaries in Europe, as in Egypt and in the East; partly because of the comparative inclemency of the climate, and the proportionate need of more appliances to support life, partly of the more practical character of the West.

The institution of Lauras was the connecting link between the hermitage and the monastery; in the later and more ordinary use of that word,

Pachomius at Tabenna in Upper Egypt had already begun to organise a community of hermits, by arranging that three should occupy one cell, and that all who were near enough should meet together for the daily meal (Soz. *H. E.* lii. 14; Pallad. *Hist. Laus.*). The monks of Mons Nitrius, too, near the Lake Mareotis, though many of them in separate cells (οἰκηματα μοναχικα σποραδην, τὰ Κελλά, Soz. *H. E.* vi. 31) had refectories for common use, chapels in their midst for common worship on Saturdays, Sundays and holy days, certain presbyters appointed to officiate in these, and certain lay officers, (œconomus) elected* by the older hermits to provide for their temporal wants, such as they were, and to transmit their scanty alms (diaconia) derived chiefly from the sale of the rush mats which they wove (Cass. *Inst.* v. 26, 40; Coll. iii. 1; x. 2; xviii. 5; xxi. 9). In the Thebaid a hermit named Johnnes presided over a large number of hermits (Soz. *H. E.* vi. 23, 29). One of the first "Lauras," or irregular clusters of hermits dwelling close together, was at Piaran near the Dead Sea in the 4th century; another was founded near Jerusalem in the next century by Sabas a hermit from Cappadocia, under the patronage of Euthymius.

The early ecclesiastical histories teem with the almost suicidal austerities of the more celebrated hermits. Not content with imposing on themselves the burden hard to be borne of a lifelong loneliness—for even without any vow of continuance it was very rarely that a hermit returned to the companionship of his fellows—and of a silence not to be broken even by prayer, they vied with one another in devising self-tortures; wandering about, almost naked, like wild beasts; barely supporting life by a little bread and water, or a few herbs; only allowing their macerated frames three or four hours sleep in the twenty-four, and those on the bare rock or in some narrow cell where it was impossible to straighten the limbs; counting cleanliness a luxury and a sin; maiming themselves, sometimes with their own hands, to escape being made bishops by force; and shunning a moment's intercourse even with those naturally dearest (Cass. *Inst.* v. 26, 40; Coll. ii. 6, 17; Soer. *H. E.* iv. 23; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 29, 34; cf. Roswold *Vitæ Patr.*, pass.). It was only in the decline of this enthusiasm that hermits began to take up their abode near cities. The "father of hermits" used to compare a hermit near a town to a fish out of water (Soz. *H. E.* i. 13).

Usually the hermit's abode was in a cave, or in a small hut which his own hands had rudely put together (Evagr. *H. E.* i. 21); but some, like the "possessed with evil spirits" in Gadara mentioned in the New Testament, had their dwellings in tombs (Theodoret. *Phal.* c. 12); hence they were called μεμωριστά, and the keeper or superintendent of these tombs the μεμωριστάς (Altes. *Ascet.* i. 7). Others roved about incessantly, to avoid the visits of the curious, like the "gyrovagi" in having no fixed abode, but unlike them in keeping always alone (Sulp. Ser. *De H. de Mon.* i. 9), and in feeling only on the wild herbs which they gathered [see HOSER]. Others, the "Stylitæ," aspiring to yet more utter isol-

* Hieronimus wrongly speaks of the presbyter as elected (*De Orig. Monach.*).

Tabenna in Upper Egypt had organised a community of hermits that three should occupy out all who were not enough gathered for the daily meal (Soz. *Hist. Laus.*). The monks, too, near the Lake Maroutis, then in separate cells (*αἰκία* *ἄνω*, τὰ Κελλάς, Soz. *H. E.* vi. 31) for common use, chapels in their own worship on Saturdays, Sundays, certain presbyters appointed these, and certain lay officers, led by the older hermits to promiscuous ways, such as they were, it their scanty alms (diaconia) from the sale of the rush mats (Cass. *Inst.* v. 26, 40; *Coll.* viii. 5; xii. 9). In the Thebaid a Jonas presided over a large unit (Soz. *H. E.* vi. 23, 29) "On Lanras," or irregular clusters of living close together, was at Pharan in the 4th century; another at Jerusalem in the next century; one from Cappadocia, under the thymus.

Eccelesistical histories teem with the austerities of the more celebrated content with imposing on themselves hard to be borne of a lifelong even without any vow of continence very rarely that a hermit companionship of his fellows—and not to be broken even by prayer, but one another in devising self-denying about, almost naked, scarcely supporting life by a little beer, or a few herbs; only allowing ad frames three or four hours sleep a-day, and those on the bare narrow cell where it was impossible the limbs; counting cleanliness a sin; maiming themselves, something their own hands, to escape being by force; and shunning a moment's ven with those naturally desert v. 26, 40; *Coll.* ii. 6, 17; Soz. *H. E.* vi. 29, 34; cf. Basward (pass.). It was only in the decline of the century that hermits began to take up their cities. The "father of hermits" was a hermit near a town to a fish (Soz. *H. E.* i. 13).

The hermit's abode was in a cave, or at which his own hands had rudely (Evagr. *H. E.* i. 21); but some, assessed with evil spirits" in Galilee in the New Testament, had their tombs (Theodor. *Ph. lo.* c. 12); were called *μασπιτά*, and the keeper of the tent of the *μασπιτά*; and the incident of these tombs had *μασπιτά* (i. 7). Others roved about like the "in having no fixed abode, but walking sleeping always alone (Sulp. *Ser. Div.*), and in feeling only on the will they gathered [see Bosc]. Others, "aspiring to yet more utter isolation,

us wrongly speaks of the *προσβύτη* as *ἄσκησις* (ig. *Monach.*).

tion, planted themselves on the summit of solitary columns. Of these the most famous were the Simeon, who in Syria during the 5th century is said to have lived forty-one years on a tall pillar the top of which was barely three feet in diameter (Evagr. *H. E.* i. 13; li. 9; Theodoret, *Philoth.* c. 26); his namesake who followed his example in the 6th century (Evagr. *H. E.* vi. 22); and a Daniel, who chose for the scene of his austerities a less dreary neighbourhood, a suburb of Constantinople (Theodor. *Lect. H. E.* i. 32). Other "stylitae" are mentioned by Joannes Moschus (*Prat.* cc. 27, 28, 57, 129). This peculiar form of eremitism was very unusual in Europe. A monk near Treves in the 6th century tried the experiment on the top of a column rising from the summit of a cliff; but by order of the bishop soon relinquished the attempt on *Hist.* viii. 16).

The reverence with which hermits were popularly regarded led to their aid being frequently invoked when controversies were raging. Thus in the close of the 4th century Antony, who is also said to have more than once broken the spell of his seclusion in order to go and plead the cause of some poor client at Alexandria (Soz. *H. E.* i. 13), being appealed to in the Arian conflict not only addressed a letter to the emperor, but made a visit in person to Alexandria on behalf of Athanasius (Soz. *H. E.* ii. 31; Hieron. *Ep.* 33, *ad Construc.*). The hermit Aphraatas boldly confronted the emperor Valens, as did Daniel, the later of the two pillar-hermits of that name, the emperor Basiliscus (Theodoret, *H. E.* iv. 23; Theodor. *Lect. Collectan.* i. 32, 33). The great Theodosius consulted the hermit Joannes (Soz. *H. E.* vii. 22). The hermits near Antioch interceded with good effect when the magistrates of that city were about to execute the cruel orders of the exasperated emperor (Chrys. *Homil. ad Ant.* xvii.). But not rarely the unreasoning zeal of the hermits provoked great tumults; and sometimes in a misguided impulse of indiscriminate pity they endeavoured by force to liberate criminals condemned by the law. Nor were their sympathies always on the side of the orthodox. When Theophilus of Alexandria denounced the error of the Anthropomorphites, almost all the Saitic monks were fiercely incensed against him as an atheist "in their simplicity" as Cassian adds, (*Cass. Coll.* x. 2).

On the comparative excellency of the eremitic or of the cenobitic life there has been much difference of opinion among writers who extol asceticism; the same writer inclining now to the solitary life, and now to the life in a community, as he views the question from one side or another. Sozomen calls the eremitic life the "peak of philosophy" (*H. E.* vi. 31). Chrysostom and Basil speak to the same effect (Chrys. *Ep.* 1; Bas. *Ep. ad Caliton.*). But Basil in the rule for monks prescribed to him commends the cenobitic life, as more truly unselfish, more rich in opportunities both for helping and for being helped (*Reg.* c. 7); and so speaks his friend, Gregory of Nazianza (*Orat.* 21). Jerome, with all his love of austerity, cautions his friend and pupil against the dangers of solitude (*Ep.* 4, *ad Rustic.*). Augustine praises hermits; and yet allows that cenobites have a more unquestionable title to

eneration (*De Mor. Eccl.* c. 31). Cassian often speaks of hermits as having climbed to the summit of excellences (e.g. *Inst.* v. 36; *Coll.* xviii. 4); at other times he depreciates the solitary life as not good for all, and as beyond the reach of many; and he relates how a devout monk gave up the attempt in despair, and returned to his brother monks (*Coll.* xix. 2, 3; xiv. 8).

It was from the first very earnestly enjoined by the leaders of asceticism, that none should venture on so great an enterprise as the solitary life, without undergoing probation as a cenobite (*Hieron.* *Ep.* 4 *ad Aust.*; *Cass. Inst.* v. 4. 36; *Coll.* xviii. 4; Joann. *Clim. Scala.* iv. 27). Benvoucing in front of the army for single combat with the foe, and therefore insists on his proving Councils repeatedly enforce this probationary discipline (*Conc. Venet.* A.D. 465, c. 7; *Conc. Tolet.* *Trull.* A.D. 692, cc. 41, 42). The permission of the abbat was required (Sulp. *Ser. Div.* i. 5), sometimes, also, the consent of the brethren (Martene, *Comm. in Reg. Ben.* c. 1) and, sometimes of the bishop (*Conc. Francof.* A.D. 794, c. 12). The length of this period of probation varied (Martens, *cf. Isid. De Div. Off.* ii. 15). Even those who most admired the hermit-life fenced it round with prohibitions as a risk not lightly to be encountered.

The civil authorities were naturally jealous of this subtraction of so many citizens from the duties of public life. Theodosius ordered all those who evaded their public responsibilities on pretence of asceticism to be deprived of their civil rights unless they returned to claim them (*Cod. Theodos.* xii.; Tit. 1; *Lex* 63); and it was forbidden for slaves to be admitted into a monastery without their masters' leave (*Conc. Chalced.* A.D. 451, Act xv. c. 4). In Western Europe Charles the Great decreed that all hermits infesting towns and cities for alms should return to their hermitages or be shut up in monasteries. By the law of the Eastern church a bishop who became a hermit was *ipso facto* deprived of his office.

It was not unusual, particularly in the monasteries of Provence and Languedoc, for one of the brethren most advanced in asceticism to be immured in a separate cell, sometimes underground, always within the precincts, as an intercessor for the monastery (Menard, *Observ. Crit.* in Bened. Anian. *Cod. Regum.* ii.). After a solemn religious ceremony the devotee, thus buried alive by his own consent, was left, with no other apparel than what he was wearing, to end his days alone. The doorway was walled up, or the door nailed to and sealed with the bishop's ring, whose consent, as well as that of the abbat and chapter, was requisite. Only a little aperture or be seen, for letting down provisions to him confounded with the aged or sickly monks, (*Cass. Inst.* ii. 12; *Conc. Agath.* c. 38). [See HESYCHASTAE.] The rule "for solitary" of Grimlicius, probably a monk in or near Metz about the end of the 9th century, seems intended not for a separate order, but for these "inclusi" generally (Bened. Anian. *u. s.*). It

is a characteristic difference between Asiatic and European asceticism, that the eremites, or desert monks of the east find their western counterpart in solitaries within the precincts of the community.

As might be expected for obvious reasons there have been few female hermits. Gregory of Tours mentions a nun of the convent of Ste. Croix, Poitiers, who retired to a hermitage by permission of the abbess Kulegunda (*Hist.* vi. 29). Usually these female solitaries had their cells in close contiguity to the wall of a church or of a monastery (Martene, v. s.).

[See further Rosweydl *Vitae Patrum*, Antverpiæ, 1628; Hospinianus *De Monachis*, Tigur. 1609; Middendorp *Originum Anachoretarum Sylva*, Col. Agripp. 1615; Anton, Dadin, *Alteserræ Asceticon*, Par. 1674; Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticæ* (Bk. vii.) Lond. 1840. See also ASCETICISM in this Dictionary, ANTONY (St.) &c. in the Dictionary of Christian Biography.]

[I. G. S.]

HERMOGENES. (1) [PETER (6).]

(2) [GALATA.]

(3) [EYODIUS (1).]

(4) [EVODUS.]

(5) [EUORAPHIUS.]

(6) [DONATUS (10).] [W. F. G.]

HERMOGRATES. [HERMOLAUS.]

HERMOLAUS, presbyter of Nicomedia, *Iepoμδpov*, A.D. 304; commemorated with the brothers HERNEMPUS and HERNOGATES, July 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi); and July 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [W. F. G.]

HEMMYLUS, martyr with Stratoniceus; (†315 A.D.) commemorated Jan. 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [W. F. G.]

HERNEMPUS. [HERMOLAUS.]

HERODION. [HERMES (3).]

HERON, or HEROS. (1) Bishop of Antioch, successor to Ignatius: "Natalis," Oct. 17 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) [DIOSCORUS (3).]

(3) [HERACLIDES.]

HERTFORD COUNCIL OF (*Herulfordie concilium*). Held at Hertford A.D. 673, Sept. 24; all the bishops of the Anglo-Saxon church then living, except Will, the simoniacal bishop of London, being present in person or by deputy (Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Documents*, iii. 121, note). Archbishop Theodore, who had summoned them, recited ten canons from a book, in all probability the collection of Dionysius Exiguus from their being all found there, to which all subscribed (*ib.*; comp. Mansi xi. 127). [E. S. Ft.]

HERULFORDENSE CONCILIUM.

[HERTFORD, COUNCIL OF.]

HESYCHASTÆ (*Ἠσυχασταί*). Etymologically a term equivalent to "quietists." It was applied to those members of a monastery who were allowed to have separate cells within the precincts that their meditations might be uninterrupted. (Bing. *Orig. Eccles.* vii. ii. 14; Menard on Bened. *Anian. Concord. Regul.* c. 29; cf. Justinian *Novell.* 5, 33.) Riddle, however,

(*Chr. Antiq.* vii. vii.), takes it as a designation of monks bound to silence; and Suicer (*Thez. Eccles.*) as meaning anchorites, although the passage which he quotes from Balsamon (*de Conc. Nic.* ii. A.D. 787) distinguishes Hesy-chasteria from "monasteria" and the cells of "anachoretæ." In the 14th century it was applied to the mystics of Mount Athos (Herzog *Real-Encyclop.* s. v.). [I. G. S.]

HESYCHIUS, ESICHIUS or ESICIUS.

(1) Bishop and confessor at Circesium (sæc. 1); commemorated with Ephrasius, Indalecius, Secundus, Tesiphon, and Torquatus, May 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr at Mesia; commemorated June 15 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HETAERIAE (*ἡταίριαι*) were originally political clubs; but the word came to signify any association of men for objects not recognized by the law. Thus Trajan (Plinii *Epist.* v. 34 [al. 43]) was unwilling to sanction a *ceparæ* (collegium) of firemen at Nicomedia, because he had found that in that district such companies were liable to degenerate into hetaeriae; and it was as hetaeriae that the assemblies of the Christians became objects of suspicion to the state (*ib.* x. 96 [al. 97], § 7), and so persecuted (Augusti, *Handbuch*, i. 40) [C.]

HERTODOXY. [HERESY.]

HEXAPSALMUS (*ἑξάψαλμος*). By this name are denoted six *canary* Psalms, which are said daily in the Greek office of lauds (*ὡδὸν*). They are Ps. iii., xxvii. (xxxviii.), lxii. (lxxii.), lxxxvii. (lxxxviii.), cii. (ciii.), cxlii. (cxliii.) They occur near the beginning of the office; and are introduced by the clause "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will among men," and by the verse "Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall show thy praise." After the first three Psalms are said the priest comes out from the bema, and while the last three are being said, recites the twelve morning prayers (*τὰς δωδὴν εὐχαί*) secretly before the icon of our Lord. They are concluded with three *Allchias*; and three *Reverences*. [H. J. H.]

HEZEKIAH, the king of Judah; commemorated Nuhasse 4 = July 28 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [W. F. G.]

HIBERNICA CONCILIA. [IRELAND, COUNCILS OF.]

HIEMANTES. The word *χειμάσσειν* means primarily "to be storm-tossed" (Acts xxvii. 18). Thence, by a natural metaphor, it passed on to the tempest of the soul. Thus Chrysostom (*Hom.* liii. in *Matt.*) says that the mind of a man who has many artificial wants is storm-tossed (*χειμάσσειται*). Compare James i. 6.

The seventeenth canon of the council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) orders those who have committed unnatural crimes, or who are or have been lepers, to be placed at public prayer among the storm-tossed or storm-benten (*εἰς τοὺς χειμάσσειναι ὑπερθεταί*). This is rendered in the "Versio Prisca," "cum eis qui tempestatem patiuntur orare;" by Dionysius Exiguus, "inter eos orare qui spiritu periclitantur immoderato;"

l.), takes it as a designation of silence; and Suicer (*Theol.* anchorites, although the quotes from Balsamon (ad d. 787) distinguishes Hesychonasteria) and the cells of in the 14th century it was of Mount Athos (Herzog [I. G. S.]

ESICHIUS or ESICIUS. Confessor at Ciresium (sac. I.); with Euphrasius, Indalelus, and Torquatus, May 15 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

Esia; commemorated June 15 Adonis, Usuardi. [W. F. G.]

ΕΙΡΑΙΝΙΑ (ΕΙΡΑΙΝΙΑ) were originally out the word came to signify men for objects not recognized as Trajan (Plinius *Epist.* v. 34 willing to sanction a company women at Nicomedia, because that district such companies generate into heretiae; and it that the assemblies of the objects of suspicion to the (ch. 97), § 7, and so persecuted (ch. 1. 40) [C.]

XX. [HERESY.]

MUS (Ἡρόδωρος). By this d six recarrying Psalms, which are the Greek office of lauds (ῥα are Ps. iii, xxviii, (xxviii), vii. (lxxviii), vii. (ciii), ciii. occur near the beginning of the introduced by the clause "Gloria Highest, and on earth peace, men," and by the verse "Thou ps, O Lord, and my mouth shall." After the first three Psalms st comes out from the hema, and three are being said, recites the prayers (τὰς ἐπιθῆναι εἰχῆν) the icon of our Lord. They are three *Affoluius*; and three [H. J. II.]

I, the king of Judah; commemorated July 28 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [W. F. G.]

A CONCILIA. [IRELAND,

ES. The word *χειμαστέριον* ("to be storm-tossed") (Acts ence, by a natural metaphor, of the tempest of the soul. Thus *Tom. iii. in Matt.*) says that the who has many artificial wants is *χειμαστέριον*. Compare James

enth canon of the council of An- orders those who have committed nes, or who are or have been aced at public prayer among the storm-benten (εἰς τοὺς χειμαστέριον). This is rendered in the "cum eis qui tempestatem e;" by Dionysius Exiguus, "inter spiritu periclitantur immando"

HIERAPOLIS, COUNCILS OF

by Isidorus Mercator, "qui tempestate jactantur, qui a nobis emergence appellatur (ul. furiosive emergence intelliguntur)." To the same effect Marlin of Braga (*Collect. Can.*, c. 82); "inter demoniosos orare." The use of the word in the Clementine liturgy (*Const. Apost.* viii, 12, § 20) — *επιμαστέριον* — makes it almost certain that the *χειμαστέριον* or *εὐρησι* are identical with the Emergence or DEMONIACS, who had a special place assigned them outside the church proper, whether in the porch or in the open air. (Suicer's *Theaurus*, s. v. *Χειμαστέριον*; Van Esen, *Jus Eccl.* iii. 132; ed. Colon. 1777). [C.]

HIERAPOLIS, COUNCILS OF. (1) A.D. 173, of twenty-six bishops, under its bishop, Apollinarius, against the errors of Montanus, which give rise to a sect called from the province in which it originated, and in which Hierapolis was situated, "Cathphyrges" (Mansi, I, 691-4). Eusebius has preserved extracts from a work written by Apollinarius himself against them (v. 16).

(2) A.D. 443, under Stephen, its metropolitan, when Sabiniannus was ordained Bishop of Perthie instead of Athanasius, deposed at Antioch under Donnus the year before. Later, Athanasius was restored by Diocorus of Alexandria. But the Council of Chalcedon, Oct. 31, A.D. 451, deciding for the moment in favour of Sablianus, referred the final adjudication of the question to Maximus, bishop of Antioch, and a synod to be held by him within eight months to enquire into the charges brought against Athanasius. Should they not have been made good by then, he was to regain his see, and Sabiniannus to be allowed a pension. (Mansi, vi. 465-6; and then vii. 313-58.) [E. S. Ff.]

HIERARCHY. 1. The word *ἱεραρχία* denotes properly a steward or president of sacred rites (Böckh, *Inscrip.* i. 749). By Christian writers it is occasionally used to designate a minor (p. 210). Thus Maximus, commenting on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of the Pseudo-Dionysius, says, "καλεῖν εὐθεὶ ἱεραρχίας τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικούς," he commonly calls the bishops *hierarchs* (Suicer's *Theaurus*, s. v.). Hence the word *ἱεραρχία* came to designate the order of bishops. Bingham, however (*Ant.* III. i. 6), considers the hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius to include bishops, priests, and deacons, quoting Hallier's *Defensio Hierarchy. Eccl.* (lib. i. c. 3; lib. iii, sec. ii. cc. 1 and 2).

2. In a wider sense, the word *Hierarchy* is taken to include the whole series of the orders of ministry in the Christian church. See BISHOP, ORDERS. [C.]

HIERATEION. [BEMA.]

HIEREMIAS. (1) [JEREMIAH.]

(2) [PETER (9).]

(3) [EMILIAND (4).]

HIERIUS, presbyter at Alexandria in the time of the emperor Philip; commemorated Nov. 4 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HIERONYMUS. (1) Presbyter (†420 A.D.); deposition at Bethlehem Judah, Sept. 30 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) With ANTHEMUS, commemorated Sept. 26 (*Cal. Armen.*) [W. F. G.]

HIEROSOLYMITANA CONCILIA.

[JERUSALEM, COUNCILS OF.]

HIRMOS

HIEROTHEUS, Bishop of Athens; commemorated Oct. 4 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [W. F. G.]

HIERURGIA. [LITURGY.]

HILARIA. (1) [EUMENIA.] (2) Wife of Claudius, the tribune; martyr with Claudius and their two sons, Jason and Maurus, and seventy soldiers, under Numerian; commemorated Dec. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HILARINUS, monk at Ostia, martyr under Julian; "Passio," July 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HILARION. (1) The younger (ὁ νεώτερος), A.D. 845; commemorated March 28 and June 6 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) The Great (ὁ μέγας), Holy Father, A.D. 334; commemorated Oct. 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) Commemorated Nov. 19 (*Cal. Georp.*) [W. F. G.]

HILARIUS, or HILARY. (1) Bishop of Poitiers and confessor (†369 A.D.); commemorated Jan. 13 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi); deposition Jan. 13 (*Mart. Bedae, Hieron.*).

(2) Bishop of Aquileia (†285 A.D.); martyr with Tatian the deacon, Felix, Largus, and Dionysius; commemorated March 16 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(3) Bishop of Arles and confessor (†449 A.D.); commemorated May 5 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(4) Martyr with Proclus, A.D. 106; commemorated July 12 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(5) The pope (†467 A.D.); commemorated Sept. 10 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(6) Martyr with Florentinus at Semur; commemorated Sept. 27 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(7) Bishop and confessor in Gavalis (Gevaudan in Languedoc); commemorated Oct. 25 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

HIPPO, COUNCIL OF. [AFRICAN COUNCILS.]

HIPPOLYTUS, Romanus, martyr at Antioch, *ἱερομάρτυρος*, A.D. 269; "Passio," Jan. 30 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal. Byzant.*); *Revelatio corporis*, Jakabit 6 = Jan. 31 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [W. F. G.]

HIRELING. The fight of the hireling from the wolf, as contrasted with the form of our Lord standing in the door of the sheepfold prepared to defend His flock, is beautifully carved on the Bresian casket, 5th or 6th century. (Westwood, *Fictile Ivory Caskets*, p. 36, no. 93.) [R. St. J. T.]

HIRMOLOGION. An office book in the Greek church consisting mainly of a collection of the *Hirmoi*; but containing also a few other forms. [H. J. H.]

HIRMOS (ἱρμὸς). The *Canons*, which form so important a part of the Greek offices, are divided into nine *odes*, or practically into eight, as the second is always omitted. Each *ode* consists of a varying number (three, four or five are the numbers most frequently found) of *troparia*, or short rhythmical strophes, each formed on the model of one which precedes the *ode*; and which is called the *Hirmos*. The *Hirmos* is usually independent of the *ode*, though containing a refer

once to the subject matter of it; sometimes however the first *troparion* of an *ole* is called the *Hirmos*. It is distinguished by inverted commas (" ") in the office books. Sometimes the first words alone of a *Hirmos* are given, and it is not unfrequently placed at the end of the *ole* to which it belongs. The name is considered to be derived from the *Hirmos* drawing the *Tropari*s after its model; i. e. into the same rhythmic arrangement.

HISPALENSIA CONCILIA. [SEVILLE, COUNCILS OF.]

HISPANUM CONCILIUM. Held, A.D. 793, at some place in Spain, under Elipand, archbishop of Toledo; from whom the document criticised in the letters despatched to Spain from Frankfort emanated (Mansi, xiii. 857; comp. 865 and seq.). [E. S. Ff.]

HOLIDAYS. [FESTIVALS.]

HOLY! HOLY! HOLY! [SANCTUS.]

HOLY OF HOLIES. In instituting a parallel between the arrangements of the Jewish Temple and that of a Christian church, the BEMA or sanctuary of the church, containing the altar, was naturally held to correspond with the Holy of Holies of the Temple (*ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων*), and was frequently called by that name. But with the Nestorians the "Holy of Holies" is not the sanctuary, but a small recess at the east end, into which not even the priest enters, containing nothing but a cross (Neale, *Eastern Church*, pp. 177, 189, quoting Etherege, *Syrian Churches*, p. 109). [C.]

HOLY BREAD. [EULOGIÆ.]

HOLY OIL. [OIL, HOLY.]

HOLY PLACES. I. By this phrase were understood, in the first three or four centuries after Christ, chiefly, if not exclusively, the scenes of our Lord's nativity, death, resurrection, and ascension. Of these, therefore, we will speak first. In 212, Alexander, the friend of Origen, "made a journey to Jerusalem, for the sake of prayer and investigation of the places" (*τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας*, Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. vi. c. 11). St. Jerome (*De Vir. Illustr.* cap. lxii.) says that he was drawn thither "desiderio sanctorum locorum." If this was the motive, and there is no good reason to doubt it, Alexander is the first on record whom religious feeling drew to those hallowed spots. Origen himself seems to have carried with him to the Holy Land more of the spirit of a learned and devout traveller of our own day. He was in Palestine in 216 on a rather short visit. In 231, he began a residence of some duration at Caesarea, in that country, and, after an absence of uncertain length, in 238 he opened a catechetical school there. He must, therefore, have known the Holy Land well, and his writings show it; but it is instructive to observe how he uses his knowledge. In one passage, as a critic, he expresses his conviction that "Bethabara," not "Bethany," ought to be the reading in St. John i. 28, "as he had been in the places, on a search after the footsteps of Jesus and his disciples, and the prophets" (*Comment. in Ev. Joann.* tom. vi. § 24). In another work, writing against an unbeliever, about 247,

he alleges the cave of Bethlehem as a place of evidence. If any one desire further proof than Scripture affords of our Lord's birth in that place, "the cave is shown where He was born, and the manger in which He was swaddled, and that which is shown is widely spoken of in those places, even among aliens from the faith, viz., that Jesus, who is worshipped and revered by the Christians, was born in that cave" (*Contra Celsum*, l. i. § 51). From the writings of Origen, we should not infer that either he himself had visited, or that it was the custom of his day to visit, the holy places for the express purpose of stimulating devotion, or under the notion that prayer in them was more acceptable to God than when made elsewhere. The spirit which animated the pilgrims of a later age, had not yet been awakened. Its awakening was probably much delayed by the attempts of the heathen to obscure the locality of events sacred to the Christian. Thus, in the time of Hadrian, a vast mound of earth was raised over the spot where our Lord was buried and rose again, and a temple dedicated to Venus was built on it (Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, l. iii. c. 26; Hieron. *Ep. xlix. ad Paulin.*).

The first great impulse given to the veneration of the holy places, came from Helena, the mother of Constantine, who, in the year 326, when nearly 80 years of age, travelled to Jerusalem, that she might so "pay the debt of pious feeling to God the king of all," for the elevation of her son, and the general prosperity of her family. After due reverence done to the footsteps of the Saviour, she "left a fruit of her piety to posterity" in two churches which she built, "one at the cave of the nativity, the other on the mount of the ascension" (Euseb. u. s. c. 42, 43). On the site of the burial, Constantine, after his mother's visit, first caused an oratory to be built, and later sent directions to Macarius, the bishop, for the erection of a magnificent church (*Vita*, c. 25-46). To this period, and perhaps to Constantine and Helena, we may probably refer two "very small oratories," one built on Mount Calvary, the site of the passion, the other on the spot where our Lord's body was said to have been embalmed and the cross found, which the Latins, when they took Jerusalem, enclosed within the same wall with the Holy Sepulchre (Gulielmi Tyrii, *Hist. Rerum Transmar.* lib. viii. c. 3). They were only a stone's throw from each other (Tillemont, note iv. sur *Ste. Helène*); and hence the church of the Resurrection, or Holy Sepulchre, was often spoken of as on Golgotha (Cyrill. *Hieros. C.* l. § 1; xiii. § 12; xvi. § 2). Very soon after the recovery of these important sites we find them noticed in the *Itinerarium* of a Christian traveller from Bordeaux, who visited Jerusalem in 333. He saw the "crypt where His body was placed and rose again on the third day" (l. i. placed and rose again on the third day" (*It. Rom. Itineraria*, p. 594, Amstel. 1735), and "the little hill Golgotha where the Lord was crucified" (p. 593). He also went to "Bethlehem, where the Lord Jesus Christ was born. There," he adds, "a basilica was built by the command of Constantine" (p. 598).

II. From this time, the holy places were visited by believers of every rank and almost every age. Some of the more wealthy settled at Jerusalem, and by their aims assisted, and

of Bethlehem is a place of desire further proof than our Lord's birth in that town where He was born, which He was swaddled, and is widely spoken of in those legends from the faith, viz., worshipped and revered by those born in that cave" (*Oratio* from the writings of Origen, that either he himself had as the custom of his day to be for the express purpose of, or under the notion that was more acceptable to God elsewhere. The spirit which of a later age, had not yet the awakening was probably the attempts of the heathen to of events sacred to the time of Hadrian, a vast was raised over the spot where died and rose again, and a to Venus was built on it *antini*, l. iii. c. 26; Hieron. .).
 name given to the veneration name from Helena, the mother who, in the year 326, when age, travelled to Jerusalem, pay the debt of pious feeling all," for the elevation of her prosperity of her family, done to the footsteps of the fruit of her piety to psalms which she built, "one nativity, the other on the cension" (Euseb. u. s. c. 42, e of the burial, Constantine, visit, first caused an oratory sent directions to Macarius, the erection of a magnificent 25-40). To this period, and Antine and Helena, we may pro- "very small oratories," one alvary, the site of the passion, spot where our Lord's body was embalmed and the cross Later, when they took Jeru- within the same wall with the (Guilelmi Tyrii, *Hist. Recon* iii. c. 3). They were only a in each other (Tillemont, note), and hence the church of or Holy Sepulchre, was often Golgotha (Cyrill. *Hieros. Cat.* l. vi. § 2). Very soon after the important sites we find them Hieronarius of a Christian it- eaux, who visited Jerusalem in the "crypt where His body was again on the third day" (lit. p. 594, Amstel, 1795), and the also went to the Lord was crad- He also went to "Bethlehem, Jesus Christ was born. There, ilicus was built by the commu- (p. 598).
 time, the holy places were evers of every rank and almost one of the more wealthy settled and by their alms assisted, and

perhaps attracted, many of the poorer. The city grew rapidly in population and prosperity, and soon, as an almost necessary consequence, became as notorious for crime and profligacy, as it was famous for its religious monuments. About the year 380, Gregory of Nyssa was called thither by the affairs of the church, and received impressions which it will be well to put before the reader in his own words. In an epistle, written not long after, he tells his friend that he learned there what it was to keep holy day to God, "both in beholding the saving symbols of God the giver of our life, and in meeting with souls in which like signs of the grace of God are spiritually contemplated; so that he believes Bethlehem, Golgotha, the Mount of Olives, and the resurrection to be verily in the heart of him who has God" (*Ep. ad Eustathium*, &c., p. 10, ed. Casaub.). The latter thought in this sentence then carries him away, and he seems, probably out of tenderness to the devout woman to whom he wrote, to avoid further reference to the holy places. Some years afterwards, however, he wrote a tract, in the form of a letter to some unknown friend, in which he earnestly dissuades from visiting Jerusalem on religious grounds. He begins by denying that it is any part of a Christian's duty "to visit the places in Jerusalem in which the symbols of our Lord's sojourn in the flesh are to be seen," and then proceeds as follows:—"Why, then, is there such zeal about that which neither makes a man blessed, nor fit for the kingdom? Let the man of sense consider. If it were a profitable thing to be done, not even so would it be a thing good to be zealously affected by the perfect. But since, when the thing is thoroughly looked into, it is found even to inflict injury on the souls of those who have entered on a strict course of life, it is not worthy of that great zeal, but rather to be greatly shunned." He next enlarges on the danger to the morals and reputation of all, but especially women, in their travels through the luxurious and profligate cities of the East; and then proceeds to ask,—"What will one gain by being in those places?—As if the Lord were still in those places? and then departed from us, or as if the Holy Ghost were overflowing abundantly at Jerusalem, but were unable to come over to us." So far from this being the case, he declares that city to be in the lowest stage of moral degradation. "There is no species of impurity that is not dared therein. Flagitious actions and adulteries and thefts, idolatries and witchcrafts, and envyings and murders; and this last evil, above others, is common in that place, so that nowhere else is there such a readiness to commit murder as in those places" (*De Euntibus Hierosolymam*, pp. 6-13, ed. Petr. Molinæi). Speaking for himself, he adds, "We confessed that Christ who appeared (there) is true God, before we were at the place; nor afterwards was our faith either lessened or increased. And we knew the incarnation through the Virgin before we went to Bethlehem, and believed the resurrection from the dead before we saw the monument of it, and acknowledged the ascension into heaven to be true, apart from our seeing the mount of Olives. This is the only benefit from our journey, that we know, by comparison, our own parts to be each more holy than foreign. Wherefore, ye

that fear the Lord, praise Him in those places in which ye are" (*Ibid.*, p. 14). St. Jerome, who lived at Bethlehem, sometimes speaks very much in the same strain. At other times he encourages and praises those who visited the holy places, especially if their intention was to dwell in retirement near them. This is easily understood. The multitude would be injured by familiarity with the memorials of Christ's life on earth; while the few might through them be brought into closer spiritual communion with Him. It may well be doubted, too, whether or he would have encouraged any one to stay at Jerusalem, except under the protection of the monastic life; and even that he was far from thinking altogether safe in such a city. Writing, in 391, or thereabouts, to Paulinus, afterwards bishop of Nola, St. Jerome says, "Not the having been at Jerusalem, but having lived well there is to be praised. . . . The court of heaven is equally open from Jerusalem and Britain. The kingdom of God is within you. Anthony, and all the swarms of monks of Egypt and Mesopotamia, of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia, saw not Jerusalem; and the gate of Paradise is open to them without (a knowledge of) this city. The blessed Hieron, though he was a native of Palestine, and lived in Palestine, only saw Jerusalem on a single day; that he might not appear to despise the holy places on account of their nearness, nor, on the other hand, to confine God to place." He warns Paulinus not to "think anything wanting to his faith, because he had not seen Jerusalem" . . . "If the places of the cross and of the resurrection were not in a city of very great resort, in which there is a court, a military station, in which there are harlots, players, buffoons, and all things that are usual in other cities; or if it were frequented by crowds of monks alone, an abode of this kind would in truth be one that should be sought for by all monks; but as things are, it is the height of folly to renounce the world, to give up one's country, to forsake cities, to profess oneself a monk, and then to live among greater crowds, with greater danger than you would in your own country" (*Epist.* xlix.). Nevertheless, when Desiderius and his sister had resolved to visit Jerusalem, he wrote (about 396) to encourage them, begging them to visit him and Paula "on occasion of the holy places." "At least," he adds, "if our society shall be un- pleasing, it is an act of faith (or perhaps, "a part of your vow," pars fidel est) to have worshipped where the feet of the Lord have stood, and to have seen, as it were, the recent traces of His nativity, and cross and passion" (*Epist.* xlvi.). In the same spirit he invites Marcella (about 389) to Bethlehem (*Epist.* xlv.); and bids Rusticus (A.D. 408) seek peace of mind at Jerusalem. "Thou art a wanderer in thy own country;—or rather not in thy country, for thou hast lost thy country. That is before thee in the venerable places of the resurrection, the cross, and the cradle of the Lord the Saviour" (*Epist.* xc.). In the famous epistle of Paula and Eustochium (about 389) to Marcella, every inducement is held out to her to join them at Bethlehem; the number, eminence, and holiness of those who visited the holy places from every part of the world, the psalms of praise in every tongue continually ascending from them, the

high religious interest of the places themselves, and, in particular, the great piety of the inhabitants of Bethlehem and its neighbourhood; but the truth is not lost sight of, that men might be as holy and devout elsewhere: "We do not say this to deny that the kingdom of God is within us, and that there are holy men in other countries, too," &c. (*Inter Epp. Hieron. ep. xliv.*).

III. Before the middle of this century (about 347) it was reported throughout the Christian world (see Cyril. Hier. *Catech. iv. § 7; x. § 9; xiii. § 2*) that the very cross on which our Saviour died had been discovered, and was exhibited at Jerusalem. According to Cyril, who was bishop of Jerusalem from 350 to 386, the discovery took place in the time of Constantine (*Epist. ad Constantium, § 2*). As he died in 337, and not a word is said of the cross or its discovery by the traveller from Gaul, already cited, who was at Jerusalem in 333, the story must have arisen and the exhibition of the supposed relic must have begun some time between those years. Later writers (as Ambrose, *de Obitu Theodosii, §§ 43-47*; Paulinus, *Ep. xxxi. § 5*; Ruffinus, *Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 7*; Sulpicius, and later on Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, &c.) assert that it was found by Helena, the mother of Constantine; but that princess died five years before the anonymous Gaul visited Jerusalem; and even if we had not his negative testimony, the silence of Cyril with regard to Helena, who, in his panegyric on Constantine, written in 337, has zealously heaped together whatever could tend to his honour, or his mother's, throw just doubt on her connection with the discovery, even if that be true [CROSS, FINDING OF, p. 593]. It is painful to suspect that the cross exhibited was not authentic, but when we find that by the middle of the 6th century (See Greg. Turon. *Mirac. l. i. c. 7*), if not long before, the lance, reed, sponge, crown of thorns, &c., used at the Passion were all exhibited, and revered with equal confidence, we surely have (not to mention certain difficulties in the story itself) some excuse for hesitating to affirm that the cross shown at Jerusalem in the 4th century and downward, was that upon which our Saviour died. It was believed, however, and our business is chiefly with the consequence of that belief. "Prostrate before the cross," says Jerome, speaking of Paula's first visit to Jerusalem, "she worshipped, as if she saw the Lord hanging thereon" (*Ep. lxxxvi. ad Eustoch.*). Paula herself refers to it, when urging Marcella to join her in Palestine: "When will that day be on which it will be permitted us to enter the cave of the Saviour; to weep with sister, to weep with mother, in the sepulchre of the Lord; then to kiss (lambere) the wood of the cross; and on the Mount of Olives to be lifted up in desire and mind with the ascending Lord?" This will, perhaps, sufficiently illustrate the importance of the alleged discovery, as a means of attracting pilgrims to Jerusalem. From Paulinus we learn that the cross was only exhibited "to be adored by the people" on Good Friday; but that sometimes it was shown to "very religious" persons, who had travelled thither on purpose to see it (*Ep. xxxii. § 6*).

IV. From one cause or another, then, the resort to the holy places in Palestine continued

and increased. E. g. Cassian, A.D. 424, speaks incidentally of some monks who, while he was at Bethlehem, had "come together at the holy places from parts of Egypt *orationis causa*" (*De Coenob. Instit. l. iv. c. 31*). Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius, bound herself by a vow to visit Jerusalem, if she should live to see her daughter married, which, with the consent of her husband, she fulfilled in the year 438 (*Soer. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 47*). Palladius, a Galatian by birth, who had spent many years in Palestine, writing in 421, tells us that Melania the elder showed in hospitality to pious persons going to visit the holy places from Persia, Britain, and almost every part of the world (*Hist. Lausiaca, c. 118*). Gregory of Tours mentions a Briton who, in his time, came to Tours on his way to Jerusalem (*Hist. Franc. l. v. c. 22*). Towards the end of the 7th century, Arculfus, a bishop of Gaul, "went to Jerusalem for the sake of the holy places," and being afterwards a guest of Adamnan, abbot of Iona, gave him an account of them. The latter put it in writing, and his work is still extant (*Acta Bened. suec. iii. p. ii. See Bede, Hist. Eccl. Angl. l. v. c. 15-17*).

V. From the middle of the 4th century, or thereabouts, some other places had been acquiring such a character for holiness, as the scene of a martyr's triumph or the shrine of his relics, that they were visited by pilgrims from a distance, and even received the conventional title of *Loca Sancta*. Thus Rome was famous for the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul. St. Chrysostom, alluding to the chain with which St. Paul was bound, says, "I would be in those places, for the bonds are said to be there still. . . . I would see those bonds, at which devils are afraid and tremble, but which angels reverence" (*Hom. viii. in Ep. ad Eph. c. iv. 1*). But with him such a pilgrimage would have been only *γυμνασία πρὸς θεοῦ βίαια*; for he more than once tells his hearers that they need not cross the sea, for God will hear them equally where they are. "Let us each, man and woman [remaining here at Antioch], both when gathering in church and staying in our houses, call very earnestly on God, and He will certainly answer our prayers" (*Hom. de Statuis, iii. § 3; cf. Hom. i. in Ep. ad Philem. c. i. 1-3*). And he claims a similar sanctity for Antioch, in which city he then lived, A.D. 388, as having been the "tabernacle of the apostles, the dwelling-place of the righteous" (*Ibid. § 3*). St. Augustine, A.D. 404, sent two persons, who accused each other of crime to a "holy place," viz. the shrine of St. Felix, at Nola, in the hope that "the more terrible workings of God" there "might drive the guilty one to confession, by punishment (divinely inflicted) or by fear" (*Ep. lxxviii. § 3*). He asks, "Is not Africa full of the bodies of holy martyrs? And yet," he adds, "we do not know that such things are done anywhere here" (*Ibid.*). Nevertheless, in the last book of the *City of God*, which was written about the beginning of the year 427, he records many wonders as wrought in Africa, within the few years previous, at the Memorials of St. Stephen and other martyrs (*De Civ. Dei, l. xxii. c. 6*). Prudentius, himself a native of Spain, A.D. 405, celebrating the praise of two martyrs, who suffered at Calahorra in that country, says that the dwellers in that city "frequented the saints

St. g. Casian, A.D. 424, speaks of monks who, while he was in Egypt, "came together at the holy of Egypt *orontionis causâ*" (*De v. c.* 31). Eudocia, the wife of herself by a vow to visit Jerusalem live to see her daughter with the consent of her husband, the year 438 (*Socr. Hist. Eccl. Gallidius*, a Galatian by birth, many years in Palestine, writing that Melania the elder showed others persons going to visit the in Persia, Britain, and almost world (*Hist. Lausiaca*, c. 118), mentions a Briton who, in his ours on his way to Jerusalem v. c. 22). Towards the end of r, Arculfus, a bishop of Gaul, em for the sake of the holy ing afterwards a guest of Adam- it in writing, and his work is *ta Bened.* succ. iii. p. ii. See *Angl. l. v. cc. 15-17*). In the middle of the 4th century, or middle of other places had been ac- character for holiness, as the r's triumph or the shrine of his were visited by pilgrims from a en received the conventional title Thus Rome was famous for the St. Peter and St. Paul. St. uditing to the chain with which ound, says, "I would be in those bonds are said to be there still, see those bonds, at which devils tremble, but which angels revere." (*Ep. ad Eph. c. iv. 1*). But a pilgrimage would have been *προς θεοσέβειαν*; for he more his hearers that they need not for God will hear them equally. "Let us each, man and woman e at Antioch), both when gather- and staying in our houses, call on God, and He will certainly rners" (*Hom. de Statuis*, iii. §5; *Ep. ad Philem. c. i. 1-3*). And he an sanctity for Antioch, in which d, A.D. 388, as having been the of the apostles, the dwelling-place ous" (*Ibid.* §3). St. Augustine, t two persons, who accused each to a "holy place," viz. the shrine at Nola, in the hope that "the workings of God" there "might ily one to confession, by punish- y inflicted) or by fear" (*Ep. lxxvii. s.*, "Is not Africa full of the bodies yrs?" And yet," he adds, "we do at such things are done anywhere. Nevertheless, in the last book of God, which was written about the year 427, he records many wrought in Africa, within the w at the Memorial of St. Stephen martyrs (*De Civ. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 8), himself a native of Spain, A.D. 405, the praise of two martyrs, who Calahorra in that country, says that in that city "frequented the saints

stained with their sacred blood, beseeching with voice, vows, gift; that foreigners, too, and the inhabitants of the whole earth came thither;" and that "no one there, in his supplication, multiplied pure prayers in vain." The poet affirms that many miracles were wrought there by the power of the martyrs, and that Christ conferred that blessing on the town, when He gave their bodies to its keeping (*De Coronis*, Hymn 1). We must remember that the writer is a poet, but hardly more could have been said of a popular shrine in the 9th century.

VI. Probably not very long after the time of these writers, a custom began of sending penitents to various shrines (ad limina sanctorum), partly as a penance, and partly that they might more effectually obtain the intercession of the martyr of the place. Most writers, following Morinus (*De Sac. ranc. Poenit. l. vii. c. 15*), have supposed that this form of penance was not in use till the 7th century; but a passage in one of the Homilies of Caesarius of Arles (A.D. 502), first printed by Baluzius in 1669, implies that it was known in France, at least, before the close of the 5th—"Frequenting the thresholds of the saints, they (penitents) would ask for aid against their own sins, and, persevering in fastings and prayers, or in almsgiving, would strive rather to punish than to nourish, or add to, those sins" (*Hom. iii. p. 23*). The great evils to which this practice would soon lead are obvious, and we need only, in conclusion, cite a canon of the council of Châlons-sur-Saône, A.D. 813, by which Charlemagne and his advisers sought to restrain them:—"A great mistake is made by some, who unadvisedly travel to Rome or Tours (to the shrine of St. Martin), and some other places, under pretext of prayer. There are presbyters, and deacons, and others of the clergy, who, living carelessly, think that they are purged from their sins and entitled to discharge their ministry, if they reach the aforesaid places. There are also laymen who think that they sin, or have sinned, with impunity, because they frequent these places for prayer." Some of the powerful, it adds, under pretext of a journey to Rome or Tours "for the sake of prayer or visiting the holy places," oppressed the poor by their exactions, while many of the poor made such pilgrimages on an occasion of begging with more success: some falsely pretending to be on their way to the holy places, others going there in the belief that they would be "cleansed from sins by the mere sight" of them (can. xiv. *Conc. Cahil. II.*)

[W. E. S.]

HOLY SPIRIT. The dove is the invariable and exclusive symbol which expresses special manifestation of the presence of the Third Person of the Trinity, and the article under that word will be found to contain some information as to the use of the symbol in this its highest sense. Luke iii. 22, Matt. iii. 16, Mark i. 10. The baptistery of St. Pontianus, in the catacomb of that name (Aringhi ii. 275), contains one of the earliest of these paintings of the Holy Dove, referable to the early 7th century; but the Lateran cross is reputed to be of the period immediately succeeding Constantine, and is a yet more striking example. [See DOVE, p. 576.]

[R. St. J. T.]

HOLY TABLE. [ALTAR.]

HOLY THINGS. [ECCLESIASTICAE RES.]

HOLY THURSDAY. [ASCENSION DAY.]

HOLY WATER. I. The use of lustral water in the Christian church appears to have had a manifold origin.

(1) At an early period we find FOUNTAINS, or basins, supplied with fresh water, near the principal doors of churches, especially in the East, that they who entered might wash their hands at least [see HANDS, WASHING OF], before they worshipped. There can be no doubt that the ritual use of water under the name of holy water (*aqua benedicta*, *ἁγίασμα*, *εὐχὰ ἁ- λωγίας*, &c.) arose in a great measure from the undue importance which naturally attached itself to this custom, as ignorance and superstition began to prevail amid the troubles of the Western empire.

(2) Again, under the Mosaic law a person legally unclean was not restored to social intercourse, and to communion in prayer and sacrifice, until he had been sprinkled with the water of separation, and had "washed his clothes and bathed himself in water" (*Numb. xix.*; compare *Ezekiel xxxvi. 25*).

(3) The courts of heathen temples were commonly provided with water for purification; but it is probable that as a belief in the gods declined through the influence of Christianity, many would neglect to use it as they entered. Hence, we may suppose, the custom for a priest to sprinkle them at the door, lest any should present themselves unpurified. An instance is mentioned by Sozomen. When Julian was about to enter a temple in Gaul, a "priest holding green boughs wet with water sprinkled those who went in after the Grecian manner" (*Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 6*). This bore such a resemblance to the later rite of Christians as to mislead one transcriber of the work of Sozomen, and induce him to substitute *Ἐκκλησιαστικῶς*, *Ecclesiastical*, for *Ἑλληνικῶς*, *Grecian* (*Annot. Vales. in loco. p. 109*).

(4) We may add that the notion of a lustration by water prevailed also among the earliest heretics. Some of the Gnostics threw oil and water on the head of the dying to make them invisible to the powers of darkness (*Iren. Haeres. l. i. c. 2, § 5*). The Ebionites immersed themselves in water daily (*Epiphani. Haer. xxx. § 16*). The founder of the sect is said by Epiphanius to have been wont to plunge into the nearest water, salt or fresh, if by chance he met one of the other sex (*Ibid.* § 2).

If many miracles are said to have been wrought by means of water, and to this also we attribute a certain influence in giving both authority and shape to the superstitions which arose with regard to holy water. Count Joseph in the time of Constantine the Great, sprinkled an insane person with water over which he had made the sign of the cross, and his reason was restored (*Epiphani. u. s. § 10*). We are told that by the same means he dispersed the enchantments by which the Jews sought the enervation of a church at Thiering (*Ibid.* § 12). An evil spirit who hindered the destruction of the temple of Jupiter at Apamea, A.D. 355, was, according to Theodoret, driven away by the use of water which the bishop had blessed with the sign of the cross (*Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 21*; *Cassiod.*

Hist. Tripart. l. ix. c. 34). Gregory of Tours describes a certain reclus named Eusitius (A.D. 532), in the diocese of Limoges, as so gifted with power to cure those afflicted with quartan fever, that by "giving them water to drink merely blessed (by him), he restored them forthwith to health" (*De Glor. Confess.* c. 82). Water from a well dug by St. Martin "gave health to many sick," and in particular cured a brother of St. Yriez, who was dying of fever (*De Mir. S. Martini*, l. ii. c. 39); and many were in like manner said to have been healed by the waters of a spring at Brioude, in Auvergne, in which the head of the martyr Julian (A.D. 304) had been washed (*Mirac.* l. ii. c. 3; see also cc. 25, 26, and the *Liber de Passione S. Juliani*). The same author relates how a certain bishop "sent water that had been blessed to a house" in which many had died of fever, and how, "when it was sprinkled on the walls, all sickness was forthwith driven away" (*Vitae Patrum*, c. iv. § 3).

III. The tendency to ascribe virtue to water blessed by the priest, was without doubt greatly promoted by a superstition with regard to baptism, and by the use sometimes made of the water employed at it. St. Augustine, writing in 408, says that some persons in his day brought their children to be baptized not for the sake of any spiritual benefit, but "because they thought that they would by this remedy retain or recover their bodily health" (*Ep.* xviii. § 5, *ad Bonif. Com.*). In the last book of the *City of God*, written about the year 427, the same father tells us of two persons who were at their baptism suddenly and entirely cured of very serious maladies of long continuance (*lib.* xxii. c. 8, §§ 4, 5). It was but a short step from belief in such miracles to suppose that the water used at a baptism might have virtue available for the benefit of others than those who were baptized in it. It would be often tested, and several alleged results of the trial are on record. At Osset, near Seville, was a font in the form of a cross, which, according to Gregory of Tours, was every year miraculously filled with water for the Easter baptisms. From this font, after it had been duly exorcised and sprinkled with chrism, every one "carried away a vessel full for the safety of his house, and with a view to protect his fields and vineyards by that most wholesome asperison" (*Mirac.* l. i. c. 24; see also *Hist. Franc.* l. vi. c. 43). A mother put on the mouth of her daughter, who was dumb from birth, "water which she had sometime taken from the fonts blessed" (by St. Martin), and she became capable of speech (*De Mirac. S. Mart.* l. ii. c. 38).

In the East, even in the time of St. Chrysostom, the water from the baptisms at the Epiphany was carefully kept throughout the year, and believed to remain without putrefaction. "This is the day on which Christ was baptized, and hallowed the element of water. Wherefore at midnight on this feast, all draw of the waters and store them up at home, because on this day the waters were consecrated. And a manifest miracle takes place, in that the nature of those waters is not corrupted by length of time" (*De Bapt. Christi*, § 2). In the West two centuries or so later we find a similar reservation, practised at Rome at least, but, as might be expected, with a more definite purpose. There, after the consecration of the water on Easter

eve, "The whole people, whoever wished, took a blessing (*benedictionem*); compare the use of *ἀγιασμοῦς* in their vessels of the water itself, before the children were baptized in it, to sprinkle about their houses, and vineyards, and fields, and fruits" (*Ordo Rom.* i. § 42; *Musae. Ital.* tom. ii. p. 28). It will be observed that the water was now considered holy for this purpose after being blessed, and before any one had been baptized in that font. It was an easy transition from this stage of practice and belief to the benediction of water without any reference to baptism, which should nevertheless have the same power of protecting and benefitting house, field, and person, that was ascribed to water taken from the baptismal font.

IV. The earliest example of an independent benediction of water for the above-mentioned uses occurs in the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions*, but there can be no doubt of its being one of the corrupt additions made to the original recension probably in the 5th century. "Let the bishop bless water and oil. If he is not present let the presbyter bless it, in the presence of the deacon. But if the bishop be there, let the presbyter and deacon assist. And let him say thus: 'Lord of Sabaoth, God of hosts, creator of the waters and giver of the oil . . . who hast given water for drink and cleansing, and oil to cheer the face . . . Thyself now by Christ sanctify this water and the oil . . . and give it virtue imparting health, expelling diseases, putting to flight devils, scattering every evil design, through Christ,' &c. (*lib.* viii. c. 29). From Balsamon we learn that holy water was "made" in the Greek church at the beginning of every lunar month. The observance of any festival at the new moon was forbidden by the council of Constantinople, A.D. 691; and he regarded this rite as in some manner a substitute for that relic of heathenism. "Owing to this decree of the canon, the feast of the new moon has ceased from time beyond memory, and instead of it, by the grace of God, propitiatory prayers to God and benedictions (*ἀγιασμοῦς*) by the faithful people have place at the beginning of every month, and we are anointed with the waters of blessing, not of strife" (*Comm. in Can.* lxx).

In the West the earliest mention of holy water not blessed for baptism, occurs in one of the Forged Decretals, ascribed to Alexander I., A.D. 109, but composed probably about 830. It is certain, however, that these fictitious orders, put forth in the names of early bishops of Rome, did not, except possibly in a very few cases, create the practices which they pretended to regulate. The rite existed before, at least in some locality familiar to the author of the fraud. The following decree, therefore, is witness, we may assume, to a custom already of some standing. "We bless water sprinkled with salt, that all being therewith besprinkled may be sanctified and purified. Which also we command to be done by all priests" (*Grentian*, p. iii. *De Consecr.* d. iii. c. 20). In the same century Leo IV., A.D. 847, in a charge to his clergy, says, "Every Lord's day before mass bless water wherewith the people may be sprinkled, and for this have a proper vessel" (*Consue. Libb.* tom. viii. col. 37). The same order occurs in three similar "synodal charges" of about the same period, which have been printed by Baluze (*App.* ad *lib.* Regino

people, whoever wished, took a cation; compare the use of vessels of the water itself, when baptized in it, to their houses, and vineyards, and (Ordo Rom. i. § 42; Musae.). It will be observed that now considered holy for this being blessed, and before any one in that font. It was an easy stage of practice and belief of water without any reference should nevertheless have the protecting and benefitting house, that was ascribed to water baptismal font.

example of an independent water for the above-mentioned so-called Apostolic Constitution is no doubt of its being one of the original remains to the original in the 5th century. "Let the and oil. If he is not present bless it, in the presence of the bishop be there, let the accon assist. And let him say Abahaath, God of hosts, creator of giver of the oil . . . who hast drink and cleansing, and oil . . . Thysell now by Christ er and the oil . . . and give it er and, expelling diseases, pu- &c. (lib. viii. c. 29). From that holy water was "made" church at the beginning of every the observance of any festival at was forbidden by the council of A.D. 691; and he regarded this manner a substitute for that relic "Owing to this decree of the of the new moon has ceased from memory, and instead of it, by the propitiatory prayers to God and (προσηύχοντες) by the faithful people beginning of every month, and with the waters of blessing, not m. in Can. lxxv).

the earliest mention of holy ed for baptism, occurs in one of etals, ascribed to Alexander I., composed probably about 830. It ver, that these fictitious orders, names of early bishops of Rome, possibly in a very few cases, etices which they pretended to risted before, at least in milar to the author of the fraud. decree, therefore, is witness, as a custom already of some stand- s water sprinkled with salt, that with besprinkled may be sanctified Which also we command to be "riests" (Gratian, p. iii. De Cons. In the same century Leo IV., charge to his clergy, says, "Every fore mass bless water wherewith ed, be sprinkled, and for this have" (Conc. Labb. tom. viii. col. 37). r occurs in three similar "synodal or about the same period, which have by Baluze (App. ad lib. Regibus

de Eccl. Discipl. pp. 503, 6, 9). In a "visitation article" of the 9th century, it is asked whether the presbyter blesses water, as directed, every Sunday (Ibid. p. 10). Hincmar of Rheims, the contemporary of Leo, after directions similar to his, adds a permission that all who wish may carry some of the water home "in their own clean vessels, and sprinkle it over their dwellings, and fields, and vineyards, over their cattle also, and their provender, and likewise over their own meat and drink" (cap. v. Conc. Labb. tom. viii. col. 570).

We have argued in effect that the prevalence of a custom in the 9th century implies that it was, to say the least, not unknown in the 8th. In the present case we have a direct proof beside. In the Pontifical of Egbert (p. 34; Surtees Society, 1853), who was archbishop of York from 732 to 766, are forms of prayer for exorcising and blessing the water to be used in the consecration of a church. Referring to the Gelasian Sacramentary (Liturgia Rom. Vet. Murat. tom. i. col. 738), we find the same terms to be used over water for the purification of any house, exorcism only being adapted by Egbert to the occasion. The same benediction occurs in the Gregorian Sacramentary, and an abbreviated form of the same previous exorcism (Ibid. tom. ii. col. 225). As it is almost certain that Egbert borrowed his formulae from a Roman source, we infer that the office for making holy water was in the Roman Sacramentaries a century before the practice was enjoined, as we have seen, by Leo IV. It should be mentioned that the headings of these prayers speak only of water "to be sprinkled in a house," and they were obviously drawn up with reference to that only followed closely (as in the modern Rituale) by tom. ii. col. 231), and no other express benediction of water is prescribed (except in the Gelasian, for the dispersion of thunder), we may perhaps infer that water once blessed for one purpose was considered available for general use. In all the offices to which reference has been made, the salt which is to be mixed with the water is itself previously exorcised and blessed. [W. E. S.]

HOLY WEEK [EASTER EVE, MAUNDY THURSDAY, GOOD FRIDAY]. The week immediately preceding the great festival of Easter, commencing with Palm Sunday, and including the anniversaries of the institution of the Lord's Supper, the Passion, and Resurrection of Christ was observed with peculiar solemnity from the early ages of the church (Chrysost. Hom. xxx. in Genes.; Hom. in Ps. cxlv.). It was designated by various names—ἑβδομῆς μεγάλη, ἁγία, or τῶν ἁγίων; Hebdoma major, sancta, the former being the earlier title in the Western church (Missal. Ambros. apud Pamel. p. 349) authenticca (ibid.) vltima (i. e. of Lent) (Ambros. Epist. 33). From the restriction also to food then enjoined it was called ἑβ. ἑσποφύλας (Epiph. Hier. lxx. 12) Hebdoma Xerophygiac; as commemorating our Lord's sufferings, ἑβ. τῶν ἁγίων πάθων; ἡμέρας νηστεύων, στασιδίαια; Heb. poenosa, luctuosa, nigra, lamentationum; from the cessation of business, ἑβ. ἑπρακτος, Heb. mola; and as watering in the Paschal absolution. Hebdomas indulgentiae.

The observance of Holy Week belongs to very early, if not to primitive, antiquity. As the historian Socrates has justly remarked (H. E. v. 22), no commemorative seasons were appointed by the apostles, or found any place in the ritual of the apostolic church. But as Easter naturally succeeded to the commemoration of the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egypt, so the anniversary of the passion took the place of that of the slaying of the paschal lamb, while the sanctity of these holy days was gradually extended to the whole week preceding Easter, which therefore assumed a special character in the Christian year. The observance of Holy Week is accordingly closely connected with that of Easter, and is probably but little later in its origin. The earliest notice of Holy Week, which speaks of it as universally accepted, is in the Apostolic Constitutions, which represent the Eastern custom towards the end of the 3rd century. About the same time, c. 260, Dionysius of Alexandria also mentions it as of universal observance. If we may accept as genuine the ordinance of Constantine the Great given by Scaliger (de Emenat. Temp. p. 776) and Beveridge (Pandect. ii. 163) the sanctity of this week as well as of the succeeding one was business at the beginning of the fourth century. The whole week was, as far as possible, kept as a strict fast, from midnight on Palm Sunday till cockcrow on Easter Day.

By the Apostolic Constitutions (v. 18, 19), abstinence from wine and flesh was commanded, and the diet restricted to bread, and salt, and vegetables, with water as a beverage. Total abstinence was enjoined on Friday and Saturday, or at least on Saturday "when the bridegroom shall have been taken from them," while on the other days of the week no food was to be eaten till 3 p.m. or the evening, according to ability. The fast was observed in this manner in the time of Dionysius of Alexandria (c. A.D. 260), who in his canonical epistle speaks of some who fasted through the whole six days (ἡμέρας πάσας ὑπεριθέσων ἑαυτοὶ διατελοῦντες); others, two, three, or four days, according to power of physical endurance; while some kept no fast at all, and others faring delicately during the first four days sought to make up for their self-indulgence by excessive strictness on Friday and Saturday (Dionys. Alex. Ep. Canon., Routh. Reliq. Sacr. iii. 229). Epiphanius describes the practice in his days almost in the same words (ὑπεριθέμενοι διατέλουσι); some, he adds, at every two days, others every evening (Epiph. Haeres. xxix. 5; Expos. Fid. 22). Tertullian speaks of the continuous fast of this week in the phrases jejunia conjugare, Sabbatum continuare jejuniis Parasceves. (Tertull. de Patient. 13; de Jejun. 14.) Epiphanius in another place describes the bodily mortifications practised this week, such as sleeping on the ground, strict continence, watchings, xerophagy, &c., and charges the Arians with passing the time in jollity and merriment (Epiph. Haeres. lxxv. 3). Sozomen (H. E. i. 11) thus in Cyprus, illustrating the habit of continuous fasting, ἐπισημαίνων τὴν νηστείαν, at this season. All work was as far as possible laid aside, and business, private and public, suspended during the week. From the time of

Theodosius (A.D. 389) actions at law ceased, and the doors of the courts were closed for seven days before and after Easter (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. ii. tit. viii.; *De Fer. leg.* ii. [see Gothofred's *Commentary*, vol. i. p. 124]; *Cod. Justin.* lib. iii. tit. xii.; *de Fer. legg.* vii. viii.; August. *Serm.* xix.; *Ed. Bened.* vol. i. p. 741). Those in prison for debt and other offences, with the exception of those guilty of more heinous crimes, were ordered to be released by a law of Valentinian's, A.D. 367, the earliest of the kind, according to Gothofred *Comment.* vol. ii. p. 273 (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. ix. tit. xxxviii.; *de Induly. Crim. legg.* iii. iv.; Ambros. *Epist.* 33; Chrysost. u. s.). Slaves were manumitted, and there was a general cessation from labour during this and the following week, not only to afford the servants rest but also opportunity of instruction in the elements of the faith (*Apost. Const.* viii. 33; Greg. Nyssen. *Hom.* III. *de Resurr.* tom. iii. p. 420; *Cod. Justin.* lib. iii. tit. xii.; *de Fer. leg.* viii.). The week was also distinguished by liberal almsgiving (Chrysost. u. s.).

The observance of the week may be said to have commenced with the preceding Saturday, when, with reference to John xii. 1-9, the church commemorated the raising of Lazarus—an event assigned erroneously by Epiphanius to that day (*Epiphani. Homil. eis τὰ Βάβια* tom. ii. pp. 152, 153; *Neule Eastern Ch.* ii. 747). The Gallican liturgies commemorated this miracle the next day (Palm Sunday), known therefore as *Dominica Lazari*, as appears from the collects of the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, and the *Sacram. Gallicanum* (Muratori ii. 718, 834). On the Saturday the pope was accustomed to give special alms at St. Peter's, in allusion to Christ's words spoken that day (Mar. xiv. 7). (*Comes Hieronymi* apud Pamel. ii. 21; *Sacram. Gregor.* ib. 244.)

The Sunday next before Easter, the first day of Holy Week, was distinguished by many different names. The earliest and most constant, indicating the great event of the day, being *Palm Sunday*; *κυριακή, ἑορτή τῶν Βαβῶν*; ἡ βασιόφιρος ἑορτή; *Dominica Palmarum*, or in *Palmis, Florum*, or *Punorum*, or *Osanna*. A later appellation derived from the same event was *Pascha florum*, or *floridum*. From the Easter absolution which followed it was known as *Dominica indulgentiæ*; and with reference to the great Paschal baptism, *Pascha petrum*, or *competentium* (*Ordo Romanus*), while the mass was styled *Missa in Symboli traditione*, because on this day, or according to the Ambrosian rite the day before (*Miss. Ambros.* apud Pamel. i. 336) the creed was recited to the *competentes*, or candidates for baptism, to be learnt by Easter eve, as was ordained by the 13th canon of the council of Agde, A.D. 506 (Labbe, *Concil.* iv. 1385; cf. *Isid. de Eccl. Off.* l. 27. ii. 21). The works of Augustine and other fathers contain sermons delivered on this and the following days to the *competentes* in exposition of the creed (*Aug. Serm. de Temp.* 113-135). Palm Sunday was also called *capitulum* because on that day the heads of the catechumens were washed in preparation for baptism and confirmation (Raban. *De Inst. Cler.* c. 35).

The ceremony of the benediction of the palm branches, or other branches that were substituted for them, especially olive boughs, appears in the *Sacramentary* of Gregory, where it has a special

collect (Pamel. ii. 245). The jubilant processions which have long formed so characteristic a part of the ritual of Palm Sunday in the East as in the West, are mentioned by Gregory Nyssen (*l. c.*) and were introduced almost universally by the end of the 7th century (Augusti *Illdoch. der Christ. Arch.* iii. 338).

Each day in this Holy Week was one of special sanctity, designated *αγία ἑβδομήκα, αγία, ἑβδομήκα, &c.* (Bevereg. *Pandect.* ii. 163), the observances gradually rising in solemnity to the Thursday in *Cœni Domini* (MAGNUS THURSDAY), and the Friday, *Passio Iovimi* [GOOD FRIDAY]. The history of our Lord's Passion was recited on successive days, beginning with that by St. Matthew on Palm Sunday, and closing by St. John on Good Friday. [E. V.]

HOMICIDE (*Homocidium, φόνος*). Murder was regarded by the church as one of the gravest crimes. It is joined by Cypprian (*de Lut.* c. 9) with adultery and fraud, by Pacian (*Paræn. ad Poenit.* c. 9) with fornication and idolatry, by Augustine (*de Fid. et Op.* c. 19) also with fornication and idolatry, as one of the three mortal sins which were always to be visited with Christian excommunication. By the laws of the Christian emperors murderers were expressly excepted from the general pardons granted to criminals on occasions of great festivals (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xxxviii. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8), and were refused the right of appeal (*ibid.* XI. xxxvi. 1). In some dioceses the peace of the church was denied forever to wilful murderers (*Tert. de Pudicit.* c. 12. Gregor. *Thaumnt. Can. Ep.* c. 7, *Comp. Cypprian Ep.* 55 *ad Anton.* on the practice of some of his predecessors with reference to the other great crime of adultery). But in general a murderer was re-admitted to the church after a long term of exclusion. By a decree of the council of Ancyra A.D. 314, c. 22, this term was lifelong; by Gregory of Nyssa (*Ep. ad Letoi.*) it was fixed at twenty-seven years; by Basil (*ad Amphil.* c. 56) at twenty. In the Penitential of Theodore (l. iv. 1), a murder committed to revenge a relation, was punished by seven or ten years' penance; but if restitution was made to the next of kin, half the term was remitted. If one layman slew another (*ibid.* c. 4), he must either relinquish arms or do penance seven years, three of them without wine and flesh; but (*ibid.* c. 5) if a monk or one of the inferior clergy was slain, the slayer must either relinquish arms and serve God the remainder of his life, or do penance seven years, as the bishop should direct; if a presbyter or bishop was the victim, the matter was to be brought before the king (*Bel. Poenitent.* iv. 1-8, Egbert *Poenitent.* iv. 10, 11). In the *Dialogue* of Egbert (Haddan and Stubbs *Councils and Eccl. Doc.* iii. 403), there is some variety in the penalty; a layman who slew a bishop was to pay the fine and submit to the term of penance a council should appoint, if he slew a priest the fine was to be eighty shukels; if a deacon, sixty; if a monk, forty. The ecclesiastical law in these instances being in accordance with the well known system of early English jurisprudence, which allowed homicide and every variety of personal injury to be expiated by money payments. See the laws of Ethelbert, between A.D. 597, and 604, on the payments to be made for murders (cc. 5-7, 13).

245). The jubilant processions formed so characteristic a part of Palm Sunday in the East as mentioned by Gregory Nyssen (i.e.) traced almost universally by the 13th century (Augusti *Hilbch. der* 338).

This Holy Week was one of special interest *αεθιά δευτέρα, μεγάλη, εβδωα, Πενδοκ. ii. 163*, the indulgently rising in solemnity to *Genad Domini* [MAURUS THURSDAY, *Passio Iovanni* (Good Friday) of our Lord's Passion was festive days, beginning with that was on Palm Sunday, and closing with John on Good Friday. [E. V.]

(*Homicidium, φόρος*). Murder by the church as one of the gravest and joined by Cyprian (*de Pat. c. 9*) and fraud, by Pacian (*Paran. ad* with fornication and idolatry, by *Pat. c. 19*) also with fornication, as one of the three mortal sins, were always to be visited with penance. By the laws of the Christian emperors were expressly excepted all pardons granted to criminals on great festivals (*Cod. Theod. IX. 4, 6, 7, 8*), and were refused the *ibid. XI. xxvi. 1*. In some cases of the church was denied for murderers (*Tert. de Pudicit. c. 12*). *Can. Ep. c. 7, Comp. Cyprian* on the practice of some of his with reference to the other great. But in general a murderer by the church after a long term. By a decree of the council of 14, c. 22, this term was lifelong; of Nyssa (*Ep. ad Letai*) it was twenty-seven years; by Basil (*ad* at twenty. In the Penitential of iv. 1), a murder committed to was punished by seven or ten; but if restitution was made to a, half the term was remitted. If slew another (*ibid. c. 4*), he must his arms or do penance seven years, without wine and flesh; but (*ibid.* or one of the inferior clergy was er must either relinquish arms and remainder of his life, or do penance as the bishop should direct; if a bishop was the victim, the matter ought before the king (*Bed. Poenit. Egbert Poenitent. iv. 10, 11*). In of Egbert (Haddan and Stubbs *Eccl. Doc. iii. 403*), there is some no penalty; a layman who slew a o pay the fine and submit to the a council should appoint, if he the fine was to be eighty shukels; if a monk, forty. The ecclesi- in these instances being in accord- the well known system of early prudence, which allowed homicide a variety of personal injury to be money payments. See the laws of between A.D. 597, and 604, on the be made for murders (cc. 5-7, 13).

and for injuries to the person (cc. 33-72). The laws of Ine of Wessex A.D. 690 (c. 76), contain the provision that if a man slew another's god-son or godfather, he must pay "bot" (fine to justice), as well as "wer" (recompence to kindred); and that if the slain was a bishop's son (i.e. confirmation son), only half the payment was to be exacted. For a full account of the laws on injuries to the person, see Turner *Angl.-Saxons*, vol. ii. pp. 436-447, ed. 1852.

Murder joined with other great crimes was more severely punished. One who used magical arts to slay another, thereby adding idolatry to murder, was denied communion even at the last (*Conc. Elber. c. 6*). The same sentence was decreed against a woman who added murder to adultery by slaying the offspring which she had conceived in the absence of her husband (*ibid. c. 63*), and the council of Lerida A.D. 523, more than two centuries after that of Eliberis, when the terms of penance had become much easier, assigned (c. 2) a lifelong exclusion to any who used sorcery to get rid of the offspring of adultery. In an English Penitential code (*Theodor. Poenitent. I. vii. 1*) the punishment of homicide combined with adultery, was seclusion in a monastery for life. The parricide or the slayer of any near blood relation was, by the civil law (*Cod. Theod. IX. xv. 1*), in imitation of the old Roman custom, to be sewn in a sack with serpents and thrown into the water; and if this were generally executed there would be no opportunity for the early church to attach any special stigma to the crime. In England a woman who slew her son, was to do penance fifteen years, with no relaxation except on the Lord's day (*Theodor. Poenitent. i. xiv. 25*). The parricide or fratricide was assigned by some seven years, by others fourteen, of which half were to be passed in exile (*Egbert Poenitent. iv. 10*).

The modern distinction between murder and manslaughter was not invariably observed. In the council of Ancyra A.D. 314 (cc. 22-23) a shorter term is imposed upon involuntary than upon wilful homicide. But in the canonical epistle of Gregory of Nyssa involuntary homicide is explained to mean that which occurs through simple accident; but homicide which is the result of passion, is treated as if it were wilful murder, even if deliberation and intention, which constitute the legal crime of murder, are absent. The distinction however appears in the Penitential of Theodore, where it is decreed (I. iv. 7) that if a man kills another by accident, he shall do penance one year; if in a passion, three years; if over the wine cup, four years; if in strife, ten. Homicide committed at the command of a master or in war was to be subject (*ibid. I. iv. 6*) to forty days' penance. The chastisement of a slave with such severity that he died, which was a crime on the borderland of manslaughter and murder, was not dealt with so severely as wilful homicide (*Conc. Elber. c. 5, Conc. Epan. c. 34*).

Concilia abort in any stage of conception, or taking or even administering drugs for that purpose, was treated as a form of murder, and a long period of penance was allotted to it (*Tert. Apolog. c. 9; Basil ad Amphiloc. cc. 2, 8; Conc. Ancyra. c. 21; Conc. Ilerd. c. 2; Conc. in Trull. c. 61*). But that there was some laxity of

opinion on the crime, appears from one of the English Penitentials (*Bed. Poenitent. iv. 12*), which excludes from communion for a longer term a woman who procured abortion in order to conceal her shame, than one who did so because she was too poor to maintain her child. Closely allied to this crime was the EXPOSING OF INFANTS. [See that head.]

Anger and strife as tending to murder (*Matt. v. 22*) were brought under discipline. In the African church (*Stat. Eccl. Antiqu. c. 93, ed. Bruns*) the oblations of those who were at enmity with their brethren were received neither at the altar nor in the common treasury, and communion. A similar decree prevailed in the Gallic church (*2 Conc. Arelat. c. 50*), those who broke out into open strife were to be removed from all church assemblies till they were reconciled. The discipline of the English church was more in accordance with the practice of the Anglo-Saxon law. He who wounded another in strife was to pay him a recompence, and help to support him till he had recovered, and help half a year's penance; if he was unable to support him, the penance was to extend to a whole year (*Bed. Poenitent. iv. 9*). [G. M.]

HOMILY AND HOMILIARIUM.

The word *διδασκαλία* designates generally "intercourse," implying the interchange of thought and feeling by words. In a special sense, it is used for the instruction which a philosopher gave his pupils in familiar conversation (*Xenophon, Mem. I. ii. 6 and 15*). In this sense of "familiar instruction" it passed into Christian usage. Thus St. Luke uses the word *διηγήσας* of the same address which he had previously described by the word *διαλεγόμενος* (*Acts xx. 9, 11*). Compare Euseb. *IE. vi. 19, § 17*. Photius (*Biblioth. no. 174, 4*, in Suerz's *Theca. s. v.*) notices that the discourses of Chrysostom were properly called *διδασκαλία*, rather than *λόγος*, as being simple, inartificial, popular addresses, in a style rather conversational than formal, while a *λόγος* was constructed according to the rules of art, and with a certain dignity and elevation of style. Similarly the French *Conférence*. The council of Ancyra (c. 1) A.D. 314, forbidding presbyters who have sacrificed to idols *προσφέρειν ἢ διμυλεῖν ἢ διαλεγεσθαι* seems to use the word *διμυλεῖν* as the common technical expression for the address of the presbyter in the liturgy.

Probably the earliest extant addresses commonly called *Homilies* are those of Origen, who (if he himself applied the term to his discourses) no doubt took it from the schools of philosophy.

The word seemingly did not pass into common use in Latin before the fifth century; for Victor Vitensis (*Persec. Vandal. i. 3, p. 10*, Ruinart), writing towards the end of that century, speaks of Augustine's popular addresses, "*quos Graeci homiliae vocant*," as if "homiliae" were still to some extent strange to his Latin readers.

Augustine had himself made a similar explanation of the word (*On s's. 118 [119] Pref.; Epist. 2, ad Quodvultdesum*). And he also supplies abundant evidence that these homilies were intentionally careless and colloquial in style. So long as all are instructed (he says), let us not fear the critics (*Serm. 37, c. 10, p. 187*); let

not word-cavers ask whether it is Latin, but Christians whether it is true (*Serm.* 299, p. 1213); it is better that the preacher should be barbarous, and his hearers understand, than the preacher scholarly and the people lacking (*On Ps.* 36, *Serm.* 3, p. 285); it is better that critics should blame, than that the people should miss the meaning (*On Ps.* 138, p. 1545).

See further on preaching, and its place in the liturgy, under *SERMON*.

At a comparatively early period we find that the custom arose of delivering the sermons of others in churches where the priest was, for some reason, unable to preach. Mr. Scudamore (p. 290) gives the following instances:—

Augustine (*De Doct. Chr.* iv. 62) thinks it well that those who have a good delivery, but no power of composition, should adopt the sermons of others. Isidore of Pelusium (A.D. 412) wrote a homily to be delivered by his friend Dorotheus, which was declaimed with much applause (*Epist.* iii. 382). Cyril of Alexandria is said by Germainus (*De Vi. Illust.* c. 57 in Fabricii *Biblioth. Eccl.* p. 27) to have composed many homilies, which (he adds) are committed to memory by the Greek bishops for delivery. The same author relates (*u.s.* c. 67, p. 31) that Salvian of Marseilles made many homilies for bishops. Some of the *Pictones Sacrae* of Ennodius, bishop of Ticino (A.D. 511) are manifestly written to be preached by some other than the writer, and two of them bear the titles: "Sent to Honoratus, bishop of Novara, at the dedication of the basilica of the Apostles," and "Given to Stephanus . . . to be pronounced by Maximus the bishop." The second council of Vaison, A.D. 529, licenses all presbyters to preach in their districts, and provides (c. 2) that, in case the presbyter, from sickness, is unable to preach, homilies of the Holy Fathers should be recited by the deacons [DEACON, p. 529]. Caesarius of Arles († 542) is said (*Life* by Cyprian, c. 31; in *Acta SS. Ben.* i. 645) to have composed homilies, which the bishops in the Frank territory, the Gauls, Italy, or Spain, to whom he sent them, might cause to be preached in their churches. To read the sermons of others seems indeed to have been a recognised practice in the Gallican church. Thus Germanus of Paris (*Expositio Brevis*, in Migne's *Patrol.* lxxii. 91) says, that the homilies of the saints which are read after the Gospel, are to be taken merely as preaching, that the pastor or doctor of the church may explain in popular language to the people what has been delivered in the Prophecy, Epistle, or Gospel.

This constant habit of using the sermons of others led in process of time to the formation of collections of homilies, of which those who were unable or unwilling to compose sermons might avail themselves. Bede's *Homiliae de Tempore* are said to have been much used in this way. This collection contains 35 homilies for the summer half of the year, 15 for the winter; 22 for Lent; 32 for the Saints' Days of the summer half, 16 for those of the winter half; and various *Sermones ad Populum*. Probably several other collections were in circulation before the end of the eighth century. See Mabillon, *Act. SS. Bened.* iii. pt. 1, p. 556 ff. But in the time of Charles the Great all the homilaries in common use in the Frankish kingdom were found to

labour under great defects; the homilies which they contained were in many cases written by men of no authority, and they were full of errors both of style and matter. The king, therefore, commissioned Paul Warnefrid, the well-known historian of the Lombards, to draw up a collection of homilies from the Fathers which should be free from these faults. This task he accomplished before the end of the eighth century, probably not later than A.D. 780; for Charles, in the recommendation prefixed to the book, does not style himself emperor. In this preface (Mabillon's *Annot.* lct. p. 75, ed. 1723) the king states that in gratitude to God for the protection which He had given him in war and peace, he had set himself to promote the welfare of the church and the advancement of knowledge; he refers to the efforts which he had made to secure a correct text of the Scriptures [CANONICAL BOOKS], and then proceeds to recommend the homilary for adoption in the Gallican churches, which his father Pepin had already furnished with chants after the Roman model (Romanæ traditionis cantibus). In this collection* the discourses are arranged according to the series of Sundays and Festivals; that form of the Vulgate text is adopted in quotations from Scripture which had been in common use since the days of Gregory the Great.

In the year 813 the council of Rheims (c. 15) enjoined the bishops to preach sermons of the Holy Fathers in the dialect of their several dioceses, so that all might understand, and in the same year the third council of Tours (c. 17) ordered that every bishop should have homilies prepared containing needful admonitions for the use of those under them, and that each should endeavour to translate the said homilies clearly into the rustic-Roman or the Teutonic tongue, so that all might more easily understand the things spoken. To the same effect the council of Mayence (c. 2), in the year 847.

The collection of Aelfric (generally supposed to be the archbishop of York, 1023-1051) does not fall within our period; but it was probably the successor of various other collections of English homilies, some of which may have existed before the time of Charles.

John Beeth (A.D. 1162) calls the Book of Homilies (*Div. Off. Expl.* c. 60) the *Homiliaris*, and mentions a *Sermolopus* separately among the books which a church ought to have.

* It was commonly attributed in the Middle Ages to Alcuin, and bears in the Cologne edition of 1539 the following title: "Homiliae seu maxis sermones sive encycloes ad populum praestantissimorum ecclesiae doctorum Hieronymi Augustini Ambrosii Gregorii Origenis Chrysostomi Bedae etc. in hunc ordinem digestae per Alchunum levitam idque injunctae et Carolo Mag. Rom. Imp. cur a secretis fuit." Possibly the mistake arose from the fact that Alcuin revised the so-called *Comes Hieronymi* [LECTIONARY]; or he may have revised the work of Warnefrid. See on this point Mabillon (*Ann. O. S. Ben.* ii. 328) and Rivet (*Hist. Lit. de la France*, iv. 337). The *Éditio Princeps* is that of Speyer, 1622. The author of the ancient *Life* of Alcuin (Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ben. Saec.* iv. pt. 1, p. 158) says that Alcuin collected two volumes of Homilies from the works of the Fathers. If he did—which is scarcely probable since Warnefrid's collection had just been authorized—the work is lost.

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Durandus uses (*Rationale*, vi. l. §§ 28, 32) the form *Honitarius* [i.e. Liber] as well as *Honellonarius* (Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iv. 3340 ff.; Wetzer and Welte's *Kirchenlexicon*, v. 307; Scandmore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, 290 ff.; Ranks in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1855, li. p. 387 ff.) [C.]

HONEY AND MILK. 1. The giving of honey and milk to a person newly baptised, as a symbol of the nourishment of the renewed soul, has already been mentioned [BAPTISM, § 66, p. 161].

2. Among the things enumerated by the *Apostolical Canons* (c. 3), which the bishop is forbidden to bring to the altar [or sanctuary], are honey and milk. The 24th canon of the third council of Carthage also excludes honey and milk from the offerings on the altar, in that it forbids anything to be placed upon it but bread and wine mixed with water. But the 27th of the African canons, repeating this, adds: "Primitiae vero, seu mel et lac quod uno die solemnissimum in infantum mysterio solet offerri, quovis in altari offerantur, suam tamen habent propriam benedictionem, ut a sacramento Domini Corporis et sanguinis distinguantur; nec amplius in primitiis offerantur quam de uvis et frumentis." It is evident from this, that at the time when these canons were drawn up, the custom had arisen of placing on the altar the honey and milk for the neophytes at Easter, and (apparently) of consecrating them with the bread and wine. It is this latter practice which is here forbidden; the honey and milk are to be given to the eucharistic elements. At the end of the seventh century the placing of honey and milk on the altar was wholly forbidden (*Conc. in Trullo*, c. 57; cf. c. 28).

(Bingham, *Ant.* XV. ii. 3; Van Espen, *Jus Eccl.* iii. 329, 414; ed. Colon. 1777.) [C.]

HONOR. 1. The word is used specially of ecclesiastical dignities or orders. Thus Optatus of Milevis (c. *Donat.* ii. 24) says, speaking of the attempts of the Donatists to annul the orders of Catholic priests, "quid predest quod vivi sunt homines et occisi sunt honores a vobis?" So Augustine, *Adv. Epist. Parmen.* ii. 11; and *Conc. Arelat.* IV. cc. 1 and 2. In Charles the Great's *Capitalis* (v. 8), "honorabilis persona" is used apparently to distinguish one in major orders from "ecclesiastici viri" who were only in minor orders (Ducange, s. v.).

2. The second council of Brugn, A.D. 572, lays down (c. 2) that no bishop making a visitation of his diocese should take anything from the churches besides the customary honorarium to the see (praeter honorem cathedrae suae) of two solidi. We may perhaps discern here the germ of the later use, according to which "honor" means a benefice. [C.]

HONORATUS. (1) Bishop of Arles (+429 A.D.); commemorated Jan. 16 (*Mart.* Adonis, Ursardi).

(2) [DEMETRIUS (3).] [W. F. G.]

HOOD (κουκούλλιον, κουκούλιον, κούκουλλα, κωνούλιον, ένα καμαλάχη; capillum, caputium,

* Duplo reads, "quia vivunt homines, et honore a vobis non sunt?"

cuollus, cuculla, cucullio, capa, cappa). Garments intended for outdoor wear were very frequently provided with a hood as a protection for the head against rain or cold, which might be drawn forward when need required, or might be allowed to fall back upon the shoulders. This would of course be ordinary, but not necessarily, attached to the dress. The *lucerna*, for example, was generally furnished with a hood or cowl (see e.g. *Martini* xiv. 132, 129; and cf. *Juvenal* vi. 117, 330; viii. 145); so also was the *caracalla*, which was introduced into Rome from Gaul, and from which the emperor Aurelius Antoninus derives the name by which he is ordinarily known. Jerome refers to it by way of illustration in his description of the ephod of the Jewish high-priest, "in modum caracallarum, sed absque cucullis" (*Epist.* 64 ad *Fabiolam*, § 15; vol. i. 364, ed. Vallars), where the last words imply what was the ordinary fashion of it. A hood was also the appendage of the *casula*, which Isidore (*de Origin.* xix. 24) describes as *vestis cucullata*; of the *colobium* (see e.g. *Honerius Augustodunensis, Gemma Animae*, i. 211; *Patrol.* clxxii. 607), and of the *cope* (see e.g. *Durandus, Rat. Div. Off.* iii. 1. 13, who speaking of the symbolism associated with the *pluviale*, or *cappa*, adds "habet etiam caputium, quod est supernum gaudium"). As regards the last of these, we may take this opportunity of remarking that Isidore (*de Origin.* xix. 31) uses the word *cappa* distinctly in the sense of hood, "cappa . . . quia capitis ornamentum est." As an example of this more restricted meaning of the word, we may cite a remark in a letter of Paulus Diaconus, in the name of abbot Theodemar, to Charlemagne as to the dress of the monks of Monte Cassino, "illud autem vestimentum, quod a Gallicanis monachis cuculla dicitur, et nos capam vocamus . . ." (*Pauli Diaconi Epist.* i.; *Patrol.* xc. 1587). He had just before meant the same dress (the word *cuculla* with them meant the same dress "quam alio nomine casulam vocamus." A later instance is found in the records of a council of Metz (A.D. 888), which enjoins the use of the *capa* (in the sense of hood) to monks and forbids it to laymen (can. 6, *Labb.* ix. 414). An earlier council, that of Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 816), had restricted the use of the *cuculla* to monks, excluding other ecclesiastics (can. 125, *Labb.* viii. 1395). It may be added here that the congress of Gallican abbots and monks, held at the same place in the following year, carefully fixed the size of the cowl, "mensura cucullinae duobus consistat cubitis" (cap. 21; *op. cit.* 1508). With reference to the foregoing Theodosian code had expressly permitted to slaves, with certain exceptions, the use of the *byrrus* and *cuollus* (*Cod. Theodos.* lib. xiv. tit. 10, l. 1).

The most prominent instance of the use of the hood is to be found in that of the monastic cowl, which is frequently referred to in various laws, and which formed a special part of the monkish dress at least as early as the time of Jerome. The hermit Hilarion was, according to this father, buried "in tunica ciliciana et cuculla" (*Vita S. Hilari.* cc. 44, 46; vol. ii. 30, 40, ed. Vallars). We meet with several allusions in the *cuculla* in Jerome's translation of the Rule of the Egyptian Pachomius (see e.g. cc. 81, 91, 99,

op. cit. 67, sqq.). Thus the monks in this system were to have two cowls, which were to bear tokens indicative of the particular monastery, and without his cowl and "pellicula" no monk was to appear at divine service or at meals. The Rule of St. Benedict allowed to each monk, in the case of dwellers in temperate climates, a frock and hood (*cuculla*), the latter to be "in hyeme villosa, in aestate pura aut vetusta" (*Reg. S. Bened.* c. 55; in Holstenius, *Codex Regiarum*, pt. ii. p. 32; ed. Paris, 1663). The same distinction between hoods for summer and winter wear is also found in the Rule of St. Fructuosus (c. 4; *op. cit.* p. 139), which allows a couple to each monk, "villata et simplex." The *Regula Magistri* lays down a wholesome provision as to the hoods and frocks of the monks who discharged the weekly office of cook (c. 81; *op. cit.* p. 257). The word *cucula* passed from Latin into Greek, where it appears as *κουκούλιον*, etc. Thus, for example, it is mentioned in connection with the monastic dress by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 14, where he remarks on the Egyptian monks), Pseudo-Athanasius (*de Virginitate*, c. 11; vol. ii. 116, ed. Moutfaucou), and by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (ob. 740, A.D.), who also appears to allude to the cross on the cowl, still worn by bishops and *σταυρόφοροι* in the Greek church (*Historia Ecclesiastica et Mystica Con templatio*; *Patrol. Gr.* xviii. 396). The name *ἄνω καμηλαύχιον* (variously spelled) is given to the hood which covers the under headdress (*κάτω καμηλαύχιον*) worn by a Greek patriarch who has been a member of a monastic order (see Ducange's *Glossarium Graec. s.v. καμηλαύχιον*). An illustration of this may be seen in Gouar's *Euchologion* (p. 156; cf. also p. 518), where the patriarch Bekkus is thus figured. This name, however, belongs to a date subsequent to our period.

We may briefly refer in passing to the hood worn after baptism, which is spoken of in connection with the white baptismal robe, but as distinct from it (see e.g. Theodulf, bishop of Orlens [ob. 821 : s. v.], *de Ordine Baptismi*, c. 16; *Patrol.* cv. 234; Jesse Ambianensis [ob. 836 A.D.], *Epist. de Baptismo*, lb. 790; Rabanus Maurus, *de Inst. Cler.* i. 29; *Patrol.* cvl. 313). We may perhaps further refer to an epistle of Gregory the Great, who blames one Peter, a Jew, for having on the day after his baptism entered a synagogue and placed there, among other things, "birrum album, quo de fonte resurgens indutus fuerat" (*Epist.* lb. ix. ep. 6; vol. iii. 930, ed. Bened.). For further remarks on this species of hood, reference may be made to Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, i. 54, ed. Venice, 1783; Ducange's *Glossarium Graec. s.v. κουκούλλα*; Gouar's *Euchologion*, p. 366. [R. S.]

HOPE. [SOPHIA.]

HOLOGIUM (*ὄρολογιον*). An office book of the Greek church, containing the daily hours of prayer, and certain other forms, and which therefore corresponds in a general manner, though with important differences, to the Latin breviary.

The contents of the *Great Hologium* (*ὄρολογιον τὸ μέγα*) which is the fullest form, as described in the edition published at Venice 1856, and approved by the oecumenical patriarch,

are arranged in *three generic parts* (*τρία γενεὰ μέρη*) as follows:

1. The office for the day and night hours of the church from matins to compline (*ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσονυκτικοῦ ἕως τοῦ ἀποδείπνου*).

This part therefore corresponds in the main to the "Psalterium cum Ordinario Officii de Tempore" of the Latin breviary.

2. The variable antiphons and hymns, by whatever name they are distinguished, taken from the *Mnologgy* (which answers to the Roman Martyrology) and from the other office books which contain the variable portions of the office; and whatever is sung in it on Sun-days, festival, and ordinary days.

This part therefore corresponds in some measure to the "Proprium de Tempore" of the Latin breviary.

3. Various short offices (*ἀκροουθιαί*), prayers, and canons; independent of the *hours*; and for occasional use. Into the details of these it is unnecessary to enter; and would be impossible without considerable explanation.

This part therefore may be compared to the collection of short offices and forms of prayer which are found at the end of the Latin breviary; though the offices contained in it are for the most part different from and more numerous than those in the breviary.

The *Horologion* is often prefaced by the calendar of the *Mnologgy*, which begins with September; sometimes (as in a copy I possess, printed at Venice 1523) by "the gospel" according to St. John: i. e. the introduction, and four last chapters: and sometimes (as in another copy in my possession, printed at Venice 1775 "con. Licenza de' Superiori"), by the Athanasian creed in Greek, of course without the words which imply the double procession. [H. J. H.]

HORRES, martyr at Nicæa with Arabis, Marcus, Nymphodora, Theodora, Theusetas; commemorated March 13 (*Mart.* Hieron., Adenis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

HORSE. The horse is represented attending on the Orpheus shepherd [Fresco, p. 696]. As a servant or companion of mankind, he occurs frequently in representations of the Magi (Bottari, tav. cxxxiii. &c.). Two horses act as cross-bearers (tav. iii.); and horses of course occur in the numerous representations of the translation of Elijah which are found on sarcophagi and elsewhere. The horses of Egypt are commemorated in representations of Pharaoh and the Red Sea (Arlinghi, vol. i. p. 331), where a mounted horseman accompanies the chariots. In Bottari (tav. clx.) there are two quadrigæ, with horses decorated with palm-branches or plumes. Martigny states in this connexion that the horse symbol has been very frequently found in the graves of martyrs, quoting the titulus of the youth Florens (Lupi, *Disert. clett.* i. p. 258), and the horses loose and grazing in the tribune of the cemetery of Basilin (Bianchini *Nat. ad Anat. Prolegomena*, t. iii.). [R. St. J. T.]

HORSE-RACING. [CHARIOTTEERS.]

HORTULANUS, the gardener of the monastery. The rule of Benedict provided certain deputies (*solatia*) to assist the cellarer (*cellarius*) in the larger monasteries. These were, usually, a farm bailiff (*granatarius*), a butler

three generic parts (τρία γένη) : for the day and night hours of matins to comply (ἀπό τῶν ὡσ τῶ ἀποβίβου).

Therefore corresponds in the main to eum Ordinario Officii de Tentatione breviary.

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martyr at Nicea with Arabia, odora, Theodora, Theusetas; emperor 13 (Mart. Hieron., Adoils. [W. F. G.]

The horse is represented attending as shepherd (Fresco, p. 696). As companion of mankind, he occurs in representations of the Magi (Bottari, c.). Two horses act as cross-bearers and horses of course occur in the representations of the translation of our founder on sarcophagi and elsewhere. Horses of Egypt are commemorated in the obelisks of Pharaoh and the Red Sea (i. p. 331), where a mounted horse is the chariots. In Bottari (art. e two quadrigae, with horses decem-branches or plumes. Martyr's connexion that the horse symbol is frequently found in the grave quoting the titulus of the youth (i. p. 258), and the and grazing in the tribune of the Basilica (Bianchini *Not. ad Anst. t. iii.*) [R. St. J.]

GRACING. [CHARIOTEERS.]

ANUS, the gardener of the monas- tery of Benedict provided certain (cellaria) to assist the cellarer (cellerarius) in larger monasteries. These were arm ballif (granataris), a build-

(custos panis et vini), an' - gardener (hortulanus) (Reg. Bened. c. 31; cf. Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* lxxi. 17). [I. G. S.]

HOSANNA (or Osanna). This word, adopted from the salutation of the populace at Christ's entry into Jerusalem, occurs in the Mass at the end of the *Sanctus*, which ends thus: "Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis." The same words are found in the Greek form of the *Sanctus*, called *ἑρμηνεύσις ὕμνος*; as given in the liturgies of St. Basil, Chrysostom, &c.

The word also frequently occurs in the antiphons and other parts of the service for Palm Sunday as given in the Latin *Processionals*, as for instance in the hymn at the Procession:

"Israel es tu Rex, Davidis et Inclyta proles, Nominis qui in domini, Rex benedite, vents: Gloria laus et honor tibi sit, Rex Christo Redemptor, Qui puerile decus prospexit Osanna plium."

[H. J. H.]

HOSEA, the prophet; commemorated *Jakobit* 27 = Feb. 21 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [W. F. G.]

HOSPITALARIUS. [HOSPITIUM.]

HOSPITALITY. Hospitality, or a friendly reception and entertainment of strangers, was a Christian virtue strongly inculcated in the New Testament, and practised most liberally by the early Christians, until long after the apostolic times.

The feeling of Christian union and sympathy was so strong, that every Christian was ready to receive another as a friend and brother, although previously unknown: a circumstance which excited the astonishment, and even the hatred and misrepresentations of pagan opponents (Tertul. *Apol.* 39. Lucian, *de mort. peregr.* 13). And one of the means by which Julian hoped to restore the old Roman paganism was an imitation of this Christian liberality. In a letter of his, addressed to Arsaces a chief priest of Galatia, the emperor urges him to take great care of strangers, and to establish houses for their reception (HOSPITALS) in every city, after the example of the Christians (Sozomen, v. 16).

All Christian families in the earlier times considered it their duty to exercise this hospitality, and Tertullian mentions it as one great objection to a Christian woman marrying a pagan, that she would not be able to entertain any Christian strangers in her house (Tertul. *ad Uz.* ii. 4).

But presbyters, and afterwards bishops, were especially expected to excel in this virtue. Thus Jerome extols the liberal hospitality of the young presbyter Neptian (*Epit. Neptiani* c. 10). And Chrysostom mentions it as a high praise of Flavian, bishop of Antioch, that his house was always open to strangers and travellers, where they received so kind and generous an entertainment, that it might be doubted whether it ought not to have been called the travellers' home, instead of his (Chrys. in *Genes.* i. 4).

Monasteries also were distinguished by their ready hospitality to Christians coming from distant parts (HOSPITIUM). Palladius (*Historia Lausaca*, c. 6) describes the hospital or guest-house (*ἑσπέρια*) which adjoined the church of the Nitian monks, in which pilgrims might stay, if they chose, two or three years; the first week a

guest was not required to work; if he stayed longer, he must work in the garden, the bake-house, or the kitchen; or if he was a person of much consideration for mental labour, the monks would give him a book to read. In our monastery, says Jerome, hospitality is our delight. We receive with a joyful welcome all who come to us, with the exception of heretics (Jer. *adv. Ruf.* iii.). In the Rule of Benedict of Aniane, drawn up at the end of the eighth century, particular directions are given for the reception and entertainment of the poor and of strangers. They were first to join in prayer with the monks; they then received the kiss of peace; water was brought for their hands and feet; and in their subsequent entertainment the strict monastic rules of fasting were to be relaxed in honour of the guests. There was a distinct kitchen for the strangers' use, with officers to superintend it, so that the regular order of the monastery might not be disturbed (*Concor. Reg. S. Benedicti*, § 60, *de hospitibus suscipiendis*). This relaxation of strict ascetic rules on occasion of hospitality to strangers is also mentioned with approbation by Cassian (*Collat.* i. 26, and xxi. 14, &c.). The council of Aix in 816 (ii. c. 28), desired a place to be prepared at the gate of a monastery where all comers might be received.

The openhanded hospitality of Christians naturally led sometimes to the practice of deceit and imposture on the part of applicants; and to guard against the admission of pretenders, or otherwise unworthy and dangerous persons, it became customary for letters of recommendation [COMMENDATORY LETTERS] to be required. Christians going into a foreign country, or to any place where they were not known, commonly took with them such letters from their bishop, or some other well-known Christian; which letters were, if necessary, to be examined on their presentation, by the deacons of the place (*Constit. Apostol.* ii. 58).

In the earlier times Christians received strangers into their own homes; but at a later period, when such hospitality became inconvenient, and hardly sufficient for what was needed, houses were specially built or prepared for the reception of strangers (*ἑσπέρια*). These were established in places where travellers were most likely to resort, or where Christian strangers were commonly most numerous, such as along the lines of travel taken by pilgrims, when the practice of making pilgrimages to holy places had become usual.

At these houses Christian travellers were entertained according to their need, and were sent forward on their way in peace.

A singular remnant of this ancient hospitality still remains at St. Cross near Winchester, where any one who applies at the porter's lodge receives gratuitously a glass of beer and a slice of bread. [G. A. J.]

HOSPITALS. 1. *General account of Hospitals.*—The remarkable outflowing of benevolence and sympathy with others, which marked the very commencement of Christianity, led immediately to a cure for the poor, especially in times of sickness and distress.

From the earliest times the funds of the church were applied to the maintenance of widows

and orphans, sick and poor, prisoners and sojourners (Justin Martyr, *Apol. I. c. 67*). It was the special duty of the deacons and deaconesses to attend to the sick at their own houses (*Constit. Apost. iii. 19*, and Epiphanius, *Fidei Expositio*, 21). But all Christians, particularly the women who had the most leisure for this purpose, considered it incumbent on them to visit and relieve the sick poor (*Epist. ad Zen. et Sever. c. 17*, in Justin Martyr's *Works*, p. 416; Tertullian, *ad Uxor. ii. 4*). And this they did without being deterred by any fear of infection in the case of plagues or other contagious diseases; of which a notable example, among many others, was seen in the heroic conduct of the Christians at Alexandria during the great plague there in the time of the emperor Gallienus (A.D. 260-268). See the account given in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl. viii. 22*).

Public hospitals for the reception of the sick, the needy, and the stranger, began to be erected as soon as Christianity, being freed from persecution, could display its natural tendencies without danger or restriction. Houses were set apart for the reception of travellers or sojourners (*ξενοδοχεῖα*), for the poor (*πτωχοτροφεία*), for orphans (*ὀρφανοτροφεία*), for foundlings (*βρεφοτροφεία*), and for the aged (*γεροντοκομεία*), as well as for the sick (*νοσοκομεία*). [HOSPITALITY, EXPOSING OR CHILDREN, FOUNDLINGS.] Several of these objects were often combined in one establishment, so that it is most convenient to treat of them under one head.

Epiphanius (*Haeres. 75, c. 1*) mentions that Aërius, afterwards known as a heretic, about the middle of the 4th century was made by the bishop Eustathius superintendent of the hospital (*ξενοδοχείου*), says Epiphanius, called in Pontus (*πτωχοτροφείου*) at Sebaste in Pontus. It does not appear that the hospital was then first established, and Epiphanius mentions it as a common custom for bishops of the church to provide for the maimed and infirm by setting up such establishments.

The most complete hospital of which we have any account in antiquity was built by Basil the Great, soon after his accession to the see, near Caesarea in Pontus. St. Basil, defending himself from the charge of seeking to gain influence, which had been brought against him before the prefect of the place, says (*Epist. 94 [al. 372] ad Helian*), "Whom do we injure, in building lodgings (*καταγάγια*) for the strangers who stay with us in passing through, and for those who need attendance (*θεραπεῖας*) in consequence of infirmity? What, in supplying necessary comfort for these persons, nurses, medical attendants, means of conveying them (*τὰ ψυχοφόρα*), and persons to take charge of them in removal (*τῶν παρακείμευρας*)? And these things must of necessity carry with them handicrafts, both such as are required for sustenance and such as conduce to decorum, and these again require workshops." He also (*Epist. 142 [al. 374]*) begs an official of the empire to exempt his poor-house from state taxation, and speaks (*Epist. 143 [al. 428]*) of its being managed by a chorepiscopus. St. Basil's hospital is thus spoken of by Gregory of Nazianzus (who had himself seen it) in his panegyric on the saint (*Orat. 20, p. 359, ed. Colon.*

1690), "Go forth a little from the city, and behold the new city, the treasure-house of goldness . . . in which the superfluities of wealth—nay, even things not superfluous—have been laid up in store at his exhortation; . . . in which disease is investigated (*φιλανθρωπία*) and sympathy proved . . . We have no longer to look on the fearful and pitiable sight of men like corpses before death, with the greater part of their limbs dead [from leprosy], driven from cities, from dwellings, from public places, from water-courses . . . Basil it was more than any one who persuaded those who are men not to scorn men, nor to dishonour Christ the head of all by their inhumanity towards human beings." From this it appears that at least a portion of St. Basil's hospital was for lepers. Sozomen, again (*H. E. vi. 34*) speaks of Praxidius having been principal of this "Basilid, that most famous lodging for the poor founded by Basil, from whom it received the appellation which it still retains." Of St. Chrysostom, too, Palladius (*Vita Chrys.* p. 19, ed. Montfaucon) relates that he diverted the superfluous expenses of his see to the maintenance of the hospital (*νοσοκομείον*), and that as the need increased he found several, over which he set two presbyters of high character; he engaged further physicians and cooks, and kind unmarried attendants to work under them. St. Chrysostom himself (*Hom. 66 [al. 67] in Matt.*) pointing triumphantly to the large-handed bounty of the church, says, "consider how many widows, how many virgins, the church sustains day by day; the number on the roll is not less than three thousand [in Constantinople]. And she provides also for those who are in distress in the guest-house; for those who are maimed in body; and yet her substance is not diminished." It is evident that a regular system of providing for the poor in connexion with the church was organised in the middle of the fifth century; for the council of Chalcedon (c. 5) especially recognises the care of widows and orphans, and the needy generally as one of the justifications for a cleric's engaging in secular affairs (*κοσμικὰ διακρίσεις*), if he does it at the command of his bishop.

The emperor Julian recognised the importance of institutions such as those of St. Basil; "these impious Galileans," says he (*Fragment. p. 305, quoted by Rheinwald*) "give themselves to this kind of humanity; as men allure children with a cake, so they, starting from what they call law and entertaining and serving of tales, bring in converts to their impiety; and again he bids Arsacius (*Epist. 49, u. s.*), "establish abundance of hospitals in every city, that our kindness may be enjoyed by strangers, not only of our own people, but of others who are in need."

Placilla, the wife of Theodosius the Great, devoted herself much to the care of the sick. She cared, says Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl. v. 19*), for those who were maimed and injured, not detaching the charge of them on subordinates, but attending to them personally, going into the places where they were received (*ἐν ταῖς καταγάγαις*) and supplying their several wants. So also, making the round of the hospitals (*ἐπιβάτας*) of the churches, she attended on those who were confined to bed, herself handling the pots and tasting the broth, bringing bowls, breaking bread, and offering mouthfuls, washing

* Compare Xenoph. *Cyrop. vi. 2, 34.*

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cup, and performing other services which are
 generally done by domestics.
 Samson of Constantinople received the name of
 “ Xenodochus ” from his devotion to the care of
 hospitals and asylums, and is said to have per-
 suaded the emperor Justinian to give up his own
 palace for the purposes of a xenodochion (see the
 Byzantine *Menica*, June 27). Procopius how-
 ever (*De Aedif. Just.* i. 2) gives a somewhat
 different account of the matter. There was, he
 says, a hospital for the sick and infirm, built in
 former years by the pious care of one Samson, of
 which there were in Justinian’s time some re-
 mains in a ruinous condition. This the emperor
 restored, decorated, and amplified in the most
 liberal manner. He increased, says Procopius,
 both the number of wards (οἰκίδιαι, domuncu-
 larum) and the annual revenue. Whether by the
 expression οἰκίδιαι we are to understand detached
 buildings, or rooms, is doubtful; if the former,
 Justinian’s hospital, like that of Basil previously
 described, would resemble a little town, a place
 of many buildings within a wall. Justinian fur-
 ther built, in concert with Theodora, two other
 hospitals (ἑσπείρας). Of the empress Eudocia it
 is related (*Vita Euthymii*, c. 16, in *Acta SS.*
Januarj, vol. ii. p. 317) that she built many
 churches, gerontocomia, ptochotrophia, and mon-
 asteries. She is said also to have prepared food
 for the sick with her own hands.
 It is not necessary to go through the long list
 of pious foundations for the benefit of the sick
 which we meet with in the history of the church.
 But it may be mentioned as an instance of the
 general recognition of the duty of providing for
 sick and infirm, brethren, that by the so-called
 Arabic canons of Nicean the bishop was expressly
 bound, in virtue of his office, to institute hos-
 pitals. Canon 70 (*Hardouin, Concilia*, i. 475)
 prescribes, that in every city a place should be
 set apart for strangers, sick, and poor, which
 should be called a xenodochium; and that the
 bishop should select one of the monks of the
 desert, himself a foreigner, far from home and
 family, and a man of integrity, to take charge of
 the hospital, to procure for it beds and whatever
 may be necessary for the sick and poor; and that
 if the property of the hospital be inadequate, he
 should make a collection from the Christians,
 according to their several means, and with this
 provision sustain the brethren who are strangers,
 poor, or sick, as each may have need.
 Most of these instances belong to the Eastern
 church; but the Western church was not behind
 in the good work. Paulinus of Nola has left us
 (*Poem.* xx. 114) a brief description of the hospital
 which he himself built, which appears to have
 been rather for the reception of the poor and old
 than of the sick, as such :
 “ Diapositi terro per longa sedilia coeta
 Obstruere senes, inopam miserabile vulgus,
 Et socio casae residentes agmine matres.”
 This description suggests long wards, provided
 with “ sedilia ”—perhaps “ berths,” or divans
 running along the wall—in which the inmates
 were separated into three classes—poor, old
 men, and old women.
 Jerome, in a letter to Pammachius (*Epist.* 66
 [al. 26], c. 1, 11, written, according to Vallarsi,
 A.D. 387) speaks of a xenodochium which the
 latter had built in the Portus Romanus, of

which he (Jerome) had just heard. This was
 probably attended to by Pammachius himself
 and the monks for whom he had provided a con-
 vent in the neighbourhood. Jerome himself
 founded a hospital for the reception of the sick
 and the stranger in Bethlehem; tiding his
 means insufficient to finish it, he sent his brother
 Paulinianus (u. s. c. 14) to sell his remaining prop-
 erty in his native country, to provide money for
 its completion. Fabiola, the friend of Jerome, also
 founded a hospital at Rome. Having been
 obliged to obtain a divorce from her first husband
 on account of his intolerable profligacy, she
 married another before his death. On becoming
 a widow she learned that according to church
 law, of which she had been previously ignorant
 (“ nec evangelii vigorem noverat,” says Jerome
Ep. 77 [al. 30], c. 3), it was unlawful for her
 to have married again during her first husband’s
 life, however justly she had separated from him.
 Upon this she submitted to a humiliating pen-
 ance; and afterwards devoted all her property
 to charitable purposes, and among other good
 works built a hospital, where she ministered to
 the sick with her own hands (ib. c. 6).
 Jerome remarks that Fabiola was the first
 person who founded a hospital (prima omnium
 σοσοκομείων instituit). But this perhaps only
 means the first hospital in Rome or Italy. And
 the fact that Jerome uses the Greek word
 σοσοκομείων, and not the Latin *valetudinarianum*,
 tends to confirm the account which points to the
 Eastern church as the first to exhibit such acts
 of benevolence.
 Rome itself had an ancient fame for its care of
 the sick and poor (Prudentius, *Peristeph.* ii.
 140 ff.). Its hospitals were frequently the ob-
 jects of the munificence of the popes. Anastasius
 (*Vita Pontif.* 134 A, ed. Muratori) tells us of
 Pelagius II. (578-590), that he caused his own
 house to be made a refuge for the poor and
 aged (ptochium pauperum et senum). His suc-
 cessor, Gregory the Great (*Vitologus*, iii. 35,
 p. 243) seems to say that he had taken Amantius
 from his own dwelling to pass some days in the
 infirmary; and John the Deacon relates of him
 that he set over the several hospitals careful and
 conscientious men, who had to submit their
 accounts to himself, that the beneficence of the
 people towards those institutions might not be
 checked by mismanagement of the funds. He
 also provided Probus with money to build a
 xenodochium on a large scale at Jerusalem, and
 supported it by an annual subvention (*Vita*
Greg. ii. 7). Other hospitals in Rome of an
 early date are known to us at least by name.
 Pope Symmachus (498-514) is said by Ado
 (*Chronicon*, in Migne’s *Patrol.* cxxiii. 106 b)
 to have founded or restored three hospitals (pa-
 uperibus habitacula) known by the names of St.
 Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence respectively.
 Stephen III. (752-757) is said by Anastasius
 (*Vita Pontif.* p. 165, c. d.) to have restored four
 xenodochia and founded two others, which were
 placed in the charge of the regent deacons of
 St. Marin and St. Silvester; and Adrian I.
 (772-795, ib. p. 190, d) to have founded three
 DIACONIAE (see the word) “ foris portam Beati
 Apostolorum Principis.”
 Nor was it only in Rome that such institutions
 were found. In Gaul they existed at an early
 date before the death of St. Remi (†532), if we may

trust Flodard. The saint is made (*Hist. Remens*, l. 18) to entrust his successors to preserve inviolate his statutes for the management of his poor-houses (ptochia), coenobia, martyria, diaconiae and xenodochia, as he had done those of his predecessors—an expression which implies that some at least of these foundations existed before St. Remi came to the see of Reims before 496. The fifth council of Orleans, A.D. 549, places (c. 17) the property of xenodochia on the same footing with regard to alienation, as that of churches and monasteries; and (c. 15) makes special provision for the magnificent hospital which, under the influence of its bishop Sacardos, Childebert with his queen Ultragotha had founded in Lyons, forbidding the bishop of that city to merge any of its property in that of his church, or to diminish its privileges in any way, and enjoining him to take care that active and God-fearing superintendents (praepositi) be always appointed, and that the care of the sick and the entertainment of strangers be always maintained according to the statutes.

We do not trace the existence of hospitals in the African fathers or councils. In Victor's account of the Vandal persecution (l. 8) we find that Deogratias bishop of Carthage, A.D. 455, turned two churches into hospitals for the reception of the wretched captives who were poured on the African shores from Italy; but this was a temporary expedient, such as has often been adopted in times of calamity. But we are not to suppose that the sick of the African church were ill-cared for; the houses of the bishops, the clergy and the monks often served for the reception of the sick. Augustine (Possidius, *Vita Aug.*, cc. 22, 23) exercised constant care for the sick and poor, and (*Requid ad Serros D. l. c. 5*) gives directions to monks as to their reception and treatment of the sick and infirm; directions in which he seems to contemplate the case not only of feeble members of the monastic body, but of sick persons brought in from without.

In the Teutonic countries, we have of course no accounts of hospitals of so early a date as those which have been mentioned in Italy and Gaul. Chrodegang, however (*Regula*, c. 45, in Migne's *Patrol.* 89, 1076), recommends that a guest-room (hospitale) should be formed in a suitable place, convenient for the brothers to visit; and desires the brothers of his Rule, even if they cannot maintain a hospital at other times, at least in Lent to wash the feet of the poor in a hospital or guest-room. The famous Alcuin at a somewhat later date also warned the bishops of the great necessity there was for forming hospitals, and probably also directed the attention of his patron Charles the Great to the same subject. To Eanball, as soon as he entered on his see, Alcuin wrote urging him to establish "xenodochia, id est, hospitalia" (*Epist.* 56, ad Eanb., Alc. *Opp.* l. 65) in which the poor and the strangers might be received. In accordance with the Rule of Chrodegang and the wish of Alcuin, the synod of Aix, in the year 816, ordered (c. 28) that every ecclesiastical foundation, whether canonical or monastic, should provide accommodation for the poor, the sick, the widows, and the strangers. The poor-house was to be placed near the church, and a guest was to be its superintendent; the infirmary was to be within the convent, as were also the wards for the widows and

poor maidens, though probably in a building separate from that which contained the cells of the canons or monks (*Conc. Germ.* l. 539). The Frankish Capitularies also take order for the maintenance of the poor and sick. Thus it is ordered (l. c. 70, A.D. 789) that "hospites, peregrini et pauperes" have the due entertainment in various places to which they are entitled by the canons; a passage in which "peregrini" are probably monks from other houses, "hospites" are lay guests. And again (ii. c. 29) they bring xenodochia, ptochotrophia, nosocomia, orphanotrophia, gerontocomia, and brephotrophia under the same law as churches and monasteries with regard to the non-alienation of their property.

The establishment of many of the hospitals which existed in the northern countries in the 8th and 9th centuries is due to the Irish missionaries, who cared for the bodies as well as the souls of the people among whom they preached. Hence they received the name of "Hospitalia Sctorum,"^b an expression found both in the canons of Meaux (*C. Meldense*, c. 40), and in the petition of the bishops of the provinces of Reims and Ronen to Lewis the Pious (c. 10, Baluze, *Copit. Franc.* ii. 111). These hospitals were closely connected with the monasteries founded by the same missionaries. Gretser (*Ad Vit. S. Willibadi*, lib. l. observ. 19; *Grege*, *Opera*, x. 778) enumerates some of the hospitals of their foundation.

2. *Administration of Hospitals.*—In the first instance, the hospitals, like other institutions of the church, were under the immediate superintendence of the bishops. In many cases, as we have seen, they were founded by the bishops themselves from the funds placed at their disposal by the church, and so the oversight of them naturally fell to the founder and his successors. And even when endowed by private persons, such foundation was regarded as of the nature of alms, and so given into the hands of those who were, directly or indirectly, the universal almoners. The property of hospitals was regarded (as has been shown above) by kings and rulers as being of the same kind as the property of the church. And the attendants on the sick were, at least in very many cases, drawn from the neighbouring monasteries or houses of canons. When the duty was laid upon bishops of providing, so far as in them lay, food and clothing for those who in consequence of infirmity were unable to earn their own living (*Conc. Aut. l. c. 16*), it naturally followed that they superintended and directed the establishments for attaining this end.

It must however have been from the first impossible for a much-occupied bishop to give personal attention to all the details of a large hospital, and therefore other clerics were employed under him on this behalf. We have seen already that Aerius was a hospital-superintendent under his bishop Eustathius; and as early as the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, we find the clerics attached to the poor-houses (*ἑὸν πτωχῶν*) placed on the same footing as those of the monasteries and martyr-churches, and admonished to obey their bishops according to the tradition of the fathers (c. 8), a passage which probably indicates that they had been disposed to assert

^b It must be borne in mind that by "Scott" at this period we are to understand natives of Ireland.

monastery, to receive strangers as they arrived (Cass. *Instit.* iv. 7). Benedict placed them under the general supervision of the cellarer, or house-steward (*Reg.* c. 31), and his deputies. Subsequently, a distinct officer was created, the "hospitalarius," corresponding to the eastern "ἑσπιδάριος" (Mart. *ad loc. cit.* *Alteserr. Actioem*, ix. 9; Du Cange, s. v. v.), whose duties, however, did not extend to the refectory. One of the brethren, selected as a specially God-fearing man ("Cujus animam timor dei laebeat") was appointed by Benedict to look after the guests' dormitory ("cella hospitium") (Bened. *Reg.* c. 53) (usually on the east side of the Benedictine quadrangle, over the "hospitium"*) and two others were told off annually for the guests' kitchen, which adjoined the abbat's kitchen (usually on the south side of the quadrangle* with a widow between (Mart. *ad loc.*); these officials were to have extra assistance, as occasion required (*ib.*). Every precaution was taken, lest the influx of strangers should either disturb the placidity of the "house of God" (*ib.*), or lead to the propagation of silly rumours about it (*ib.*). Their sitting-room, dormitory, and kitchen were all to be separate from those of the monks (*ib.*, cf. c. 56). None of the monks, unless expressly ordered, might exchange even in passing a word with a guest, except to ask a blessing (*ib.*, cf. *Reg. Mac.* c. 8). Nor were the guests to be trusted to themselves without supervision. Care was to be taken that the monks' wallets were not left about in the guests' dormitory; and two of the monks, whose turn it was to help in the kitchen and otherwise for the week ("hebdomadarii"), were to keep close to the guests night and day (*Reg. Mag.* c. 79). It is not clear whether Benedict intended the guests to be entertained in the refectory at a separate table with the abbat, or with him in a separate table (Bened. *Reg.* c. 56); Martene thinks in the refectory (*Reg. Comment.* ad loc. cit.; cf. *Conc. Aquisgr.* c. 27). The abbat on these occasions might invite a few of the brethren to his table, leaving the charge of the rest to the prior, and might make some addition to the ordinary fare (Bened. *Reg.* c. 56; Mart. *ad loc.*; Mab. *Ann. O. S. B. v.* xiii.). It was strictly forbidden by the council of Saragossa, A.D. 691, for lay persons to be lodged in the quadrangle of the monastery ("intra claustra"), even with the abbat's special permission, lest contact with them should demoralise the brethren or give rise to scandals; they were to be lodged in a separate house within the precincts (intra septa) (*Conc. Caesar-august.* A.D. 691; cf. Mab. *Ann. O. S. B.* xviii. xv.).

Benedict orders, that monks coming from another country (peregrini) may, if orderly, prolong their stay in the monastery (*Reg.* c. 61) for one, two, or even three years (Mart. *Reg. Comment.* l. c.); and that any suggestions which they make for its better management are to be welcomed as providential (Bened. *Reg.* *ib.*). They are then either to be dismissed kindly ("honeste") or formally admitted, not, however, unless they bring commendatory letters from their former abbat, or otherwise give proof of his consent. Once admitted, they may be promoted without delay at the abbat's discretion, to places

of authority; as may clergy similarly admitted (*ib.*). Laymen, willing to stay on, are, either to take the vow, or to make themselves useful to the monastery in some sort of work in return for board and lodging (*Reg. Mag.* c. 79).

It was part of the discipline of candidates for the novitiate to wait on the guests in their sitting-room ("cella hospitium," or "hospitium"), according to the rule of Benedict, for some days (*Reg.* c. 58), or, according to some later rules, for three months (*Isid. Reg.* c. 5; *Fruet. Reg.* c. 21; Menard ad Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul.* lxii.) [see NOVICE].

History shows how the simple and frugal hospitality enjoined by Benedict and monastic law-makers degenerated in time into luxury and display, burdensome to the revenues of the monasteries, demoralising to their inmates, and one of the proximate causes of their fall. [I. G. S.]

HOST, from the Latin *Hostia*, a victim. It was applied to sacrifices, or offerings of various kinds in the ecclesiastical language of the West. *E.g.* in the Vulgate version of Rom. xii. 1, we have "Ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam" (E. V. sacrifice) "viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium vestrum;" and similarly in the *Missale Gothicum*, the people are bid to pray that God "may cleanse the hearts of all the offerers unto (i.e. that they may become) a sacrifice (hostiam) of sanctification, reasonable and well-pleasing unto Himself" (*Liturg. Gall.* ed. Mabill. p. 237). In the Vulgate of Phil. iv. 18, it is used of almsgiving, "Hostiam acceptam, placentem Deo." Christ, the one true victim, is called *hostia*, as in Eph. v. 2, "Tradidit semetipsum pro nobis oblationem et hostiam." Similarly Heb. x. 12: "Unam pro nobis offerens hostiam." Compare Heb. ix. 26. This is frequent in the old Latin liturgies. Thus in the Gothic Missal, "Suppliant to Thee who wast slain a victim (hostia) for the salvation of the world, we pray, &c." (*Lit. Gall.* p. 235); and "Whom Thou didst will to be delivered up a sacrifice (hostiam) for us" (*ibid.* p. 257; *comp.* p. 198). In the following example the church commemorates and pleads that sacrifice:—"We offer unto thee, O God, an immaculate victim (hostiam), whom the maternal womb brought forth without defilement to virginity" (*Missale Mozar.* Leslie, p. 38). As the thank-offering (Eucharist) of the Mosaic law had been called *hostia laudis* (Ps. cxvi. 17), or *hostia gratiarum* (Lev. vi. 13), so was the Christian thank-offering, the sacramental commemoration of the death of Christ. *E.g.* "Receive we beseech thee, O Lord, the sacrifice (hostiam) of propitiation and praise, and these oblations of Thy servants" (*Miss. Goth.* u. s. p. 253).

As the word properly expresses a concrete mention, it would readily pass from the last meaning to attach itself to the material symbol offered in the rite. In the *Missale Gothicum*, in a prayer said after the consecration, we read, "We offer unto thee, O Lord, this immaculate host, reasonable host, unbloody host, this holy bread and salutary cup" (u. s. p. 298). The following example is from the Mozarabic Missal:—"This host of bread and wine, which have been placed on Thy altar by me unworthy" (Leslie, p. 445). It will be observed that in these extracts the bread and wine (after conse-

* Whitaker's *History of Whalley*, 4th ed. 1874, p. 124.

as may clergy similarly admitted willing to stay on, are, either to make themselves useful to the one sort of work in return for (Reg. Mag. c. 79). If the discipline of candidates for wait on the guests in their situ- lita hospitium," or "hospitium," the rule of Benedict, for some days, according to former later rules, as (Sisd. Reg. c. 5; Fruct. Reg. c. d. Bened. Anian. Concord. Regul. CE). is how the simple and frugal hos- by Benedict and monastic lated in time into luxury and dis- to the revenues of the monas- sing to their inmates, and one of causes of their fall. [I. G. S.]

the Latin *Hostia*, a victim. It sacrifices, or offerings of various ecclesiastical language of the West. Vulgate version of Rom. xii. 1, we ubi sitis corpora vestra hostiam," "viventes, sanctam, Deo placen- obsequium vestrum;" and the *Missale Gothicum*, the people are into God "may cleanse the hearts of unto (i. e. that they may become hostium) of sanctification, respos- pleasing unto Himself" (*Litur.* ill. p. 237). In the Vulgate is used of almsgiving, "Hostiam centem Deo." Christ, the one true- um hostia, as in Eph. v. 2, "Tra- pro nobis oblationem et hos- hourly Heb. x. 12: "Unam pro nobis- am." Compare Heb. ix. 26. This is the old Latin liturgies. Thus in ssal, "Suppliant to Thee who wast (hostia) for the salvation of the y, &c." (*Lit. Gall.* p. 235); and didst will to be delivered up- iam) for us" (*ibid.* p. 257; comp. the following example the church and plends that sacrifice:—"We ee, O God, an immaculate victim om the maternal womb brought defilement to virginity" (*Missale* p. 39). As the thank-offering of the Mosaic law had been called (Ps. cxvi. 17), or hostia gratiarum so was the Christian thank-offer- mental commemoration of the death fice (hostiam) of propitiation and these oblations of Thy servants" u. s. p. 253). ord properly expresses a concrete readily pass from the last men- d itself to the material symbols rite. In the *Missale Gothicum*, in after the consecration, we read, unto thee, O Lord, this immaculate ble host, unbloody host, this holy latory cup" (u. s. p. 298). The mple is from the Mozarabic Missal: t of bread and wine, which have on Thy altar by me unworthy" 45). It will be observed that it is the bread and wine (after conse-

cration) are together called the host. Even in the 11th century Anselm affirmed correctly, "One host in bread and wine. . . They call both together by one name, oblation or host" (*Ad Waleranum*, c. 2). Long before this, however, as in the three earliest *Ordines Romani*, which range from the 7th to the 8th century:—"The acolytes (carrying the consecrated bread) go hosts" (*Musæus Ital.* tom. ii. pp. 13, 49, 50). In these ancient directories the unconsecrated leaves are always, and the consecrated more frequently, called by the older name of "oblates." When the phrase "immaculate host" was introduced into the Roman Missal towards the 11th century (Le Brun, *Explic. de la Messe*, P. iii. art. 6) from that of Spain, the mistake was made of applying it to the unconsecrated bread. See Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 370. [W. E. S.]

HOST, THE ADORATION OF.

In the modern church of Rome, the worship of *latri*, i. e. such worship as is due to God, is paid to the consecrated symbol of our Lord's body in the eucharist, under sanction of the dogma, that the bread is, in all but appearance and other "accidents," converted into that body, and that His human soul and His divinity, being united to His body, are therefore in that which has become His body; so that while Christ, God and man, is in it, and in every particle of it (*Catech. Trident.* p. ii. de Euch. cc. 33, 35). Of such adoration of the host the church knew nothing, and could know nothing, before the opinions which at last shaped themselves into that dogma had taken possession of the minds of men. But the Latin word *adoratio*, and the Greek *προσκύνησις*, like the old English *worship*, have a great latitude of meaning, and are applied to the simplest outward tokens of respect, no less than to that highest homage of the body, soul, and spirit, which is due to God alone. For example, in Gen. xxvii. 7, 9, where the English has "did obeisance," the Septuagint gives *προσκύνησαν* and *προσκένουσαν*; the Latin Vulgate, *adoravit*. Exod. xl. 8: Eng. "Thy servants . . . me; Vulg. *adorabunt* me. See Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 844. In this lower sense, we find the word "adoration," and its equivalents, employed within the period which is our part to illustrate, to denote the expression of reverence to the bread and wine, which are the sacramental body and blood of Christ. With this previous explanation, we give, in chronological order, a catena of passages, which will exhibit sufficiently, as we hope, both the feelings of reverence which the early Christians had for the sacred symbols, and the manner in which they expressed it by words, or gesture, or ceremonial handling, and the like. Among these are several which have often been mistakenly adduced as affording testimony to the antiquity of the Roman worship of the host. Tertullian, A. D. 192, "We are distressed, if any of our cup, or even bread, be cast on the ground" (*De Cor.* c. iii.). The context shows that the allusion is to a religious rite. Origen, A. D. 230: "Ye who are wont to be present at the Divine Mysteries, know how,

when ye take the body of the Lord, ye keep it with all care and reverence, lest any particle fall therefrom, lest ought of the consecrated gift be spilled. For ye believe, and rightly believe, yourselves to be guilty, if ought fall therefrom through negligence. But if ye use, and justly use, so great care about the keeping of His body, how do ye think it involves less guilt to have been careless about the word of God, than to have been careless about the word of God, in Exod. xlii. § 3). St. Cyril of Jerusalem, A. D. 350: "When thou drawest near, do not draw near with hands expanded or fingers wide apart; but making thy left hand a throne for thy right, as about to receive a king, and making the palm hollow, receive the body of Christ, answering Amen. Partake, therefore, having heedfully sanctified thine eyes with the touch of the holy body, taking care that thou drop nought of it. . . . Then, after the communion of the body of Christ, approach thou also to the cup of His blood, not stretching forth thy hands; but with head bowed, and with gesture of adoration (*προσκύνησας*) and reverence, saying Amen, he thou sanctified, partaking also of the blood of Christ. And while the moisture is still on thy lips, touching them with thy hands, sanctify both eyes and forehead, and the other organs of sense" (*Catech. Myst.* v. §§ 18, 19). Pseudo-Dionysius, who may have written as early as 362, in a highly rhetorical passage, makes the following apostrophe to the sacrament: "But, O most divine and sacred celebration (*τελετή*); in the Latin translation, *Sacramentum*), do thou, unfolding the enigmatic wrappings that with symbols enshroud thee, manifest thyself to us in clear light, and fill our mental vision with the only and unshrouded light" (*De Eccl. Hier.* cap. iii. n. iii. § 2). Owing to the word *τελετή* (celebration of mysteries) having been rendered by *Sacramentum*, this passage has been often brought forward as an address to "the Sacrament," i. e. to the consecrated host (Bellarm. *Disput.* tom. iii. l. iv. c. 29 compared with l. ii. c. 3). Had still have been only an apostrophe, it would example of adoration directed to the sacred element. Gorgonia, the sister of Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 370, is said by him, in a dangerous illness, to have "prostrated herself before the altar, and called with a loud voice upon Him who is honoured thereon" (*Orat.* viii. § 18). This has been understood (Bellarm. u. s.) to mean that she worshipped the host on the altar; which for several centuries after that time was not reserved there. St. Gregory himself goes on to tell us that "she mingled with her tears whatever *her* hand had treasured of the antitypes of the precious body and blood." St. Ambrose, A. D. 374, commenting on the words of the 98th Psalm, *adorate scabellum pedum Eius*, considers that "by the footstool the earth is meant, and by the earth, the flesh of Christ, which to this day we adore in the mysteries, and which the apostles adored in the Lord Jesus" (*De Spir. S. lib. iii. c. 11, n. 79*). Here it is implied that a reverence is due to the consecrated earthly elements, not equal to that which is due to Christ Himself, but in such proportion to it, more or less, as our loyal respect for the insignia of royalty has to that which we entertain for the person of the king himself. St.

Augustine, A.D. 396, explains the same passage at greater length, but does not lead us to a different view of the adoration intended: "He took earth of the earth; for flesh is of the earth, and He took flesh of the flesh of Mary. And because He walked here in the flesh itself, and gave His flesh itself to be eaten by us unto salvation, but no one eats that flesh unless he has first adored, we have found out how such a footstool of God may be adored, and how we not only do not sin by adoring, but sin by not adoring" (*Enarr. in Ps. xviii. § 9*). Commenting on Ps. xxi. 29 (Lat. 30), the same father says: the rich of the earth "have themselves been brought to the table of Christ, and take of His body and blood; but they only worship,—are not also satisfied, because they do not imitate" (*Ep. cxi. ad Honoratum, cxvii. § 66*; *Sim. Enarr. i. in Ps. xxi. v. 30*). Here, however, it is doubtful whether the writer had at all in view the reverence paid to the sacramental body. He rather, perhaps, is thinking of communion as accompanied by prayer, and as the crowning act of the eucharist, or thanksgiving. The following words of St. Chrysostom, A.D. 398, have been supposed (Bellarm. u. s.) to refer to the adoration of the eucharist: "Are thy garments filthy, and it concerns thee not? But are they clean? Then recline (*ἀνάκλιμα*, rendered improperly *adornate*) and partake" (*Hom. iii. in Ep. ad Eph. c. i. vv. 20-23*; often quoted from the cento known as *Hom. lxi. ad Antioch.*). Again, a worship of the elements has been inferred (Bell. u. s.) from this sentence: "This table is in the place of the manger, and here also will the body of the Lord lie; not, indeed, as then, wrapped in swaddling-clothes, but clothed all around with the Holy Ghost. The initiated understand. And the Magi then did nothing but adore; but we will permit thee both to receive, and having received to return home, if thou draw near with a clean conscience" (*De Beat. Philoſopho, § 3*). Other passages, to which controversialists refer, in the works of St. Chrysostom (as *Hom. lxxxiii. in St. Matt.*; *xlii. in Ep. i. ad Cor. &c.*), only exalt the sacrament, do not speak of any adoration. Theodoret, A.D. 423: "The mystic symbols do not, after the consecration, pass out of their own nature; for they remain in their former substance, and form, and appearance, and are visible and palpable, as they were before; but they are mentally perceived as what they have become, and are believed to be, and are adored as being what they are believed to be" (*Dilog. ii. tom. iv. p. 85*). Here the worship of *latria* cannot possibly be intended, because the author, in the same sentence, teaches that the "creatures of bread and wine" are, after consecration, bread and wine still. It may be remarked also, that although many, or perhaps all, of the foregoing extracts may be seen quoted in favour of the modern cultus of the host, there is not one that is really to the purpose. Nor is it until the 7th century, an age in which the outward observances of religion multiplied rapidly, that we find any definite gesture of respect to the host mentioned. It was the custom at Rome then to reserve a portion of the eucharist [see FERMENTUM], to be put into the chalice at the next celebration. The earliest *Ordo Romanus* (§ 8, *Musæo Ital. tom. ii. p. 8*) directs that when this

is brought out for use, "the bishop or deacon salute the holy things (*sancta*) with an inclination of the head." In *Ordo II.*, which is a revision of the first, and perhaps a century later, the bishop, "his head bowed toward the altar, first adores the holy things," &c. (§ 4, p. 43). See also the *Eclogia* of Amalarius, who comments on this *Ordo* (§ 6, p. 550). The significance of the action may be estimated by the similar respect paid in some churches to the gospel, e.g. "The priests and bishops standing by uncover their heads, lay down their sticks, and worship the gospel by an inclination of the head" (*Vitalis Gabriel, Renaud. tom. i. p. 211*). The last passage to which we shall call attention, occurs in the Acts of the council of Constantinople, A.D. 754: "As that which He took of us is only the matter of human substance, perfect in all things, without expressing the proper form of a person, that no addition of person may take place in the Godhead, so also did He command the image, chosen matter, to wit the substance of bread, to be offered, not, however, fashioned after the form of man, lest idolatry should be brought in" (in *Act. vi. Conc. Nic. ii. Labb. tom. vii. col. 448*). It is evident that the adoration of the host, in its modern sense, could not have been known when this was written.

As elevation is often supposed to imply adoration, it should be mentioned that there was no elevation of the consecrated elements in the West before the twelfth century; and that the so-called elevation of the East was merely a "showing of the gifts," designed to second the invitation to communicate conveyed by the proclamation, "Holy things for the holy" (see *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 546, 595). [W. E. S.]

HOURS OF PRAYER. I. This phrase was inherited from the elder church. "Peter and John went up together into the temple at the Hour of Prayer, being the ninth hour" (Acts iii. 1). At first the observance of the hours was of devotion only, but it was afterwards made obligatory by canon on the clergy and monks, and they began to be called Canonical Hours, The earliest use of this expression is found, we think, in the rule of St. Benedict (c. 67; in *Holstenii Codex Regularum*, P. ii.); but it does not appear to have been very common within the period of which we treat. It occurs in the *Regula* of St. Isidore of Seville who died in 696 (cap. 7; *Holst. u. s.*). St. Eloy, A.D. 640, employs it: "To whom should it be said that 'men ought always to pray and not to faint' (St. Luke xviii. 1), if not to him who daily at the Canonical Hours, according to the rite of ecclesiastical tradition, praises and beseeches the Lord without ceasing in the accustomed psalmody and prayers" (*Hom. xi. in Biblioth. PP. tom. xii.*). Bede in our own country (A.D. 701), in his commentary on those words of St. Luke, copies this sentence from St. Eloy. The "Canonical Hours" are mentioned in the excerpts of Eggbriht, A.D. 740 (can. 28; Johnson's *Engl. Canons*), and in the canons of Cuthbert, 747 (c. 15; *ibid.*).

II. *What is meant by an Hour.*—By an hour was understood a twelfth part of the natural day, reckoned from sunrise to sunset, of whatever length it might be. Upon the use of this natural measure of time by the Jews is founded

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that saying of our Lord: "Are there not twelve hours in the day? If a man walk in the day, he stumbleth not; because he seeth the light of this world" (St. John xi. 9). The Romans are said to have adopted this division of the day about b.c. 291. Martial refers to it as in use among them, when he tells a friend that he might read his book in less than an hour, and that not one of summer's length (*Epigr.* lib. xii. a. 1, *ad Priscum*). In the *Pseudolus* of Plautus an "hour in winter" is said to be "shortest" (Act V. sc. 2, l. 11). The Greeks had learnt this method in the 6th century before Christ, when the sun-dial became known to them probably through Anaximander (see Diogenes Laert. lib. i. c. 7); and they retained it during their subjection to the Roman empire. Thus in the *Sentences* ascribed to Secundus of Athens in the time of Hadrian, a day is defined to be "the space given to toil, the course of twelve hours" (*Sent.* 4). As the time of labour varied, so must the hours have been longer or shorter. It is employed beyond our period by Cassianus Bassus, A.D. 940, as when he tells the tiller of the land at what hour the moon sets and rises on each day of the month (*Geoponica* lib. i. c. 7). St. Augustine speaks as if he knew of no other; "The hour in winter, compared with the hour in summer, is the shorter" (*De Vera Relig.* c. xlii. § 86). Hence we see that the natural day and hour were also employed by the church in his day. Amalarius at the close of our period uses the same division of time with express reference to the Hours of Prayer; prefacing his account of them thus: "The people properly call the presence of the sun above the earth the complete day. From this definition it may be understood that a day of twelve hours ought to begin at the rising and end at the setting of the sun" (*De Ordine Antiphonarum*, c. 6; see also cc. 16, 70). By the first hour, then, we are to understand that twelfth part of the natural day which began at sunrise; by the sixth that which ended when the sun crossed the meridian; the twelfth that which immediately preceded the sunset.

The day and the night were further divided into four equal parts. Each quarter of the day consisting of three hours was named after the last hour in it. Thus the first quarter, containing the first, second, and third hour, was called the third hour (Tertia, Terce), that is to say, by the "third hour" we often have to understand the whole interval between sunrise and the beginning of the fourth (smaller) hour. Similarly Sext is the space of the three hours that follow, viz. the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth, ending at noon, or twelve o'clock. None embraces the seventh, eighth and ninth hours; and the last, called Duodecima, contains the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, ending at sunset. This is satisfactorily shown by Francollus (*De Temporibus Horarum Canon.* c. xxi.; Romae, 1571). Hence St. Benedict (*Regula*, c. 48) was free to direct that from Easter to the Kalends of October None should be said "in the middle of the eighth hour," and that from the latter time to Ash-Wednesday "Terce should be performed at the second hour."

III. *The Prayers called Hours, &c.*—By the hours of Prayer and the Canonical Hours were also understood the devotions themselves, con-

sisting for the most part of psalms and prayers, which were used at the stated times more properly so called. Equivalents in this secondary Officium Divinum, or Officia Divina (see e. g. Bened. *Regula*, cc. 8, 43; Isidore of Seville, *De Eccl. Off.* lib. i. c. 13); Cursus (sc. Divinus) (Greg. Turon. *de Gloria Mart.* lib. i. c. 11; *Hist. Franc.* l. viii. c. 15; ix. c. 6, &c.); Cursus ecclesiastici (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* l. x. c. 31; u. 19); Missa (*Conc. Ancy.* A.D. 506, cap. 30; Cassian. *De Conob. Instit.* l. ii. c. 7); and so Missa nocturna (Cass. u. s. l. ii. c. 13), Vigiliarium (*Ibid.* c. 5) (though it may be doubted whether in Cassian's time the thought of *Usus* was entirely absent when that word was used); Oraciones Canonice (*Ibid.* l. ii. c. 12). We find also the more general terms Diurna Celebrata, Solemnitas, Agenda, or, from the staple of the devotions used, Psalmodia. The word *synaxis* (assembling) employed by the Egyptian, Syrian, and Grecian monks, conveyed to the mind alike the notion of the times at which and of the purpose for which they assembled (*Ibid.* lib. ii. c. 10; *Collut.* viii. c. 16, &c.). It was often thus used in the West, but at first needed explanation. Hence in the rule of St. Columban, abbot of Luxeuil in Burgundy, and afterwards of Bobio in Italy from 589 to 615 we read, "concerning the synaxis, that is, the course of psalms and the canonical method of prayers" (cap. 7, Holst. u. s. sim. *Regula* Donati, c. 75, Holst. P. iii.). In England the following example occurs in 746, "These seven synaxes we ought daily to offer to God with great concern for ourselves and for all Christian people" (*Excerptions of Ecgbert*, c. 28). It was latinised by *Collecta*, as in the version of the rule of Paschasius (ad calc. Opp. Cassiani), and by St. Jerome, who says "Alleluia was sung, by which sign they were called to collect" (*Epitoph. Paulus*, Ep. lxxxvi.). By the Greeks the daily course was also called the canon, because it was the prescribed rule or norm of prayer. Thus Antiochus, A.D. 614, "Our canon is called Psalmody" (*Hon. CV.* Auct. Gr. Lat. Biblioth. PP. tom. i.). Compare John Moschus, A.D. 630, *Limonarion*, c. 40. There is perhaps a much earlier instance in St. Basil, A.D. 370, "Every one keeps his proper canon" i. e. observes the prayers assigned to him (*Regulae Breviores*, Resp. ad Qu. 147). St. Benedict gave to the daily offices of his monks the expressive name of Opus Dei, God's Work (*Regula*, cc. 43, 44, &c.), a title soon adopted by others (Caesarii *Regula ad Mon.* c. 19, Holst. P. ii.; Aureliani *Regula*, c. 29, *ibid.*, &c.). It was used conventionally as a complete equivalent to Officium Divinum; e. g. Opus Dei celebratur, expletur (*Reg. Bened.* c. 44, 52); dicitur, canitur (*Regula*, SS. Pauli et Stephani, cc. 8, 11, Holst. P. ii.). Opus Divinum is also found as in Benedict (*Regula*, c. 19), Cassiodorus, A.D. 562 (*De Instit. Dic. Litt.* c. 30), &c. Obsequium Divinum also occurs at the beginning of the 9th century (*Conc. Aquisgran.*, A.D. 816, cap. 131). This use of obsequium, service, may be traced to the Vulgate. See St. John xvi. 2; Rom. ix. 4; xli. 1; xv. 31; Phil. ii. 17, 30.

IV. *The several Hours of Prayer and their various Names.*—Three hours of prayer, the third, the sixth, and the ninth were observed by

the Jews. "Evening and morning and at noon will I pray," was the resolve of David (Ps. lv. 17). Daniel "kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God" (Dan. vi. 10). Two of these hours were determined by the times of the daily sacrifices (Joshua and Levi in Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in Act. Apost. iii. 1), which were offered "in the morning and about the ninth hour" (Josephus, *Antiq.* l. xiv. c. 4, § 3). The force of St. Peter's argument in Acts ii. 15, "These are not drunken as ye suppose, seeing it is but the third hour of the day," depends on the fact familiar to his hearers that the Jews generally did not break their fast (See Grotius and others in *loc.*) before the morning sacrifice and prayer. This therefore was about the third hour. We are expressly told that "the hour of prayer" at which Peter and John went up to the temple was the "ninth hour" (Acts iii. 1). At the ninth hour Cornelius, a proselyte of the gate, "prayed in his house" (Acts x. 30). St. Peter "went up upon the house-top to pray about the sixth hour" (*ibid.* v. 9). "We read," says Ardo Smaragdus, and he may speak for many, "that the third, sixth, and ninth hours were observed by the apostles" (*Comm. in s. Bened. Regulam*, c. 16).

The three hours of the apostolic church were transmitted to the succeeding ages. Tertullian, A.D. 192, speaks of "these common hours which mark the divisions of the day, the third, sixth, and ninth, which we may observe in Scripture to be more solemn than the rest" (*De Orat.* c. 25. See *De Jejun. adv. Psychicos*, c. 10). Clemens Alex., A.D. 192, "let some assign stated hours to prayer, as the third, sixth, and ninth, the man of knowledge prays to God throughout his whole life" (*Strom.* l. vii. c. 7, § 40). "There are three times," observes St. Jerome, "in which the knees are to be bent to God. Ecclesiastical tradition understands the third, the sixth, and the ninth hour" (*Comm. in Dan.* c. vi. v. 10).

In the 3rd century, however, we begin to hear of five stated times of prayer. St. Cyprian, A.D. 252, after citing the Scriptural examples given above, goes on to say, "But beside the hours observed of old, both the durations and sacraments of prayer have increased for us now. For we ought to pray in the morning Also when the sun withdraws and the day fails, we must by a necessary obligation pray again" (*De Orat. Don. sub fin.*). St. Basil in Cappadocia speaks of these hours of prayer as necessary and suitable for monks; the morning, the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, and the evening (*Regulae fusiue Tract.* Resp. ad Qu. 37, §§ 3-5).

The morning office now introduced is called by Cyprian (*u. s.*) *matutina oratio*; *matutinae orationes* by Aurelian (*Regula* c. 28); by Cassian *matutina sollemnitas* (*De Coenob. Inst.* lib. iii. c. 3). By others it was called *laudes matutinae*, from the use in it of the three last psalms, which were called emphatically by the Latins "laudes," and by the Greeks *αἶνοι*. Hence the later common appellation of lauds. From this the office also took the name of *matutinae* (Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* l. ii. c. 23; *l'it. Patr.* c. 4, &c.; Ferreol *Regula*, c. 13 in Holsten. P. ii.; Guidonis *Reg.* c. 39 in Hergot, *l'et. Discip. Mon.* Par. 1726). It was also called *matutinum sacrificium*, as by Fructuosus (*Reg.* c. 3; Holsten.

u. s. and *matutinum officium*; Isidor. *Reg.* c. 7 *Conc. Braacar.* A.D. 560, can. i.); whence also simply *matutinum* (Isid. *ibid.*). *Matutinale officium* is also found (*Vita St. Joann. Gorz.* in *Acta SS. Ben.*, saec. v. p. 392) and *matutinus* (*sp. cursus*) (*Regula Magistri*, c. 34, Holsten.); also *matutinarium* (Caesari *Reg.* c. 21), and *matutinarum canonici* (Aurel. *Ord. post Reg.*). But the most common name was *matutini*, from the psalm, which formed the chief part of the office. This was employed by Benedict (*Regula*, c. 12, 13, &c.) and was naturally adopted by many in the same age (Pseud-Aug. *Reg.* § 1; Caes. *Reg.* c. 21; Aurel. *Ord. u. s.* &c.).

Among the Greeks this office is called by St. Basil (*Regulae fus. Tr. a. s.*) *ῥὸ ἑσθρον*, the office of dawn, a name which it retains to this day; by St. Epiphanius, A.D. 368, "morning (*ἑσθρον*) hymns and morning prayers" (*De Fide*, c. 23); in the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions* the "prayers of dawn" (lib. viii. c. 34), and the "thanksgiving at dawn" (c. 38).

The evening office was generally called *vespera* in the West (Bened. *Reg.* c. 41; Isidor. *Hisp. de Ecol. Off.* lib. i. c. 20), and *vespertinum officium* (Isid. *Reg.* c. 7). St. Ambrose (*De Virginitate*, lib. iii. c. 4, § 18) calls it the "hour of incense" in allusion to the Jewish rite (Exod. xxx. 8; Ps. cxli. 2; St. Luke i. 10). It was sometimes called *lucernarium*, as in a comment on the 119th Psalm ascribed (incorrectly, we think) to St. Jerome. "We (monks) pray at the third hour. We pray at the sixth hour; at the ninth. We make the *lucernarium*. We rise in the middle of the night. Finally we pray at cock-crow" (ad fin. *Breviar. in Psalm.*). See also *Regul. Tarnat.* c. 9, in Holst. P. ii.). Another form was *lucernarium*, as in *Regula Magistri*, (c. 36, Holst. u. s.). In Spain, as we shall see, the *lucernarium* was only considered the first part of vespers. Vespers were also called *twelfth* (hour), as in the *Regula Magistri* (c. 34) "Prime ought to be said in the same manner as Twelfth, which is called vespers." The 2nd council of Tours, A.D. 567, says, "The statutes of the fathers have prescribed that . . . twelve psalms be said at the Twelfth with Alleluia, which moreover they learnt from the showing of an angel" (can. 18). A reference to Cassian (*De Coenob. Inst.* l. ii. c. 5), who tells the story, proves that the Twelfth is here an equivalent to solemnitas vespertina. Compare the *Ordines* at the end of the *Regulae* of St. Aurelian in Holsten. P. ii. pp. 110, 112; P. iii. pp. 69, 72. St. Columban does not use the words *vespers* and *completorium* in his rule, but (c. 7) orders a certain service to be said "ad initium noctis." It appears more probable that this refers to vespers, the older office which must certainly have been said in his monastery, though Menard and others think that *compline* in meant. In the Greek church, as partially in the Latin, the lighting of the lamps gave the office its common name *ῥὸ λυχνικόν*, though it is also called more properly *ῥὸ ἑσπερινόν* (Goar in *Euchologio*, p. 30). In the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. viii.) the whole office is called *ῥὸ ἑσπερινόν* (c. 35). It begins with a Psalm (the 140th) called *ἑσπέραιες*, prayers are then said for the catechumens, energumens, &c. These are then dismissed, and the faithful say a prayer and thanksgiving by themselves, both of which are qualified by the title

m officium; Isidor. Reg. c. 7
560, can. i.); whence also
(Isid. *ibid.*). Matutinalis offi-
Vita S. Joann. Gorz. in Acta
392) and matutinus (sp. cur-
tri, c. 34, Holsteu.); also matu-
Reg. c. 21), and matutinarum
d. post Reg.). But the most
matutini, from the psalmi,
chief part of the office. This
Benedict (*Regula*, cc. 12, 13,
ally adopted by many in the
-Aug. Reg. § 1; Cass. Reg.
u. s. &c.).

cks this office is called by St.
Tr. u. s.) τὸ ἑσπῆρον, the office
It returns to this day;
A.D. 368, "morning (ἑσπῆρον)
g prayers" (*De Fide*, c. 23);
Apostolical Constitutions"
(lib. viii. c. 34), and the
law" (c. 38).

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l. Reg. c. 41; Isidor. Hisp. de
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HOURS OF PRAYER

ἑσπῆρον (cc. 36, 37). At the council of Con-
stantinople A.D. 536, on one occasion the patriarch
announced τὸ λυχνικὸν on Saturday evening in
the oratory of St. Mary (Act V. Labb. *Conc.* tom.
v. col. 212). The council held there in 691 (*in
Trullo*) ordered that there should be no kneeling
from Saturday evening until Sunday evening, "on
which they again knelt" ἐν τῷ λυχνικῷ (can. 90).

St. Jerome at Bethlehem mentions at least six
hours as kept by the religious women whom he
advised: "There is no one who knows not the
third, the sixth, the ninth hour, the dawn also
and the evening . . . In the night we should
rise twice or thrice" (*Ad Eustoch.* Ep. xviii.).
To Demetrias he says, "Beside the order of the
Psalms and prayer, which thing is to be always
practised by thee at the third hour, the sixth,
the ninth, at even, midnight, and morning,
settle at how many hours thou shouldst learn the
Holy Scripture," &c. (*Epist.* xxvii.). Of Paula
and her community he says, "They sang the
psalter in due course at the morning hour, at the
third, the sixth, the ninth, at even, at midnight"
(*Ad Eustoch.* *Epistol.* Paulae, Ep. lxxvi.), and
he advised that one preparing for that mode of
life be trained "to rise in the night for prayers
and psalms, to sing hymns in the morning, to
stand in the field like a good soldier of Jesus
Christ at the third, sixth, and ninth hour . . .
and to render the evening sacrifice when the
lamp is lighted" (*Ad Laetam*, Ep. lvii.). The
author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* says,
"Make prayers at sunrise, at the third hour, the
sixth, the ninth, at evening, and at the cock-
crow" (i. e. evidently at midnight) (lib. viii.
c. 34).

The ordinary night office of the monasteries is
called by Cassian *solemnitas nocturna* (*Instit.*
lib. ii. c. 4), and nocturni psalmi et orationes
(*ibid.* c. 13); by Pseudo-Augustine (*Regula*,
App. i. ad Opp.) and others nocturnae orationes;
whence, simply nocturnae, as in the rule of
S. Ferreol, c. 13. Nocturni (sc. psalmi as in
Bened. *Regula*, c. 15; Aurelian *Ordo Regulae*
affix; *Regula Magistri*, c. 33; &c.) was common.
It was also called Nocturnum Officium (*Reg.*
Mag. u. s.); Officium Vigiliae (Isidori *Regula*,
c. 7); and apparently the word vigiliae itself
conveyed the notion of the service used in the
nightly vigil (Benedicti *Regula*, c. 9; Isid. *Reg.*
c. 7; &c.). The Greek name for the nocturnal
office is μεσανοκτικὸν (*Ordo Philothei* in *Euchol.*
Gear, p. 7; *Typicon* Subae, c. 5; see Leo Allatius,
De Libr. Eccl. *Graec.* Diss. i. p. 65).

In the 4th century there appears a desire to
conform the rule of prayer to the standard
which was supposed to be set up in the 119th
Psalm, "Seven times a day do I praise thee"
(v. 164). St. Ambrose, A.D. 374, asks, "If
the prophet says, Seven times, &c., who was
ought we to do, who read, Watch and pray, that
ye enter not into temptation? Certainly solemn
prayers are to be offered with giving of thanks
when we rise from sleep, when we go forth,
when we prepare to take food, when we have
taken it, and at the hour of incense (St. Luke,
xxiv. 40), lastly when we go to bed" (*De Virg.*
lib. iii. c. 4, n. 18; *Comm.* in *Luc.* Ev.
in private life, it would be felt, how much more
signally should monks observe the Psalmist's

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rule? The argument had weight even with
those who understood, as St. Augustine (*Serm.*
xxi. in *Ps.* cxviii. § 4) and St. Hilary (*Tract.*
Ps. eund. lib. xxi. § 4) did, the scriptural use of
eum," therefore (argues the former) "the
church with reason has praised God for His
righteous judgments seven times a day." Cassian,
A.D. 424, claims for his monastery, the founda-
tion of Paula at Bethlehem, the honour of having
settled the rule. This was by the addition of a
matin office, afterwards called prime, between
the matin lauds and terce. The lauds were
"said in the monasteries after a short interval of
time when the nocturn psalms and prayers were
over;" i. e. shortly before sunrise, while the
matin office, or prime, was said after it. We are
not told when it was introduced, but in Cassian's
time, though of Eastern origin, it was observed
"chiefly in the regions of the West" (*De Convob.*
Instit. l. iii. c. iv.). Nevertheless there is no
mention of prime in the rules of St. Caesarius
(bishop of Arles, A.D. 506) for monks and nuns
on week days, and only in one MS. of the latter
is it prescribed for Sundays (Martene, *De Ant.*
Monach. Rit. l. i. c. iv. n. 2); nor does he men-
tion it in his homilies, though he entreate the
devout to rise early in Lent for vigils, and before
all things to assemble for "terce, sext, none"
(*Hom.* cxii. § 2, in App. Opp. Aug.). He assumes
of course that they would be present at matins
and evensong; and in the duties proper to litany
days we find him including attendance at church
at "the six hours" (*Hom.* clxxx. § 3). Some
sixty years later Cassiodorus omits prime in his
enumeration of the seven hours observed by the
monks (*Expositio in Ps.* cxviii. v. 164). Nor is it
recogised by St. Isidore of Seville a century
later either in his rule (Holstenii *Colecta Regul.*
Monast. p. ii.), or in his work *De Officiis*. In the
latter (lib. i. c. 23) he even quotes what Cassian
says of prime as if it referred to the older matin
lauds, thus showing ignorance of the institution
of another matin office. It was however already
known in France, being ordered (and that as if
already known) in the rule of Aurelianus, a suc-
cessor of Caesarius at Arles, A.D. 555 (*Ordo
Regulae* affix. Holst. P. ii. p. 111; P. iii. p. 71).
Before the middle of the 7th century it had
found its way into Spain; for it is mentioned in
the rule of Fructuosus (Holsten. P. ii.; *Regula*,
c. 2) the founder of the Complutensian monas-
tery and many others, who died in 675. It had
been introduced in Italy, and an office for it
prescribed by St. Benedict, A.D. 530 (Holst. u. s.
Regula, c. 17). It appears also in two other
Western rules of unknown authorship and coun-
try; one (Pseudo-Aug. u. s.) of the 6th century,
and the other *Regula Magistri*, c. 35, Holsten.
P. ii.) belonging to the 7th. It was without
doubt largely owing to Benedict and his fol-
lowers that it now became universal in the
Latin church.

The use of seven offices for the day and night,
and where prime was adopted, of seven for the
day alone, was attained in the 6th century by
erecting the last brief prayers said before going
to bed into a formal and common service under
the name of *Compline*. St. Ambrose, as already
quoted, probably referred to private prayer only;
but St. Chrysostom, though the Greek monks
did not adopt any set service answering to the

Western Compline, appears to speak of hymns sung together when he describes the life of monks in his day. He says that they rise at cockcrow for psalmody and prayer, going to rest again a little before light, that after completing the morning prayers and hymns they turn to the reading of the Scriptures, . . . then observe the third, sixth, and ninth hours, and the evening prayers, and dividing the day into four parts, honour God in each part by psalmody and prayer; . . . and after sitting (at table) a short time, closing all with hymns, take their rest (*Hom. xiv. in 1 Tim. § 4*). St. Basil again, referring to the custom of monks:—"When the day is ended, thanksgiving for the things that have been supplied to us and been prosperously ordered, and confession of omissions voluntary or otherwise; &c., are made (i.e. in the evening office) . . . and again, at the beginning of the night, prayer (*αἰτήσις*), that our rest may be undisturbed and free from illusions" (*Reg. Pas. Tract. Resp. ad Q. 37, § 5*). John Climacus, A.D. 564, in his *Letter ad Pastorem*, says that a certain abbot when vespers were over would order one monk to say ten psalms (psalmodium odavia), another thirty, a third a hundred, before they went to sleep. The present writer has observed no trace in the East within our period to secure any such last act of devotion by appointing a form of prayer for constant use; but in the Latin church the rule of St. Benedict, A.D. 530 (cc. 16, 17), speaks of Compline as if it were already as well known as Terce or Sext. He does not claim to introduce it; nor does he offer any explanation. At the same time, his adoption of the new hour would cause it to be widely received. Cassiodorus, who probably borrowed from St. Benedict (see *Garet's Dissert.* appended to the *Life* in *Cassiod. Opp.*), in his commentary on the 119th Psalm, written about 560, remarks on the words, "Seven times a day," &c. (v. 164), "If we desire to understand this number literally, it signifies the seven times at which the pious devotion of the monks solaces itself; i.e. at matins, terce, sext, vespers, lucernaria (vespers), completoria, nocturns."

The word completorium has been said to refer rather in its origin to the completion of the ordinary acts of daily life (*Amalarius De Eccl. Off. lib. iv. c. 8; De Ordine Antiph. c. 7*) than to the completion of the daily round of devotion. This is the name of most frequent occurrence, owing evidently to its adoption by St. Benedict (cc. 16, 17); but *completa* is also found as in the *Ordines* of Aurelian (*Holst. P. ii. p. 112; P. iii. p. 72*), and in the work of Isidore (*De Eccl. Off. lib. i. c. 21*); though in his rule (c. 7) completorium is used. A corrupt reading in the 2d canon of Merida, A.D. 666, which orders that vespers be said on feasts prius quam *sonum* has led to the conjecture that in Spain compline was sometimes called *sonum*. No name is given to the office by Fructuosus of Braga, 656, who appears however to refer to compline when in his rule (c. 2) he says, "In the night season therefore the first hour of the night is to be celebrated with six prayers, &c." After describing the office, he speaks of the manner in which the monks shall retire to rest. When the Greeks at length prescribed a constant form answering to the Latin completorium, they called it *ἀρόθειον* because it followed the last meal of the day.

Perhaps the earliest authority is the *Tipticon* ascribed to St. Sabas, who died in the 6th century, but which cannot in its present form be earlier than the 11th.

In some monasteries a ninth office was said, called *Lucernarium*. There was from an early period a pious custom of praying when lamps were lighted in the evening, an action so marked among the old Romans as to give name to that part of the day (*prima fix, or prima luminis*). "It seemed good to our fathers," says St. Basil, "not to receive in silence the gift of the evening light, but to give thanks as soon as it appeared. But who was the author of those words of thanksgiving at the lighting of lamps we are unable to tell. The people, however, utter the ancient saying, and by no one have they ever been thought guilty of impiety, who say, 'We praise the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit of God'" (*De Spir. Sanct. c. lxxiii.*). In the Mozarabic Breviary are the following directions for the performance of this rite:—"A commencement is made by the invocation of Jesus Christ (the Lord's Prayer preceding it, 'Lord, have mercy, Christ have mercy, Lord have mercy; Our Father' being said in a low voice, in a loud voice, 'In the name of Jesus Christ, light with peace'; that is, the light offered. Those who stand round respond 'Thanks be to God.' And the presbyter says, 'The Lord be with you always.' *Resp.* 'And with thy spirit.' And the order of vespers whether it be a festival or not, follows in this manner. This may be illustrated from other Spanish sources. *E.g.*, the rule of St. Isidore says, "In the evening offices, first the lucernarium, then two psalms, one responsory and lauds, a hymn and prayer are to be said" (cap. 7). The lucernarium is here considered the first part of vespers. The second canon of the council of Merida, 666, mentions that vespers were said "after the offering of the light." In the East the 140th Psalm, called the psalm at the lighting (*ἐπιλόγιος*) was said before vespers (*Compare Constil. Apost. lib. viii. c. 35, with lib. ii. c. 59*). St. Jerome at Bethlehem:—"Let her be trained to offer the evening sacrifice when the lamp is lighted" (*Ad Lactan. Ep. lvi.*). Socrates says that "in Greece and at Jerusalem, and in Thessaly they say the prayers at the lighting of lamps very much in the same manner as the Novatians at Constantinople" (*Ecd. Hist. lib. v. c. 22*). Naturally, vespers which followed these prayers came to be called in some churches by the name of lucernarium, which appeared to be the first part of it; but sometimes the lucernarium was enlarged into a distinct office, said some little time before vespers. Thus the rule falsely ascribed to St. Augustine (*Opp. App. i.*) after prescribing the psalm for matins, prime, &c., says, "Let the same thing be observed at vespers and compline; but at lucernarium let there be the (proper) psalm, one responsory, three antiphons, three lessons." So in the rules of Aurelian:—"At lucernarium let there be said in the first place at all seasons, both on festival and ordinary days, a psalm in monotone (directaneous), then two antiphons. In the third place let there be said with Alleluia, one day the hymn *Deus, qui certis legibus*; another *Deus creator omnium*, and a little chapter. At Twelfth (vespers) eighteen psalms, an antiphon and hymn, a lesson and little chapter. When ye are

supreme authority is the *Typton* Sabas, who died in the 6th century and cannot in its present form be traced.

Lucernarium a ninth office was said, and was from an early custom of praying when lamps were lighted in the evening, an action so marked by Romanus as to give name to that office (primus lux, or prima luminaria). It is said to our fathers," says St. Basil, "in the silence the gift of the evening five thanks as soon as it appeared. These are the words of words of thanksgiving of lamps we are unable to explain, however, utter the ancient custom by no one have they ever been of impiety, who say, 'We praise the Son and Holy Spirit of God.'" (ct. c. lxxlii.). In the Mozarabic the following directions for the celebration of this rite:—"A commencement is made in the invocation of JESUS CHRIST (the preceding it, 'Lord, have mercy, Lord, have mercy; Our Lord, said in a low voice) in a loud voice of Jesus Christ, light with us, the light offered. Those who respond 'Thanks be to God.' And says, 'The Lord be with you.' And with thy spirit.' And the rite whether it be a festival or not, in this manner. This may be illustrated Spanish sources. *E. J.* the rite says, "In the evening offices, first and then two psalms, one responsory and prayer are to be said." The Lucernarium is here considered of vespers. The second canon of Merida, 660, mentions that vespers are the offering of the light," in the 140th Psalm, called the psalm in *παύχους* was said before vespers (St. Basil, *lib. viii. c. 35*, with St. Jerome at Bethlehem:—"Let us offer the evening sacrifice which we have lighted" (*Ad Lactan. Ep. l. viii.*), that "in Greece and at Jerusalem, they say the prayers at the lamps very much in the same manner as at Constantinople" (*Ecol. lib. i.*). Naturally, vespers which followed came to be called in some churches of Lucernarium, which appeared to be of art of it; but sometimes the Lucernarium into a distinct office, said before vespers. Thus the role of St. Augustine (*Opp. App. i.*) singing the psalm for matins, prime, and the same thing be observed at compline; but at Lucernarium let (proper) psalm, one responsory, and three lessons." So in the rules "At Lucernarium let there be said once at all seasons, both on festival days, a psalm in monotone (directly) antiphons. In the third place said with Alleluia, one day the *qui certis legibus*; another *Deus*, and a little chapter. At Twelfth psalms, an antiphon and a little chapter. When ye are

about to take your rest, let compline be said in the school in which ye remain" (*Regula ad Mon. Holst. P. ii.*; *Sim. ad Vig. ibid. P. iii.*). Here a distinction is clearly made between the Lucernarium and vespers. They are distinct offices. It is probable, however, from the paucity of such notices, that the former was treated as a separate service on the same footing with the ancient hours only in a very few communities.

V. *Grounds of Observance.*—For Matins, reasons of natural piety were often urged, as by St. Basil, "That the first motions of the soul and mind may be dedicated to God, and we admit nothing else into our mind before we have rejoiced in the thought of God" (*Reg. P. v. Tr. Resp. ad Q. 37, § 3*); and in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (lib. viii. c. 34), "To give thanks to the Lord, causing the night to pass away and the day to come on, hath given us light." There was the Scriptural reason too, "That the resurrection of the Lord, which took place (Cyprian, *De Or. Dom. u. s.*). Similarly; *Isid. cap. 130.*

There was a practical reason for the institution of *Prime*, as well as the ground of religious sentiment, to which we have already had occasion to refer. It was found that the long interval between the matins lauds and terce was often spent in comparative idleness and sloth. The new office was therefore introduced to prevent this (Cassian, *Conob. Inst. l. iii. c. 4*). With this statement compare the provision of a Western rule: "After morning prayers let it not be lawful to return to sleep; but when matins are finished let prime be said forthwith. Then let all employ themselves in reading to the third hour" (*Aurel. Reg. ad Monach. c. 28*).

The third, sixth, and ninth hours, which were observed earlier than any other, were thought to have been selected in honour of the Holy Trinity. Thus St. Cyprian—"We find that the three children with Daniel, strong in faith and conquerors in captivity, observed the third, sixth, and ninth hours for a sacrament of the Trinity, which was to be manifested in the last time; for the first hour coming to the third exhibits the full number of a Trinity, and again the fourth proceeding to the sixth declares another Trinity, and when the ninth is completed by three hours from the seventh a perfect Trinity (i. e. a Trinity of Trinities) is numbered" (*De Eccl. Off. lib. l. c. 19*; *Concl. Isid. Hspal. De Eccl. c. 126*). The significance of these hours taken separately will be shown below.

Terce, as we have seen, was the continuation of a Jewish custom, as were *Sext* and *None*. But there were Christian reasons of great weight for retaining it. "The Holy Ghost," says Cyprian, "descended on the disciples at the third hour" (*De Or. Dom. u. s.*; *Sim. Basil. u. s.*; *Resp. ad Q. 37*; *Hieron. Comm. in Dom. vi. 10*; *Isid. Hsp. u. s. &c.*).

Another ground alleged was that "at that hour the Lord received sentence from Pilate" (*Cons. Apost. l. viii. c. 34*). St. Mark x. 25 refers the crucifixion to the third hour, i. e. to the third of the twelve hours between sunrise and sunset; but if in the condemnation took place between that and sunrise, it was also correctly

said in ecclesiastical language to have been at the third hour. So John xiv. 14, reckoning apparently from midnight, places the condemnation at "about the sixth hour," which brings it down to the third hour understood of the larger space of time, and reckoned from sunrise.

With reference to *Sext*, it was observed that St. Peter "at the sixth hour went up to the house-top, and was both by sign and by the voice of God warning him, instructed to admit all to the grace of salvation" (*Cypr. u. s. comp. Hieron. u. s.*). Another and more important reason was that "The Lord was crucified at the sixth hour" (*Cypr. u. s. Sim. Constit. Apost. u. s. Isid. Hspal. u. s. Conc. Aquisgr. u. s.*), a statement, which if taken to the letter, can only be reconciled with that of St. Mark, by supposing the "sixth hour" to cover the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the smaller hours. If however it means no more than that our Lord hung on the cross at that hour, it needs no explanation.

None was said to be observed because "Peter and John went up to the temple at the ninth hour of prayer" (*St. Basil. u. s.*; *St. Jerome, u. s.*); but more than all because "at the ninth hour Christ washed away our sins with His blood" (*Cypr. Constit. A. c. &c. u. s. before*).

The pious sentiment which dictated the prayers developed in some religious houses into a distinct office, called *Lucernarium*, came before us while we traced the origin of that rite.

Evening was especially an office of thanksgiving. St. Basil—"Is the day ended? Thank Him who hath given us the sun to minister to the works of the day" (*Tom. in Mart. Julitane, § 2*). "In the evening giving thanks that God has given us the night for a season of rest from the labours of the day" (*Const. Apost. u. s.*).

Another thought is connected with it by St. Cyprian:—"Because Christ is the true sun and the true day, when, at the departure of the sun and day of the world, we pray and beseech that the light may come on us again, we are praying for the coming of Christ, who will give the grace of everlasting light" (*De Orat. Dom. u. s.*). A third ground of this observance is suggested by Cassian, viz., that the eucharist was "delivered to the apostles by the Lord the Saviour in the evening" (*Inst. l. iii. c. 3*); so *Isidore, De Eccl. Off. l. i. c. 20*; *Conc. Aquisgr. c. 127*; and with this was associated the completion of the passion on the following day towards the evening, and about the time of the evening sacrifice (*Isid. &c. u. s.*).

For *Compline* there was the strong natural reason, often alleged for private prayer before going to sleep at night, as *e. g.* in a tract doubtfully ascribed to St. Chrysostom:—"With what hope wilt thou come to the season of night; with what dreams dost thou expect to converse, if thou hast not walled thyself round with prayers, but guest to sleep unprotected?" (*De Precat. Or. l. sub fin.*). The zeal of David (*Ps. cxxxii. 3-5*) was held up as a model:—"This thing ought powerfully to admonish us that, if we wish to be 'a place for the Lord' and desire to be accounted His tabernacle and temple, we should follow the examples of the saints, lest that which is read should be said of us, 'They have slept their sleep, and none of the men of might have found their hands'" (*Isid. u. s. l. i. c. 21*; *so Conc. Aquisgr. c. 128*;

Raban. u. s. l. ii. c. 7). "Every one," says Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* l. iv. c. 8), "who has even a little sense, knows how many dangers may assail a man from without when sleeping more than when waking. This office is in some sort analogous to that commendation, by which a man commends himself to God, when he is passing away from this world. Sleep is the image of death," &c.

Nocturns originated in the pious custom of prayer when one woke in the night. Tertullian says of the meals of Christians, "They are so filled as they who remember that even in the night God is to be worshipped by them" (*Apol.* c. 39). St. Cyprian:—"There can be no loss from the darkness of night to those who pray; for there is day even in the night to the sons of light" (*De Orat. Dom.* sub fin.). Clemens of Alexandria (*Pædag.* l. ii. c. 9, § 79):—"Often in the night should we rise from bed and bless God; for happy are they who watch unto Him, thus making themselves like the angels whom we call watchers" (*Dan.* iv. 13, &c.). "Without this prayer" (i. e. prayer expressed in words), says Origen, "we shall not pass the season of the night in a fit manner" (*De Orat.* c. 12). He refers to David (*Ps.* cxix. 62), and St. Paul and Silas (*Acts* xvi. 25). St. Cyril of Jerusalem asks, "When is our mind more intent on psalmody and prayer? Is it not in the night? When do we most frequently come to the remembrance of our sins? Is it not in the night?" (*Catech.* ix. § 4). St. Ambrose cites the example of Christ:—"The Lord Himself passed the night in prayer, that by His own example He might invite thee to pray" (*Expos. in Ps.* cxviii. v. 62; *Serm.* viii. § 45). Elsewhere he says:—"In thy chamber itself I would have psalms by frequent alternation interwoven with the Lord's Prayer, either when thou hast waked up or before sleep befalls the body, that sleep may find thee at the very entrance on rest free from care of worldly things and meditating on divine" (*De Virginitate*, lib. iii. c. iv. § 19). "David every night watered his couch with tears; he rose also in the middle of the night that he might confess to God, and dost thou think that the whole night is to be assigned to sleep? Then is the Lord to be more entreated by thee; then is protection to be (more) sought, fault to be (more) guarded against when there appears to be secrecy, and then above all, when darkness is round about me and walls cover me, must I reflect that God beholds all hidden things" (*in Ps.* cxviii. *Expos. Serm.* vii. § 31). The example of our Lord was urged:—"The day is not enough for prayer. We must rise in the night and at midnight. The Lord Himself passed the night in prayer; that He might invite thee to pray by His own example" (*Ibid. Serm.* viii. § 45). St. Hilary, after dwelling on the words of David, adds, "The mind is not to be released by the dangerous idleness of wakefulness in the night, but to be employed in prayers, in pleadings, in confessions of sins; that when occasion is most given to the vices of the body, then above all those vices may be subdued by the remembrance of the divine law" (*Tract in Js.* cxviii. lit. vii. § 6). To these motives St. Basil adds, "Let the night supply other grounds of prayer. When thou lookest into the sky and gazest on the beauty of the stars," &c. (*Hom. in Mart. Julitt.* § 3).

VI. *The Times of the Offices.*—For Nocturns some rose at cockcrow, as prescribed in the *Apocryphal Constitutions* (lib. viii. 34). So St. Chrysostom:—"As soon as the cock crows the prefect is standing by (the sleeping monk), and strikes him as he lies lightly with his foot, and so wakes all straightway" (*Hom.* xiv. in 1 *Tim.* § 4). St. Columban's rule says the "middle" of the night (c. 7); and in Gregory of Tours one speaks of himself as rising "about midnight ad mundendum cursum" (*Hist. Franc.* lib. viii. c. 15). St. Benedict orders his monks to rise for vigils "at the eighth hour of the night in winter; i. e. from the Kalends of November to Easter," but during the rest of the year the time of vigils was to be regulated by that of matins, which it was to precede by a "very short interval" (*Reg.* cap. 8). Another rule, of the 7th century, orders nocturns to be said before cockcrow in winter, and after it in summer, when it was to be "soon" followed by matins (*Regula Magistri*, c. 33). In Spain the severe rule of St. Fructuosus prescribed two or three offices for the night according to the season, one "before midnight," and a second "at midnight," throughout the year, and in winter a third "after midnight" (*Reg.* cap. 3); thus carrying out to the letter the exhortation of St. Jerome to Eustochium, "You should rise twice or thrice in the night" (*Epiat.* xviii.).

From the union of nocturns with matins, of which we have seen the beginning, the double office was at a later period called indifferently, nocturns or matins, or lauds.

Matins, properly so-called, were said in the morning watch, or fourth watch of the night; that is to say, at any part of that space of three natural hours which preceded sunrise. They were to be over by dawn: Post matutinum tempus sequitur diluaculum (*Amal. de Ord. Antiph.* c. 5). St. Benedict ordered matins to be said "when the light began" (*Reg.* c. 8). If it surprised them at nocturns, the latter were to be shortened (c. 11). So early as the beginning of the 5th century, matins (solemnitas matutina) were "wont to be celebrated in the monasteries of Gaul a short interval of time after the night psalms and prayers were finished" (Cassian, *Instit.* lib. iii. c. 4).

Prime was said in the first natural hour after sunrise. This appears from Cassian's account of its origin. The monks were to be allowed to rest after matins, "usque ad solis ortum," and were then to rise for the new office (*Instit.* u. s.). And so, four centuries later, Amalarius:—"We begin the first of the day from the rising of the sun" (*De Ord. Ant.* c. 6); and Rabanus fires it "at the beginning of the day when the sun first appears from the east" (*De Instit. Cler.* lib. ii. c. 3).

Terce might originally be said at any part of the three hours which began at sunrise (see before § ii.); but after the institution of prime it could only be said during the two last. It was not in practice always confined to the last; for in the rule of an unknown author, formerly ascribed to St. Jerome, it is expressly provided that on fast-days, terce, sext, and none, be each said an hour earlier than usual (cap. 34; inter Opp. S. Hieron. tom. v. ed. Ben.). See also the rule of St. Benedict, as cited in § ii.

As the lamps were lighted in preparation for evening prayer, the *Lucernarium*, as a merely

of the Offices.—For Nocturns now, as prescribed in the *Apostolus* (lib. viii. 34). So St. Chrysostom in his cock crows the prefect of a sleeping monk, and strikes gently with his foot, and so wakes (Hom. xiv. in 1 Tim. § 4). St. Isidore says the "middle" of the night of Tours one speaks of "about midnight and midnight." *St. Firmus*, lib. viii. c. 15). St. Isidore's monks to rise for vigils "at the night in winter; i. e. from November to Easter," but during the time of vigils was to be of matins, which it was to be of short interval" (*Reg.* cap. 8). In the 7th century, orders nocturns cockcrow in winter, and after it it was to be "soon" followed by *Magistri*, c. 33). In Spain St. Fructuosus prescribed two or the night according to the "midnight," and a second "at the night," and in winter "at midnight" (*Reg.* cap. 3); thus the letter the exhortation of St. Isidore, "You should rise twice at night" (*Epist.* xviii.).

of nocturns with matins, of the beginning, the double period called indifferently, or lauds, were said in the fourth watch of the night; any part of that space of three which preceded sunrise. They were by dawn: Post matutinum diducium (*Amal. de Ord. As. Benedicti* ordered matins to be "at night began" (*Reg.* c. 8). If it be a nocturna, the latter were to be. So early as the beginning of matins (solemnitas matutina) were celebrated in the monasteries interval of time after the night vigils were finished" (Cassian, 4).

In the first nocturnal hour after appears from Cassian's account of monks were to be allowed to "usque ad solis ortum," and for the new office (*Instit.* u. s.). Later, Amalarius:—"We of the day from the rising of the sun" (Ant. c. 6); and Rabanus fixes it as the first of the day when the sun first "east" (*De Instit. Cler.* lib. ii.

originally be said at any part of which began at sunrise (see after the institution of prime and said during the two last. It was always confined to the last; of an unknown author, formerly Jerome, it is expressly provided vigils, terce, sext, and none, be each earlier than usual (cap. 34; inter tom. v. ed. Ben.). See also the dict., as cited in § ii.

were lighted in preparation for the *Lucernarium*, as a merely

preliminary act of devotion would be said immediately before that; and it was in fact as we have seen, often considered an actual part of the office. Where it became a distinct service, there would, we presume, be an interval of some length before vespers began; but we have no information on the subject.

"It becomes evening when the sun sets" (*St. Aug. in Ps. xxix. v. 6, Enarr.* ii.). Nevertheless vespers were more generally said in the hour before sunset. This is why the office was called Duodecima (see before § iv.). "We celebrate the evening synaxis," observes Amalarius, "about the 12th hour, which hour is about the end of the day" (*De Ord. Antiph.* c. 6); "most frequently before sunset" (*ibid.* c. 70; comp. c. 16; *Isid. Hisp. de Eccl. Off.* lib. i. c. 20; Raban. Maur. *De Instit. Cleri.* lib. ii. c. 7). Benedict, in fact, made a rule, which must have influenced the custom greatly, that vespers should be said at all seasons while it was yet daylight; and that in Lent, when reflection followed vespers, they should be said at such an early hour that the meal might be over before the light failed (*Reg.* cap. 41). Another authority says, "Vespers ought to be said while the rays of the sun are still declining." "In summer, on account of the short nights, let lucernarium (here vespers) be begun while the sun is still high" (*Regula Magistri*, c. 34).

The history of compline has shown the proper time of saying, viz. before retiring to rest; and this was the time observed by the monks within our period. Thus a MS. of the *Regula* of pseudo-Augustine, now 1200 years old:—"After this usual psalms be said before sleep" (Note of Bened. editors, App. i. Opp. Aug.). St. Isidore:—"Compline being ended, the brethren, as the custom is, having wished each other good night before sleeping, must keep still with all heed and silence until they rise for vigils" (*Reg.* c. 7). St. Fructuosus, after prescribing the office of "the first hour of the night," orders his monks to bid each other good-night and retire to their dormitories (*Reg.* i. c. 2). Another rule forbids the monks to speak, eat, drink, or do any work after compline (*Regula Magistri*, c. 30). Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* lib. iv. c. 8) tells us that compline was said in the conticinium; i. e. in the third part of the night, reckoning from sunset, when it was divided, as by the Romans, into seven.

When vespers were said earlier compline was put earlier too, and one writer at the close of our period gives it the name of Duodecima (*Smaragdus, Comment. in S. Ben. Reg.* c. 16). It had already taken possession of the hour so long occupied by vespers. At length it became the common opinion that it ought to be said at the twelfth hour (*Franconius, u. s. cap.* 18).

For a description of the several offices, see OFFICE, THE DIVINE. [W. E. S.]

HOUSE. In Aringhi, l. p. 522, ii. 658, are woodcuts of houses from ancient tombs [TOMB]. This, perhaps, refers to the grave as the house of the dead, an idea or expression inherited from heathenism (*Horace Carm.* i. iv. 19, and *Boldetti*, p. 463; even *Domus Aeterna*, Perret v. pl. 36, x. 110), or to the deserted house of the soul, the buried body (2 Cor. v. i.), "For we know that

If our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God," &c. In one of the plates from Aringhi above referred to (ii. 658) there is a house of the grave, with a small mummy of Lazarus; laid up alone (*depositus* or *repositus*) to abide the resurrection. The houses of Jerusalem and Bethleheim, representing the Jewish and Gentile churches, occur frequently in ancient paintings and mosaics. [BETHLEHEM.] How far the word Beth, as part of Bethleheim ("house of bread"), may be connected with the Christian import of this symbol, is hard to say. [R. St. J. T.]

HOUSE OF CLERGY. [MANSE.]

HOUSE OF PRAYER. [CHURCH; ORATORY.]

HRIPSIMA, and companions, virgin-martyrs under Tiridates; commemorated June 3 (*Cal. Armen.*). [W. F. G.]

HUBERT (HUBERTUS), bishop and confessor (†727 A.D.); commemorated May 30 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

HUCKSTERS. The mind of the church has of course always been against all unprincipled gain in traffic, even when permitted by law and custom. Adulterators or fraudulent dealers (*καπηλοὶ*) are enumerated (*Apost. Const.* iv. 6, § 2) among those whose oblations are not to be received. And again (*ib.* viii. 32, § 5) the *καπηλος* is classed with the stage-players and dancers, among those who must abandon their profession before they can be admitted to the church. Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* v. c. 16) emphatically rejects the doctrine of Caracade, that the seller is not bound to declare the faults of the article which he has for sale, and insists that the Christian conscience requires perfect frankness and openness in such a matter. In the same spirit St. Augustine (*Tract.* 41 in *Jean.*) puts fraud on the same level as fornication and theft, and gives high praise (*De Trin.* xiii. 3) to one who, in buying a book, declined to overreach the seller, who was ignorant of its value. So, too, Hilary (on *Ps.* exix. [cxvii. *Vulg.*] 139) enumerates cheating (falseities) among the things which make our bodies a den of thieves. In short, all kinds of unprincipled dealers (*βαδιστοί*) and sorcerers, all who give short weight or measure (*συνοκοροὶ καὶ δολομέτραι*) are condemned (*Apost. Const.* iv. 6, § 1).

Tertullian (*De Idolol.* c. 11; cf. Epiphanius, *Erosop. Fid.* c. 24) and many others regard with disfavour all gain derived from mere buying and selling of goods, considering the labour of the hands the proper means of earning a living. But Leo the Great (*Epist.* 92, ad *Lustic.* c. 9) reasonably distinguishes between honest and unprincipled gain (*questus honestus ut turpis*); the culpability or innocence of gain (he holds) depends upon its character; there is no harm in profit not derived from fraudulent practice. Compare COMMERCE.

[Bingham's *Antiq.* XVI. xii. 17.] [C.]

HUESCA, COUNCIL OF (*Oscense* c.), at the town so called in the north of Arragon, in Spain, A. D. 598, or the thirteenth year of king

* The word does not seem to be used here in the limited sense of the Latin *Cuppa*, a tavern-keeper.

Receared. No further particulars are preserved of it, than that it provided for the holding of a synod every year in each diocese, to inquire into the morals of the monks and clergy, and prescribe rules for their conduct (Mansi, x. 479-82). [H. S. F.]

HUMERALE. [AMICE.]

HUNTING. Field-sports have been under the censure of the church from an early period, and in the many canons relating to them there is very little trace of any disposition to relax the severity of absolute prohibition, or to allow exceptional cases in which they might be necessary or desirable.

By the 55th canon of the council of Agde (C. *Ajathense*), A.D. 544, bishops and presbyters are forbidden to keep hawks and hounds for the chase under penalty of three months' excommunication in the case of bishops, and of two months' in the case of priests, and of one in the case of deacons. The same abstinence is enjoined on bishops, presbyters and deacons, under the same penalty by the 4th canon of the council of Epaon. By the 3rd canon of the council of Soissons, not only bishops, presbyters and deacons, but all ecclesiastical persons (clerici) are forbidden to hunt with hounds or to take out hawks. In the 8th canon of the third council of Tours, priests are cautioned against the hunting of birds and wild animals, and the second council of Châlons (c. 9) addresses a similar warning against devoting their time to "hounds, hawks, and falcons," to lay as well as to clergy. It seems that certain bishops kept dogs under the pretence that they were necessary for the defence of their houses; but they are reminded by the 13th canon of the second council of Maçon, A.D. 585, that not "barks but hymns, not bites but good works" are the proper protection of a bishop's house, which ought to welcome and not repel men, and certainly not subject any who came "the relief of their sorrows to the risk of being torn by dogs.

Among prohibitions against the same pursuits, issued by individuals, is to be found a letter of Boniface, bishop of Mayence (*Epist.* 105), probably written on the authority of pope Zachary, forbidding "huntings and excursions with dogs through the woods, and the keeping of hawks and falcons;" and the same prohibition is repeated, *totidem verbis*, in the 2nd canon of the council of Liptine, A.D. 743, over which Boniface presided. In the *Liber Poenitentialis* of pope Gregory III. one year's penance is decreed against one in minor orders (clericus), two years' against a deacon, and three years' against a priest, for hunting.

Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès, in his Rule (about A.D. 558), forbids his monks to hunt and hawk on the ground that such pursuits dissipate the mind; he allows them however to set dogs at the wild animals which waste their crops, but only that they may "drive them away, not that they may catch them." Jonas, bishop of Orleans, A.D. 821-844, (*de Institut. laic.* ii. 23, quoted by Thomassin), vents his indignation against the nobles for spending so much money on hawks and hounds instead of on the poor; and is even more fierce against them for the hardships and cruelties which for the sake of their sport they inflicted on the poor. The

frequent recurrence of these prohibitions and the number of years over which they extend, show how rooted was the taste for field-sports among the Teutonic clergy; and the language of some of the canons indicates that these sports sometimes became as oppressive as the Forest Laws of the Middle Ages.

Looking on, or being present at the hunting, or baiting, or fighting of wild animals in the amphitheatre is just as strictly forbidden. The council in Trullo (*Quinisextum*), can. 51, orders both laity and clergy to avoid "the spectacles of huntings," on pain of excommunication, and hunting is so frequently mentioned in connection with games, dances, and dramatic performances, that it must be concluded that the sports of the amphitheatre are intended. The *Codex Eccl. Africane* (c. 61) entreats the emperors to put an end to spectacles on great festivals, such as the octave of Easter, and begs that no Christian may be compelled to attend them. By the council of Mayence (addit. 3, c. 27) it is ordered that if any ecclesiastical person attend any spectacle he is liable to three years' suspension. By the 3rd canon of Tours and the second council of Châlons, quoted above, the condemnation of hunting is coupled with that of theatrical spectacles, so that to look at a spectacle of hunting in the amphitheatre would be by the same act to commit two offences against the canon. The 8th canon of the council of Friuli (*Friulanense*) issued a canon against the worldly pomps and vanities in vogue, in which "huntings" are mentioned with other amusements manifestly scenic.

Theodosius the younger abolished contests between men and brutes in the circus on the ground that "cruel sights made him shudder" (*Socrates, H.E.* vii. 22).

(Thomassin, *Vel. et Nova Ecclesie Disciplina*, III. iii. cc. 42, 43.) [E. C. H.]

HYACINTHUS, or JACINCTUS. (1) Martyr at Rome with Amantius, Irenaeus, and Zoticus; commemorated Feb. 10 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) Martyr at Rome; commemorated July 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(3) Martyr with Alexander and Tiburtius, in the Sabine district; commemorated Sept. 9 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(4) Martyr at Rome with Protus under Gallienus; commemorated Sept. 11 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal. Bucher.*, Frontonis, *Sacramentarium Gregorii*).

(5) Martyr at Caesarea, A.D. 108; commemorated July 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(6) Of Amastris in Phlagonia, martyr; commemorated July 18 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

[W. F. G.]

HYDROMANTIA. The *Decretum Gratiani* (cau. 26, qu. 5, c. 14, § 3) has the following in the enumeration of magic arts which are condemned:—"Hydromantia ab aqua dicta; est enim Hydromantia in aquae inspectione umbras daemonum evocare, et imaginis lullinationes eorum videre, ibique ab eis aliqua audire, ubi adhibito sanguine etiam inferos perhibetur suscitare." The chapter from which this is extracted is taken wholly from Rabanus De

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Magorum Praestigiis, which is again a compila-
 tion from Augustine and Isidore of Seville. The
 passage of Augustine on which the account of
 Hydromantia is mainly founded is *De Civ. Dei*,
 vii. 45, and is to this effect; that Numa, having
 no real divine inspiration, was compelled to
 practise hydromancy, so as to see in water
 images, or rather false semblances (Iulificationes),
 of the gods, and learn from them what
 he was to ordain with regard to the *sacra* of his
 people; and from this use of water for divining
 purposes (says Varro) Numa gained the reputa-
 tion of having consulted the nymph Egeria.
 It is evident (as indeed Augustine says) that
 this hydromancy was a form of necromancy.
 What was its exact nature is not apparent, but
 it was probably similar to the divining by
 means of a mirror, or of a dark fluid poured
 into the palm of the hand, which is frequently
 mentioned in accounts of magic. [C.]

HYDROMYSTA (*ὕδρομύστης*), the person
 who had the cure of the holy water in a church,
 and sprinkled with it those who entered (Syn-
 axius, *Epist.* 121, quoted in Maeri *Hierol.*
 s. v.) [C.]

HYMN (the Cherubic). A hymn so called
 from the reference to the cherubim which it
 contains, which occurs in the chief eastern
 liturgies shortly after the dismissal of the cat-
 echumens, and immediately preceding the "great
 entrance" (i. e. that of the elements). It is
 found in the same position in the liturgies of St.
 James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Mark;
 and also in the Armenian, in which however it is
 only sung on special occasions, other hymns
 being appointed in its place on other days. It is
 not found in the "heretical liturgies;" which,
 inasmuch as these underwent less alteration than
 the orthodox, is an argument against the anti-
 quity of the hymn. Cedreus (*Dupin Bibl. des*
Aut. Eccles. *11me Siècle*) a Greek monk who
 flourished towards the middle of the 11th cen-
 tury, and who wrote "annals" from the
 creation of the world down to the reign of Isaac
 Comnenus, says that Justinian first ordered it to
 be sung in the churches; and it appears to have
 been composed about that time. Its object is
 described as being to excite the minds of the
 faithful to a devout attention to the mysteries
 about to be celebrated. While it is being sung,
 the priest says secretly a prayer called "the
 prayer of the cherubic hymn." The words of
 the hymn are: *οἱ τὰ χερουβιμ μυστικῶς*
εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ Τριῳδὶ τὸν τρισά-
θωον ἕμουν ἔδοντες, πάσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀπο-
θέμεθα μέριμναν, ὡς τὸν βασιλεία τῶν ἑλων
τροπὴν λαίνοι ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀόρατως δουρε-
πονοῦν τῶν ἑσων. Ἀλληλουία. [H. J. H.]

HYMNARIUM. The book containing the
 hymns sung in the services of the church. Gen-
 nadius (*De Script. Eccl.* c. 49) says that Paulinus
 of Nola composed "Sacramentarium et Hymna-
 rium;" see Gavanti, *Theos. Sacr. Rituum*, ii. 115.
 Pelliccia (*Fal. Lit.* i. 159) gives *Cantionarii, Libri*
Charales, as common designations of such books,
 but supplies no instances of their use. [C.]

HYMNISTA. a singer of hymns in the
 church. Thus Prudentius (l. 118):
 "Stant unice hymnistae pro reeptis parvulis,"
 where the irregularity of the metre is not
 CHRIST. ANT.

perhaps a sufficient reason for arbitrary cor-
 rection (Maeri *Hierol.* s. v.). Obbar, however,
 reads,
 "Stant none, hymnistae matres pro reeptis parvulis,"

[C.]

HYMNOLOGIA (*ὕμνολογία*) seems to be
 equivalent to the service chanted at the Hours.
 Thus Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Rem.* c. 25) says
 that St. Remi with the brothers, "horarum
 laudes persolvebat hymnologiarum," meaning
 (seemingly) that he observed the course set
 down in the Hymnologies, the term being used
 so as to include psalms, canticles, antiphons, etc.
 Macro (*Hierol.* s. v.) supposes that Dionysius,
 the Pseudo-Areopagite (*Hierol.* *Eccl.* lii. 2),
 when he speaks of *ἡ καθολικὴ ὕμνολογία*
 having been uttered as a confession (*προμολο-*
γηθεῖσας) before the elements were placed on
 the altar, meant the Creed. This is of course
 possible, and Pachymerus (*Paraphr.* in loca)
 seems to have taken it so; for they had, he
 says, even then, *μῦθρον τι καὶ συμμῦθρον*
πίστεως [CREED]. [C.]

HYMNS. In the following article no at-
 tempt will be made to deal with the literary
 or theological history of Christian hymnody.
 All that can be here undertaken is to give a
 sketch of what is known respecting the litur-
 gical use of hymns within the limits to which
 this work is restricted. Much of the difficulty
 connected with the subject arises from our un-
 certainty as to how much was covered by the
 word *ἕμνος* in early Christian writers. Almost
 everything sung, or rhythmically recited, which
 was not one of the Davidic Psalms, was called a
 hymn, or said to be "hymned." Even as late as
 the middle of the ninth century, Walafrid
 Strabo (*De Rebus Eccl.* c. 25) warns us that
 by "hymns" he does not mean merely such
 metrical hymns as those of Hilary, Ambrose,
 Prudentius, or Bede, but such other acts of
 praise as are offered in fitting words and with
 musical sounds. He adds that still in some
 churches there were no metrical hymns, but
 that in all "generales hymni, id est laudes,"
 were in use. The well-known passage of St.
 Augustine (*Enarr.* in *Ps.* lxxii.), which was for
 centuries the formal definition of a hymn in
 every ritual writer, gives us the same rule; but
 it was always something meant to be sung; but it
 was always something meant to be sung; and
 sung as an act of divine worship. So Gregory
 Nazianzen defines a hymn as *ἄσμος ἕμμελῆς*.
 Further, Christian writers gradually learned to
 use the term in contradistinction to the Psalm
 of the Old Dispensation; though both words
 were for a time interchangeable.

It is obvious that from the very first, Gentile
 disciples must have sought and found some
 further expression for the praise of God than
 the translation of Hebrew Psalms, or of the
 canticles from the Hebrew prophets, could
 afford. But at what period Christian songs of
 praise first found their place in common worship,
 it is impossible to say. None can tell in what
 words Paul and Silas "ἕμνον τῶν Θεῶν" in
 prison (Acts xvi. 25); nor can we say with
 certainty that the rhythmic passages in the
 Epistles (e. g. Eph. v. 14; 1 Tim. iii. 16, vi. 15,
 16; 2 Tim. ii. 11-13) are quotations from

hymns, though this has been frequently maintained. The parallel passages, again, Eph. v. 19, 20, and Col. iii. 16, 17, though evidently pointing to some form of Christian song, yet appear to connect these with social and festive gatherings rather than with worship. Probably they have the same relation to the forms used in public worship which the Spiritual Songs of Luther, the "Ghostly Psalms" of Coverdale, or the early Wesleyan hymns, did to the existing forms of service in their day; and it may be that, like some of the first and last of these, they were subsequently adopted into divine service. This we know to have been the case at a later period with the *ὦς λαρόν* referred to by St. Basil (*De Sp. Sancto*, c. 29) as being (in his time) of ancient use; it is still, as is well known, a part of the daily office of the Greek church. If this hymn were really the work of Athenogenes († 169), it would doubtless be the earliest hymn now in use; but a reference to the passage in St. Basil will show that he did not believe Athenogenes to be the author. This hymn, with the early form of the *GLORIA IN EXCELSIS*, the latter being given as the morning hymn of the church in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (vii. 48 Cotelier), probably represent in their rhythmic but unmetrical structure many early Christian hymns now lost. Of the existence of such hymns, from the time of Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan (*Epist.* 97), we have abundant evidence. The "hymning to God the giver of all good things," by the Roman Christians after the martyrdom of Ignatius (*Mart. S. Ipn.* vii.), may have been a burst of extemporaneous thanksgiving; but early in the following century a Roman writer cited by Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 28) tells us how *ψαλμοὶ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ ὕμνοι ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ χριστῶν γραφεῖσθαι, τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν χριστῶν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες*; and again the Clementine Epitome *De gestis Petri*, § 152, refers to *ἱερῶν ὕμνων εὐχὴν* as a part of worship. Of Alexandria, again, Origen testifies (*c. Celsum*, viii. c. 67) *ἱμνοὺς γὰρ εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι λέγομεν θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ θεὸν λόγον* [i. e. τ. κ. α. λόγον καὶ θεὸν]. (Cf. also *Fragm.* in *Ps.* 148.)

Again, an early tradition reported by Sozomen (*H. E.* vi. 8) attributes to Ignatius the introduction of antiphonal singing at Antioch, as the result of a vision of the angelic worship which was revealed to him [ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝ]. The monks of the Syrian deserts, in the time of Sozomen (*H. E.* vi. 33, 2) continued in prayers and hymns according to the rule of the church (*θέσιμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας*). The point to which all these allusions tend is the very early use of hymns both in the East and West. Of the East, indeed, we can speak more positively. The Epistle of the second council of Antioch (A.D. 269) to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, against Paul of Samosata, makes it one of the charges against him, that he had "put a stop to the psalms that were sung to our Lord Jesus Christ, as being innovations, the work of men of later times;" while, to the horror of every one, he had appointed women to say psalms on Easter Day in his own honour (*εἰς ἑαυτῶν*) [Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30]. This last expression may simply refer to his position on a throne of unusual height and dignity in the church; and it is not unlikely that Paul sought to confine the singing strictly

to Jewish psalmody. Another reference deducible from this passage is 'that metrical hymns were as yet unknown in Antioch. It is a disputed point whether metre was used in divine service before the fourth century; but probabilities are against its use. If used at all, it must have been in Greek hymns, for reasons which will presently appear. No metrical hymns are now used in the Orthodox Eastern church, but all its ecclesiastical verse since the eighth century has been simply rhythmic and accentual, like the earliest Latin services; but it is impossible to say whether for a time metrical hymns found their way into Greek offices. The so-called "earliest Christian hymn," the epilogue of Clement of Alexandria to his *Παρθενώδης*, is not, except in a loose modern sense, a hymn at all. The same may be said of the sacred verses of Gregory Nazianzen; those of Sophronius approach nearer to the hymnic form, but it is unlikely that his Antiochene verse could have found its way into divine service.

The fourth century, however, saw a great impulse given to the liturgical use of hymns successively in Syria, Constantinople, and the West, under the influence of three eminent men, and with the same object, the existing popular feeling on the side of orthodoxy in times of fierce controversy. The earliest of these movements was that of Ephraim at Edessa. Greek metres and music were introduced into Syrian either by Bardaisan [see BARDEISANUS in DICTIONARY OF CHR. BIOG.], or (more probably) by his son Harmonius, whose hymns Ephraim found to be so popular, that he felt anxious to counteract their influence by the substitution of orthodox hymns which might be sung to the same tunes. According to the Syrian life of St. Ephraim (quoted by Augusti), he trained choirs of virgins to sing to these tunes hymns which he proceeded to write on the Nativity, Baptism, Fasting, Passion and Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, and on other divine mysteries; to which he added others on the martyrs, on penitence, and on the departed. The young women of this association attended divine service on the festivals of our Lord, and of martyrs, and on Sundays; Ephraim himself standing in the midst, and leading them (cf. Sozomen, *H. E.* iv. 16; Theodoret, iv. 29). From that time forward metrical hymnody became a fixed element in the worship of the Syriac-speaking churches, and has filled a very large place not only in their daily offices, but in the Eucharistic, and indeed in all others. It is not so easy to understand precisely what was effected in Constantinople under Chrysostom; because we do not know what singing was already in use in the churches there. Theodoret (*H. E.* ii. 24) attributes the introduction of antiphonal singing into Constantinople to two priests under Constantine, named Flavian and Didorus. In most ritual matters Constantinople followed the lead of Antioch; and this custom may have been an imitation of what was already in use there. We cannot doubt, however, that the device of Chrysostom for silencing or outbidding the Arians, as related by Sozomen (*H. E.* viii. 8, 1-5), led to a much freer and more abundant use of hymns in divine service. The Arians had been expelled by Theodosius from the churches of the city; but their numbers were still very great,

Another reference de- passage is that metrical unknown in Antioch. It is whether metre was used in the fourth century; but its use. If used at all, in Greek hymns, for reasons appear. No metrical in the Orthodox Eastern ecclesiastical verse since the simply rhythmic and earliest Latin sequences; but whether for a time metrical way into Greek offices. The Christian hymn," the epilogue andria to his Παιδαγωγός, is of modern sense, a hymn to be said of the sacred verses; those of Sophronius to the hymnic form, but it is the verse could have divine service.

ture, however, saw a great the liturgical use of hymns in the East, and the influence of three eminent men, object, the existing popular of orthodoxy in times of The earliest of these were Ephraim at Edessa. Greek were introduced into Syria [see BARDESANES in Dict. or (more probably) by his whose hymns Ephraim found, that he felt anxious to influence by the substitu- hymns which might be sung. According to the Syriac (quoted by Augusti), he proceeded to write on the n. Fasting, Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, and on other; to which he added others on penitence, and on the departed. of this association attended the festivals of our Lord, and on Sundays; Ephraim himself midst, and lending them (cf. v. 16; Theodoret, iv. 29). From rd metrical hymnody became a in the worship of the Scribes, and has filled a very large in their daily offices, but in the indeed in all others. It is understand precisely what was antinople under Chrysostom; not know what singing was in the churches there. Theodoret tributes the introduction of anti- into Constantinople to two priests and Diodorus matters Constantinople followed Koch; and this custom may have ion of what was already in use of doubt, however, that the device for silencing or outbidding the ed by Sozomen (H. E. viii. 8, 1-5), freer and more abundant use of ne service. The Arians had been ecodius from the churches of the r numbers were still very great,

and they had places of assembly outside the walls. On Saturdays and Sundays they assembled in crowds in the open spaces of the city, singing Ariion hymns and antiphons, and went in procession, with these hymns, to their churches. Chrysostom determined to organize rival processions of the orthodox. The empress Eudocia entered into the scheme, and a eunuch of the imperial household was instructed to furnish the necessary materials for the ceremonial, at her expense. It is curious to find that these included not merely crosses and torches, but also hymns; so unimportant did the words sung appear to Chrysostom in reference to the end in view. But whether the hymns were good or bad, the midnight processions popularised their use; and from the night offices of the church they seem to have passed into other hours. The midnight singing of the "Golden Canon" of St. John Damascene, so graphically described by Neale (*Hymns of Eastern Ch.* p. 35), which forms so marked and picturesque a feature of the Greek Easter, is doubtless the true historical representation of Chrysostom's nocturnal processions (cf. Sozomen, vi. 8; Cassiodorus, *Hist. Trip.* x. 8; Nicephorus, viii. 8, 9). It was not, however, according to Neale (u. s. p. 13), till the period of the Iconoclastic controversy (A. D. 726-820) that Greek hymnology reached its full development. Its great names are Andrew of Crete (690-732), John Damascene († 780), Cosmas the melodist († 780), Theophanes (759-818), Theodore of the Studium († 826), and Methodius († 836). How marvellous its development was may be gathered from the fact alleged by Neale that out of the five thousand quarto pages, which he computes to be the contents of the whole body of Greek office-books, at least four thousand are poetry. For a full and elaborate account of the structure and contents of a Greek canon, or group of odes, which forms the staple of the morning office, the reader is referred to the articles CANON (p. 277) and ODES. The other subsidiary forms of hymn are explained in the same volume.

By a singular coincidence the establishment of hymnody as a constant element of divine service in the West, had been brought about, a few years before, by similar disputes between Arians and Catholics. The facts are related by Augustine, who, with his mother Monica, was at Milan at the time (*Conf.* IX. vii.), as well as more briefly by Paulinus, St. Ambrose's deacon (*Vita S. Amb.* p. 80; ed. Bened. Paris, 1632). St. Ambrose, in consequence of his refusal to give up to the empress Justina one of the basilicas of Milan for Arian worship at Easter, A. D. 385, had incurred her resentment. In the following year sentence of exile was passed upon him. He refused to obey; and the population, who were devoted to him, guarded the gates of his house, and kept watch night and day in his church, to defend him from capture by the imperial troops. This company of perpetual watchers Ambrose organized into a band of perpetual worshippers. A course of offices, psalmody, prayer, and hymns, was established, and once established, became a permanent institution [HOURS OF PRAYER]. Augustine expressly says that this was an imitation of the Eastern custom; by which he probably means the course of daily and nightly psalmody and prayer—the practice of

Oriental ascetics, both Jewish (cf. Philo de *Vita contemplativa*, c. x. [ii. 484, Mangey] quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 17) and Christian.

But it is especially to these services organized by St. Ambrose, as all subsequent writers agree, that we of the Western churches owe the incorporation into our offices of metrical hymnody (cf. Isidore de Seville, *de Eccl. Off.* i. 6) Walafild Strabo, *de Rebus Eccl.* xxv. &c. and Paulinus, l. c.). Unlike Chrysostom, Ambrose was able to supply his congregations with words, and himself to set them to music (see AMBROSIAN MUSIC, and Koch, *Kirchenlied*, vol. I. pp. 91, seq.). Of the metrical hymns which are undoubtedly his, Biraghi (*Inni Sacri di Sant' Ambrogio*) enumerates sixteen, Koch twenty-one. But Milan because a school of Ambrosian hymnody, which has left its mark upon the whole of the West. Ninety-two hymns of this school are given by Daniel (*Thes. Hymn.* vol. I.). Yet, though Ambrose is the true founder of metrical hymnody in the West, it is possible that hymns were already in use elsewhere. Hilary of Poitiers, at sometimes spoken of as the first to introduce them; he certainly was a hymn writer, and his hymn "Lucis largitor optime (al. splendoris)" sent from his exile in Phrygia, as early as A. D. 358, to his daughter Alra, found its way into church use. pseudo-Alcuin (*de Div. Off.* § 10) attributes to him the completion, in its present Western form, of the "Gloria in Excelsis," and it is at least possible that he may have introduced other innovations, especially as some of his hymns (notably a well-known Lenten one, "Jesu quadragenarie"), though common in Germany and England, were not in use in Italy. The work of St. Gregory the Great is not, as a hymnographer, distinct from that of St. Ambrose; he introduced no new species of hymn, nor, it would appear, any new use for hymns; his ritual and liturgical work lay in other directions, though he made many important contributions to the now rapidly increasing stock of metrical hymns. But the progress of hymnody for the next four centuries will be best illustrated by a table of the sources from which the leading Breviary hymns have been derived. In the subjoined list, the numbers in the first column are from Daniel, who, without attempting perfect accuracy, arranges under the name of each author the hymns traditionally assigned to him; those in the second column from Koch, who has endeavoured to assign to each author the hymns known to be his, but has not consulted so wide a range of breviaries as Daniel:—

Hymns assigned to	D.	K.
Hilary of Poitiers († 368)	7	2
Damasus	2	1
Ambrose and the Am- brusian school	92	—
Arcadius (incorrectly) ..	1	—
Sedulius	2	2 or 3
Prudentius	15	10 (cento)
Ennodius	16	—
Elysi	1	—
Venantius Fortunatus ..	7	7
Gregory the Great	0	19
Isidore of Seville (826) ..	2	2
Flavius of Châlons (580) ..	—	1
Cyrillus	1	—
Eugenius of Toledo (566-658)	1	1
Ildefonsus (619-660) ..	—	—
Julian (683-690)	—	Some.

Hymns assigned to	..	..	D.	K.
Bede	..	..	11	(several doubtful)
Paulus Diaconus	..	..	2	Several
Aleuin	..	..	—	Several
Charlemagne	..	..	1	—
Anonymous hymns	}	..	13	v. cent. 19
cent. vi. ix.				vi. cent. 12
				vii. cent. 7
				viii. cent. 2

The use of Ambrosian and other hymns of Italian origin was much extended by the establishment of the monastic orders, each with its own set of offices for the hours. Benedict especially is expressly mentioned by Walafrid Strabo as having inserted in his offices many Ambrosian hymns. Other countries began, as the above lists will show, to produce hymnographers of their own, especially Spain, of whose rich store of hymns the Mozarabic Breviary is an evidence. There are signs, however, that this influx of hymns did not everywhere meet with favour. The complaint made by the orthodox against heretics that they had innovated, could now be turned against themselves (Ambrose, *Ep.* 873, 72); and among Catholics there were some who doubted, like the Genevan reformers later, whether it were right to use in worship any but the words of Scripture. Others, as time went on, became accustomed to the Ambrosian hymns, but hesitated to receive fresh ones. At the second council of Tours (567-8), by canon 23, the admission of other hymns of merit, in addition to the Ambrosian, was formally sanctioned. At Toledo, again, complaints were made that some still rejected the hymns of Hilary and Ambrose, as not scriptural (Walafrid Strabo, l. c.). At length, on Dec. 5, 633, at the fourth council of Toledo, under the presidency of Isidore, a canon (c. 13) was passed threatening with excommunication all in France or Spain who opposed the use of hymns in divine service. Yet, as we have seen, there were still some churches, even in the ninth century, which did not admit metrical hymns into their offices.

Two points remain to be noticed—the metre of Latin hymns, and the offices to which they were restricted.

Ambrose found in the Iambic Dimeter (our present L. M.) a metre admirably adapted to the concise and solemn language of his hymns, and equally well fitted for singing. This accordingly has been the normal metre of Latin hymnology, down to the invention of sequences. But it was by no means used in strict conformity to classical models; accent and quantity, it must be confessed, were both at times disregarded. Some attempts were made, however, at other metres. Among the so-called Antiochian hymns appears one on St. John Baptist, in four-line stanzas of Aleaic Henderasyllables—

— — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —

"Almi prophetæ | progen | es pla."

and four others, one for fair weather, one for rain, and two in time of war, in a peculiar form of the lesser Asclepiad, with spondee instead of dactyl in the last place.

— — — — — || — — — — —
 — — — — — || — — — — —
 — — — — — || — — — — —
 — — — — — || — — — — —

"Obduxer | o | lum nubila coeli."

The poems of Prudentius, not being originally intended for church song, supply other irregularities, as Iambic Trimeter—

"Nazarene. lux B. thom. verbum Patrie."

and the Anacreontic (Iamb. Dim. Catal.)—

"Cultor Del memeto."

The fine cent from his "Da puer plectrum," beginning—

"Corde natus ex Parentis ante mundi exordium."

first introduced into church song the Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic of Greek tragedy, which has been so great and permanent a gain. He has also a hymn in stanzas of four Sapphic lines (without the final Adonius)—

"Inventor rutili stax bone Iulimins."

Two centos from Fortunatus—

"Crux benedicta nitet. dominus qua carne pepedit."

and the well-known "Salve festa dies," are the earliest instances of elegiac verse in church song. It is to be noted that both were processional. St. Gregory the Great wrote Sapphic hymns for the hours—

"Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes,"

and

"Ecce jam noctis tentatur umbra,"

and thenceforth their use was not infrequent.

A few other irregularities may be mentioned, but they are unimportant.

The use of hymns till now was threefold: (1) as processional; (2) in the canonical hours; (3) at certain special offices, such as the Benediction of Paschal tapers, &c. As yet no metrical hymns were used in any part of the Eucharistic office. Walafrid Strabo mentions, however, that Paulinus "Patriarcha Forjulienensis" (Paulinus of Aquileia) had frequently, especially in private masses, introduced hymns either of his own or of others, "circa immolationem sacramentorum" (i. e. at the Illation or Preface following the *Sursum corda*). He adds that so great a mass would not have done this without authority or reason. It is possible, therefore, that there were other instances of the interpolation of hymns into the Mass. One such is known to us, the verses attributed by Daniel to Eugenius of Toledo—

"Sacet venite, corpus Christi sumite,"

sung as a *Communio*, or *Antiphona ad accedentem*, before the reception of the elements; Neale (*Chr. Remembrancer*, Oct. 1853) assigns this to the seventh or eighth century. These exceptional uses were foreshadowings of the great outburst of sequences in the beginning of the tenth century, which was destined to add so much to the splendour and variety of Latin hymnody.

[Daniel, *Theaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. 1-v. Leipzig, 1855-6. Mone, *Hymni Latini Moli Aevi*, Freiburg, 1853. Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengebetes der Christlichen* (4 vols.) vol. 1. (part i. treats of hymns of the first eight centuries), Stuttgart, 1856. He gives ample lists of authorities on special points. Augusti, *De hymnis Syrorum sacris*, Wladislaw, 1841. Neale, *Hymns of the Eastern Church*, London, 1863. *Medieval Hymns and Sequences*, 1863. Biraghi, *Imi Simoni e Carmi di Sant' Ambrogio*, Milan, 1862. Ebert, *Geschichte der Christlich-Lateinischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1874.] [J. E.]

HYPACOE (*ὑπακοή*). Certain rhythmic compositions, or hymns, which follow upon and echo (as it were) the sense of that which pre-

Dei, xviii. 23). "If you join the first letters of the five Greek words Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, Θεοῦ, Ἰδιῶ, Σωτῆρ, you will have ΙΧΘΥΣ, fish, in which word Christ is mysteriously designated. Compare Optatus c. *Donatist*, iii. 2. And when the Empire became Christian, and it was no longer necessary for Christians to conceal the great object of their faith under a symbol, its use began to decline. De Rossi, the highest authority on such a matter, assures us that at Rome, at least, it is scarcely ever found in cemeteries formed after the age of Constantine, but is almost confined to the catacombs, and to the most ancient portions of these. It was, he believes, growing obsolete in the 4th century, and was scarcely ever used merely as a symbol, whether at Rome or in the provinces, in the 5th. The symbolic fish, indeed, is found on an ambo in the church of St. John and St. Paul at Ravenna, which is shown by an inscription to be of the year 597; and the ΙΧΘΥΣ is found on the large cross in the apse of St. Apollinaris in Classe, near the same city, which Ciampini* (*Vet. Monum.* ii. 79, ed. 2) maintains to be a work of the year 567. These, however, are rather instances of the use of ancient symbols by an artist for decorative purposes, than of the continued use of the symbol, as such. When the symbols occur in inscriptions, where mere ornament is evidently not intended, we may be sure that they are still used as a sign for believers. In representations of scenes from the gospels, or from hagiology, fish are of course found in all ages of Christian art.

Although the ΙΧΘΥΣ was originally an acrostic, there is only one ancient inscription known in which it actually appears as such. In all other cases it stands separate, at the beginning or end of an inscription, or both; generally it is written horizontally in the ordinary manner, but sometimes vertically (Fabretti, *Inscript. Etycl.* p. 329; compare GEMS. p. 714). It would indeed be impossible to arrange ΙΧΘΥΣ as an acrostic in a Latin inscription, and all the ΙΧΘΥΣ monuments which have come down to us are Latin, with the one exception just referred to. This famous slab was found in the year 1839, beneath the surface, in an ancient cemetery near Autun, and was first published by Dom (now Cardinal) Pitra (*Annales de Phil. Chrét.* 2^e sér. t. xix. p. 195). Since that time a considerable literature has gathered round it. It is a sepulchral inscription over one Pectorius, son of Aschandius. It is imperfect, but as to the restoration of the first six lines there is no very great difference of opinion among palaeographers and scholars. Mr. W. B. Marriott (*Testimony*, p. 118) gives the inscription thus:

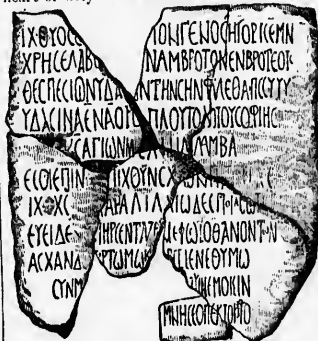
Ἰχθύς οὐρανόθεν ἄγιον γένος ἠγορεῖ σέμνην
 Χρῆσε λαβὼν [ζωὴν] ἀμβροτον ἐν βροτείῳ
 Θεοσκεπτον ὑδάτων τῆν σὴν, φίλε, ἔδλωπε
 ψυχὴν

* Ciampini misreads the ΙΧΘΥΣ; but Gouli (*Diplom. It.* 291) gives the correct reading.

* It is noteworthy that this cemetery is locally called, not cinetière, but polyandre, i. e. πολυάνδριον—a curious relic of the time when Greek was spoken at Autun. Probably this was the very name used in the time of Gregory of Tours, who, in his ignorance of Greek, took it for a Gallic word (*De Gloria Confess.* c. 73, quoted by Marriott, *Testimony*, p. 127).

"Ἰχθύς ἁετοῦς πλουτοδότης σφίης,
 Σωτῆρος δ' ἁγίου μελιχθία λάμβανε βρώσων,
 Ἐσθιε πινῶν ἰχθύν ἔχων παλάμαις.
 Ἰχθύς χε ἀρα λιλαίος δέσκατα
 Σάτερ
 Ἐν) τῆρ σε λιτάζουμε φῶς τὸ θα-
 νόταν.
 Ἀσχανδῖε πάτερ, τῷ μὲν κεχαρισμένε θύμῳ
 σὺν μ' αἰὶν ἔμοισιν
 I μνήσσο Πεκτορίου.

For ζωὴν we should perhaps read πνεῦμα. The word χρῆσε may be taken either for ἔχων, or for χρῆσαι, as λιτάζουμε for λιτάζουσα in the latter part of the inscription. Πινῶν is for πινῶων. The hiatus in the last line but one may perhaps be filled by the words σὺν μητρὶ γλυκερῇ καὶ ἀδελφείοισιν ἐμοῖσιν (Frantz), or something equivalent; and the last may perhaps run ἰχθύν ἰδῶν υἱὸν μνήσσο Πεκτορίου. Mr. Marriott translates the whole as follows:—"Offspring of the heavenly Ichthus, see that a heart of holy reverence be thine, now that from



The Autun Inscription.

divine waters thou hast received, while yet among mortals, a fount of life that is immortality. Quicken thy soul, beloved one, with the ever-flowing waters of wealth-giving wisdom, and receive the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of the saints. Eat with a longing hunger, holding Ichthus in thy hands.

To Ichthus . . . come nigh unto me, my Lord [and] Saviour [be Thou my guide] I entreat Thee, Thou light of them for whom the hour of death is past.

Aschandius, my Father, dear unto mine heart, and thou [sweet mother and all] that are mine . . . remember Pectorius."

The first portion seems to be an admission to the Christian passer-by who read it, the second a prayer of the deceased himself; the third an address to his parents and friends.

This inscription has been referred to very various dates, from the end of the 2nd century (Pitra) to the end of the 6th (Rossignol). Probably the judgment of Messrs. Franks and C. T. Newton, of the British Museum (in Marriott's

* For the tracing from which this engraving was made the writer is indebted to Prof. Churchill Bahington

πλουτῶντος αἰφίης,
 ἢ μελιπῶδα λάμβανε βρώσας,
 ἢ ἰχθὺν ἔχον παλάμαις.
 . . . ἀρα λίλαίος δέσποτα

τηρ σε λιτάζομε φῶς τὸ θα-

ρ, τὸ μῦ κεχαρισμένε ὄντω
 ὅτιν ἐμοῖσιν
 . . . μνήσο Πεκτορίου.

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 Eat with a longing hunger,
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Testimony, etc. p. 133), who assign it to the
 4th or 5th century, is not far from the truth.
 With this agrees the decision of Kirchoff, the
 editor of the fourth volume of the *Corpus In-*
scriptionum Græcarum, which contains this in-
 scription (No. 9890).

Mr. Marriott (u. s. p. 141) conjectures that
 the space at the lower corner of the marble, to
 the spectator's right, was occupied by a sculp-
 tural fish, whether alone or in combination with
 some other symbol.

Costaloni (ix. 35) gives a gem (no. xi. in his
 plate) engraved with two fishes, with this in-
 scription in three lines: IX || CωTHP || ΘΥ;
 evidently the ΙΧΘΥΣ, differing from the form
 common elsewhere in having CωTHP written
 at full length, instead of being separated by its
 initial letter like the other words of the acrostic.
 The CωTHP is probably placed between the IX
 and the ΘΥ because that shape of the inscription
 best suits the space.

Of seventy-five sculptured slabs containing
 the symbol which De Rossi has examined, not
 more than eight contain the ΙΧΘΥΣ alone, and
 only twenty—of which four are fragments of
 slabs which may have contained other symbols—
 the sculptured fish alone; the rest give also
 other symbols. Seventeen join with the fish
 the dove and olive-branch; a conjunction which
 seems clearly equivalent to *Spiritus in pace*—
Christo; or—if the olive-branch be omitted—
Spiritus in Christo. *Spiritus tuus in pace* is a
 common form of acclamation in Christian epiph-
 taphs. Twenty-three add the anchor to the fish,
 whether separate or inter-twined; a conjunction
 also extremely common on *αἴμας* [p. 714]. As
 the ANCHOR [p. 81] unquestionably symbolizes
 Hope, we may read these symbols *Spes in Christo*,
 one of the most common of Christian sepulchral
 formulae. A sepulchral slab from the cata-
 combs, now in the Kircher Museum, exhibits an
 anchor between two fishes, with the inscription
 ΙΧΘΥΣ ΖωΝΤων. (See further under *αἴμας*, p.
 713). Of the fish swimming in the water and
 supporting a ship on its back, clearly signifying
 that Christ bears up the church, De Rossi has
 seen three instances.

There remains the conjunction of loaves and
 fishes. That these in some instances simply
 form part of a representation of the Lord's
 miracle of the loaves is clear from the fact that
 in at least one of De Rossi's *Monumenta* (No. 71;
 Kircher Museum) there are five loaves and two
 fishes; but there can be no doubt that the fishes
 and loaves conjoined were intended to convey
 the further meaning that Christ is the Bread of
 Life, and that with special reference to the
 Eucharist (CANISTER, p. 264; EUCHARIST IN
 ART, p. 625). This is well illustrated by the
 Autun inscription, given above, where, according
 to the most probable restoration, the fish is
 spoken of as in the hands. We can scarcely
 doubt that these words refer to the receiving of
 Christ in the Eucharist. So when Augustine
 (*Confess.* xiii. 23, § 34), after mentioning the
 sacrament of baptism, goes on to speak of that
 other "solemnitas . . . in qua 'Ile piscis ex-
 arbutur quon levatum de profundo terra pia
 comedit,'" he undoubtedly refers to the sacra-
 ment of the Eucharist. It ought however to
 be noticed, that some at least of the paintings

commonly supposed to be Eucharistic are in-
 tended rather to represent the heavenly mar-
 riage-supper which Christ makes for his faithful
 ones (Polidori, *Dei convivii effugiati a sūbulo ne'*
monimenti Christiani. Milano, 1844).

Ample information on this curious subject
 may be found in Costadoni, *Sopra il Pesce come*
simbolo di Gesù Christo presso gli anti-chi Christiani,
 in Calogeri's collection, vol. xli. p. 247 ff.; in
 J. B. de Rossi's treatise, *De Christianis Monu-*
mentis IXΘΥΝ exhibentibus, and in Pitra's *De*
Pesce Alogorio et Symbolico, both in Pitra's *De*
Spiritibus Sacerdotum, vol. iii.; and in the late
 Mr. Whartou Marriott's Essay on the Autun In-
 scription, in his *Testimony of the Catacombs*, p.
 115 ff. (London, 1870). [C.]

ICONIUM COUNCIL OF. The date gene-
 rally assigned to it is A.D. 378 (Mansi, iii. 505-10),
 this being the year in which St. Basil died; and
 Amphilocheus, bishop of Iconium, who presided,
 speaking of him as having been expected there,
 but kept away by severe illness. St. Basil him-
 self (*Ep.* ccc. al. cccxvi.) had asked to have it
 put off in the hope that his health might improve.
 But it may be doubted whether this is not the
 meeting of which he speaks in a subsequent letter
 (cccvi. al. cclxxii.), when illness equally com-
 pelled him to return home. Mansi thinks his
 words here prove that he actually was at this
 meeting: they may mean no more than that he
 had commenced his journey with that intention,
 but after he had got as far as Neo-Cæsarea, which
 he may have gone to first, he was taken ill and
 had to return. This, according to Mansi, took
 place A.D. 375; and the question is, whether
 Amphilocheus must necessarily be supposed to
 have been speaking of a later illness. To make
 up for his absence, his treatise on the Holy Spirit
 was read there, to attest his sentiments on the
 subject of which it treats, says Amphilocheus;
 in all probability, therefore, this council had
 to do with the followers of Macedonius. [E. S. FF.]

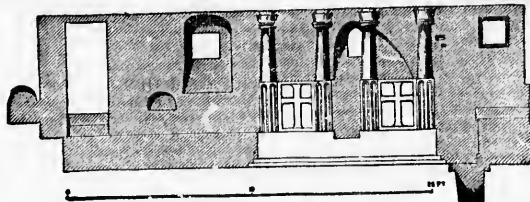
ICONOSTASIS. In the ecclesiology of the
 Eastern church this designation is given to the
 screen or partition wall, *tabulatum*, which cuts off
 the *bema* or *serararium* from the *S-ians* and the
choir. From its general similarity in form to
 the chancel screens of Western churches, the
 iconostasis is often identified with them. This,
 however, is based on an erroneous idea. The
 screen of western ecclesiology separates the nave,
 the place of the laity, from the choir, the place
 of the clergy. The iconostasis, on the other
 hand, invested with far greater dignity and
 importance, has its position further eastward,
 and corresponds in locality to the altar rails.
 Thus it divides the choir, or place of the clergy,
 into two parts, separating "the holiest of all,"
 containing the holy table and the place for the
 celebrant and his assistants, from the "holy
 place," on either side of which are arranged the
 stalls for the clergy. The iconostasis in its
 original construction was a comparatively light
 and open screen, the *κικκλῖθερ*, *δρόφακτα*, or
 the ordinary type of western chancel screens.
 The present arrangement, by which it has been
 converted into a close partition with curtained
 doors, entirely concealing the holy mysteries
 from those who stand outside it, cannot be carried
 higher than the 8th century, and in its existing

development is probably later still. The name *eikonostasis* is derived from the *ikona* (icons) or sacred pictures painted on it.

These screens in the larger and more dignified churches were of the richest materials attainable, and were adorned with all the resources of art. The elaborate description given by Paul the Silentary, enables us to realize the form and character of that in St. Sophia, as rebuilt by Justinian, in the middle of the 6th century. The material was silver. It consisted of a *εἰκονοστάσιον*, or partition,

described as being of ivory, tortoise-shell, and silver.

According to Guar, the iconostasis owes its present close form to a reaction against the iconoclastic fury of the 8th century, as affording a more ample space for the exhibition of sacred pictures. His words are, "*Retiuela illa lignea*" (the wooden trellis work, such as that in Paulinus' church at Tyre) "*mutavit Ecclesia Orientalis in tabulata solida a tempore quo iconoclastarum furere turbata plures et frequen-*

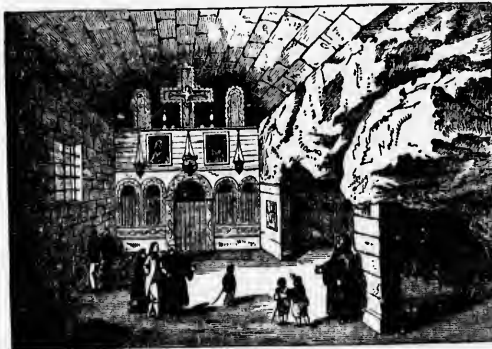


Iconostasis at Tepekermann; from Forster's.

formed by a stylobate, ornamented with arabesque flower work. On this stood pairs of twisted columns, twelve in number, surmounted by an architrave of chased metal. The spaces between the columns were filled in with panels, bearing in oval medallions the icons of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, the apostles and prophets. In the centre, above the "holy doors," the intertwined monogram of Justinian and Theodora was to be seen, surmounted by the crucifix in an oval panel (Paul Silentary, part ii. v. 265, sq.)

The Church of the Apostles, erected by Constantine at Constantinople, had its screen of gilt

towers *sanctorum imagines ibi depictas esse voluit*" (*Eucholog.* p. 18). Early examples of the solid iconostasis are hard to find. The partition has been invariably removed by the Turks in the churches converted by them into mosques, so that not a single instance appears in the churches of the Holy Land, and of Central Syria, drawn by De Vogüé, nor in those given in Texier and Pullan's *Byzantine Architecture*, or in Hübsch's *Altchristliche Kirche*. The earliest example known to Dr. Neale is that in the Arisa crypt church, at Tepekermann, in the Crimea, which he thinks "may be referred to about A.D.

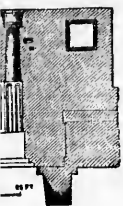


Cave-Church of the Apocalypse in Patmos; from Oulmet.

copper (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 59). They were often of brass, or bronze. In that rebuilt by Paulinus, at Tyre, the screen was a trellis work of wood of the most slender and graceful workmanship (Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4, § 14). That of St. Peter in the Palace, built by Basil the Macedonian (A.D. 867-886), was of marble (Theophan. *Ceram. Homil.* iv.). The screen in the coenarthurch of St. Catherine on Mount Sinal, is

350," of which a wooden part is annexed. This is not a close screen, but consists of four pillars standing on a solid stylobate, the panels of which are ornamented with carved and gilded crosses. The columns reach to the top of the cave. The openings between them may have been probably closed with curtains (Neale, *Hist. of East. Church*, vol. i. p. 193). According to Gûnchebant (*Dict. des Monuments*, Art. *Iconostase*), one of the most

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ancient examples of a closed screen known is also
 in a cave church, the Grotto of the Apocalypse,
 at Patmos. From the woodcut given, taken
 from Calmet (*Dict. de la Bible*), it will be seen to
 be a plain boarded partition, reaching, in two
 divisions, from the floor to the spring of the
 vault, and very much resembling a Jacobean
 chancel screen in England. It has a central
 arched door, and two arched windows on either
 side, surrounded with arabesque work, and
 closed with curtains. The upper division ex-
 hibits an icon of Our Lord to the right, and of
 the Blessed Virgin to the left, with the crucifix
 above.

According to the normal arrangement, an icono-
 stasis had three doorways, that to the right hand
 leading to the *diakonicon*; that to the left to the



prothesis, through which the "Great Entrance"
 was made. The central doorway, *θύραι θόραι*,
 always the largest, and most highly decorated
 with carvings, opened on to the *bema*. It was
 protected in the lower part by two gates, about
 the height of a man, meeting in the middle, the
 upper portion, as well as the two side doorways,
 being closed with curtains [CERTAINS, HANG-
 INGS]. On the right of the holy doors was in-
 variably the icon of Our Blessed Lord; on the
 left that of His Virgin mother. On the panels
 on either side, and on those above, other icons
 were depicted, according to the taste or devotion
 of the founders of the church, and to the saints
 under whose invocation it was plac'd. This ar-
 rangement remains on the whole unchanged to

the present day. The iconostasis, according to
 Dr. Neale, is "now generally made of wood; what
 would be the pierced part in a western rood
 screen being panelled and painted. In Attica
 they are found of plain deal." (Neale, *u. s.*,
 Texier and Pullan's *Byzantine Architecture*, p. 82.)
 The iconostasis in the churches of Russia is
 always a feature of considerable magnificence,
 which, from its size and elaborate decoration, is
 the object that first attracts attention on enter-
 ing, being rather an architectural feature of the
 edifice than a mere piece of church furniture.
 It is very possible that more complete acquaint-
 ance with the ecclesiology of Russia will bring
 to light earlier examples of the *iconostasis* than
 those hitherto known. The annexed example
 from a church near Kestroma, in Eastern Russia,

given by Mr. Fergusson in his *History of*
Architecture, is not of very early date, but is
 pronounced by him to be "a favourable specimen
 of its class." [E. A.]

ICONOSTASium, *εικονοστάσιον*, in the
 Greek church, a moveable stand for the suspen-
 sion of icons or sacred pictures. Such a piece of
 church furniture is mentioned by Collins (*de Off.*
Aul. Constantinop. c. vi. § 2), when describing
 the imperial ceremonial of Christmas Day.
 After matins the canonarchs brought out the
iconostasium, and set it in its place, with an *ara-*
logium, or reading desk, bearing a copy of the
 gospels in front of it. On it they suspended an
 icon of the nativity, and three or four others.

The emperor on entering the church kissed the icons, and again on leaving. Ducange, *s. v.* identifies the *isomostasion* generally with a small domestic chapel, or oratory, and considers that that described by Codinus was a portable shrine. Gretser is more correct in defining it as "omne illud in quo stant, vel ex quo pendent sacrae imagines." Gossang strangely interprets it of a curved picture frame. [E. V.]

IDIOMELEA (i. e. *στιχηρὰ ἰδόμελα*). These are *Stichera* or *Strophes*, which have no *himnos* (*εἶμος*), the rhythm of which they follow, but which are independent as to rhythm. They are usually said at lauds and at vespers on days of special observance. At lauds one only is said as a rule, though not invariably, as in the Holy week when there are several, after the *στιχοὶ* following the *αἶθροι* (i. e. Pas. 148, 149, 150). At vespers we find sometimes one only, as on certain week-days in Lent. Sometimes several, four or five being the usual number; and occasionally more, e. g. nine on St. John-Baptist's day, and of these one or more is often repeated. The tone to which they are said is specified, and the name of the author is often given. Their character is that of other *troparia*, used in the Greek offices; but they are often, though not invariably, longer than others. *Idomelea* are also used in other offices, e. g. in the office for the burial of a priest. [H. J. H.]

IDIOTA (*ἰδιωτής*). 1. An illiterate person, as contrasted with a "clerk." Thus, Gregory the Great (*Epist.* ix. 3) speaking of the use of pictures from sacred history, says that pictures are the bible of the uneducated—"quod legentibus scriptura, hoc *idiotis* praestat pictura centibus." Bede (*Epist. ad Egbert.*: Migne's *Patrol.* xciv. 659 c) wishes the *idiotae*—at is, he explains, those who have no knowledge of any tongue but their own—to learn by heart the Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their own tongue. In the Middle Ages, when an educated man was almost of course in holy orders, the word "idiot" came to mean simply a layman.

2. The word *Idiotae* was also used to designate those who attached themselves to some convent as helpers, without being regular members of the brotherhood, i. e. *Iny-brothers* [CONVERSIS] (Ducange, *Gloss. Lat. s. v.*) [C.]

IDLENESS. [MENDICANCY.]

IDOLATRY (*Idolatria*, *εἰδωλολατρεία*). The object of this article is to describe the laws of the ancient church relating to idolatry, or any rites or customs connected with it. The treatment of Christians who went back altogether to heathenism, belongs to APOSTASY; of those who succumbed for a time under pressure of persecution, to LAPSED.

Few canons directed against idolatry appear in the councils, until Christianity had become the dominant religion in the different countries of Europe. The first law which interfered with the free exercise of Paganism, was an edict of Constantine, A. D. 313, against private sacrifices (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 1, 2), but it is questionable whether this was issued solely in the interest of Christianity. Later laws were undoubtedly levelled against idolatry. In A. D. 324, Constantine forbade (Euseb. *Vit.*

Const. II. 45) the erection of images of the gods, or (*ibid.* iv. 16) of his own statue in the temples; he (*ibid.* II. 44-5) prohibited all state sacrifices, and (*ibid.* III. 54-8) shut up many of the temples, converted *αἱεῖα* into churches, and destroyed some which had been the scene of immoral rites. Laws of Constantine forbade (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 4, 6) all sacrifices whatever on pain of death; but it does not appear that the penalty was ever exacted. But that which is considered to have given the death-blow to Paganism, is a comprehensive law of Theodosius, A. D. 392 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 12); sacrifice and divination were declared treasonable and punishable with death; the use of lights, incense, garlands, and libations, was to involve the forfeiture of house or land where they were used; and all who entered heathen temples were to be fined. But that Pagan rites lingered after this appears, among other proofs, from a petition addressed to the emperor by a Carthaginian council (A. D. 399), requesting him to destroy some rural temples, and forbid certain idolatrous banquets, which were held on Saints-Days, and which the Christians were compelled to attend (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* c. 58-60). And two centuries later Gregory has occasion (*Epist.* iv. 23-6) to rebuke some landowners in the remote parts of Italy, who suffered their peasants to continue in heathenism; and in a letter (*Epist.* ix. 65) to the bishop of Cagliari, he recommends that if the rustics will not listen to preaching, they shall be fined, imprisoned, or chastised. On the disappearance of Paganism, see Robertson, *Church Hist.* III. 5.

2. *Local Edicts.*—In the Gallic church, a fragmentary letter of Childebert, A. D. 531 (Hardouin, *Conc.* III. 334), commands all landlords who have images or idols on their estates, to remove them, and assist the priests in destroying them. The worship of sacred trees or groves^a or stones or fountains, is frequently forbidden, and the bishops are admonished to be more zealous in checking it (2 *Conc. Arclat.* c. 23; 2 *Conc. Turon.* c. 22; *Conc. Francoford.* c. 43). A Frankish council presided over by Boniface, A. D. 742 (*Conc. Germ.* c. 5, in Hartzheim's *Conc.* I. 49) prohibits incantations and auguries, and sacrifices which were offered to martyrs in place of the old Pagan deities; other councils forbid the "sacrilegious fire-burnings which are called *Nedfrates*"^b (*Conc. Liptin.* c. 4; *Conc. Succ.* c. 6). Appended to the council of Liptina (probably Lestines, Hartzheim, I. 51), A. D. 743, is a curious list of forbidden Pagan superstitions. It contains mention of the widespread worship of sacred trees and stones; of sacrificing to saints; of various omens and charms, such as observing tempests, horns, and suns, and the brain and dung of animals, and fire on the hearth; or superstitions connected with the state of the moon, particularly women's efforts to attract moon-

^a On the Teutonic religion of worshipping in groves, see Milman, *Lat. Hist.* III. 11. The most recent and satisfactory investigation of the history and meaning of sacred stones will be found in Ferguson's *Rude Stone Monuments*.

^b On the derivation and meaning of *ned-fire*, see Ducange, *s. v. Nedfri*. It appears to have been a superstitious practice in certain parts of Germany of striking the fire from dry wood on the eve of St. John (Journ, Sr. Fiss or).

erection of images of his v. 16) of his own statu) (ibid. ii. 44-5) prohibited all and (ibid. iii. 54-8) shut up temples, converted ^{temples} into destroyed some which had been rites. Laws of Constantine ^{and} *XXV. x. 4, 6*) all sacrifices of death; but it does not nemely was over exacted. But ndered to have given the death- is, a comprehensive law of 92 (*Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 12*); nation were declared treason- le with death; the use of lights, and libations, was to invoke house or land where they were entered heathen temples were that Pagan rites lingered after other proofs, from a petition emperor by a Carthaginian), requesting him to destroy and forbid certain idolatrous were held on Saints-Days, and ians were compelled to attend c. 58-60). And two centuries is occasion (*Epist. iv. 23-6*) to downers in the remote parts of d their pensants to continue in a letter (*Epist. ix. 65*) to gliari, he recommends that if not listen to preaching, be imprisoned, or chastised. On e of Paganism, see Robertson, 5.

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ic religion of worshipping in groves. t appears to have been a super- ition of Germany of striking fire the eve of St. John [Joun, Sr, Fra

by lunar influences. Compare a similar super- in England, where people are warned against trusting to cries and sorceries during an eclipse of the moon (Egbert, *Penit. viii. 3*). An edict of Charlemagne issued after the conquest of the Saxons, A.D. 785, contains some severe enactments against the heathen practices of the vanquished (*de Partibus Saxon. in Baluze's Capitularia. i. 250*). Death is to be the penalty in (c. 4) ostentatiously and defiantly eating meat in Lent; of (c. 6) burning a witch because of supposed cannibalism, and then superstitiously eating her flesh; of (c. 7) burning a dead body and collecting the ashes; the bodies of the dead (c. 22) are to be buried in cemeteries and not in the Saxon tumuli. A more merciful clause (c. 14) contains a singular provision that if any one who has exposed himself to death by such crimes, shall confess his offence to the priest, and be willing to do penance, the extreme penalty may be remitted on the testimony of the priest. This capitulary was to some extent repealed by a more lenient one, A.D. 797, which, according to the general practice of the Teutonic races, allowed a money payment to compound for the capital offence.

The Spanish councils contain evidence of the lingering of the old heathenism at the end of the 7th century, and that even the clergy were not free from complicity with it. The 3rd council of Toledo, A.D. 589 (c. 16), complains that the "sacrilege of idolatry" was prevalent through both Spain and Gaul, and declares that bishops and priests neglecting to assist in its extirpation shall be excommunicated. The 12th council, A.D. 681 (c. 11), threatens death to slaves worshipping idols or stones or fountains or trees, or lighting torches; but if their masters will be answerable for their abstaining from such rites for the future, the extreme sentence may be commuted to a flogging or to being shackled with iron: if the masters decline such responsibility, they lose all rights over the slaves, and are themselves subject to excommunication. The same practices are enumerated by the 16th council, A.D. 693, and the bishop or priest who is negligent in searching them out, is sentenced (c. 2) ten year's penance; and further, anyone who puts obstacles in the way of priest or officer is to be put under anathema, and if a noble, pay 3 pounds of gold to the treasury; if low born, receive 100 stripes, have his head shorn, and forfeit half his property.

In England, Gregory had given directions to Augustine (*Epist. xi. 76*) that heathen idols were to be destroyed, but the temples preserved, that the fabric should be sprinkled with holy water, that altars should be constructed in them and relics deposited, and so the building be converted to the worship of God on spots already consecrated in the popular imagination; even the sacrifices of oxen were to continue, but transferred to Saints Days. Gregory defends this policy on the ground that he who aspires to the highest place, must be content to ascend step by step, and not at one bound. The English Penitentials disclose the idolatrous customs which seem to have had the most tenacious hold on the people. Those who sacrifice to devils on slight occasions are to do penance for a year, on great occasions for ten (*Theod. Penitent. i. xv. 1*; Egbert, *Penitent. iv. 12*). Any woman who places her daughter on the roof of a house, or in an oven,

to cure her of a fever, is sentenced to seven years (*Theod. Pen. i. xv. 2*; Egbert, *Pen. viii. 2*). Burning grain in any house where a dead body has been deposited, as a charm to protect the survivors, is punished by five years (*Theod. Pen. i. xv. 3*). The witches who invoke storms are to be penitents seven years (Egbert, *Pen. iv. 14*). In the laws of Wihtrud of Kent, A.D. 696 (c. 12), it is decreed that if a husband without his wife's knowledge makes an offering to a devil, he shall be liable in all his substance; and if they both agree, they shall both be liable; and if they both "throw" makes the offering, he (c. 13) shall make a "bot" of six shillings or his hide. There are intimations that ecclesiastical law extended to other practices which, though not connected with religion, were regarded as badges of idolatry. The Legatine Synod held in A.D. 787 (Haddan 458), in its report to Adrian I., complains (c. 13) that the people dress after the manner of the heathen; that they follow the heathen custom of mutilating their horses by clipping their tails and splitting their nostrils and joining their ears; and also that they eat horse-flesh, which no Christian does in the East (Orientalibus, Italy and Germany). In the previous century the eating of horse-flesh, though not prohibited was regarded with disfavour (*Theod. Penitent. II. xi. 4*). A prohibition against heathen dress is also found in the ancient Welsh code of the 7th century (*Canons Wallia. c. 61*). "If any of the heathen, he shall be expelled Christian Society."

3. *Id. latrous offices or customs.*—The council of Elvira, A.D. 305 (c. 4), orders Flamenus who wish to become Christians to undergo two years' additional probation as catechumens; if after baptism they wear the sacrificial garland (c. 55), to do penance two years; if they provide a public spectacle (munus) (c. 3), to be denied communion till death; and if they sacrifice (c. 2), to be excommunicated for ever. The same council requires a *Donuvir* to separate himself from the church during his year of office. See also ACTORS, GLADIATORS. The Tertullian (*de Spectac. c. 12*). The same father condemns (*de Spectac. cc. 20-22*) the actors in each of the four sorts of shows.

The social festivities of the heathen were not regarded with the same suspicion. Tertullian (*de Idolol. c. 16*) sees no harm in a Christian being present at the solemnity of assuming the *toji virilis*, or of espousals or nuptials, or of giving a name to a child. But this toleration was not extended to festivities of a less innocent character. [HEATHEN, § 5, p. 763.] The superstitious lighting of torches and burning of lamps was not extended to festivities of a less innocent character. [HEATHEN, § 5, p. 763.] The superstitious lighting of torches and burning of lamps (*Conc. Elber. c. 37*; *Conc. in Trull. c. 65*). Another canon of Elvira (c. 34) prohibits the burning of wax candles in the cemeteries lest the spirits of the saints should be disturbed; a reference probably to the idolatrous practices associated with lighting lamps on heathen festivals (Tert. *Apog. c. 35*; *de Idolol. c. 15*). The irregularities attending the observance of the feast of the *Kalends* of January (the new year) form the subject of one of Chryso-stom's Homilies (*in Kalend. t. i. p. 697, ed.*

Bened.), from which it appears that Christians set up lamps in the market place, and adorned their doors with garlands, and gave themselves up to excess and made divinations of their future. "You will prosper," says Chrysostom, "in the coming year, not if you make yourself drunk on the new moon, but if you do what God approves" (*Tert. de Idolol.* c. 14; *Ambrose, Serm.* 17; *Conc. Antiss.* c. 1; *Conc. in Trull.* c. 62). The 2nd council of Tours, A.D. 567, states (c. 17) that it was a custom in the church to have special Litanies on the three days of the Kalends of January, as a protest against the heathen licentiousness [CIRCUMCISION]. The observance of the heathen festivals lingered long after heathenism itself was extinct; at the end of the 7th century the Trullan council (c. 62) after denouncing the Kalends, declares that the church will excommunicate any who keep the solemnities of the Bota (Vota), or the Brumalia (the winter feast), or the 1st of March; and forbids the heathenish customs of those festivals, the public dancing of women, the interchange of dress between men and women, wearing conic or satyric or tragic masks, calling on the name of Bacchus, and simulating a Bacchic frenzy while treading the grapes.

Making gain from idolatry was considered idolatrous. No artisan might assist in making an idol. "Canst thou," says Tertullian (*de Idolol.* c. 6), "preach the true God, who makest false ones? 'I make them,' says one, 'but I worship them not.' Verily thou dost worship them, and that not with the spirit of any worthless savour of sacrifice, but with thine own; not at the cost of the life of a beast, but of thine own." Similarly he exposes (*Ibid.* c. 8) the sophistries of those who made their livelihood by building or adorning heathen shrines; and (*Ibid.* cc. 5, 6, 8, 11, 17) the dealers in victims and incense, and the guardians of the temples and the collectors of their revenues. A landlord who reckoned in his accounts any property of an idol, was subject to five years' separation (*Conc. Eliber.* c. 40); a man or woman lending vestments to decorate idolatrous pomp, to three (*Ibid.* c. 57).

The rule which was to govern Christians in eating food, which might have been previously offered to an idol, is laid down by St. Paul (1 *Cor.* x. 25, 30). A great part of the animals used in the sacrifices was frequently sold by the priests, and afterwards retailed in the public shambles. This the Christians were at liberty to eat. But any attendance at a temple for the sake of the sacrifice was strictly prohibited (*Conc. Eliber.* c. 59). The council of Ancyra, A.D. 314 (c. 7), forbids any one to eat in a place consecrated to idolatry, even if he took his own food. But by the direction of Leo (*Ep. ad Nicet.*), a captive among the barbarians who from hunger or terror eat idol food, was to be leniently dealt with. Directions with regard to eating food offered to idols appear frequently in subsequent councils; it is the same as eating carrion, and exposes the offender to excommunication (4 *Conc. Aurel.* c. 20); offering food to the dead on the festival of St. Peter, and after receiving the body of Christ going home and eating meat consecrated to devils, incurs a like penalty (2 *Conc. Turon.* c. 22); other superstitions with food are to be reprimanded (*Conc. Roman.*

c. 14); not even the sign of the cross will purify an idol offering (Gregory II. *Can. Epist.* [C. M.] c. 6).

IGNATIUS. (1) Bishop of Antioch, *ισομαρτυρος*, martyr under Trajan (A.D. 109); commemorated Feb. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi); translation to Antioch, Dec. 17 (*Ib.*), and Jan. 29 (*Cal. Byzant.*); "Natale," Dec. 17 (*Mart. Bedae*); also commemorated Dec. 16 (*Cal. Armen.*); Dec. 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Hamle 7 = July 1, and Taksas 24 = Dec. 20 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(2) Martyr in Africa with Celerinus, deacon and confessor, Laurentinus, and Celerina; commemorated Feb. 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

ILERDENSE CONCILIUM. [LERIDA, COUNCIL OF.]

ILLATION. This in the Mozarabic liturgy is the equivalent to the *Preface* (Praefatio) of the Roman and Ambrosian liturgies. In the Gallican liturgy the corresponding prayer is called *Immolatio* or *Contestatio*. The Mozarabic *Illatio* is usually much longer than the Roman *Preface*, and varies with each mass. It begins with the words "Dignum est justum est," and leads up to the *Sanctus*. [v. PREFACE.]

[H. J. H.]

ILLIBERITANUM CONCILIUM. [ELVIRA, COUNCIL OF.]

ILLITERATE CLERGY. Pope Hilary (A.D. 461-488) decreed that an illiterate person (*litterarum ignarus*) incurred *irregularity*, i. e., disqualification for holy orders. And this rule was repeated, under varying phrases, by a council at Rome during his pontificate and by Pope Gelasius afterwards. But the standard of knowledge required does not appear to have been exactly defined. We learn from St. Augustine (*Epist.* 76) that the same rule applied to monks who were candidates for orders. In the time of Gregory the Great (A.D. 590-604) it was sufficient to be able to read. But the offices were repeated, it seems, to a considerable extent *memoriter*, especially by the clergy of the lower grades. He ordered the deacons from country cures to be examined as to how many psalms they could say by heart. Thus, too, the Second Council of Orleans (A.D. 545), in its 15th canon, forbids the ordination as priest or deacon of any man who could neither read nor repeat the Baptismal office. And the First of Mâcon (A.D. 581) ordered the clergy to fast every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from Martinmas to Christmas, and to employ these days in learning the canons. The Council of Narbonne (A.D. 589) even tried to enforce learning by suggesting that a cleric, obstinately illiterate, had no right to his share of the ecclesiastical revenues, and should be sent to a monastery, since he could not edify the people (*Can.* 10).

We find much the same state of things in Spain. The Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 630) describes ignorance as the "mother of all other errors," and orders that a bishop when he ordained a parish priest, should give him an office book to use (*Cinens* 25, 26). It is implied that he would be able to read this.

Respecting the Eastern Church our information is much less precise. Justinian (*Novell.*

the sign of the cross will bring (Gregory II. *Can. Epist.* [G. M.]

(1) Bishop of Antioch, Ispander Trajan (A.D. 109); com- (Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, ion to Antioch, Dec. 17 (*ib.*, Byzant.); "Natalé," Dec. 17 also commemorated Dec. 16 c. 20 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Hamle 7 c. 24=Dec. 20 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). Africa with Celerinus, deacon irentinus, and Celerina; com- 3 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, [W. F. G.]

CONCILIIUM. [LEBIDA,

This in the Mozarabic liturgy to the *Præfatio* (Præfatio) of Ambrosian liturgies. In the the corresponding prayer is or *Contestatio*. The Mozarabic much longer than the Roman with each mass. It begins Dignum et iustum est," and actus. [v. PREFACE.]

[H. J. H.]

NUM CONCILIUM. [EL-

CLERGY. Pope Hilary creed that an illiterate person incurred *irregularity*, i. e., or holy orders. And this rule under varying phrases, by a during his pontificate and afterwards. But the statute required does not appear to ly defined. We learn from (*pist.* 76), that the same rules as who were candidates for me of Gregory the Great (A.D. sufficient to be able to read. ever repeated, it seems, to a com- *memoriter*, especially by the wer grades. He ordered the ntry cures to be examined as to nes they could say by heart. second Council of Orleans (A.D. canon, forbids the ordination of any man who could neither the Baptismal office. And the A.D. 581) ordered the clergy to ry, Wednesday, and Friday on Christmas, and to employ these e canons. The Council of 89) even tried to enforce learn- g that a cleric, obstinately ill- ight to his share of the eccles- and, should be sent to a he could not edify the people

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e Eastern Church our informa- ss precise. Justinian (*Novell.*

vl. c. 5) forbid the advancing to any grade of the ministry those who were unable to read. During great part of the 8th century the leco- noelistic controversy was raging, and destroyed almost entirely, says Balsamon, the habit of study among the Catholics. Therefore the Seventh General Council at Nîmes, in A.D. 787 ordered in its 2nd canon that no bishop should be consecrated who could not repeat the psalter; and who was not well acquainted with the gospels, the epistles of St. Paul, the whole scriptures, and the canons: a very considerable requirement for the time.

With the accession of Charlemagne a movement upwards began. In many capitularies of that sovereign, stringent regulations against ignorance in the clergy were laid down (for details see Thomassin, p. ii. lib. i. cc. 90, 96 *passim*). These details, by the moderation of the standard set up, serve to show the existing lack of knowledge. Even these it was impossible to enforce with any strictness. Lupus, Abbot of Ferrara, writing during this reign to Hincmar, apologises for a bishop, who was unable to teach his flock otherwise than by his good example, because of his ignorance. And Agobard, in a letter to Bernard of Vienne, concludes that ignorance in parish priests would do even more harm than an evil life. Charlemagne himself, lamenting this prevailing ignorance, writes to Alcuin: "Oh, that I had twelve clerks as learned and as perfectly taught in all wisdom, as Jerome and Augustine were!" Alcuin's reply is worth recording: "The Creator of heaven and earth had only two such, and you wish to have twelve!" The complaint of the English Alfred, reported by Asser, is well known, that "from the Humber to the Thames there were very few priests who understood the liturgy in their mother tongue, or who could translate the easiest piece of Latin; and that from the Thames to the sea, the ecclesiastics were still more ignorant" (*De Reb. Gest. Alfred.* apud Camden, *Anglica*, p. 25). We must not suppose, however, that there were no exceptions. Bebe, Alcuin, John Scotus Erigena, and Hincmar, are proofs to the contrary. But this sudden blaze of learning was a good deal adventitious, rested on the personal influence of Charlemagne, and died out again after his decease (Muratori, *Antiquitates*; Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Eccl. Disciplina*, Pars II. lib. i.; Maitland, *Dark Ages*). [S. J. E.]

ILLUMINATION. [MINIATURE.]

ILLYRIAN COUNCIL (*Illyricum* or *Illyri- cianum Concilium* according to Cave). Held in Illyria, but it is not agreed in what year: Pagi contending for A.D. 375, others for 375, Cave for 367, and older authorities for 365. Pagi says it had been preceded by the second (he should have said rather the third) of the Roman councils under pope Damasus, in conformity with whose letter to the bishops of Illyria, a letter asserting the consubstantiality of the three Persons in the Trinity, was now addressed by them to the bishops of Asia Minor. This view is at least countenanced by the letters themselves; and it must be allowed that the letter of Valentinian, Vales, and Gratian to the bishops of Asia Minor expresses the declaration of the Illyrian bishops on this occasion (Mansi, iii. 386-94; and 455-68. *Comp. Roman Councils*, 19).

Three more councils are given under this heading. 1. A.D. 415, according to Sir H. Nicolas (*Chron. of Hist.* 217), at which Peregrine was appointed bishop of Patras.

2. A.D. 515, according to Mansi (Sir H. Nicolas A.D. 516, as *Illyriense*) when the bishop of Thessalonica having joined Timothy of Constantinople, forty bishops, whose metropolitan he pronounced his communion, and declared for communicating with pope Hormisdas (Mansi, viii. 538).

3. A.D. 550, according to Mansi, in defence of the three chapters (ix. 147). [E. S. Fr.]

IMAGES. I. From the time of the Maccabees the second commandment was generally understood by the Jews to forbid not only the worship of the likeness of any living thing, but even the making of it. It is probable that they were led to this view by their abhorrence of the acts of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his agents. Among other outrages these had set up "chapels of idols" in the cities of Judah (1 Macc. i. 47), and even "sought to paint the likeness of their images" in the book of the law (*Ibid.* iii. 48). Hence Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. c. 7, § 5) condemns Solomon for making the twelve oxen on which the molten sea was set in the temple (1 Kings vii. 25; comp. 29), and the lions that were about his throne (*Ibid.* c. x. 19, 20), though no degree of reverence was paid to either of them. In the days of Herod the Great a sedition was trophies, such as the Romans display after their victories, the Jews supposing that the armour that they would never "endure images of men custom" (*Jos. Antiq.* xv. c. 8, §§ 1, 2). In the eagle which Herod had put over the great gate of the temple (*De Bello Jud.* i. c. 33, §§ 2, 3). When Vitellius was marching through Judæa to meet Aretas, the inhabitants entreated him to take another route on account of the figures which they observed on his standards (*Antiq.* xviii. c. 6, § 3). Origen, A.D. 230, even asserts of the Jews in general that "there was no maker of images among their citizens; neither painter nor sculptor was in their state" (*Cels.* iv. § 31).

It appears, then, that most of the Jewish converts would enter the church thoroughly imbued with a dislike to all images; and it is probable that many of the heathens would be similarly affected towards them out of mere horror at the some also of the latter who, even before their conversion, were prepared by the higher traditions of philosophy to renounce the use of images in connection with religion. Pythagoras, we are told, forbade his disciples to "wear rings or to engrave images of gods on them" (*Clem. Alex. Strom.* v. c. 5, § 28). Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school, maintained that men "ought not to make temples or images" (*Ibid.* c. 11, § 77). It was a tradition among the Romans that Numa had "forbidden them the use of any image of God in the likeness of man or in the form of any animal, and that there was among them previously no image of God either painted or fictile; but that for the first 170 years when

they built temples and set up images, and no images in any shape, on the ground that it was an unholy thing to liken the Father to the worse, and impossible to reach God otherwise than with the mind" (Plutarch in *Numeri*, c. viii.). Varro, in a passage preserved by St. Augustine (*De Dei*, iv. c. 31), also affirms that for the period specified, the Romans "worshipped the gods without an image (simulachro)." He thought that if the law had continued, "the gods would have been more purely worshipped;" and after referring to the example of the Jews, he adds that "they who first set up images of the gods for the people relived their states (civitatibus), but probably *circus*, their fellow-citizens), from a fear, and involved them in an error" (Opp. Varr. *Fragments*, p. 46; Amstel. 1623).

II. That many of the early Christians adopted the Jewish interpretation of the second commandment is evident. Tertullian, A.D. 192, even thought it wrong to make such masks as actors wore; for, if God forbade the likeness of any thing, "how much more of His own image?" (*De Spect.* c. 23). He thought painting a sin in Hieroglyphics (*Adv. Herm.* c. 1); and he teaches that "the law of God, in order to eradicate the material of idolatry, proclaims, *Thou shalt not make an idol; nothing also, Nor the likeness of any thing* . . . Over the whole world hath it forbidden such arts to the servants of God" (*De Idololatr.* c. iv.). Clemens Alex., A.D. 192, appears to hold the same rigid view: "It has been manifestly forbidden us to practise deceptive art; for, saith the prophet, *Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing that is in heaven or in the earth below*." (*Protrept.* c. iv. § 62.) Origen says that painting and sculpture were disallowed among the Jews, lest the effect on senseless men should be to "draw the eyes of the soul off God on to the earth" (*C. Cels.* iv. § 31); a reason, which, if valid, ought to debar Christians from the exercise of them also.

III. All held that representations of God, even of the Second Person as man, were unlawful. Thus Clemens Al.: "It were ridiculous, as the philosophers themselves say, for man, who is the toy of God (Plato, *de Leyibus*, vii. § 10) to make God, and for God to be made of sportive art," &c. (*Strom.* vii. c. 5, § 22). Origen: "The statues and ornaments that become God are not made by handicraft artisans, but are those wrought by the word of God and formed within us, the virtues (to wit) which are imitations of the first-born of every creature" (*C. Cels.* viii. § 17). Minutius Felix, A.D. 220: "What image should I make of God, when, if you think right, man is himself the image of God" (*Oct.* c. 9). Lactantius, A.D. 303: "An image of the whose spirit and power being diffused everywhere, can from nowhere be absent, must be always superfluous" (*Instit.* ii. c. 2; see also the *Epit.* c. 25). Arnobius, A.D. 303, after ridiculing the images of the heathen, says, "So far are we from attributing corporeal features to God, that we even fear to ascribe to so great a being the ornaments of minds, and the virtues themselves in which excellence has been hardly ascribed to a few. For who would say that God was brave, constant," &c. (*Adv. Gent.* iii.). Eusebius, the historian, in a letter to Constantia Augusta (the daughter of Constantine and

wife of Caesar Gallus), who died in 354: "Since thou hast written about some image, it seems of Christ, wishing the said image to be sent to thee by us, what, and of what kind, is this image which thouallest that of Christ? . . . Has this Scripture alone escaped thee, in which God by law forbids to make the likeness of any thing in heaven, or on the earth beneath? Hast thou ever seen such a thing in a church thyself, or heard of it from another? Have not such things been banished throughout the whole world, and given far off out of the churches, and has it been proclaimed to us alone among all men that it is not lawful to do such a thing?" (*Epist.* put together from fragments by Bolvin, in note to Niceph. Gregoras; *Hist. Byzant.* tom. ii. p. 130, ed. Bonn). Eusebius proceeds to say he had taken from a woman two pictures of persons dressed like philosophers, which she called portraits of Christ and St. Paul, "lest," he adds, "we should seem to carry our God about in a representation like idolaters." St. Augustine writing in 393: "It is not to be thought that God the Father is circumscribed by human form . . . It is unlawful to set up such an image to God in a Christian temple. Much more is it wicked to set it up in the heart where the temple of God truly is" (*De Fide et Symbolo*, c. 7; comp. in *Ps. cxlii.*; *Enchir. Sermon.* i. § 1, &c.). Asterius of Amasea, A.D. 401: "Do not depict Christ. For the one humiliation of the Incarnation sufficeth Him, which He took on Himself by choice for our sake. But bear and carry about the incorporeal Word mentally, in thy soul" (*Hon. in Jhn. et Lazar.* Anctar. Græc. Combef. tom. exeg. col. 5). A writer quoted as Epiphanius Cyrius (the famous bishop of Constantia) by the council of Constantinople in 754: "Remember, dear children, not to bring images into churches, nor into the cemeteries of the saints; but have God ever in your hearts through remembrance of Him; nor indeed into a common house" (Act. vi. Conc. Nic. ii.). Even in the 8th century there were no representations of God the Father, but unhappily not always from principle. "Why," says Gregory II. in 726, "do we not represent and paint the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ? Because we do not know what He is, and it is impossible to represent and paint the nature of God. But if we had seen and known Him, as we have His Son, then should we have been able to represent and paint Him also, that you might call His image too an idol" (*Ep. J. ad Leon. Labl. Conc.* tom. vii. col. 13). John Damascene in the East at the same period, A.D. 728, who is equally vehement on the general question, says to the same effect: "We should indeed be in error if we made an image of the invisible God" (*Orat. de Sacris Imag.* ii. § 5). After the period in which all painting was condemned, it is not so common to find passages, which forbid pictures of saints, or deny that the church used them. There are such, however; although, as we shall see, such pictures were then looked on only as lessons in history. For example, St. John Chrysostom, A.D. 398: "We enjoy the presence of the saints through their writings, having images not of their bodies but of their souls. For the things said by them are images of their souls" (Act. vi. Conc. Nic. ii.; sim. Amphilocheus of Iconium, *Ibid.*). An author whom the council of Constantinople already mentioned,

us), who died in 354: "Since about some image, it seems I said image to be sent to thee of what kind, is this image that of Christ? . . . Has this escaped thee, in which God by the likeness of any thing in earth beneath? Hast thou thing in a church thyself, or another? Have not such things throughout the whole world, and of the churches, and has it us alone among all men that to do such a thing?" (*Epist. fragments* by Bolvin, in *Notas; Hist. Byzant.* tom. ii. p. Eusebius proceeds to say he had man two pictures of persons sophers, which he called portrait of St. Paul, "lest," he adds, "to carry our God about in a idolaters." St. Augustine: "It is not to be thought that circumscribed by human form to set up such an image to an temple. Much more is it up in the heart where the truly is" (*De Fide et Symbolo*, s. cxlii.; *Enarr. Sermon.* li. § 1. of Anaseus, A.D. 401: "Do not or the one humiliated of the eth Him, which he took on e for our sake. But bear and incorporeal Word mentally, in *De Trin. et Lazar.* Auctar. *Græc.* col. 5). "A writer quotes us (the famous bishop of Con- cern, dear children, not to bring ches, nor into the remembrance have God ever in your hearts ance of Him; nor indeed into a "Act. vi. Conc. Nic. II.). Even there were no representations of not unhappily not always from y," says Gregory II. in 726, "de and paint the Father of the st? Because we do not know it is impossible to represent and of God. But if we had seen as we have His son, then should e to represent and paint Him ght call His image to an idol." Labb. *Conc.* tom. vii. col. 13). In the East at the same period, equally vehement on the general the same effect: "We should or of it was made an image of the od in which all painting was not so common to find passages, tures of saints, or deny that the m. There are such, however; shall see, such pictures were only as lessons in history. For an Chrysostom, A.D. 398: "We ce of the saints through their images not of their bodies but For the things said by them are ubs" (Act. vi. Conc. Nic. II.; *sin. Iconium, ibid.*). An author whom onstantinople already mentioned,

IMAGES

cites under the name of Theolotus of Ancyra: "Concerning them he teaches thus, that we have nesses of the saints in images out of material colours; but we have learnt, through those things which are written of them, to copy their virtues, which are, as it were, living images of them" (Labb. *Conc.* tom. vii. col. 492).
 IV. There was a consensus against the worship of images, in every sense of the words *εἰκονομασία* and *λατρία*. At first this extended to material representations of the cross. "We neither worship crosses," says Minutius, "nor wish to do so" (*Oclar.* c. 9). With regard to images of our Lord and the saints, the evidence is ample. Thus Irenæus, A.D. 187, condemns the error of some Gnostics, who crowned images painted in colours, and of other materials, which they asserted to be likenesses of our Lord (*Adv. Hæc.* l. c. 25, § 6). Epiphanius who repeats this (*Hæc.* xxvii. § 8) says that some of the images were of gold and silver, and that they "set them up and worshipped them." (See also Aug. *De Hæc.* n. 7.) Origen: "We do not honour statues, that as far as in us lies we may avoid falling into the notion that the statues are other gods" (*C. Cel.* vii. § 66). The council of Eliberis, about the year 305, decreed "that pictures ought not to be in a church, lest that which is worshipped and adored be painted on walls" (*Can.* xxxvi.). St. Augustine: "Who worships an image (simulacrum) or prays looking on it, that is not so adected as to fancy that he is heard by it, as to hope that what he desires is granted him by it? . . . Against his affection, by which human and carnal weaknesses can be easily ensnared, the infants] things very familiar, by which to stir memory, and to rouse, as elsewhere, the minds of men asleep in custom of their bodies. The images of the heathen, it says, are silver and gold" (*Enarr. in Ps. cxlii. Sermon.* ii. § 5). Elsewhere, when he dwells on the feeling excited by images, he speaks also of its contagious nature: "Who doubts the idols being destitute of all sense? Yet when they are set in their places, exalted for honour, so that they may be attentively regarded by those who pray and sacrifice, then through the very resemblance of living limbs and senses, though senseless and lifeless themselves, they affect weak minds, so that they seem to live and breathe; especially when there is besides the veneration of a multitude, by whom a worship so great is paid to them" (*Ad Dogr. Ep.* cii. quest. 3, § 18). It is undeniable that the objection here urged is as applicable to the image of a Christian saint as to that of a heathen god. Other testimonies will occur in the following sections.
 V. The figures first used among Christians in any reference to their faith were merely symbolical. The earliest was the momentary sign of the cross made by the hand. "At every journey coming in and going out, at the putting on of our clothes and shoes, at baths, at meals, at lighting of candles, at going to bed, at sitting down, whatever occupation employs us, we wear it; compare *Ad Uxor.* li. 5; S. Cyrill. *Hier. Cal.* iv. c. 10; xiii. cc. 11, 18, and others). The first permanent representation of the cross is

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probably that set up at Rome beside the statue of Constantine after the defeat of Maxentius in 312 (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 9), but Eusebius tells us also that "the symbol of the salutary passion composed of various and precious stones was set up" by Constantine in a room in his palace (*De Vit. Const.* iii. 40). The same prince had the arms of his soldiers marked with a cross (*Sozom. Hist. Eccl.* l. 8). Julian the emperor, A.D. 361, says to Christians in reproach: "Ye worship the wood of the cross, making shadowy figures of it on the forehead, and painting it at the entrance of your houses." St. Cyril of Alexandria in his reply justifies the practice of painting "the sign of the precious cross" (*Lib. VI. ad Calc.* Opp. Jul. 194). From St. Jerome we learn that the sign of the cross was made in the 4th century as it is now, in witness to written documents (*Comm. in Ezech.* ix. 4). St. Chrysostom: "This shines at the sacred table, at the ordination of priests, and again with the body of Christ at the mystic supper. It may be seen everywhere displayed, in houses, in market-places, in deserts, on roads, on mountains, in groves, on hills, on ships and islands in the sea, on beds, on dresses, on arms, on couches," &c. (*Contra Judæc. et Gentil.* § 9). Severian, A.D. 401, calls the cross "the image of the immortal king" (*Hom. de Cruce*, inter Opp. St. Chrys. ed. 403, speaks of "the ensign of the cross," surmounted with the crown of thorns, painted on the walls of his churches at Nola and Fundi (*Ep.* xxxii. *ad Sever.* §§ 12-17). Nuns, A.D. 440, recommends Olympiodorus, who was about to erect a martyrrium, to "set the figure of a single cross in the atriarium on the east of the most sacred precincts; for by one saving cross is mankind completely saved" (*Ep.* iv. 61).
 Tertullian is the first witness to the use of other symbolical figures: "We may begin from the parables in which is the lost sheep sought by its owner, and brought home on his shoulders. Let the very pictures of your chalice stand forth" (as witnesses). "The Good Shepherd whom thou paintest on the chalice" (*De Pudic.* 7). Clemens Alex. (*Pædog.* iii. 11, § 59) mentions several devices which he considered permissible on seals. [*GEMS.* p. 712.] "Symbols of the Good Shepherd" were placed by Constantine in the fora of Constantinople (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 49). A mosaic in the church built by Paulinus at Nola represented Christ by a lamb, the Spirit by a dove, while "the voice of the Father thunders from the sky" ("This is My beloved Son" [Matt. iii. 17], being probably in letters). The APOSTLES [p. 107] were figured by twelve doves round a cross, and the church was seen set on a rock from which issued four streams, the doctrines of the four Evangelists (*Ep. Paulini* xxxii. § 10). At Fundi the picture of a shepherd separating the goats from the sheep suggested the Day of Judgment (*Ibid.* § 17).
 VI. (1) When religious art advanced from symbolism to portraiture, its works of the new type were at first, perhaps in every instance, partly historical and partly ideal. There was, for example, in the cemetery of St. Priscilla at Rome, a picture of the Virgin and Child, accompanied by the figure of a man, whose dress and action (he is pointing to a star) are so clearly suggestive of a symbolical meaning that he is

supposed by De Rossi to represent the prophets who foretold the coming of Christ (Marriott's *Testamentum Christianum*, p. 234, and pl. x.). Other pictures belonging to this period of transition, being apparently of the 5th century, show our Lord blessing a child, or raising Lazarus, but with "the rod of His power" (L. ex. 2) in His hand (Arlingh, *Roma Subterr.* ii. 33, 37, &c.; De Rossi, *Roma Subterr.* ii. tav. 14, 24). In one of the same class and probably of the same age, our Lord appears with an open book in His hand, and an Apostle and rolls of writing on either side (Arlingh, ii. 91; Marriott, pl. xii.). The rolls evidently represent the Old and New Testaments; and the Apostles are probably St. Peter, the great converter of the Jews, and St. Paul, whose chief mission was to the Gentiles. The thought conveyed is that Christ is the great teacher. He "opened the Scriptures" to the Apostles, that they might instruct the world. Works of this twofold character are frequent after the strictly historical treatment of religious subjects had quite established itself. See examples in Arlingh, ii. 83, 88, 120, &c.

(2) We come now to pictorial images, which were, so far as appears, of a purely historical character. St. Augustine writing about the year 400, says of some misbelievers who had forged epistles as from our Lord to SS. Peter and Paul, that he supposed those Apostles "occurred to them because they saw them painted together with Him in many places" (*De Consensu Evang.* i. x. n. 16). He speaks also of the offering of Isaac as a "noble deed sung by so many tongues, painted in so many places" (*C. Faust.* xxii. 73). A painting on this subject is described by St. Gregory of Nyssa: "I have often seen the image of his suffering in a picture, and passed the sight not without tears, so vividly did the art of the painter bring the story before the eyes" (*De Vult. Fil. et Sp. Oral.*; compare Greg. II., *Ep. I. ad Leon. Labb. Conc.* vii. 16). It was a favourite subject, because it symbolised the death of Christ, which as yet men did not venture to represent directly. St. Gregory tells us also that the martyrdom of Theodora in all its circumstances was depicted on the walls of a church built to his memory (*Encom. Theodori*). The people of Antioch in the time of St. Chrysostom had the figure of St. Meletius "in the besils of rings, on stamps, on bowls, on the walls of chambers, and everywhere" (Chrysost. in *St. Melet.* § 1). Paulinus, in a poem written about the year 402, describes several scenes from the Old Testament, which he had caused to be painted in his church at Nola. He owns that it was an unusual thing (*raro more*, line 544), and explains his reason for it at length. It was an experiment by which he hoped to interest and instruct the rude converts of that neighbourhood, and especially to keep them from the excesses which prevailed among them, when they assembled in great numbers on the festivals (*Poema* xxvii. *De S. Fel. Nat.* carm. 9). Pictures of Paulinus himself and St. Martin had been placed by Sulpicius Severus in the baptistery of his church at Primuliac, near Beziers. Paulinus, hearing of this, sent him some verses to be set over them, in which he describes St. Martin as an example of holiness to the newly baptized, and himself of penitence (*Ep.* xxxii. §§ 2, 3). From Asterius we learn that at the beginning of the 5th cen-

tury some persons had subjects from the New Testament, as Christ and the Apostles and miracles wrought by them, embroidered on their dress, a practice which he strongly condemns (*De Div. et Lat.* u. s.). The same writer describes at length the martyrdom of St. Euphensy as painted in a church (u. s. col. 207). Prudentius, A.D. 405, saw in the Forum Cornelianum at Rome a picture of the martyrdom of St. Cassianus, a schoolmaster, whom his pupils at the command of the heathen magistrate had stilled to death with their *styli* (*De Coronis*, Hymn. ix. 9). He also describes a picture on the tomb of Hippolytus, in which that martyr was represented being torn asunder by horses (*Paul.* x. 126). Heraclides of Nyssa, A.D. 440, wrote two epistles against the Messalianites, in the latter of which was a "testimony to the antiquity of the venerable images" (*αἰκόνων*, the Greek paintings) (Photius, *Biblioth.* cod. l.). We have reason to think that the custom of placing in churches the portraits, either painted, or in mosaic, of the patriarchs or other eminent men, was becoming common about this time. St. Nilus advised Olympiodorus "to fill the holy temple on all sides with stories from the Old and New Testament by the hand of the finest painter, that those who did not know letters and were not able to read the Holy Scriptures might by contemplating the picture be reminded of the virtue of those who served God truly," &c. (*Ljst.* i. 61). An author in Suidas, supposed to be Malchus, A.D. 496, says that in a church at Constantinople there was a mosaic, put up in the lifetime of Gennadius (A.D. 458 to 471), in which that patriarch and Aeneas, who became his successor, were represented with our Lord between them, and that the clergy set up pictures of Aeneas in the oratories (Suidas in *Aeneas*, i. 76). We find incidentally that the partitions of Macedonius had portraits of him in their churches (Theodorus Lector, *Excerpt.* ii.). Evagrius, A.D. 594, mentions a picture on the ceiling of a church at Apamia, representing a miracle of which he had himself been witness when at school there (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26). Gregory of Tours, his contemporary, mentions pictures (*iconicæ*) of the apostles and other saints, which were in an oratory at Arverna (*Vitæ PP.* iii. § 2). When Augustine and his companions had their first interview with Ethelbert in 597, they came "bearing a silver cross for banner, and an image of the Lord the Saviour painted on a board" (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 25). But the earliest authentic account of pictures in an English church occurs in Bede's life of Benedict Biscop, his first abbot, who, in 648, "brought from Rome paintings of sacred images, to wit, of the blessed Mary and of the twelve Apostles, besides representations of the Gospel history, and of the visions of St. John the Evangelist, and placed them in his church; so that all who entered the church, even those ignorant of letters, whithersoever they turned their eyes, might contemplate the ever-lovely countenance of Christ, and of his saints, though in an image; or might more heedfully call to mind the grace of the Lord's Incarnation" (*Higior.* sect. i.). In 685 (*Hid.* 720) he brought other pictures from Rome, many of saints and Gospel subjects, as before; but some also illustrating the relation of the New Testament to the Old, as Isaac bearing the

avowed and defended; as by Leontius, above mentioned: "I, worshipping the image of God, do not worship the material wood and colours; God forbid; but laying hold of the lifeless representation of Christ, I seem to myself to lay hold of and to worship Christ through it" (*Apol. in Act. iv. Conc. Nic. ii. Labb. vii. 237*). He compares this worship to that which a Jew pays to the book of the law; but as he dwells much on miracles wrought by images, and, like Gregory, on the emotions which the sight of a cross or picture ought to raise in the beholder, it is clear that in practice the worship of them was very different from the reverence shewn to the law. Indeed it is very probable that the simple plea of instruction for the ignorant, however just when properly applied, was soon so extended as to cover practices which could not be distinguished from idolatry. For as Gieseler notices (*Ecol. Hist. per. i. div. i. p. i. § 1*) the only reply to the complaint, "This generation has made gods of the images," which a fanatical image-worshipper of the 8th century could offer, was that by which Gregory I. had defended the merely didactic use of them; viz., "You must teach the unlearned people" (*Orat. de Imag. Adv. Constantinum Cubal. c. 13; inter. Opp. S. Joann. Damasc.*).

VIII. By the beginning of the 8th century the worship of images had become such a scandal in the East that a Mahometan prince, Izid, or Jesid, the son of Omar, thought himself justified in interfering. In 715 he accordingly commanded all pictures to be removed from the churches of his dominion (Theophanes, *Chronographia* ad a. m. 6215). A little later, Leo the Isaurian, who became emperor in 716, made his hostility to the practice known. He claimed to be influenced by a horror of idolatry, and there is no evidence of any other motive. His sentiments were probably well-known from the first (Theophan. ad ann. 6217); but we gather from the testimony of two adversaries (Greg. II. *Epist. ad Icon. Labb. vii. 9; Vita Steph. Jun. u. s. p. 412*) that he had reigned ten years before he ventured on any overt act. In the year 726 he issued a declaration against the worship of images, but did not command them to be "destroyed, only placed higher, so that no one might kiss them, and thus bring discredit on that which was otherwise worthy of respect" (*Vita Steph. u. s.*). However, about the same time he seems to have ordered the image already mentioned, to which miracles were ascribed, to be removed from a public place in Constantinople. He also wrote to the bishop of Rome, who quotes his letter thus: "Thou sayest that the images occupy the place of idols, and that they who worship them are idolaters." "Thou hast written, that we ought not to worship things made by the hand, nor the likeness of any thing . . . and, inform me who hath taught by tradition the reverence and worship of things made by the hand, and I will confess that it is the law of God" (*Epist. Greg. II. u. s.*). In a most insolent and unchristian reply, the pope dwells much on his own feelings before a sacred picture (coll. 14, 16); but does not meet the complaint that such objects were abused to idolatry. About the same time John of Damascus wrote his three "Orations against those who reject the holy images." In his demand for adoration he does not go further

than "worshipping and kissing and embracing the image both with lips and heart; as the likeness of the Incarnate God, or of His mother, or of the Saints." He says that pictures are the "books of the unlearned" (*Orat. ii. § 16*). Leo, however, persevered. A second letter to the pope (Labb. u. s. col. 23) being met to the same spirit as the former, and Germans of Constantinople proving equally impracticable, in 730 he ordered all images to be removed out of churches (Theophan. ad an. 6221). Constantine V., his son and successor, published another edict against images in the first year of his reign, 741; and is even said to have exacted an oath from his subjects that they would not worship them (Theophan. ad an. 6233; *Vita Steph. p. 444*). Such images as had been left were now effaced by scraping or whitewashing the walls (*Vita Steph. p. 445*); but merely decorative paintings of trees, flowers, birds, &c. were allowed. The party of the image-worshippers was at this time strong and numerous, is clear from the fact that the rebel Artavasdes won many adherents by declaring himself in their favour, and setting up icons in the cities. Anastasius the patriarch went over to him (Cedrenus, *Hist. Compend. ii. 4; ed. Bonn*), and he was recognized by Zacharias of Rome, who dated letters from his assumption of the purple (*Ep. iv. v. Labb. vi. 1500-5*). From this time image-worshippers would naturally be suspected of disloyalty; and would suffer much in that age of cruelty on the suppression of the revolt in 743. In 754 Constantine convened a general council at Constantinople, at which 338 bishops (Labb. tom. vii. col. 417) were present, but none of the great patriarchs. At this synod it was maintained that the worship of images was in a great measure due to, and that in return it fostered, a tendency to those heresies respecting the nature of Christ which had been condemned by earlier councils (*ib. coll. 429-453*), their characteristics being either to lower the Divine nature, or to dwell on the human as apart from it, or to confound the two. After a careful review of the scriptural and patristic evidence (*ib. coll. 473-501*) the following decree was made:—"Whosoever shall from this time present dare to make or worship or set up in a church or private house or conceal an image (*εἰκόνη*), if he be a bishop, presbyter, or deacon, let him be degraded; if a monk or layman, let him be anathematized and punished by the imperial laws, as contrary to the commandments of God and an enemy to the doctrine of the Fathers" (*ib. coll. 508; see also 506*). At the same time it was forbidden, under pretence of compliance with this decree, to lay hands on sacred vessels, vestments, &c., that had any figure wrought on them, but they might be recast or made up afresh with licence from the patriarch or emperor (*ib. coll. 510, 511*). This caution was necessary, and only partially effectual. *E. g.*, a fanatical bishop was accused to the council of having "trampled on the holy paten of the undefiled mysteries of God, because it was engraved with the venerable image of Christ, and of His mother, and of the Precursor" (*Vita Stephani, u. s. p. 480*). We read too that many books containing pictures were burnt or defaced by the "iconoclasts" (Labb. u. s. coll. 372-377); and a general complaint is made by Germans of Constantinople that they were not

at the same time. Michael Rhangabe, who deposed the dying Stauratus, seems to have punished with impartial hand both those who worshipped images and those who broke them. Leo the Armenian, who deprived him of his throne in 813, was a decided enemy to image-worship. He thought that the heathen were permitted on that account to obtain victories over the Christians. "I desire," he declared, "to overthrow them (the images). For observe, all the emperors who have received and worshipped them have ended their reigns each by a natural death, and been buried with honour," &c. (*Narratio de Leone Arn. Imp. auctoris incerti*, in *Opp. Theophanis*, p. 435, ed. Paris). The people generally seem to have been with him; for he is also reported to have remonstrated in this manner with the patriarch Nicephorus:—"The people are scandalized by the images, and say that we do ill to worship them, and that for this reason the heathen lord it over us. Condescend a little, and use management with the people, and let us pare away trifles. But if you are not willing to do this, give us the grounds on which you worship them, for the Scripture is by no means clear on the point" (*ib.* p. 437). In reply Nicephorus merely asserted the antiquity of the practice. In 815 Leo procured the condemnation of the second council of Nicaea by another, which he convened at Constantinople (*Labb. tom. vii. col. 1299*). The acts of this council are not extant; but an edict of Leo, issued at the time, is probably in complete accord with its decrees. In that the emperor alleges the unlawfulness and absurdity of image-worship, and the duty of removing the cause of offence (Michael Monach. in *Vita Theodori Stud.* c. 63; opp. Sirmondi, tom. v.). It is related of Michael II. (Balbus), A.D. 820, that "though he was of the heterodox party (an image-worshipper is speaking) he had nevertheless no wish to trouble those who did not defer to him, but allowed every one to do as he chose" (*Vita Theod. Stud.* c. 102). He also recalled those who had been banished by Leo. He at first contented himself with forbidding the word "saint" to be inscribed on images, wherever they might be (*Cedren. tom. ii. p. 110*); but it is probable that he afterwards became more severe (*ib.* p. 74). A letter is extant addressed by this emperor and his son Theophilus to Louis the Godly, in which he describes the course of action adopted by his predecessors of like mind:—"By common counsel they caused images to be removed from too low situations (in churches), and allowed those set in higher to remain where they were, that the painting might serve for Scripture, lest they should be worshipped by the more ignorant and weak; but they forbade the lighting of lamps or burning of incense to them" (*Epist. ad Ludov. apud Goldast. u. s. p. 619*). Theophilus, on his accession, required strict obedience to the law, and even forbade the painting of icons (*Theophan. Continuat. lib. iii. c. 10; Cedr. tom. ii. p. 110*).

On the death of Theophilus in 842, his widow, Theodora, who governed for her infant son Michael III., restored the icons and their worship, notwithstanding an oath that she would not do so, exacted by her dying husband (*Cedr.*

tom. ii. p. 142). The sanction of the church was obtained through a council held at Constantinople (*Labb. tom. vii. col. 1782*); and the triumph of images celebrated by the institution of an annual feast on the first Sunday in Lent, thence called by the Greeks *επισημασία των εφεσθων* (*Philothei Serr. in Dom. I. Quadr. in Gretser's note to Cod. Mus. De Offic. c. xv. mli Narrat. de Imagibus Restit. in Combefis, Auctar. tom. hist. col. 738*). From the *T. picon* of Sabas, c. 42, we learn that the occasion is marked by a procession of crosses and pictures, and the public reading of the decree of Nicaea (*Gretser, u. s.*). Opposition, however, was not wholly extinguished; for about the year 860 we find Photius, who had usurped the patriarchate of Constantinople, proposing to Nicholas of Rome that another general council should be held to complete the suppression of "the heresy of the iconomachi" (*Vita Ignatii a Niceta conscr. in Labb. tom. viii. col. 1204*). The council met the next year and pronounced the deposition of Ignatius, whom Photius had supplanted, but its action in regard to images is not recorded. In 869 another council, convened by the emperor Basil especially for the condemnation of Photius, denounced the iconoclasts, upheld pictures as useful in the instruction of the people, and declared that we ought to "worship them with the same honour as the book of the holy gospels" (*can. iii. Labb. tom. viii. col. 1360*). Here the history of the struggle closes in the East.

IX. The position of the Nestorians and Eutychians with respect to images is interesting and instructive. The former were cut off from the church in 431, before images of any kind were common. Their antagonism to the church would make them keen-sighted to the evil springing up within her, and naturally lead to their entire rejection. We find accordingly that "the Nestorians have no images or pictures in their churches, and are very much opposed to the use of them, even as ornaments, or as barely representing historical facts illustrative of sacred Scripture" (*Badger's Nestorians, vol. ii. p. 132*). The Eutychians, condemned in 451, were a very small body until the time of Jacob Baradaeus, who died in 588. They became very numerous, under the name of Jacobites, in the 7th century, and when they left the church they carried with them the custom of image-worship, as it was then understood and practised. At a later period the Greeks observing a difference and not knowing that they had themselves changed, accused the Jacobites of error: "They think it indifferent whether they worship or do not worship them, but if ever they chance to worship, they do not kiss the image itself, but touching it with a finger only, kiss the finger instead" (*Demetr. Cyzicen. De Jacob. Haeres. Max. Biblioth. PP. tom. 814*). One division of the Monophysites, whom some identify with the Armenians, were called Chatzarii, from the Armenian *Chatzias* a cross, because they revered the cross only (*ib.*). Of the Armenians Nicen says, "They do not adore the venerable images, and what is more, their Catholics with the rest anathematize those who adore them" (*De Armen. Relig. Max. Biblioth. tom. xxv. p. 328*).

X. We turn now to the West. In 767 Pipin held a council at Gentilly, at which legates from Rome and Constantinople were present. One

XI. The "images" of which we have spoken were all either pictures, like the modern Greek icons, or mosaics. Some writers, however, to prove that statuary was not unemphatically by the early church, allege the image of our Lord which was said to have been set up at Paneas (Caesarea Philippi or Dan) by the woman whom he healed of an issue of blood. (See the *Hist. Ecc.* of Eusebius, lib. vii. c. 18; Philostorgius, ex lib. vii. § 3; Sozomen, lib. v. c. 21; Asterius Amas, in Photii *biblioth.* cod. 271.) If this were indeed a statue of our Lord, the solitary act of a semi-heathen would be no indication of the mind of the apostolic church. But opposite the principal figure was the brazen statue of a woman in a beseeching attitude, kneeling, and with hands raised, not behind and furtively touching the hem of his garment, as in the gospel story. This suggests that the erection of the group was an expression of gratitude to some earthly ruler who had granted a petition. The costliness of the work creates another difficulty (see St. Luke viii. 43). Nor can we build anything on the fact related by Lampridius that Alexander Severus had the images of Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, &c., in his *laurium* (*Vita Al. Sev.* c. 29). It is possible that in the 9th century there was some use of statues among Christians; but we cannot with Mabillon (*Præf. I. in Sec. IV. S. O. B.* c. 29) think it a certain inference from these words of Agobard (*De Imag.* c. 31):—"Whoever adores any picture, or molten or moulded statue, is not giving worship to God, is not honouring the angels or holy men, but showing reverence to (their) images" (*simulachra*). [W. E. S.]

IMAGINES CLIPEATAE. The Romans gave this name to the heads painted on the shields usually hung up in their temples (Buonarroti, *Osservaz. sopra alc. medaglioni*, p. 9-11). We find in ancient Christian art a similar mode of treatment applied to portraits of our Lord. In some instances the bust of the Saviour is painted on a circular space in the form of a shield. This is notably the case in the vaulting of the chapel in the cemetery of Callistus [Jesus Christ], probably the most ancient example of a type that became traditional. *Clipeatae* of the Good Shepherd as a standing figure are frequently met with in the vaultings of crypts in the catacombs. In the mosaic of the great arch of St. Paul without the walls we find the bust of our Lord in *clipeo* (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tab. lxxviii.). Also in ancient ivory diptychs, such as that of Rambona (Buonarroti, *Vet. p.* 262), in which the *clipeus* is supported by two winged angels. Another diptych exhibits the shield or crown carried in a similar manner by two angels, and bearing in the midst a Greek cross instead of the figure of the Saviour (Calogera's *Raccolta*, vol. xi. p. 295). That this mode of treatment lasted till the 7th century is proved by a painting in the roof of the oratory of St. Felicitas; there the bust of our Lord appears in *clipeo* (Raoul-Rochette, *Disc. sur les types init.*, p. 25). Examples may also be quoted in later times (Du Cange, *Gloss. s. vv. Scutum, Thoracica*).

Many of the sarcophagi found in Roman cemeteries exhibit the effigies of a husband and wife carved within a shield or shell, as in the in-

stance figured below (Bottari's pl. xx.). Some times a single figure is thus represental (*Id.* xxxvi. xl. lxxxix.). (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét. s. v.*) [C.]



IMIZILUM (also IMIZINUM, MIZILUM, MIZINUM). This word, variously spelt, occurs several times in the *Vite Pontificum* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. It appears to denote some material of a silky nature, used for articles of dress of a costly description. The etymology of the word is doubtful; according to one view it is akin to the Italian *ermesino*, but Ducange (*s. v.*) rather connects it with *canisile* (*Vite Pontificum*, Leo III. p. 418; Paschalis I. p. 449; Sergius II. p. 490; Nicolaus I. p. 584). [R. S.]

IMMERSION. [BAPTISM, § 49, p. 161.]

IMMUNITIES OF CHURCHES. [CHURCH (1), p. 365.]

IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY. Before the time of Constantine the clergy of the Christian church enjoyed no immunities or privileges. With the conversion of the emperor to the Christian faith, the ministers of what became the state religion began to be exempted from burdens borne by other members of the community, and to have special honours conceded to them. This policy reached its height in the Middle Ages, when its results caused a reaction to ensue which is operating at the present day.

By immunities we understand in the present article exemptions from ordinary burdens, by privileges, extraordinary honours, or prerogatives, whether sanctioned by custom only or by law. Both immunities and privileges may be best reviewed under three heads, as I. JUDICIAL. II. PECUNIARY, III. OFFICIAL AND SOCIAL.

I. JUDICIAL. Under this head we have to distinguish, 1. Rights maintained and confirmed, 2. Immunities allowed, 3. Privileges granted.

1. *Rights maintained and confirmed.* (1) *Decisions in matters of faith and in ecclesiastical causes.*—Christianity had grown up in antagonism to the imperial power of Rome, and managing its own affairs under its own officers, unaffected by any internal interference on the part of the civil authority. It jealously guarded its independence when the worldly power exchanged its attitude of hostility for one of friendship and alliance. In matters ecclesiastical ecclesiastical authority continued supreme. This was no immunity of privilege granted now for the first time as a

once carried to him his sentence was final, and was executed by the secular authorities. From Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical History* (i. 9, p. 21, Cantab. 1720) it would appear that this privilege was granted by Constantine. It is clearly recognized by a law of Arcadius and Honorius (*Cod. Justin.* lib. i. tit. 4, leg. 8, tom. ii. p. 33). Valentinian III. carefully distinguishes between religious causes, in which bishops and presbyters had a prescriptive right to judge, and civil causes, in which they had no inherent right to act judicially; but he recognizes their jurisdiction in the civil causes when the free choice of the litigants has selected them in preference to the state judges (*Valentin. Novell.* 12, ad calc. *Col. Theod.*). Thus bishops were made, by virtue of their office, not only arbitrators between members of their flocks, but also magistrates before whom any that pleased might carry their suits to be by them finally and legally settled. The burden of judicial business became so heavy (see St. Augustine, *Epistola* xxxiii. Migne, al. 147), that it was devolved upon presbyters (*St. Aug. Epist.* ccxiii. Migne, al. 110), deacons (*Concil. Tarracon.* can. iv.; *Hard. Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1042, Paris, 1714), and laymen (Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 37, p. 321; Oxon. 1844); whence probably there arose the existing custom of the bishops appointing lay chancellors to preside in their courts. Episcopal jurisdiction did not, however, extend to criminal causes, but was confined to civil questions and pecuniary suits. Bishops were forbidden by canon law to interfere with criminal cases (see *Concil. Tarracon.* can. iv.).

(2) *Episcopal intercession.*—In pecuniary cases bishops were magistrates, in criminal cases they were intercessors. Wherever the arbitrary will of a despotic sovereign has power over life and liberty, a right of intercession is sure to become vested in the ministers of religion, the reason being that the religious character alone invests its possessor with so much awe as to enable him to dare to resist the passionate and capricious fury of otherwise uncontrolled power. Such a right begins in the courageous act of some brave ecclesiastic, and first being recognized by custom, is afterwards confirmed by law. When, at a more advanced stage of civilisation, punishments are calmly meted out by the scales of justice, the right of intercession necessarily ceases. The propriety of the privilege is argued in two letters that passed between Macedonius and St. Augustine (*Ep.* ciii. ciii. Migne, al. 53, 54); the latter, in interceding with the tribune Marcellinus for the fanatics called *Circumcelliones*, advances very strong claims: "If you do not listen to a friend who asks, listen to a bishop who advises; though, as I am speaking to a Christian, I shall not be too bold if I say that in such a case as this you ought to listen to your bishop that lays his injunction on you, my noble lord and dear son" (*Ep.* cxxxiii. Migne, al. 159). He addresses the proconsul Apringius on the same occasion in the same strain (*Ep.* cxxxiv. Migne, al. 160). Flavian, when the people of Antioch had raised a futile rebellion against Theodosius, proceeded to Constantinople. "I am come," he said to the emperor, "as the deputy of our common Master, to address this word to your heart, 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, then will your heavenly Father also forgive you your

trespasses.'" He returned with a message of pardon. Eparchius, a monk who lived in Angoulême in the 6th century, exercised so great an influence over the neighbouring magistrates that the populace rose and compelled a judge, who was about to yield to his intercession, to execute a robber that had been guilty of murder (*Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc.* vi. 8, p. 379; el. Migne, 1849). In the 7th century (A.D. 633) a canon of the fourth council of Toledo, repeated in the sixth council of Arles (A.D. 813), enjoins on bishops the duty of protecting the poor, repressing over-severe judges, and, if necessary, reporting to the king (*Conc. Tolet.* iv. can. xxxii; *Conc. Arelat.* vi. can. xvii; *Hard. Concil.* tom. iii. p. 587; tom. iv. p. 1005).

Closely connected with the privilege of intercession, were the further privileges of protection of the weak, of asylum, of censorship of the public morals; all of which, like the right of intercession, are based upon the character belonging to the minister of religion, not upon the decision of an arbitrary statute.

(3) *Interference in behalf of the weak.*—This practice, begun at the risk of the bishop, became sanctioned by the laws of the empire. Widows and orphans were counted the especial charge of the bishop, and their property was placed under his guardianship. St. Ambrose tells his clergy that they will do well if through their means the attacks of the powerful, which the widows and orphans cannot resist, are beaten back by the protection of the church. He warns them not to let the favour of the rich have weight with them, and reminds them how often he had himself resisted assault in behalf of the widow, and indeed of any one who required his help (*De Officiis Minist.* ii. 29, Op. tom. ii. p. 105). Justinian legalized the bishop's right of protection in the case of prisoners, of children stolen from their parents, of lunatics, of foundlings, of minors, of oppressed women (*Cod. Justin.* lib. i. tit. 4, legg. 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 33; tom. ii. pp. 35-39). The fifth council of Orleans (A.D. 549), decreed that the archdeacon or other church officer should visit the prisons, and see that the prisoners were cared for, and further, that the bishop should provide them with food (*Conc. Arelat.* v. can. xx.; *Hard. Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1417). Gregory of Tours describes a good bishop as getting justice for the people, helping the poor, consoling the widow, and protecting the minor, as parts of his official duties (*Greg. Turon.* iv. 35).

(4) *Sanctuary.*—Out of the rights of intercession and protection there necessarily grew on the one side the right of sanctuary, on the other the right of censure. If the weak and the accused could look to the bishop for help, they naturally fled to him when help was needed; and if the bishop might advocate the cause of the accused and of the suffering, he had to make but one step to censuring the judge and the oppressor. That churches or temples should be places of asylum is founded on natural piety, not on positive law; and until law is all powerful, it is necessary that there should be such refuges from sudden fury. They existed under the Jewish and the various pagan religions, as well as under the Christian religion; and not only Christian churches, but statues of the emperor and the imperial standard originally enjoyed the privi-

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lege. We find the custom of sanctuary acknowledged and acted on in the time of St. Basil (*Greg. Nazianz. Orat.* xx. *De Laud. Basil.* Op. tom. ll. p. 353; Paris, 1630), St. Chrysostom (*Op. tom.* viii. p. 67, ed. Savil), Synesius (*Ep.* livll. Op. p. 201; Paris, 1630). Arcadius abrogated it at Eutropius' instance, A.D. 398 (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 45, leg. 3, tom. iii. p. 361); but when Eutropius had himself to claim sanctuary this abrogation was itself abolished (So- crates *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 5). Shortly afterwards Theodosius II. enacted a law extending the privilege of sanctuary from the interior of the church to its environs (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 45). The persons who were allowed to take sanctuary were by no means all classes of criminals, as afterwards was the case through abuse of the original right. It was intended for the defeated party in any civil affair, for slaves that were in danger of cruel treatment, for debtors, unless they were debtors to the state; in general, for the innocent, the injured, the oppressed, and any whose criminality was doubtful, and for whom intercession might seem likely to be of avail. Such persons, provided they came unarmed, had protection for thirty days. Slaves were protected, at first for one day (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 45, leg. 5), afterwards till their masters gave a promise to spare them corporal punishment (*Concil. Epaemense*, A.D. 517, can. xxxix; *Hard. Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1051); for breaking which promise the masters were liable to suspension from communion (*Concil. Aurelianense* v. A.D. 549, can. xxii; *Hard. Concil.* tom. ii. p. 1447). Ordinary criminals, as robbers and murderers, were not admitted till later times, when the privilege of asylum became incompatible with the due execution of the laws, and was abrogated with the applause of all lovers of justice and morality. Charles the Great, A.D. 779, forbid any subsistence being supplied to murderers, though by that time they had made good their right not to be directly delivered up to justice.

(5) *Censorship.*—The censorship vested in the clergy was partly a right founded on the fact that the church, as a religious body, took cognisance of immorality within its own body, and exacted of its members the discipline of penance; partly it was a privilege recognized by law, arising out of the privilege of intercession, and indeed forming a branch of it. The council of Arles, A.D. 314, instructed bishops to have a special oversight of such civil magistrates as were Christians, and to cut them off from the church if they acted contrary to her laws (*can.* vi; *Hard. Concil.* tom. i. p. 264). St. Basil very boldly censured so purely a political set as that of separating Cappadocia into two provinces, A.D. 371, because it threw an increased burden of taxes on the poor (*Ep.* cclxxxix. *ad Martinianum*, Op. tom. iii. p. 369; Paris, 1638). St. Gregory Nazianzen declared to rulers and governors (*Βυζαντινὰ καὶ ἑξωτερικά*) that the law of Christ subjected them to his tribunal (*Orat.* xvii. Op. tom. i. p. 271; Colon. 1690); Synesius excommunicated Andronicus, president of Lybia (*Ep.* livll. Op. p. 201); Orestes' hatred of Cyril of Alexandria was not only personal, but also "because the authority of the bishop took away so much from the power of the king's officers" (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 13, p. 293).

The penance performed by Theodosius I. at the command of St. Ambrose was a conspicuous exhibition of a censorship exerted by a bishop and submitted to by an emperor (Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 25, Op. p. 315; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 17, Op. p. 215; Cantab. 1720). These episcopal acts were performed on the principle that every body spiritual or political has an inherent right of exercising discipline on its own members, even to the point of excluding the refractory from its bosom. But the imperial laws were not slow in giving further rights of censorship to the clergy. We have already seen that it was the duty of the bishop to visit prisoners. The same law (A.D. 409) that imposed upon him this duty gave him also the right of admonishing the judges. Justinian required him, further, to report what he found amiss in the prison, that it might be corrected (*Cod. Justin.* lib. i. tit. 4, legg. 22, 23; *Corp. Jur.* Civ. tom. ii. p. 35). The same emperor likewise empowered bishops to uphold good morals by putting down gaming (*Ibid.* leg. 25); to see that justice was impartially administered (*Ibid.* legg. 21, 31); to resist tyranny on the part of the chief lay authorities, and to look after the administration of public property (*Ibid.* leg. 26).

These rights passed over from the Byzantine empire to the Western nations, and no questions were asked as to whether they were founded in positive law or in prescription. The third council of Toledo, A.D. 589, declared bishops to have, by royal command, the charge of seeing how the judges treated the people (*Conc. Tolet.* iii. can. xviii; *Hard. Conc.* tom. iii. 482). The fourth council we have already seen requires bishops to admonish judges, and to report to the king such judges as disregarded their admonition (can. xxxii.). The same charge was repeated by the sixth council of Arles, A.D. 813 (can. xvii.). It was in France that the mystical signification of the "two swords" was discovered (by Geoffrey, abbot of Vendôme, A.D. 1095), and in accordance with the principle involved in that interpretation, ecclesiastical authority was freely exerted over sovereigns. Louis le Debonnaire, Lothaire, and Charles the Bald, three Carolingian princes, were deposed by councils of the Gallican church, while king Robert, Philip I., and Philip Augustus, like Henry IV., Henry V., and Frederick II. of Germany, suffered Papal excommunication. But it was in France too that the secular authority once more revindicated its right in the memorable struggle between Philippe le Bel and Boniface VIII. at the end of the 13th century. A quarter of a century later we find a conference held before Philippe de Valois (A.D. 1329), in which the whole question of lay and spiritual jurisdiction was argued by Pierre de Cinguières on behalf of the crown, and by the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Autun in behalf of the church, in which the king's advocate alleged sixty-six excesses of jurisdiction on the part of the ecclesiastical courts. Soon after, the *Appel comme d'abus* or *Appellatio iniquam* was instituted, which admitted appeal from an ecclesiastical court to the next civil authority whenever it could be pleaded that the ecclesiastical judge had exceeded his powers or encroached upon temporal jurisdiction. At the council of Trent this right was assailed, but through the influence of the ambassadors of

Charles IX. it was maintained, and it continues still in vigour.

II. **PECUNIARY.** 1. *Immunities allowed.* (1) *Census Caputum or Poll Tax.*—The clergy, their wives, children, and servants were exempted by Constantius from paying the poll-tax, which was levied on all citizens between the ages of 14 and 65, except such as were granted immunity (*Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2, legg. 10, 14*). This was a favour shared by the clergy with the members of other liberal professions. Valentinian exempts the higher class of painters (*Picturae professores, si modo inveniuntur*) from the incidence of the tax (*Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. 4, leg. 4*). This immunity is alluded to and pleaded by Gregory Nazianzen (*Ep. clix. ad Amphilochem*, Op. tom. i. p. 873) and by St. Basil (*Ep. cclxxx. ad Molestum*, Op. tom. iii. p. 272).

(2) *Eporum comitorum advocatis or Soldiers' horses tax; Aurum tinicum or Recruit tax.*—The clergy had to pay their property tax (*census agrorum*) and all burdens on land like other owners and occupiers, but they appear to have been exempted from any local taxation that might be imposed for the supply of horses for the army, or as a substitute for recruits. High-priests of the old pagan religions seem to have shared this immunity (*Cod. Theod. lib. vii. tit. 13, leg. 22*; cum Gothofredi comment.).

(3) *Trading-tax called Cursumyrum* from being paid in gold and silver, and *Iustralis volatio* because collected at the end of each *Istrum*. The inferior clergy were permitted to trade without paying this tax, provided their operations were confined within moderate bounds (*Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. 1, leg. 1, 11*; lib. xvi. tit. 2, legg. 8, 10, 16, 36). This immunity was abused, and clerics were forbidden to trade by Valentinian (*Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. 1, leg. 16*; Valentinian *Novell. 12 ad calc. Cod. Theod.*). The tax was abolished by Anastasius (Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl. iii. 39*; Op. p. 371; Cantab. 1720).

(4) *Melatum or Entertainment-money.*—The clergy were not compelled to receive the emperor, the judges, or soldiers on their circuits or travels. This immunity their houses shared with those of senators, Jewish synagogues, and places of worship (*Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 8*).

(5) *Superindicta or Extraordinary taxes.*—The clergy were exempted from these by Constantius (*Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 8*), by Honorius and Theodosius Junior (*ibid.* leg. 40), and by Justinian (*Justin. Novell. cxxxi. c. 5*).

(6) *Ad instructions reparatimesque itinerum et pontium or Highway rate.*—By a law of Honorius and Theodosius Junior, A.D. 412, church lands were exempted from paying the road-tax; but this exemption was withdrawn A.D. 423 by Theodosius Junior and by Valentinian III., and it was not regranted.

(7) *Census publicus, angariae, parangariae, translatio, erectio, or Conveyance-burden.*—Constantius exempted the clergy from the burden of having to convey corn and other things for the soldiers and imperial officers (*Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 10*), but in the last year of his reign, A.D. 360, he revoked the concession. The immunity was restored A.D. 382, and confirmed by Honorius A.D. 412 (*Cod. Theod. lib. ii. tit. 16, leg. 15*; lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 46), but again revoked by Theodosius Junior and Valentinian, A.D. 440.

(8) *Descriptio lucratorum, denarismus, unciæ or Municipal tax.*—If the property of a member of a town-council (*curia*) passed by will to any one that was not a member of the *curia*, the new owner had to pay a tax to the *curia* amounting to the sum previously paid by the *curialis*. But if the property passed to the church, it was enacted by Justinian that the tax could not be demanded (*Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 2, leg. 22*; *Novell. cxxxi. c. 5*).

2. *Pecuniary Privileges.* (1) *Levities.*—By a law of Constantine (*Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 4*) it was enacted that goods might be bequeathed to the church, no distinction being made between real and personal property. This law was confirmed by Justinian (*Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 2, leg. 13*). Moneys or estates left to the church were administered by the bishop for the general welfare.

(2) *Inheritance.*—Constantine settled the property of confessors and martyrs dying intestate and without near relatives, on the church (Euseb. *vit. Constant. ii. 36*; Op. p. 461; Paris. 1659). Theodosius Junior and Valentinian extended the provision, so as to embrace the case not only of martyrs and confessors, but of all clergymen, monks, and nuns (*Cod. Theod. lib. v. tit. 3, leg. 1*; *Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 3, leg. 20*).

(3) *Forfeiture.*—Justinian enacted that the property of clergymen or monks leaving the clerical or monastic life should be forfeited to the church or monastery with which they had been connected (*Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 3, leg. 55*).

(4) *Confiscation.*—By laws of Honorius and Gratian some of the property which had belonged to the heathen temples (*Cod. Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 10, leg. 20*) and that which was owned by heretics (*ibid. tit. 5, leg. 52*) was confiscated to the use of the church.

(5) *Imperial largess.*—Occasionally large sums were bestowed by the emperors for the support of the clergy. Thus Constantius desired his African Receiver, Ursus, to pay over a vast sum (*πρωχρηματος δολαρις*) to Caeleian, bishop of Carthage, for him to divide among the clergy of Africa Mauritania and Numidia, and enabled him to draw for more (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. x. 6*, p. 722, ed. Burton). On the occasion of an oecumenical council being summoned, the emperor bore the travelling expenses of the bishops.

(6) *State allowance.*—Constantine passed a law requiring the prefects of each province to make an annual grant of corn to the clergy out of the revenues of the province (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl. i. 11*; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl. v. 5*). This allowance was discontinued when Julian occupied the throne, but it was restored on a limited scale after Julian's death. It is recognized by a law of Justinian (*Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 2, leg. 12*).

Tithes are not to be added to this list, as they did not originate in a state grant, but in the voluntary liberality of individuals, grounded partly on a belief that tithes were due by divine right (see St. Hieron. *Com. in Mat. iii. Op. tom. iii. p. 1829*, ed. Ben. Paris, 1704; St. Aug. *Enar. in Psal. cxlvi. 8*; Op. tom. iv. p. 1911, ed. Migne), partly on the evident need of some such provision for the maintenance of the ministers of religion in modest independence. They became general in the 4th century, not as a legal impost but as a voluntary gift (see St. Chrysost. *Hom. iv. in Ephes. s. f.*; Op. tom. iii. p. 781). They

titiorum, denarismus, unciæ, the property of a member (*curia*) passed by will to any member of the *curia*, the new tax to the *curia* amounting to be paid by the *curvitas*. But added to the church, it was that the tax could not be *titia*. lib. i. tit. 2, leg. 22;

leges. (1) *Lejacies*.—By a *Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. 2, it is said that goods might be bequeathed, no distinction being made between personal property. This law was enacted by *Cod. Justin.* lib. i. tit. 2, § 1, estates left to the church by the bishop for the general

Constantine settled the private property of the martyrs dying intestate, and their relatives, on the church (*Eccl. i. 36*; *Op.* p. 461; *Paris*, Junior and Valentinian expressed their case as to embrace the confessors, but of all and nuns (*Cod. Theod.* lib. v. *Justin.* lib. i. tit. 3, leg. 20). *Justinian* enacted that the men or monks leaving the life should be forfeited to the monastery with which they had been connected (*Justin.* lib. i. tit. 3, leg. 55). By laws of Honorius and Proterius property which had belonged to heretics (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. 1, § 1, which was owned by heretics was confiscated to the use

of the emperor. Occasionally large sums were granted to the emperors for the support of the church. *Constantine* desired his subjects to pay over a vast sum of money to Caecilian, bishop of Carthage, to divide among the clergy of that city and Numidia, and enabled him to do so (*Euseb.* *Hist. Eccl.* x. 6, § 1).

On the occasion of a synod being summoned, the emperors were obliged to defray the expenses of the bishops. *Constantine* passed a law that each province to make contributions to the clergy out of the province (*Theodoret.* *Hist. Eccl.* v. 5). This allowance was granted when Julian occupied the throne, but on a limited scale after *Constantine* is recognized by a law of *Justinian*. lib. i. tit. 2, leg. 12).

It is added to this list, as they were granted in a state grant, but in the case of individuals, grounded that tithes were due by divine right. *Com. in Mat.* iii. *Op.* tom. i. *Paris*, 1704; *St. Aug. Enarr.* *Op.* tom. iv. p. 191, ed. 1704. The evident need of some such maintenance of the ministers of the church at independence. They became dependent, not as a legal imposition, but as a legal imposition (see *St. Chrysostom.* *Hom. iv.* *Op.* tom. iii. p. 784). They

were made compulsory by Charles the Great, A.D. 778 (see Selden, *History of Tithes*, Works, vol. iii. pt. 2, p. 1149).

III. OFFICIAL AND SOCIAL. 1. Immunities.—Public offices not bringing with them their own salary and emoluments were looked upon, though honourable in themselves, as burdens, like the office of high-sheriff of a county among ourselves. *Constantine*, on embracing Christianity, exempted the clergy from the burden of hearing any offices whatsoever (*Euseb.* *Hist. Eccl.* x. 7, vol. ii. p. 724; *Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 1, 2, 7). This concession applied to all offices, whether personal (*personalia munera*) or praedial, i.e. attached to property, whether honourable (*honores* or *curialia munera*) or mean (*sordida munera*). No change was made by subsequent laws in respect to personal burdens or menial offices, but the experience of *Constantine* taught him to restrain his first liberality as to the burdens belonging to property. For it was found that immunity from bearing office was counted so great a boon that men of wealth, who had no purpose of undertaking the ministry of the Church, solicited and obtained minor ecclesiastical posts solely with the fraudulent purpose of exempting their estates from the services to which they were liable. *Constantine* therefore enacted that no one qualified by his estate to bear public offices should be allowed "to fly to the clerical name and ministry, and that any who had done so with a view to declining the public burdens should nevertheless be compelled to bear them" (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 3). Succeeding emperors modified these laws of *Constantine* in a manner sometimes more sometimes less favourable to the clergy, the general tendency of the legislation being to exempt the estates of the church from civil burdens, but to preserve the liability of the private property of the clergy—a liability which they had to fulfil either by finding substitutes to perform the necessary duties, or by parting with a portion at least of their lands (*Cod. Theod.* lib. xii. tit. 1, leg. 49, 59, 99, 121, 123, 163; lib. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 19, 21).

Official and Social Privileges. (1) Free election.—In the midst of the despotism of the empire the clergy and laity maintained their old right of electing, and the clergy their right of being elected, to the office and dignity of bishop. "These absolute monarchs respected the freedom of ecclesiastical elections; and while they distributed and resumed the honours of the state and army they allowed eighteen hundred perpetual magistrates to receive their important offices from the free suffrages of the people" (*Gibbon.* *Decline and Fall*, c. xx.). By degrees this right has been taken away in almost all parts of the church, partly on the plea that the civil magistrate represents the laity, partly on the allegation that endowments and civil privileges had been granted by the state, sometimes because it was considered that the security of the state required such a precaution, sometimes from apprehension of the evil consequences expected to arise out of the excitement of free elections, sometimes owing to corrupt agreements, termed concordats, made between the bishop of Rome assuming to represent ecclesiastical interests and the king or emperor of a particular country, representing the civil power.

(2) Authority of the higher over the lower clergy.—The position of the bishops of the larger sees was made one of great dignity and importance by the subjection of the clergy and ecclesiastics of all classes to their uncontrolled authority; and this was not restrained by any interference on the part of the state. The bishop of Constantinople presided as lord over 60 presbyters, 100 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 90 sub-deacons, 110 readers, 25 chanters, 100 doorkeepers (*Justin.* *Novel. cill.*), and a guild of 1100 *coepitæ* or gravediggers. The clergy, under the immediate control of the bishop of Carthage, were upwards of 500. The *metropolitani* alone, at Alexandria, amounted to 600. All these were allowed by the law as well as by custom to form in each central city a society which recognized the bishop as its head with a devotion which was not equalled by the retainers of any civil officer. Beyond this immediate circle of adherents a less defined authority was vested in the metropolitan, extending over all his suffragan bishops.

(3) Rights of meeting and speech.—Twice every year each metropolitan was commanded by the canons, and permitted by the laws, to call together the synod of his province; occasionally the emperor assembled the synod of the empire. At these meetings, as well as in the pulpit, free speech was allowed by the laws, the doctrine and discipline of the church were regulated, ecclesiastical sympathies were strengthened, and the power of the clergy, by being concentrated, was increased.

(4) *Titens of respect*.—It was the custom for the laity, not excluding the emperor, to bow the head to the bishop and to kiss his hand (see instances given in *Valesius'* note on *Theodoret.* *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 6, p. 153, Cantab. 1720; and *Savaro's* note on *Sidonius Apollinaris*, viii. 11, p. 532, Paris, 1609). It was usual to address the bishop by the title of God-beloved or Most holy (*θεοφιλέστατος, ἀγιότατος*), and by still stronger terms of honour, as "Holy Lord and Most Blessed Pope"—words commonly used by *St. Jerome* in writing to *St. Augustine*. "*Per coronam*" was a common form of beseeching a bishop (see *St. Aug. Ep.* xxxiii. al. 157, tom. ii. p. 131, ed. Migne; *Sidon. Apollinaris*, cum comment. *Savan.* vii. 8, p. 440). Its meaning is doubtful, but it is probably equivalent to the phrase "your honour" (see *Bingham.* *Antiquities*, ii. 9, 4). Occasionally Hosannahs were sung before bishops and others eminent for sanctity, but this practice is condemned by *St. Jerome* as savouring of profanity and presumption (*St. Hieron. in Matt.* xxi. 15; *Op.* tom. iv. p. 98). The bishop's seat in his cathedral was called his throne.

There is no doubt that the position of the chief bishops was one of great dignity, authority, wealth, and power. *Gibbon* calculates that the average income of a bishop amounted to 6000 *l.* a-year (chap. xx.). This does not give an accurate idea of the status held by them, as the value of money is constantly changing, and averages are always deceptive. We may regard the bishops of the chief cities of the empire as maintaining a state superior to that of the imperial officers and lay nobles, while the bishops of lesser sees were comparatively poor and obscure men, though enjoying a spiritual equality with their more prominent brethren. The simple presbyter's position was a humble one at a time when

bishops were comparatively more numerous than now and parochial endowments did not exist: the deacon was regarded as little else than one of the bishop's attendants.

We may note in conclusion how little remains of all the privileges and immunities granted to the clergy by the fervour of the first fifth of a converted world. Their judicial privileges and immunities exist no longer, except so far as the coercive power of the bishop's court be regarded as a shadow of them, though once they were considered important enough to lead an archbishop Becket to enter upon a life-and-death struggle with a Henry II. for their maintenance. Their pecuniary privileges and immunities exist no longer, for the grant made in some countries to the clergy from the national exchequer is rather a substitute for estates confiscated than a free gift of love. Their official privileges and immunities exist no longer, unless the permission conceded to bishops to take part in national legislation, and the exemption of the clergy from having to serve in the army or on juries, be regarded as the equivalents of the honours and immunities bestowed by the Caesars with so ungrudging a hand. The apparent tendency of modern legislation, still affected by a reaction from mediæval assumptions, is to approve not only of the civil power resuming the privileges that it had bestowed, but of its transferring to itself those powers of self-government in respect to doctrine and discipline, which were not granted to the church as a favour, but were confirmed to her by Constantine and his successors as hers by prescription and inherent right.

Codex Theodosianus, cum comment. Gothofredi, Lugd. 1665. *Codex Justinianus*, apud *Corpus Juris Civilis*; ed. Beck. Spake, 1829. Thomassinus, *Vetus et Nova Eccles. Disciplina*; Lugd. 1706. Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, books ii. v. viii.; Lond. 1726. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xx.; Neander, *History of the Church*, Second Period, Second Section; Third Period, Second Section. Gieseler, *Text-Book of Ecclesiastical History*, Second Period; First and Second Sections. [F. M.]

IMPLUVIUM seems to be sometimes used to designate the ATRIUM, or court outside the door of a church, in which there was generally a basin or some vessel for performing ablutions [FOUNTAIN; HOLY WATER] (Bingham's *Antiq.* VIII. iii. 5). [C.]

IMPOSITION OF HANDS (*Manus impositio*, χειρῶν ἐπιθεσις, χειροθεσία, χειροπορία). [*Χειροπορία* originally signified election, *per suffragia manuum extensione data*. An election by the people always in the early church preceded consecration, so that it is not surprising that *χειροπορία* soon came to signify the whole process of making a bishop, of which it properly denoted only the first stage (Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v.).

The origin of this rite is to be looked for in patriarchal times, when it seems to have been a form simply of solemn benediction. Thus Jacob, when blessing Ephraim and Manasseh on his death-bed, laid his hands upon them (Gen. xlviii. 14). The high priest employed practically the same gesture as a part of the public ritual (Lev. ix. 22, 23). So the Lord Himself blessed children (Mark x. 16).

It became also a form of setting apart or designation to important offices, as well secular as religious, *e. g.*, in the case of Joshua (Num. xxvii. 18-23; Deut. xxiv. 9). And in connection with the consecration of priests (Lev. viii. 22). Jewish Rabbis were set apart by imposition of hands until comparatively modern times. We pass over the use of this ceremony in the Levitical sacrifices, and also in oaths, as having no Christian equivalent. Though this latter somewhat resembles the custom of swearing with the hand laid upon relics, and upon the volume of the gospels even to modern times.

In the New Testament, we find the laying on of hands used by our Lord both in blessing and in healing; and again He promises to His disciples that they too should lay hands on the sick and they should recover. The apostles laid their hands as the outward sign of the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, both on ordinary Christians after baptism (Acts viii. 17; xix. 6), and on those set apart for a special office (Acts xiii. 3; and probably I Tim. iv. 14; and 2 Tim. i. 6); at the time when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, the doctrine of the "laying on of hands" was one of the elements of Christian teaching (Heb. vi. 1). [DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, vol. iii. p. xcv.]

The imposition of hands is used in the following ceremonies:—

1. *In Ordinations to the higher Orders.* The 4th council of Carthage had canons directing imposition of hands in the ordination of a bishop, priest, or deacon (canon. 2, 3, 4). But another form was provided for the subdeacon, "quia manuum impositionem non accipit." Similarly for the other minor orders (cc. 5-10). See also *Constit. Apost.* lib. viii. c. 16. These were ἀχειροτονῆτος ὑπερελά, an inferior ministry, and the holders insacratii ministri. They were not allowed to enter the *diakonion*, nor handle the *vasa Dominica* or sacred vessels (*Conc. Ancyen.* c. 66; Basil. *Ep. Canon.* c. 51; Bingham, iii. 1). "Manus impositio docet, eos qui sacris ordinibus mancipantur, sacras omnes actiones, quasi sub Deo efficere, utpote quem habent operationum suarum in omnibus ducent ac rectorem" (Pseudo-Dionysius, *De Eccles. Hierarch.* c. 5, par. 3). "Hæc manuum impositio significatur illapsus Spiritus Sancti, quem ordianus precatur dari ordinando: ejusque regimen, directio et protectio, ut scilicet Spiritus Sanctus ordinandum quasi manu sua regat et dirigat" (Amalarius de *Eccles. Offic.* lib. i. c. 12).

Deaconesses also received the *impositio manuum*; and their ordination is expressly called both *χειροπορία* and *χειροθεσία* in the 15th canon of Chalcedon. [ORDINATION.] [S. J. E.]

2. *In the restitution of holy orders*, as in the original conferring, the imposition of the hands of the archbishop formed an essential portion of the rite (Martene, *Rit. Ant.* III. ii.).

3. *In baptism* the laying-on of hands, with unction, followed in the most ancient times imperatively upon the washing of water [BAPTISM, § 13, p. 157]; nor was the custom obsolete in the West in the 13th century (Martene, *R. A. L.* ii. 1 § 3), while in the East it is practised still. This is however to be understood, in the West at least, to refer to baptism at which the bishop himself was present, as was generally the case when baptism took place—except in cases of extremity—only at

to a form of setting apart of important offices, as well secular, in the case of Joshua (Num. Deut. xxiv. 9). And in consequence of consecration of priests (Lev. x. 6) hands were set apart by wash hands but comparatively modern over the use of this ceremony sacrifices, and also in oaths, as than equivalent. Though this resembles the custom of swearing and laid upon relics, and upon the gospels even to modern times, we find the laying on of our Lord both in blessing and again He promises to His disciples should lay hands on the sick recover. The apostles laid their outward sign of the bestowal of , both on ordinary Christians Acts viii. 17; x. 6, and on for a special office (Acts xiii. 3; Tim. iv. 14; and 2 Tim. i. 6); on the Epistle to the Hebrews doctrine of the "laying on of the elements of Christian vi. 1). [DICTIONARY OF THE . xcv.]

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certain solemn seasons. When baptism was frequently celebrated in the absence of a bishop, while the laying-on of hands and chrismation on the forehead was a privilege of the episcopal order (R. A. I. ii. 3, § 2), the custom arose of the baptized being presented to the bishop at some convenient season separate from that of baptism. [CONFIRMATION.] The Arabic bishops, called Nicene (c. 55), desire the clove-scorpion in his circuits to cause the boys and girls to be brought to him, that he may sign them with the cross, pray over them, lay his hands upon them, and bless them. Bede tells us that Cuthbert used to journey through his diocese, laying his hands upon those who had been baptized, that they might receive the Holy ghost (Vita Cuthberti, c. 29, in Migne's Patrol. xiv. 799 D) Ancient authorities, however, give at least as great prominence to the chrismation on the forehead which was reserved for the bishop, as to the laying-on of hands. See on the whole subject Martene, De lit. Ant. lib. i. c. ii.; Binterim, Denkwürdigkeiten, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 206 ff.

4. In the reception of a heretic into the church, whose baptism was recognised as valid, imposition of hands was the form of conferring those gifts of the Holy Spirit which he could not have received in a heretical community [CONFIRMATION, p. 425; HERESY, p. 768].

5. In benedictions the laying-on of hands is constantly used; as, in the benediction of an abbat (R. A. II. l. 3); of a virgin dedicated to a religious life (ib. II. iv. 16); of a king (ib. II. x.), as when St. Columba, who was an abbat and not a bishop, laid his hands on the head of Aidan and consecrated him as king (Cumineus Albus, Vita S. Columbae c. 5, in Acta SS. Bened. sæc. 1).

6. In the visitation of the sick the priest and the faithful who are with him are directed to lay hands on the sick (Martene, R. A. I. vii. 4, Ordd. 4, 5, 14, etc.) with the prayer that the Lord would vouchsafe to visit and relieve His servant.

7. In absolution the laying-on of hands accompanied the prayer for the remission of the sins of the penitent (Martene, R. A. I. vi. 3, Ordd. 3, 9, etc.) [C.]

IMPOTENT MAN, CURE OF. Guénauld mentions (s. v. "Boiteux," p. 164) a fine bas-relief of the cure of the lame man at the gate of the Temple, with apparent reference to Acts iii. 2, as published in Monumenta cryptarum Vaticani, Angulus de Gabrielis, fol. pl. lxxix. no. 3. Notice of the universally-treated subject of the healing of the paralytic man will be found under the heading PARALYTIC. [R. St. J. T.]

IMPRISONMENT OF THE CLERGY.

Seclusion of criminal clerks, generally in a monastery, appears to have been resorted to as a disciplinary measure as early as the 6th century. Justinian (Novellæ, cxliii. c. 20) orders "that if any presbyter or deacon were convicted of giving false evidence in a civil case, he should be suspended from his function and confined to a monastery for three years." Laymen were scourged for this crime. So the 2nd council at Seville (can. 3), in the case of vagrant clergy: "Desertorum tamen clericum, cingulo honoris atque ordinationis suae exutum, aliquo tempore monasterio relegari convenit:

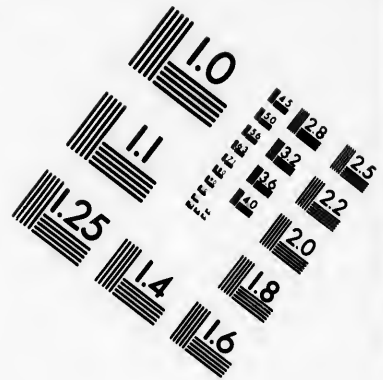
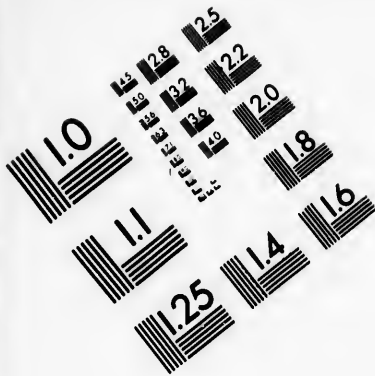
sicque postea in ministerio ecclesiastico ordines revocari." A similar canon directing deposition upon clerks guilty of certain crimes, passed at the council of Agde (c. 1). A distinction was drawn by the inferior clergy (junior) and the higher orders (honorary). The former were to receive forty stripes, save one, whilst the latter were imprisoned thirty days for the same offence (Conc. Matisson. l. can. 8). Pope Gregory the Great seems to have laid down (Epp. vii. 50) an intelligible principle: that such crimes as were by the Mosaic law punished with death, when committed by clerics, incurred the penalty of deposition without hope of restoration (desperationem sacramini dignitatum). To those he added some others, fornication, adultery, and such like; all these incurred excommunication. Other offences were expiated by penitence in a monastery for a longer or shorter time (Thomassin, Vet. et Nova Eccl. Disc. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 59). Individuals would sometimes segregate themselves of their own accord to expiate some fault. The same Gregory praises (Epp. vii. 12) Saturninus, bishop of Jadera (= Zara), in Dalmatia, for so doing in order to atone for communicating with the excommunicated archbishop of Salona (ib. c. 59). Joannes Defensor, whom Gregory had sent into Spain to execute a sentence of six months' relegation to a monastery upon a certain bishop who had driven an unwilling neighbour from his see, pronounced the sentence far too lenient. The same punishment was inflicted upon certain bishops who had condemned an innocent person. When Gregory imprisoned clerics he was in the habit of making an annual payment for their maintenance to the monastery that received them (Thomassin, u. s. III. lib. ii. c. 29), but whether derived from the offender's beneficence, or the property of the pope himself, does not appear. The tendency was perhaps to bear more lightly on crimes of the kind mentioned above; but incontinence was always heavily punished. Hincmar, and after him Flodard, tell the story of Gueball, bishop of Laudunum (Laon), who for a crime of this kind was condemned to seven years' penitence, and even put into fetters by his metropolitan, Remigius, bishop of Rheims (Hincmar, Vita S. Remigii.). And for capital crimes the incarceration was for life, and included a sentence of perpetual lay-communion (Conc. Epawn. can. 22).

But during the reign of Charlemagne a somewhat milder rule prevailed. Hincmar, and also Rabanus, archbishop of Mentz, were inclined to distinguish between secret crimes, and those which caused open scandal, and to treat the former more leniently upon confession and repentance. Probably the general declension of morals at that period forced them to make some abatement from the rigid rules of a purer age. Accordingly, canonical punishments were generally lightened from this time (Thomassin, u. s. tom. ii. lib. i. c. 60; Bingham, bk. xvii. c. 4).

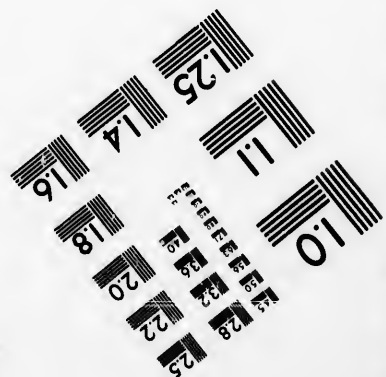
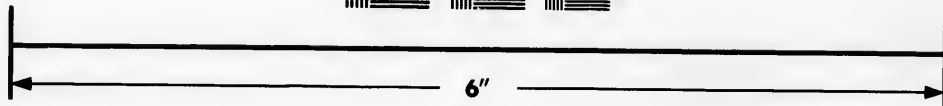
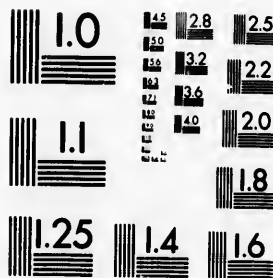
The larger churches had sometimes prisons in their precincts as well as monasteries [DECANTIA.] [S. J. E.]

IMPROPRIATION is the assignment of ecclesiastical tithes to a layman, and is to be distinguished from appropriation, which is the





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assignment of them to a college or other corporation, some of whose members are in orders. The practice seems to have sprung up only about the beginning of the 9th century.

Very soon after the payment of TITHES (see the article) became general, the alienation of them by the laity began. Thus a council at Ingelheim (A.D. 948) in its 8th canon protests against this new form of robbery: "Ut oblationes fidelium, quatenus altari deferantur, nihil omnino ad laicalem potestatem, dicente Scriptura, 'Qui altari serviunt, de altario participantur.'" (So Thomassin, *Vet. et Nova Eccl. Discip.* III. lib. i. c. 7, n. 8), who interprets this canon as referring to tithes. Louis IV. of France, and the emperor Otho, were present at this council. To the same effect a council of Metz in its 2nd canon, quoting Mal. iii. 8-10. It was not uncommon for the lay lords to seize the opportunity of the vacancy of a bishopric or a parish, to make these depredations (*Vid.* Thomassin, tom. iii. lib. ii. c. 53, for instances of this). And we find even that the monks of St. Denis had got possession of some tithes (it does not appear how) and wanted to sell them. This seems to be a distinct case of appropriation, and we learn the facts from a letter to them of Hincmar of Rheims, who protests against their selling what they ought to restore to the parish priest.

But any instances we find in these times are exceptional, and apparently the result of violent and illegal seizure by laymen of ecclesiastical dues. As Thomassin observes: "Necdum tunc in mentem quidquam venisse de decimis infeudatis. Involuerant decimas Laici, necdum pacifice possidebant, necdum obducere poterant huic rapinae vel eorum legitima possessionis. Quin identidem commonebantur profanal deprædatores, ut ecclesie restituerent, quae jure retineri non possent" (tom. iii. lib. i. c. 7).

It is in the next and succeeding ages that we must look for impropriation as a legally recognised condition of ecclesiastical property.

[S. J. E.]

IN PACE. [INSCRIPTIONS, p. 854 ff.]

INCENSE. There is no trace of the use of incense in Christian worship during the first four centuries. On the contrary, we meet with many statements in the writings of the early fathers which cannot be reconciled with the existence of such a custom. Thus Athenagoras, A.D. 177:—"The Creator and Father of the universe does not require blood nor smoke, nor the sweet smell of flowers and incense" (*Legatio*, § 13). Tertullian, A.D. 198, comparing certain Christian customs with heathen, says, "It is true, we buy no frankincense; if the Arabians complain of this, the Sabæans will testify that more of their merchandise, and that more costly, is lavished on the burials of Christians, than in burning incense to the gods" (*Apol.* c. xlii.). "I offer Him a rich sacrifice . . . not one pennyworth of the grains of frankincense," &c. (*ib.* c. xxx.). Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 192, contrasting the reasonable service of Christians with that of the heathen says, that "the truly holy altar is the just soul, and the perfume from it holy prayer" (*Strom.* lib. vii. c. vi. § 32). "If then they should say that the great High Priest, the Lord, offers to God the incensa (*θυμία*) of sweet

smell, let them not suppose that the Lord offers this sacrifice and sweet smell of incense, but let them understand that He offers on the altar the acceptable gift of charity and spiritual perfume" (*Iacoby*, lib. ii. c. 8, § 57). Arnobius, A.D. 298, says of the use of frankincense among the heathen, "It is almost a new thing, nor is the term of years impossible to be traced since the knowledge of it flowed into these parts . . . But it in the olden times neither men nor gods sought after the matter of this frankincense, it is proved that it is vainly and to no purpose offered now" (*Adv. Gentes*, lib. vii.). Lactantius, A.D. 303:—"It follows that I show what is the true sacrifice of God . . . lest any one should think that either victims, or odours, or precious gifts are desired by God . . . This is the true sacrifice, not that which is brought out of a chest, but that which is brought out of the heart" (*Divin. Instit. Epit.* c. 2). He also quotes with approbation a saying of the Neo-Platonists, that "frankincense and other perfumes ought not to be offered at the sacrifice of God" (*Divin. Instit.* lib. vi. § 25). St. Augustine, 396:—"We go not into Arabia to seek for frankincense, nor do we ransack the packs of the greedy trader. God requires of us the sacrifice of praise" (*Enarr. in Ps.* xlix. § 21). The above are brief extracts from passages, often of considerable length, all bearing on the subject; and not a single author makes the least allusion to any Christian rite of incense, or any reservation from which we could infer that such a rite existed. Their language precludes the supposition.

It is probable, however, that incense was very early employed in Christian places of worship as a supposed disinfectant, and to counteract unpleasant smells; and that this was the origin of that ritual use of it, which began in the 6th or possibly the 5th century. Tertullian, who, as we have seen, denies by implication the ritual use, yet says, "If the smell of any place offend me, I burn something of Arabia; but not," he adds, "with the same rite, nor the same dress, nor the same appliance, with which it is done before idols" (*De Cur. Mil.* c. 10). The following is a benediction of Incense, used in the days of Charlemagne and later, in which no other object than that which Tertullian had in burning it is recognized:—"May the Lord bless this incense to the extinction of every noxious stench, and kindle it to the odour of its sweetness" (Martene, *De Eccl. Ant. Rit.* lib. i. c. 4, Art. 12, ord. 5, 6). There is no mention of incense in the so-called liturgy of St. Clement, which is supposed to represent the offices of the 4th century; nor indeed in the *Apostolical Constitutions* with which it is incorporated. Pseudo-Dionysius (probably about 520, but possibly somewhat earlier) is the first who testifies to its use in religious ceremonial:—"The chief priest (bishop) having made an end of sacred prayer at the divine altar, begins the censuring with it, and goes over the whole circuit of the sacred place" (*Hierarch. Eccl.* c. lii. sect. 2; comp. sect. 3, § 3). A thurible of gold is said by Evagrius to have been sent by a king of Persia to a church in Antioch about 584 (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 21). The most ancient *Ordo Romanus*, which Cave supposes to have been compiled about 730, and which may belong to the 7th century, orders that in pontifical masses a subdeacon, bearing a golden censet,

suppose that the Lord offers sweet smell of incense, but let that He offers on the altar the charity and spiritual perfume" (8, § 67). Anolinus, A.D. 298, frankincense among the heathen a new thing, nor is the term to be traced since the knowledge into these parts. . . . But it neither man nor gods sought of this frankincense, it is proved not to no purpose offered now" (vii.). Lactantius, A.D. 303:—

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however, that incense was very Christian places of worship as actant, and to counteract unpleasant that this was the origin of that which began in the 6th or possibly. Tertullian, who, as we have mention the ritual use, yet says, "any place offend me, I burn incense; but not," he adds, "with the same dress, nor the same which it is done before idols" (10). The following is a benediction, used in the days of Charlemagne in which no other object than incense in burning it is referred to by the Lord bless this incense to every noxious stench, and kindle of its sweetness" (Martene, *De lib.* i. c. 4, Art. 12, ordl. 5, 6). The use of incense in the so-called ment, which is supposed to be of the 4th century; not in the *Constitutio* with which

1. Pseudo-Dionysius (probably possibly somewhat earlier) is the first to its use in religious ceremonies (bishop) having offered prayer at the divine altar, with it, and goes over the whole altar place" (*Hierarch. Eccles.* c. 3, § 3). A thrub of gold was to have been sent by a king church in Antioch about 564 vi. c. 21). The most ancient which Cave supposes to have been used about 730, and which may belong to the 8th century, orders that in pontifical consecration, bearing a golden censer,

shall go before the bishop (of Rome) as he leaves the *secretarium* for the choir, and two with censers before the deacon gospeller as he proceeds with the gospel to the ambo (§§ 7, 11, in *Musae. Ital.* tom. ii.). These rules are also given in the next revision of the Ordo, which may be a century later (§§ 4, 8). This latter document says also, "After the gospel has been read . . . the thuribles are carried about the altar, and afterwards taken to the nostrils of persons (hominum), and the smoke is drawn up towards the face by the hand" (§ 9). This probably originated in its earlier natural use as a means of sweetening and (as they thought) purifying the air; but we see in it the probable origin of the strictly ritual censuring of persons in the West. In the same Ordo, which was certainly in use before Analarus wrote (about 827), is a direction that after the oblates and the chalice have been set on the altar, with a view to their consecration, "the incense be put on the altar" (§ 9). Here we have the probable germ of the later "censing of the gifts." It is probable, however, that such ritual practices were for some time confined to Rome. We do not observe any reference to the use of incense in the Gallican Liturgies which were in use down to the time of Charlemagne, nor is it mentioned by Germanus of Paris, A.D. 555, in his explanation of liturgical rites (Martene, u. s. ord. 1), nor by Isidore of Seville, A.D. 610, in his book on the offices of the church. We may also infer its rarity within our period, and the little importance attached to it throughout the 9th century, from the fact that it is not mentioned by Florus of Lyons, Rabanus of Meatz, or Walafrid of Reichenau, in works largely devoted to questions of ritual.

The so-called *Missæ Mlyricæ* (Martene, u. s. ord. 4) preserves the Scriptural symbolism by directing the priest to say, when the incense is burnt, "Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense" (Ps. cxli. 2). But in the same and later ordines [ORDO] it represents divine influence on the soul, according to the following explanation of Amalarus:—"The thrub denotes the body of Christ in which is fire, to wit, the Holy Spirit, from whom proceeds a good odour, which every one of the elect wishes to snatch towards himself. The same odour is a token that virtue (bonam operationem) goes forth out of Christ, which he who wishes to live passes into his own heart" (*De Eccles.* offic. lib. iii. c. 18). The reader will observe the allusion to the mode of inhaling the smoke above described.

This notice would be imperfect without a reference to certain passages from early writers, which have led some to suppose that notwithstanding the authorities above cited, the ritual use of incense was known in the Christian church from the beginning. As the earliest testimony we often see alleged the third apostolical canon, which forbids that "beside honey and milk, and new ears of corn and bunches of grapes in their season [see FRUITS, OFFERING OF], anything else shall be offered on the altar, at the time of the holy oblation, than oil for the lamp and incense" (Bever. *Pandect.* tom. i. p. 2). The Arabic paraphrase has more generally, "in the time of the oblations and prayers" (ib. tom. ii.; *Annot.* p. 16). It will be seen that this canon does not

mention the ritual use of incense, nor can it be shown that the incense mentioned was designed for such use. It was without doubt often used as a perfume, and in the caves and catacombs in which the first Christians often worshipped, and in which their dead were frequently buried, would sometimes be thought almost as necessary as the lamp-oil, on behalf of which a similar exception was made. We must add too that the whole of the clause above cited looks like a late addition to the very simple code which is assigned, with probability, to the middle of the 3rd century, though the first mention of it occurs in 394 (Tillemont, *Mem. Eccl.* tom. ii. p. 76). Pseudo-Hippolytus, alleged as the bishop of Portus, 220, but in reality some centuries later:—"The churches lament, with a great lamentation, because neither the oblation nor (the rite of) incense is celebrated" (*De Constant. Mundi.* c. 34). Here we have nothing more than an imagery borrowed from well known rites of the Mosaic law. The language was probably suggested by that of the following passage in St. Basil, 370, which has been brought forward with the same object:—"The houses of prayer were cast down by unholly hands, the altars were overthrown, and there was no oblation nor incense, no place of sacrifice, but fearful sorrow, as a cloud, was over all" (*In Gordium Mart.* Hom. xix.). St. Basil here is merely in part citing and partly paraphrasing, with reference to the church under persecution, what Azarias in the Song of the Three Children says of the state of Jerusalem during the captivity (*Sept. Vers.* v. 14). St. Ambrose says, with reference to the appearance of the angel to Zacharias "on the right side of the altar of incense" (St. Luke i. 11), "Would that an angel might stand by us also as we burn (or rather heap, *nolescentibus*) the altars" (*Expos. Evang.* s. Luc. lib. i. § 28). Incense is not mentioned here, and "adolere" does not necessarily imply the use of fire, so that no allusion to incense may have been intended. It is probable, however, that the thought of incense was suggested to St. Ambrose by the mention of "the altar of incense." We therefore further point out that if he was thinking of material incense, as used in the Christian church, it must in his time have been burnt on altars, which no one asserts; and, moreover, that St. Ambrose explains himself by a paraphrase of his own words, "as we heap the altars, as we bring the sacrifice." The incense in his mind was "the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." The testament of St. Ephrem the Syrian, a spurious document of uncertain date, is also quoted with the same object:—"I exhort you not to bury me with sweet spices . . . but to give the fumigation of sweet-smelling smoke in the house of God . . . Burn your incense in the house of the Lord to His praise and honour" (*Test. S. Ephr.* in *Suriæ Vitæ Sanctarum*, Feb. 1). The actual use of incense during the funeral ceremony appears to be intended here; but the evidence of a late forgery is worth nothing. We may add that there was an obvious natural reason, such as the first Christians would have recognized with Tertullian, for burning incense at a funeral; and it is probable that the custom of using it then contributed not a little to the introduction of the practice as a purely religious rite.

[W. E. S.]

INCEST (*Incestus*) is defined by the Decree of Gratian (cans. 36, qu. 1, c. 2, § 4) thus: "Incestus est consanguineorum vel affinitum abusus," where we are of course to understand affinity or consanguinity such as would be an impediment to matrimony (Van Espen, *Jus Eccles.* P. iii. tit. iv. cc. 48, 49).

Christian morality extended the range of "prohibited degrees" within which it was unlawful to contract matrimony, and consequently the conception of incest, much beyond that of the heathen world. The apologists, as Minucius Felix (*Octav.* c. 31) and Origen (*c. Celsum*, V. p. 248, Spencer) speak with horror of the licence given to Persians and Egyptians of marrying persons near in blood; and Augustine (*De Virginitate*, xv. 16) insists upon the natural loathing which men feel at connexions of this kind. Gothofred (on the *Theodosian Code*, lib. iii. tit. 12) gives many instances of marriages among the Romans—as of uncle with niece—which the feeling of Christendom universally condemns. [AFFINITY; PROHIBITED DEGREES.]

Basil the Great (*ad Amphilocheum*, c. 67) holds incest with a sister to be a crime of the same degree as murder. He who commits incest with a half-sister, whether by the father's or the mother's side, during the time that he continues in his sin, is to be absolutely excluded from the church; after he is brought to a sense of his sin, he is for three years to stand among the "Fientes" at the door of the church, begging those who enter to pray for him; then he is to pass another seven years among the "Audientes," as still unworthy to pray with the rest; then, if he show true contrition, and on his earnest entreaty, he may be admitted for three years among the "Substrati;" then, if he bring forth fruits meet for repentance, in the tenth year he may be admitted to the prayers of the faithful, but not to offer with them; then, after continuing two years in this state, he may at last be admitted to holy communion (c. 75). The same punishment is prescribed for one who commits incest with a daughter-in-law (c. 76). He who marries two sisters, though not at the same time, is subject to the penalties of adultery, i. e. two years among the Fientes, two among the Audientes, two among the Substrati, and one among the Consistentes, before he can be admitted to communion. And generally, he who marries within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity (*τῆς ἀρρητιότητος συγγενείας*) is liable to the penalties of adultery (c. 68). The council of Elvira (*Conc. Elb.* c. 61), A.D. 305, allotted to a marriage with a deceased wife's sister the penalty of fifteen years' excommunication; that of Neo-Cæsarea (c. 2), A.D. 314, decreed the excommunication of a woman who married two brothers for the whole of her life, except that in peril of death she might be admitted to communion, on promising to renounce the connexion if she recovered (Bingham, *Antiq.* XVI. xi. 3).

The Penitentials, as might be expected, provide penalties for incest; those, for instance, of Theodore, of Bede, and of Egbert assign to different forms of this sin periods of penance varying from five to fifteen years (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, iii. 179, 328, 420). [C.]

INCLINATION. [GENUFLEXION, p. 725.]

INCLUSI. Monks living in detached cells

within the precincts of the monastery ("intra septa") were termed "Inclusi." These were monks either of long experience or of delicate health (*Conc. Agath.* A.D. 506, c. 38). They were subject to the control of the abbot, but not to the ordinary rules of the monastery (Martene, *Reg. Cæm.* c. 1; Menard, *Concord. Regul.* c. 3, § 6). See HERMITS and HESYCHASTÆ.

[L. G. S.]

INDALECIUS. [HESYCHIUS (1).]

INDICTION. From the middle of the 4th century a new note of time begins to appear in dates; *Indictio*, followed by an ordinal number, from I. to XV., as a character of the year, is appended to its customary designation; e.g., *Cass. M. et N.* (or *Anno ab Incarnatione*)—*Indictione*—In respect of its origin, "Indictio" is a term of the Roman *Fiscus*, meaning "quidquid in præstationem indicitur," notice of a tax (on real property, *Cod. Justin.* x. 6, 3), "assessment," *ἐπιπέτης*; thence it came to denote the year on which the tax was assessed, beginning 1st September, the epoch of the imperial fiscal year. It seems that in the provinces, after Constantine, if not earlier, the valuation of property was revised upon a census taken at the end of every fifteen years, or three *lustra* (Ideler, *Hdb.* 2. 347 sqq., from Savigny, *über die Steuerverfassung unter den Kaiserern*, in the *Transactions of the Berlin Royal Academy*, 1822, 23). From the strict observance of this fiscal regulation there resulted a marked term of fifteen years, constantly recurrent, the *Circle of Indictions*, ἡ ἐκαταετηρίς τῶν ἰνδικτιῶνων (or ἰνδικτιῶν), which became available for chronological purposes as a "period of revolution" of fifteen years, each beginning 1st September: which (except in the Spanish "reainsola") continued to be used as a *chæra* "the year irrespectively of all reference to the epoch." The Indictions (like the "solar cycle" of Sunday letters, twenty-eight years, and the lunar cycle, nineteen years, of "Golden Numbers," beside which this circle has obtained place in chronology) do not form an *era*: the annexed ordinal number is reckoned from the epoch of the circle then current: it is not expressed how many circles have elapsed since any given point of time. It is certain that September 1st is the original epoch of each *indiction* (St. Ambrose, *Epist. ad Episc.* per *Acmil.* 2, 256, *Inditio cum Septembri mense incipit*; and *de Noc et Arcæ*, c. 17. A Septenbri mense annus videtur incipere, sicut Indictionum præsentium usus ostendit). From any given date of a known year to which its *indiction* is added, as e.g., "3 id. August. Symmacho et Bœtio Cass. [= 11 Aug., A.D. 322] in fine Indictionis XV." (Reines, *Inscript.* Id. 978), it results that a circle of *indictiones* began 210 (= 14 × 15) years earlier, i. e., A.D. 312. Now as it is only since Constantine that "Indiction" makes its appearance as a note of time, and as with the defeat and death of Maxentius in the autumn of that year Constantine attained to undisputed empire, the date, A.D. 312, 1 Sept., is accepted as the epoch of the first circle of *indictiones*. Hence the technical rule for finding the *indiction* of each year. To the ordinal number of the given year A.D. (beginning with 1 Jan. ary) add 3; divide the amount by 15: the remainder denotes the *indiction*; if there be no remainder,

s of the monastery ("Intra-
ed" inclusi." These were
experience or of delicate
A.D. 506, c. 38). They were
of the abbot, but not of
of the monastery (Martene,
tenard, *Concord. Regul. c. 3*,
and HESYCHASTAE.

[J. G. S.]

[HERYCHIUS (1).]

From the middle of the
note of time begins to appear,
followed by an ordinal
XV., as a character of the
to its customary designation;
(or *Anno ab Incarnatione*)—
respect of its origin, "In-
of the Roman *fyvus*, meaning
operation *indictur*," notice of
apertly, *Cod. Ju. tin. x. 6, 3*,
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of "Golden Numbers," beside
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is not expressed how many
since any given point of
in that September 1st is the
of each indiction (St. Ambros,
epist. Amil. 2, 256, Inditio cum
incipit; and *de Noe et Arca*, c.
mense annus videtur incipere,
presentium vsus ostendit).
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the technical rule for finding the
year. To the ordinal number
A.D. (beginning with 1 January)
amount by 15: the remainder
indiction; if there be no remainder,

the year is Indict. 15. Thus, in respect of the
above-cited date, A.D. 522 (August 11th), the
division of 525 by 15 gives no remainder; there-
fore Jan. 1st to Aug. 31st of that year lie in in-
dictio 15, beginning at 1 Sept. of A.D. 521. The
author of the Paschal Chronicle (probably a man
of Antioch) makes the circle of Indictions begin
much earlier, viz. at the epoch of the Antiochene
era, 1 Gorpiaeus = 1 Sept. U.C. 705 = u.c. 49; at
which year he notes: "Here begins the first
year of the 15-year circle of indictions, with the
first year of C. Julius Caesar;" and therefor-
ward he adds to each year its indiction. Twenty-
four complete circles (24 x 15 = 360) and there-
fore at 1 Sept. A.D. 312: and at Ol. 273, 1, *Coss.*
Constantino III., Licinio III., U.C. 1066, beginning
1 January, A.D. 313, he notes: Ἰνδικτιῶνων
Κωνσταντινιῶν ἐνθάδε δοχῆ— to be un-
derstood as meaning that the first eight months of
that consulship belonged to that first year.
(So, throughout, the Indiction in Chron. Pasch.
is attached, not to the year in which it began,
but to the following year, beginning 1 January,
which contains eight months of it. *Comp.*
Clatou, F. R. Append. 1 and 2.) Although
there is no trace elsewhere of this earlier system
of indictions, it does not follow, in the Paschal
Chronicle is entirely without foundation. A
fiscal regulation, proceeding by periods of fifteen
years may, he thinks, have obtained in Syria
and other Eastern provinces; and the assumption
would serve to explain the circumstance, else
unaccounted for, that in the reckoning of Antioch,
the year (of the era of the Selencidae) begins
1 September, not at the old 1 October. Some
later writers, misled by the merely technical
rule above given, have assumed that the in-
dictions actually had their beginning three years
before the Nativity, i.e. before our A.D. 1, with
the "decree of Caesar Augustus that all the
world should be taxed" (St. Luke iii. 1). So
says Duranti—a writer of the 13th century
(*Speculum Juris. t. i. pt. 1, p. 281*): "Caesar
Aug. decretum proposuit, ut describeretur un-
iversus orbis; i.e., ut quilibet aestimaret bona sua,
describens orbem sub tributo sibi singulis quin-
decim annis reddendo, quod quidem tempus divisit
per tria lustra," &c. And the rule concerning
three years to be added to the year-date (A.D.)
rests, he adds, on the fact, "quia tot praecesserant
de indictione quando Christus natus fuit, vel quia
praemisum edictum Caesaris tribus annis prae-
cepit Nativitate Christi."

It is only in the latter half of the 4th century
that the indictions first appear in dates. St.
Athanasius, in a fragment of his work *de*
Synodis, opp. t. i. pt. 2, p. 737, gives "in-
dictio XIV.," with the date (= A.D. 341) of the
council of Antioch; but that work was written
towards the close of his life (ob. 371), at which
time this method of dating was in common use.
The earliest clear instance is the date of a decree
of Constantius (*Cod. Theod. xii. 12, 2*), of the
year 358, or rather (for the text needs correc-
tion) 357. From the earliest years of that cen-
tury the yearly appointment of consuls became
irregular, and from time to time the designation
of the year, instead of *Coss. M. et N.*, became
post consulatum M. et N. There was even an
uncertainty in the numbering of a set of post-
consulate years: for instance, some would de-
scribe, ANT.

signate the first vacant year *anno post consul-*
atum M. N. l.: others, after the old fashion of
numbering, *anno ii.* (Pagi, *Dissert. Hypat. p.*
319; Ideler, 2, 345 note). A further source
of uncertainty was the difference of epochs of
the year. But the fifteen-years' circle of in-
dictions once established throughout the empire
provided a correction for all such uncertainty,
so long as it continued to be understood, that the
year of indiction began on the 1st of September
(preceding the 1st of January of the year found
by the rule above given). And, in fact, this was
the established practice during the greater part
of the period with which we are concerned in this
work. In the *Codex Theodosianus*, indeed, its
learned annotator, Gothofred, finds indications
of four distinct reckonings of the indictions, viz.
the *Italiae*, A.D. 312; *Orientalis*, 313; and two
of Africa, 314 and 315. As regards the sup-
posed *Orientalis*, Cardinal Norris (*De Anno et*
Epochis Syro-Maced. Dissertat. IV. c. iv.: *Opp.*
t. ii. col. 422 sqq.) has shown that its epoch is
the 1st September, A.D. 312. Concerning the
two supposed different African reckonings, see
Ideler (*Urb. 2, 354 sqq.*; *Lehrb. p. 400*). Apart
from these inferences from the Theodosian Codex,
we find no trace, except here and there in corrupt
texts and negligent dates, of a different reckon-
ing: Dionysius Exiguus knows no other than
that which is expressed by the usual rule (*Argu-*
menta paschalia, ii.). To trace the history of
the use of the indictions through the different
provinces of the Roman empire would, as Ideler
remarks, require extensive disquisition. In re-
spect of France, Mabillon has shown (*de re*
diplomat. t. 2, 26), that this note of time does
not appear in public acts before Charlemagne,
but in acts of councils, and in writers, it is found
earlier. But far down into the middle ages its
use became so general that it is rarely absent
from dates attached to civil or ecclesiastical
documents in Italy, France, Germany (in the
Pyrenean peninsula it seems never to have been
established). Duranti, writing in the 13th cen-
tury, testifies (u. s.): "Tante fuit auctoritatis
indictio, ut nullus sine ea fieret contractus, nec
pillegium, nec testamentum, nec alia scriptura
solvennis: et etiam hodie eandem obtinet aucto-
ritatem."

With the desuetude of the Imperial fiscal
regulation, with which the indictions originated,
the original epoch, 1st September, ceased to be
significant—except in the Eastern empire, where
that day was established as the first day of the
year: wherever in the *Corpus Historie Byzanti-*
nae the indictions occur, they are those of
1st September, 312. Even in the West, beyond
the limits of our period, they are still occasion-
ally met with: thus, a writing of Gregory VII.,
A.D. 1073, bears the subscription, "Datum
Carpuae, Kalend. Sept., incipiente Indictione XII."
But in process of time the indiction, detached
from its original epoch, came to be dated from the
new-year's day, as received at the time, December
25th, or January 1st, or March 25th. Distinct
from these indictions used by various popes in
their bulls, and by other writers, is one which
has been called "Caesarean," of which the first
notice occurs in Bede, *de temp. ratione*, c. 46:
"Incipiunt Indictiones ab vii. Kalend. Octobris,
Ibidemque terminantur." This, of which there
is extant no earlier indiction (but which, so

great was the authority of the writer, may have influenced the practice of the Imperial chancelleries), is probably due to an assumption of Bede, that the old epoch of the Byzantine year, September 24th, was accepted by Constantine as the epoch of the indictons established by him. [H. B.]

INDULGENCE. (I.) The use of the word *Indulgentia* by ecclesiastical writers is derived from that of the juriconsults, who employ it to designate a remission of punishment or of taxes, especially such a general amnesty as was sometimes proclaimed by an emperor on an extraordinary occasion of rejoicing. Thus the Theodosian Code has a title *De Indulgentiis Criminum* (Van Espen, *Jus Eccles.*, P. II. sec. I. tit. 7). Hence the word passed into ecclesiastical usage in a double sense. First, it designates remission of sins, as in what Reticus, bishop of Autun, according to St. Augustine (*c. Je'han.* i. 3), observed of baptism as early as the Roman synod under pope Melchisedes, A.D. 313: "It can escape nobody that this is the principal indulgence known to the church, where we lay aside the whole weight of our hereditary guilt, and cancel all our former misdeeds committed in ignorance, and put off the old man with all his innate wickednesses." In this passage, indulgence stands immediately for remission of sins, and that alone. But we are more immediately concerned with it in a second sense, that in which it designates such a lightening of ecclesiastical penalties, in consideration of the state of the offender, as St. Paul practised in the case of the incestuous Corinthian (2 Cor. ii. 6-11). This question of the advisability of such a relaxation first comes prominently before us in the case of those who had "lapsed" or denied Christ to avoid persecution, and for whom martyrs had in many cases interceded. St. Cyprian tells us, in his letter to Antoninus, how it had been discussed and decided by his colleagues in Africa. They held that the church should not be closed irrevocably to such of the lapsed as were desirous of returning to it: nor yet opened indiscriminately till they had undergone their full penance, and had their particular case taken into consideration. "Et ideo placuit . . . examiniatis causis singularum: libellaticis interim admitti, sacrificatis in exitu subveniri: quia exomologesis apud inferos non est, nec ad penitentiam quis a nobis compelli potest, si fructus penitentiae subtrahatur" (*Ep.* lii.). The bishops, he adds, already made distinctions between other crimes, according to their discretion, and therefore might be left to deal with this similarly. No canons for regulating penances of any kind had as yet been passed. It rested accordingly with the bishops to use greater or less indulgence in dispensing them all as they thought fit. It was disputed by Novatian whether they could remit as well as bind: and he maintained that only God could remit. But this was not the doctrine of the church. The fifth of the canons of Ancyra, A.D. 314 (Mansi, II. 516) gives the bishops power to mitigate (*φιλανθρωπεύειν*) penance; so the twelfth Nicene canon gives the bishop power to deal more gently with penitents who have shown true repentance (Munst, II. 673). The merciless rulings of the Elvivan canons 1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 12,

13, 17, 19, 63-66, 70-73, and 75, which forbid certain offenders to be readmitted to communion even on their death-beds,* were neither imitated elsewhere nor maintained in Spain itself (Mansi, *ib.* 5-19). St. Ambrose, speaking for the West, says: "Our Lord must have meant the powers of loosing and binding to be coextensive, or He would not have bestowed both on the same terms" (*De Poen.* l. 2). St. Gregory Nyssen deposes, on behalf of the East, to what had been customary: *Τοῖς ἀθεοεργεῖσις ἐγίνετο τις παρὰ τῶν πατέρων συμπεσοῦσα*, which is the Greek equivalent for "indulgentia" (*Ep. ad Letin.* c. 4).

Usually there were four stages or degrees through which offenders had to pass before regaining communion: (1) weepers, (2) hearers, (3) kneelers, (4) bystanders; and usually several years had to be spent in each. Now the bishop, according to St. Gregory, might, in proportion to their conversion, "rescind the period of their penance; making it eight, seven, or even five years instead of nine, in each stage, should their repentance exceed in depth what it had to fulfil in length, and compensate, by its increased zeal, for the much longer time required in others to effect their cure" (*ib.* c. 5).

So matters went on till about the end of the 7th century. The office of PENTITENTIARY presbyter, abolished by Nectarius, patriarch of Constantinople, three centuries earlier, is not supposed to have produced any change, so far as they were concerned (S-c. v. 19 and Soz. vii. 16). But they were changed materially when the Penitential of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, had begun to work: according to which a rigorous fast of days, weeks, or years, might be redeemed by saying a proportionable number of psalms, or by paying a proportionable fine (c. 3-10, in Migne's *Patrol.* xcix. 337 sqq.). Several of the offences stigmatised in the canons of the synod of Berghamsted, A.D. 697, are dismissed with a fine (Mansi, xii. 111 sqq.). The synod of Cloreshoe, A.D. 747, protests in its 26th and 27th canons against the neglect of discipline to which this "new device" and "perilous custom" had led (*ib.* 493-96). But the Penitential of Egbert, the archbishop of York, not only re-enacts all the commutations authorised by Theodore (*ib.* 433), but adds to them in a subsequent chapter (*ib.* 456), voluntary exile from home and country being one of the new kind allowed. Similar permission is given in the Penitential of Bede, as it is called (*ib.* 519). After this the extension of indulgences to pilgrimages and holy wars was a pure matter of time; and these, from the ardour inspired by both, threw everything else into the shade. The climax was reached when, to make them more attractive, it was formally declared of the one, "iter illud pro omni penitentia reputatur" (*Concil. Clavomont.* c. 2, pp. Mansi, II. 816), and popularly believed of the other, "pro stipendio erat indulgentia peccatorum proposita" (*ib.* pp. 827 and 890). On this point see Maribus, *De Poenit.* x. 22, 1-6, and Bingham, *Ant.* xviii. 4, for earlier times. Gonr (*Euchol.* pp. 680-88)

* It is to be observed that the reading "nec in fluxu" or "nec in fluxum," is changed in some later recensions into that of Burchard—into "non nisi in fluxu," so as to bring it into harmony with the Nicene canon (13) which forbids such total excommunication.—[Ed.]

70-73, and 75, which forbid to be readmitted to ecclesiastical death-bells, were neither nor maintained in Spain (19). St. Ambrose, speaking "Our Lord must have meant and binding to be coexistent not have bestowed both on the (Gen. i. 2). St. Gregory Nyssa of the East, to what had been ἀποβευσίσις ἐπιφέρει τὴν ὁμολογίαν, which is the for "indulgentia" (Ep. ad

were four stages or degrees offenders had to pass before re-ent: (1) weepers, (2) hearers, bystanders; and usually several pent in each. Now the bishop, Gregory, might, in proportion to "rescind the period of their it eight, seven, or even five nine, in each stage, should their in depth what it had to fulfil impenite, by its increased zeal, longer time required in others to (ib. c. 5).

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observed that the reading "in fine," is changed in some later recensions—Richard—into "non nisi in fine," so in harmony with the Nicene canon (13) which excommunication.—[Ev.]

attempts in vain to detect affinity between papal indulgences and the συγχωροχάρτια of the Greek church (comp. Ducange, Gloss. Gr. s. v.).

(II.) Indulgences, or relaxations of the strict letter of the law, are however by no means confined to penitential cases; such relaxations are found in relation to almost all points of conduct. The laws of God, whether known by revelation or by natural light (Augustine, *Quest. 67 in Exod.*), are of course always binding; but under positive human enactments cases may and do occur, in which the rigid enforcement of a law may be a suspension of its operation. Hence, in all states and societies, either the law-giving power or some other has exercised the right of suspending the operation of a law upon occasion. A familiar instance of such a dispensing power is the commutation by the sovereign of this country of sentences passed by the judges in the ordinary course of law. As a law is necessarily rigid, while the real character of human acts cannot be rigidly defined, such a dispensing power seems necessary for the equitable administration of justice.

And this principle is just as true of the church as of other societies; here too we find the strict letter of the law mitigated by authority in special cases from an early period. Such indulgences, or concessions to human weakness, commonly called dispensations, have received various names—remissio, venia, clementia, misericordia, dispensatio; συγχώρησις, συμπίθια, φιλαργυρία, οίκονομία (Suicer, *Theas. s. v.*)—all implying something of the nature of occasional indulgence or εὐμετρία in the administration of a law, the law itself remaining unchanged. A constant exemption of a person or body corporate from the operation of a particular law is called a *privilegium*. The canonists generally limit the use of the word *dispensatio* to the case in which a future transgression of a law is permitted.

Thomassin (*Ecol. Discip.* II. iii. 24, § 14) holds that in the early ages of the church, when few or no councils were held, such dispensations were granted by the bishops; that afterwards, from the end of the 3rd century, councils decided on the cases in which some relaxation of the law of the church was to be allowed; then, as provincial councils frequently referred such matters to the judgment of the see of Rome, that see gradually claimed and exercised a dispensing power independent of councils. The twentieth canon of the (so-called) fourth council of Carthage supplies a good instance of a dispensing power applied to a canon. The council recognises the general prohibition of the translation of bishops from an inferior to a better see "per ambitionem," yet goes on to provide that "if the good of the church requires it," such a translation may be made on the certificate of election being produced in the synod itself. Here a dispensing power seems to be given to the synod; for it must be presumed that it was to decide whether in a particular case "utilitas ecclesie fecundum poscerit." Penitents, digamists, and husbands of widows were by the general law of the church incapable of holy orders; yet pope Sixtus (*Epist. 1 ad Himerium*, c. 15) permits such persons, once ordained, to exercise the functions of their order, though without hope of pro-

motion to a higher. Pope Innocent I., A. D. 414, allows (*Epist.* 22, c. 5) that the bishops of Macedonia might, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, admit to the exercise of their functions those who had been irregularly ordained by Bonosus, a heretic, while he insists strongly on the general maintenance of the rule which for once is violated; it is only "pro necessitate temporis" that such relaxations of canonical strictness can be allowed, and "quod necessitas prorecessare;" such liberties cannot be permitted when the church is restored to its normal state in Gregory the Great's letter to Augustine of Canterbury (*Epist.* xi. 64; in Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 21), in which he permits persons who had married in ignorance within the prohibited degrees to be admitted to communion, though the general law of the church excommunicated such persons.

Of such a nature were the relaxations of strict law permitted in the early church; the numerous dispensations in matrimonial cases, in plurality of benefices, and in some other matters, which were so great a scandal in the mediæval church, do not fall within our period; nor within the same period had the baneful practice arisen of granting dispensations for wrongs to be committed. It was (as Thomassin observes, u. s. § 20) "in more recent times, when the discipline of the church had grown feeble and languid, that permission was sought for future violation of the canons, that license was asked and granted for sinning against sacred rules; men would find sin without risk of penalty, and draw even from the laws themselves cover and authority for their contempt of the law."

(Thomassin, *Vel. et nova Ecol. Discip.* P. II. lib. iii. cc. 24-26; Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, tom. ii. p. 754 ff. ed. Colon. 1777, *De Dispensationibus*; Walter, *Kirchenrecht*, § 180; Jacobson, in Herzog *Real-Encycl.* iii. 423.) [C.]

INDULGENTIAE HEBDOMAS. [HOLY WEEK.]

INDUS. [DORONA.]

INFANT BAPTISM. [BAPTISM, § 95, p. 169.]

INFANT COMMUNION. The practice of communicating infants was universal throughout the period of which we treat. For the east, where it still flourishes, we have the testimony of the so-called liturgy of St. Clement, in which little children (παιδια) are ordered to receive immediately after all who have any special dedication, "and then all the people in order" (*Constit. Apost.* lib. viii. c. 13). Pseudo-Dionysius, possibly of the 5th century, but more probably of the 6th, says that "children who cannot understand divine things are yet made partakers of divine generation, and of the divine communion of the most sacred mysteries" (*De Ecol. Hierarch.* c. vii. § 11). Evagrius, who completed his Church History in 394, proves the continued observance of the rite, where he mentions "an ancient custom" at Constantinople, "when there remained a good quantity of the holy portions of the undefiled body of Christ our God, for uncorrupted boys from among those who attended the school of the undermaster to be sent for to

consume them" (lib. iv. c. 36). There is a story told by John Moschus, A.D. 630, of some children who imitated among themselves the celebration of the Eucharist, as they had witnessed, and taken part in it themselves (*Pratum Spirit.* c. 196).

The earliest witness in the Latin church is St. Cyprian, who writing in 251, relates how the agitation of an infant to whom the cup was offered, led to the discovery of its having been taken to a heathen sacrifice (*De lapsis*). He also represents the children of apostates as able to plead at the day of judgment, "We have done nothing; nor have we hastened of our own accord to those profane defilements, forsaking the meat and cup of the Lord" (*ibid.*). St. Augustine:—"They are infants; but they are made partakers of His table, that they may have life in themselves" (*Serm.* 174, § 7). "Why is the blood, which of the likeness of sinful flesh was shed for the remission of sins, ministered that the little one (parvulus) may drink, that he may have life, unless he hath come to death by a beginning of sin on the part of some one" (*Contra Juvenum*, Op. Imperf. l. ii. c. 30)? It is evident from these passages (and see especially to the same effect, *De Peccat. Mer.* lib. i. c. xx. § 26; c. xxiv. § 34) that St. Augustine considered this sacrament to be generally necessary to the salvation of infants; but it is desirable to mention that some passages often cited from his works, which appear to imply or maintain that view are not really to the purpose. He argued against the Pelagians, that if infants were not born in sin, our Lord's words, "Except ye eat the flesh" &c. (St. John vi. 53), would not be true in reference to them: they would have life without eating of that flesh (see *Contra Duas Epp. Pelag.* lib. i. c. xxii. § 40); but then he taught also that "every one of the faithful is made a partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when he is made a member of Christ in baptism." This is carefully shown from his writings by Fulgentius, who had been questioned by Ferrandus, on the hope that might be entertained for a young man who had died immediately after baptism (see *De Pecc. Mer.* lib. i. c. 20, § 26). The same remark must be made on a saying of Innocent I., A.D. 417 (*Ad Patres Syn. Milice.* § 5, Ep. 182, inter *Epp. Ang.*), which Augustine himself interprets of the necessity of Baptism (*Ad Paulin. Ep.* 185, c. viii. § 28). See also Gelasius of Rome, *Epist.* 7, *ad Episc. per Picenum*. Gennadius of Marseilles, A.D. 495, gives the following direction with regard to the reception of some of those who had been baptized by heretics in schism. "But if they are infants (parvuli), or so dull as not to take in teaching, let those who offer them answer for them, after the manner of one about to be baptized; and so, fortified by the laying on of hands and chrism, let them be admitted to the mysteries of the Eucharist" (*De Eccl. Dogm.* c. 22). We call attention to the word "parvulus" when it is used in this connection, because "infans" was sometimes applied even to the newly-baptized adult, as being newly born to a higher life. In 585 the council of Mâcon, in France, in imitation, as we may suppose, of the Greek custom lately mentioned, ordered that on Wednesdays and Fridays innocent (children) should be brought

to the church, and there "being commanded to fast, should receive the remains of the sacrifices" (can. 6). The council of Toledo, 875, found it necessary to reassure anxious minds by a declaration that the sick who found themselves unable to swallow the eucharist, and others who had failed to swallow it "in time of infancy" did not fall under the censure of the first council of Toledo (can. 14), against those who having received did not consume it (can. 11). The Gelasian Sacramentary (lib. i. n. 75) provides for the immediate communion of an infant (infans) baptized in sickness. The earliest extant copy of the Gregorian has the following rubric referring to all baptized at Easter. "If the bishop be present, it is fit that he (infans) be forthwith confirmed with chrism, and after that communicated. And if the bishop be not present, let him be communicated by the presbyter" (*Liturgia Rom. Vet.* Morat. tom. ii. col. 158). It will be observed that previous confirmation was not an indispensable condition of the first communion. A MS. Sacramentary of the 8th century preserved at Gellone and a Rheims pamphlet of the same age expressly contemplate the probability of some of the "infantes" baptized being nurslings, but make the same provision for the communion of all (Ord. 6, 7, 8, in Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. 1, art. 18. Comp. ord. 15). The little children were also to communicate daily throughout the octave with the rest of the newly-baptized. See Ord. 6, 8, 9.

There is an English canon ascribed to Egbert, A.D. 740, but probably somewhat later, which says, "They who can, and know how to baptize, faithful monks especially, ought always to have the eucharist with them, though they travel to places far distant" (Johnson's *Engl. Canons*, vol. i. p. 235). Jesse, bishop of Amiens, A.D. 799, in an epistle on the order of baptism, says, that "after trine immersion the bishop should confirm the child (puerum) with chrism on the forehead, and that finally he should be confirmed and communicated with the body and blood of Christ, that he may be a member of Christ" (see note to Regino *De Eccl. Discipl.* lib. i. c. 69; ed. Baluz.). The epistle of Jesse was written in reply to some questions of Charlemagne respecting baptism. In the *Capitulaires* of the latter we find the following law notably framed in express accordance with the answers of Jesse and other bishops:—"That the presbyter have the eucharist ready, that when any one shall be taken sick, or an infant (parvulus) be ailing, he may communicate him at once, lest he die without communion" (Lib. i. c. 155; Sim. lib. v. c. 57). This is in the collection of Walter of Orleans (c. 7); Regino (*u. s.*); Burchard (lib. v. c. 10); and Ivo (*Decr.* P. ii. c. 20).

Infants were during a period of uncertain length required to be kept without food between their baptism and communion, when the latter followed as a part of the day's rites. Thus in the earliest *Ordo Romanus*, supposed by Usher to be written about the year 730, care is enjoined that the little ones (parvuli) baptized on Easter Eve "take no food, nor be suckled, after their baptism before they communicate of the sacrament of the body of Christ" (§ 46; *Musæ. Rit.* tom. i. p. 28). There are rubrics to this effect in several ancient orders of baptism, three of

and there "being commanded to receive the remains of the sacrament." The council of Toledo, 673, measures anxious minds by giving to the sick who found themselves unworthy the eucharist, and others who "allow it" "in time of infancy," or the censure of the first council of Nicaea (can. 11). The rubric of the present rite (can. 11) provides that the communion of an infant is to be given only in case of illness. The earliest extant rubric which has the following rubric is that of the Council of Nicaea, baptized at Easter. "If the infant, it is fit that he (infans) be baptized with christum, and after that with the eucharist, and not present, communicated by the presbyter." (Vet. Murat. tom. ii. col. 158). It is observed that previous confirmation is a dispensable condition of the first MS. Sacramentary of the 8th century at Gellone and a Rileicms points to the age expressly contemplate the some of the "infants" baptized in the communion of all (Ord. 6, 7, 8, in *Ant. Eccl. Rit. lib. l. c. 1, art. 18*). The little children were also baptized daily throughout the octave of the newly-baptized. See Ord.

The English canon ascribed to Eusebius, but probably somewhat later, says that they who can, and know how to use the eucharist, ought always to be communicant with them, though they be as far distant" (Johnson's *Engl. p. 255*). Jesse, bishop of Amiens, in an epistle on the order of baptism, after trine immersion the bishop dips the child (puerum) with christum, and that finally he should be communicated with the body said that, that he may be a member of the church (note to Regino *De Eccl. Discip. ad. Baluz.*). The epistle of Jesse replies to some questions of Charlemagne on baptism. In the *Capitularies* we find the following law notably in accordance with the answers of the bishops:—"That the presbyter baptizant ready, that when any one is sick, or an infant (parvulus) be communicated him at once, lest he be in communion" (Lib. i. c. 155; *Sin. 7*); Regino (*l. s.*); Burchard (*lib. i. v. Decr. P. ii. c. 20*). It is during a period of uncertainty that he is to be kept without food between baptism and communion, when the latter is part of the day's rites. Thus in *Ordo Romanus*, supposed by Usher about the year 730, care is enjoined on the ones (parvuli) baptized on Easter to fast, nor be suckled, after their baptism, nor they communicate of the sacrament of Christ" (§ 46; *Muse. Ital.*). There are rubrics to this effect in ancient orders of baptism, three of

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which were compiled or copied in the 8th century (Ord. 6, 7, 8, in Martene, u. s. For later examples, see Ord. 9, 15). In one copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary, the rule is thus relaxed. "They are not forbidden to be suckled before the sacred communion, if it be necessary" (*Inter Opp. S. Greg. tom. v. col. 111; Antv. 1615*). The prohibition seems to have been generally omitted from the rubric after the 8th century; but the pontifical of the Latin church of Apamia in Syria, which was written in the 12th, retains it, though speaking of confirmation and communion immediately after baptism only as "the custom of some churches" (Ord. 15; Martene, u. s.).

There can be no doubt that infants were at first little communicated in both kinds; but there is little clear evidence to that effect. Passages which speak of their eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ are not conclusive. The council of Toledo before cited, after mentioning the occasional rejection of one element by the sick, "because except the draught of the Lord's cup, they could not swallow the eucharist delivered to them," proceeds to the case of others "who do such things in the time of infancy." The inference appears good that the eucharist was offered to both in bread as well as wine. We are however in a good measure left to infer the practice of the first ages from that of the later church. Because the cup only is mentioned in St. Cyprian's story of the infant who had partaken of a heathen sacrifice, some have argued that they were communicated in the blood only. Had it been so, they would hardly have been permitted to receive in both kinds at a later period; as they certainly did, when for a time the custom of intinction prevailed in the West. Even in the 12th century, when Paschal II. suppressed that practice at Clugny, he made an exception in favour of "infants and persons very sick who are not able to swallow the bread." All others were to receive the bread by itself (*Epist. 32; Labb. Concilia, tom. x. col. 656*). In a manuscript Antiphony that belonged to an Italian monastery, written about the middle of the same century, after directions for a baptism, is the following rubric: "Then follows the communion, which is ministered under these words: 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ steeped in His blood, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life'" (Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Medieev. tom. iv. p. 843*). About the same time, however, we find Radulphus Ardens saying, in a sermon on Easter Day, "It has been decreed that it be delivered to children as soon as baptized, at least in the species of wine; that they may not depart without a necessary sacrament" (*Zaccaria, Biblioth. Rit. tom. ii. p. ii. p. clx.*). How infants were communicated in the one species then, we may learn from the pontifical of Apamia already cited. "But children who as yet know not how to eat or drink are communicated either with a leaf or with the finger dipped in the blood of the Lord and put into their mouth, the priest thus saying, 'The body with the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee unto everlasting life'" (Martene, u. s.). Robertus Paululus, A.D. 1175, in a work *De Sacramentis*, long ascribed to Hugo de S. Victore, says, "The said sacrament is to be ministered with the finger of the priest to children newly born in the species of the blood;

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because such can suck naturally" (Lib. l. c. 20). As the Greeks and Orientals generally used intinction before the age of Charlemagne, it is to be presumed that they communicated infants in the same manner as adults; i. e., in both kinds with a spoon. Now "in practice, though the rule is otherwise, the eucharist is given to infants under the species of wine alone" (Gour in *Annot. Nihssii ad Allatii Dissert. de Missa Præsanct. ad flo.; Allat. De Occ. et Or. Consent. col. 1659*). The Nestorians, Jacobites, Armenians and Maronites, are said to have fallen into the same practice (Gabriel Sinaita, *ibid.* col. 1667). The Greeks use a spoon, but from conflicting statements before us (see Martene, u. s. art. 15, n. 15), we infer that the rest use the finger or a spoon indifferently. [W. E. S.]

INFIRMARY (MONASTIC). In his enumeration of Christian duties Benedict specifies that of visiting the sick (*Bened. Reg. c. 4*); and elsewhere he speaks of it as a duty of priory and paramount obligation for monks ("ante omnia et super omnia," c. 36), quoting the words of Christ, "I was sick, and ye ministered unto Me." Beyond, however, saying, that the sick are to have a separate part of the monastery assigned to them (*cf. Aurel. Reg. cc. 37, 52; Casnar. Reg. c. 30*), and a separate officer in charge of them (*cf. leg. Tarnat. c. 21*), that they are to be allowed meat and the luxury of baths, if necessary, that they are not to be exacting ("ne superfluitate sua fratres contristent"), and that the brethren who wait on them are not to be impatient, he gives no precise directions (*ib.*). Subsequently it was the special duty of the "infirmarius," the "cellararius" (house-steward), and of the abbot himself, to look after the sick (Martene, *leg. Comm. c. 4; Casnar. Reg. ad Virg. c. 20, Reg. Cyprian. ad Virgines, c. 15*); no other monk might visit them without leave from the abbot or prior (Mart. l. c.). Everything was to be done for their comfort, both in body and soul, that they should not miss the kindly offices of kinsfolk and friends (*cf. Fructuos. Reg. c. 7; Hieronym. Ep. 22, ad Eustoch.*); and, while the rigor of the monastic discipline was to be relaxed, whenever necessary, in their favour, due supervision was to be exercised, lest there should be any abuse of the privileges of the sick-room (Mart. l. c.; *cf. Reg. Puchom. c. 20*). The "infirmarius" was to enforce silence at meals, to check conversation in the sick-room ("mansio infirmorum, intra claustra," *Conc. Aquisgran. A. D. 816, c. 142*) at other times, and to discriminate carefully between real and fictitious ailments (Mart. l. c.). The sick were, if possible, to recite the hours daily and to attend mass at stated times, and if unable to walk to the chapel, they were to be carried thither in the arms of their brethren (*ib.*). The meal in the sick-room was to be three hours earlier than in the common refectory (*Reg. Mag. c. 28*). The abbot might allow a separate kitchen and "buttery" for the use of the sick monks (Anselm, *Reg. ad Monach. c. 53, Reg. ad Virg. c. 37*). The rule of Caesarius of Arles ordered, that the abbot was to provide good wine for the sick, the ordinary wine of the monastery being often of inferior quality (*cf. Mabill. Dissquis. de Curs. Gallic. vi. 70, 71; Mabill. Ann. iii. 8, Du Cange, Glossar. Lat. e. v.*). [L. G. S.]

INFORMERS. (*Calumniatores, Delatores.* Tertullian [*adv. Marcion*, v. 18] fancifully connects "diabolus" with "delatura.") This class of men originated before the Christian era, and indeed before the establishment of the Roman empire. [DICT. OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQ. s. v. *Delator*.] When persecution arose against the church, the *delatores* naturally sought gain, and probably some credit with the civil authorities, by giving information against those who practised Christian rites, since the secret assemblies of Christians for worship came under the prohibition of the Lex Julia de Majestate (Tac. *Ann.* i. 72, p. 3; Merivale, *Hist. Romæ*, c. xlii.). Tertullian states that Tiberius threatened the accusers of the Christians—"Caesar . . . comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum" (*Apol.* c. 5), but the story rests only upon his statement. He also (*l. c.*) claims M. Aurelius as a protector of Christians. Titus issued an edict against delators, forbidding slaves to inform against their masters or freedmen against their patrons. Nerva on his accession republished this edict. "Jewish manners," i. e. probably Christianity, is specially mentioned as one of the subjects on which informations were forbidden (Dion lxxviii. 1, quoted by Merivale). In Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan (x. 96 [al. 97]) we find the delators in full work. The Christians who were brought before him were delated (*deferebantur*), and an anonymous paper was sent in containing a list of many Christians or supposed Christians. Trajan in his answer (ib. 97 [98]), though he forbade Christians to be sought out (i. e. by government officials), did not attempt to put a stop to the practice of delation; those who were informed against, if they continued in their infatuation, must be punished. See Tertullian's comment on this (*Apol.* c. 2). And in the subsequent persecutions a large part of the suffering arose from unfaithful brethren who betrayed their friends to the persecutors. It is not wonderful that during and immediately after the days of persecution the delator was regarded with horror. Thus the council of Elvira (*Conc. Eliv.* c. 73), A. D. 305, excommunicated, even on his death-bed,* any *delator* who had caused the proscription or death of the person informed against; for informing in less important cases, the delator might be re-admitted to communion after five years; or, if a catechumen, he might be admitted to baptism after five years. The first of Arles, A. D. 314, reckons among "traditores" not only those who gave up to the persecutors the Holy Scriptures and sacred vessels, but also those who handed in lists of the brethren (*nomina fratrum*); and respecting these the council decrees, that whoever shall be discovered from the public records (*acta*) to have committed such offences shall be solemnly[†] degraded from the clerical order; but such degradation, if the offender was a bishop, was not to vitiate the orders of those who might have been ordained

* According to the reading "Nec in fine;" some MSS. read "non nisi in fine." It seems probable that "nec in fine" or "in fine" was the original reading, and that it was altered to bring it into accordance with the decree of Nicaea (c. 13), which provides that the Holy Communion is in no case to be refused to a dying man.
† "Non verbis audis;" another reading is "verberibus mitia."

by him. Charges against traitors were not to be admitted unless they could be proved from the "acta publica." This decree is highly interesting, as following immediately upon a period of persecution, and showing that the edict of Milan (A. D. 313) had brought about a great change in Gaul, and that Christians were admitted to consult the public records of the recent proceedings against them. The capitularies of the Frank kings (lib. vi. c. 317, in Baluze, l. 977) cite the 73rd canon of Elvira with the reading "nec in fine." So lib. vii. c. 205, and *Additio Quarta*, c. 34, in Baluze, l. 1068, 1202. The same capitularies (*Add. Quarta*, c. 35) enjoin bishops to excommunicate "accusatores fratrum;" and, even after amendment, not to admit them to holy orders, though they may be admitted to communion. Any cleric or layman who brings frivolous charges against his bishop (*calumniator extiterit*) is to be reputed a homicide.

The canon of Elvira is cited in the decree of Gratian (p. ii. cau. v. quæ. 8, c. 6) with the reading "non nisi in fine." The same decree (u. s. c. 5) attributes to pope Hadrian i. a decree, "let the tongue of a delator be cut out (*capuletur*), or, on conviction, let his head be cut off;" a decree probably taken from the civil legislation, for nearly the same provision is found in the Theodosian code (lib. x. tit. x. l. 2), and precisely the same in the Frank capitularies (lib. vii. c. 360; Bal. l. 1102). [S. J. E.]

INFULA. 1. The infula was in classical times the band or fillet which bound the brow of the sacrificing priest and the victim.

"Nec te tua plurima, Panthu
Labeoem pietas nec Apollinis infula terit."
Virg. *Æn.* ii. 430.

Servius (on *Æneid.* x. 538) tells us that it was a broad fillet or ribbon, commonly made of red and white strips. Isidore (*Etymol.* xix. 30) describes the infula of the heathen priest in similar terms. The infula of the victim is mentioned in

"stans hostia ad aram
"Lance dum niveâ circumdatur infula vitæ."
Virg. *Georg.* iii. 487.

And the term seems to have been early transferred to the head-covering of Christian priests. Hence Prudentius (*Peristeph.* iv. 79) speaks of the "sacerdotum domus infulata" of the Valerii of Saragossa, when he is evidently speaking of the "clerus." So Pope Gelasius (*Hardouin's Concilia*, ii. 901), wishing to say that a certain person ought to be rejected from the Christian priesthood, says that he is "clericibus infulis reprobabilis" (Hefele's *Beiträge*, ii. 223 ff.). See MITRE.

2. For infula in the sense of a ministerial vestment, see CASULA, PLANETA. [C.]

INGELHEIM, COUNCIL OF (*Ingelheimense Concilium*), A. D. 788, at Ingelheim, when Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, was condemned, but allowed to enter a monastery. [E. S. FE.]

INGENUUS, martyr at Alexandria with Amnon, Theophilus, Ptolemæus, Zeno; commemorated Dec. 20 (*Hart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis; Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

INITIAL HYMN.—A name for the hymn which in the Eastern liturgies corresponds to the

es against traitores were not... This decree is... (A.D. 314) had brought about... Gaul, and that Christians were... the public records of the... The capitular... king's (lib. vi. c. 317, in... the 73rd canon of Elvira... "nec in fine." So lib. vii. c... Quarta, c. 34, in Baluze, i... same capitularies (Add. Quarta... hops to excommunicate "accu... and, even after amendment... to holy orders, though they... to communion. Any cleric or... his frivolous charges against his... (not extiterit) is to be reputed a

Elvira is cited in the decree... cau. v. quae. 6, c. 6) with the... lsi in fine." The same decree... tributes to pope Hadrian I. a... tongue of a delator be cut out... on conviction, let his head be... probably taken from the civil... early the same provision is found... in code (lib. x. tit. x. l. 2), and... in the Frank capitularies... Bal. i. 1102). [S. J. E.]

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seems to have been early trans-... d-covered of Christian priests... (Peristeph. iv. 79) speaks of... a domus infulata" of the Valerii... when he is evidently speaking of... So Pope Gelasius (Hardouin's...), wishing to say that a certain... be rejected from the Christian... that he is "clericibus infulis... Hefele's Beiträge, ii. 223 ff.)

in the sense of a ministerial... M. PLANETA. [C.]

... M. COUNCIL OF (Ingelheim... A.D. 788, at Ingelheim, when... was condemned, but... a monastery. [E. S. F.]

... martyr at Alexandria with... nilus, Ptolemee, Zeno; commo... (Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usa... [W. F. G.]

[YMN.—A name for the hymn... tern liturgies corresponds to the

Introit of the Roman mass. In the eastern... liturgies the term Introit (εἰσόδος) is applied to... the two ENTRANCES of the liturgy, the little... entrance (ἡ μικρὰ εἰσόδος) i. e. that of the... Book of the Gospels, and the great entrance... (ἡ μεγάλη εἰσόδος) i. e. that of the elements.

In the liturgies of St Basil and St. Chrysostom... this hymn takes the form of three antiphons... called the first, second, and third antiphons... of which consists of a few verses called "stichoi" (στίχοι) from the Psalms; each verse of the... first antiphon being followed by the clause "At... the intercession of the Theotocos, save us, O... Saviour;" each verse of the second and third... by an antiphonal clause of the same nature... varying with and having reference to the festi-... val. That of the third antiphon is sometimes... one of the troparia of the day. Each antiphon... is followed by an unvarying prayer, called gene-... rally the prayer of the first, second, and third... antiphon,* and which are the same in the litur-... gies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom.

The first and second antiphons are followed by... "Glory &c. (δόξα καὶ ᾠδὴ), after which the antiph-... onal response is repeated.

The third antiphon by short hymns or troparia... in rhythmical prose under different names, and... which vary with the day. These antiphons are... considered to symbolise the predictions of the... prophets, foretelling the coming and incarnation... of our Lord.° As a specimen the three antiph-... ons for Easter Day are:—

Antiph. I.

Stich. O be joyful in God all ye lands. (Ps. lxxvi. 1.)

At the intercession, &c.

Stich. Sing praises unto the honour of His name. (Do.)

At the intercession, &c.

Stich. Say unto God, O how wonderful art Thou in Thy

works. (verse 2.)

At the intercession, &c.

Stich. For all the world shall worship Thee. (verse 3.)

At the intercession, &c.

Glory, &c.

At the intercession, &c.

Antiph. II.

Stich. God be merciful unto us. (Ps. lxxvii. 1.)

Save us, O Son of God, Thou that art risen from

the dead.

Stich. And show us the light of His countenance. (Do.)

Save us, O Son of God, &c.

Stich. That Thy way may be known upon earth. (v. 2.)

Save us, O Son of God, &c.

Stich. Let the people praise Thee. (v. 3.)

Save us, O Son of God, &c.

Glory, &c.

Save us, O Son of God, &c.

Antiph. III.

Stich. Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered

let them also that hate Him flee before Him.

(Ps. lxxviii. 1.)

Christ is risen from the dead, having trodden

down death by death, and given life to those

that are in the grave.

* There are variations between the two liturgies, as to... whether the prayer of the antiphon should be said before... or after its antiphon, which it is unnecessary to par-... ticularise.

° The prayer of the third antiphon is "A Prayer of... St. Chrysostom" of the English Prayer-book.

° Vid. Cassel de Vet. Sacri. Christi. Rit. cap. xcl.

"Stich. Like as the smoke vaniseth so shalt thou drive... them away: and like as was meteth at the... fire. (v. 2.)

Christ is risen, &c.

Stich. So let the ungodly perish at the presence of God... but let the righteous be glad. (vv. 2, 3.)

Christ is risen, &c.

Stich. This is the day which the Lord hath made: we... will rejoice and be glad in it. (Ps. cxviii. 24.)

Christ is risen, &c.

On Sundays as a rule, in the liturgy of St. Basil the Typica for the day are said instead of the first two antiphons; and in those of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom instead of the third antiphon, the Beatitudes (of μακαρισμοί). These are the Beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount, and are thus said. They are introduced by the clause "Remember us, O Lord, when Thou comest into Thy Kingdom." The first five Beatitudes are then said consecutively; after the fifth and each following one is interposed a short troparion, differing in each case, and all varying with the day. After the sixth of these follows "Glory, &c.," and then two more troparia, the latter of which is a Theoticon.*

In the liturgies of St. James and St. Mark the initial hymn is the same, and unvarying. It is of the ordinary form of Greek hymns, beginning "Only begotten Son and Word of God," &c., and containing prayers for salvation through the mysteries of the incarnation, which it recites. [See ANTIPHON.] [H. J. H.]

INITIATION. [BAPTISM, § 5, p. 156.]

INNOCENT, or INNOCENTIUS. (I)

[GREGORY (2).]

(2) Martyr at Sirnium with Sebastia (or Sabbatia) and thirty others; commemorated July 4 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi).

(3) Martyr with Exsuperius (1). [W. F. G.]

INNOCENTS, FESTIVAL OF THE. (ἡμέρα τῶν ἁγίων ἰβ' χιλιάδων ἡμερῶν: festum Innocentium [ivm]. Nativitas Sanctorum Innocentium, Nativitas Infantum, Nativitas [Allisio] Infantum. The old English Kindermaas and the German Kindermesse may also be noted.)

1. History of festival.—The Holy Innocents of Bethlehem, the victims of Herod's jealousy of our Lord, are at an early period commemorated as martyrs for Christ, of whom indeed they were in one sense the first (see Ireneus adv. Haer. iii. 16. 4; Cyprinn, Epist. 56, plebi Thibari consistenti, § 6). Subsequent fathers continually speak in the same strain, e.g. Gregory of Nazianzum (Serm. 38 in Nativitate, § 18; vol. i. 674, ed. Bened.); Chrysostom (Hom. 9 in S. Matt. vol. vii. 130, ed. Montfaucou); Augustine (Enarratio in Psal. 47; vol. iv. 593, ed. Gaume; Serm. 199 in Epiphania, § 2, vol. v. 1319; Serm. 373 in Epiph. § 3, vol. v. 2178; Serm. 375 in Epiph. § 2, vol. v. 2183); Prudentius (Cath. xii. de Epiph. 125). Augustine also distinctly refers (de Hero Aristotri, iii. 68, vol. i. 1035) to a commemoration of their martyrdom by the church. Some writers, as Augusti (Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie, i. 304), Binterim (Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche, v. 1. 549) and others, refer to a homily of Origen

* These terms will be explained in their place. • These troparia are given in the Oecumenus.

as affording evidence on this last point. The writing in question, however (*Hom. 3 de diversis*, vol. ii, p. 282; ed. Paris, 1004), is universally rejected as spurious, and Huet sums up concerning it (Origenis *Opp.* vol. iv, 325, ed. De la Rue) that it is a work originally written in Latin, and later than the time of Jerome.

The commemoration of the Massacre of the Innocents was at first combined with the festival of the Epiphany. Thus the passage of Prudentius above referred to speaks of them in the hymn on the Epiphany; Leo, in not a few of his homilies on the Epiphany, speaks of the Innocents (see e.g. *Serm.* 31-33, 35, 38; *Patrol.* liv, 234 sqq.), as also Fulgentius of Ruspe in a homily *de Epiphania, deus Innocentium necis et muneribus mupurum* (*Patrol.* lxx, 732). Subsequently a special day was set apart for the festival of the Innocents, a day in close proximity to that on which the Lord's Nativity is celebrated being chosen; but from the special association between the two events. Hence we find December 28 in the Western and December 29 in the Eastern church set apart for the commemoration of the Innocents. The date of the origin of the separate festival cannot be very closely defined. It is however mentioned in the *Calendarium Carthaginiense*, to whose date we can approximate from the fact that the latest martyrs commemorated are those who perished in the Vandal persecution under Huneric, 484 A.D. Here the notice is, "V. Kal. an. Sanctorum Innocentium, quos Herodes occidit" (*Patrol.* xlii, 1228). It may be added that Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna (ob. 459 A.D.), has left among his sermons, two *de Infantium necis*, quite apart from several others on the Epiphany (*Serm.* 152, 153; *Patrol.* lii, 604). It is needless to give here a list of later calendars and martyrologies, in which the festival of the Innocents uniformly occurs, but it may be noted that it subsequently acquired a considerable degree of importance, for in the *Rule of Chrodegang*, bishop of Metz (ob. 766 A.D.), the "festivitas Infantium" is included among the "solemnitates praeicipuae" (*Reg. Chrodeg.* c. 74; *Patrol.* lxxviii, 1009).

2. *Liturgical notices.*—The earliest of the Roman Sacramentaries, the Leonine, contains two masses for the festival of the Innocents, which follow immediately after that for St. John the Evangelist, and are headed *In Natali Innocentium* (Leonis *Opp.* vol. ii, 155, ed. Ballerini). We may call attention to the curious references in the Preface of the second mass to the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxi, 15), "Rachel plorans filios suos, noluit consolari, quia non sunt," where the mother's grief is explained as arising not from the death of her children, but because infants held worthy of receiving so great a renown were born not from her line, but from that of Leah. Elements from the Leonine Sacramentary are found embodied in the service for the day in the Gelasian (*Patrol.* lxxiv, 1080) and Gregorian Sacramentaries (col. 12, ed. Menard), in the latter case including a slightly modified form of the Preface,* which also appears in the service for

the day in the Ambrosian liturgy (Pamelius, *Liturg.* Latt. i, 308). In the ancient Roman church a special degree of mournfulness was associated with this day, for we find in the Gregorian *Liber Anti-homericus* (col. 650, ed. Menard) the notice that the *Gloria in Excelsis* and *Aleluia* are not sung: "sed quasi pene tristitia dies illa deductur." Of this we may derive an illustration, though of much later date, from the *Ordo Romanus* (x, 20), which remarks that on this day, except it fell on a Sunday, the Romans abstain from flesh and fat. See also Amalarius (*de Eccl. Off.* l, 41; *Patrol.* cv, 1074), and the *Micrologus* (*de Eccl. obs.* c. 36; *Patrol.* cl, 1005), which mentions the further omission on this day of the *Te Deum* and *Ite, missa est*. He subjoins as a reason for the sadness attaching to this day, that the Innocents, though martyrs for Christ, "non tamen tamen ad gloriam, sed ad infernalem poenam discesserunt."

In the ancient lectionary of the Gallican church, the prophetic lection, epistle, and gospel were respectively Jer. xxxi, 15-20, Lev. vi, 9-11, Matt. ii, 1-23 (Mabillon, *de Liturgi. Gallicana*, lib. ii, p. 112; see also the service in the Gothic-Gallic missal, lib. iii, p. 198). In the Mozarabic liturgy, however, they are respectively Jer. xxxi, 15-20, 2 Cor. i, 2-7, Matt. xviii, 13-15, 1-6, 10, 11 (*Missale Mixtum S. Isidori*, p. 48, ed. Leslie).

The *Micrologus* (*supra*) refers to the octave of the festival of the Innocents as generally observed ("eodem modo ut aliorum Sanctorum celebratur"). It would seem, however, that this is of comparatively late date as a matter of general observance, for according to Binterim (*Denkw.* v, i, 552), it is wanting in many calendars of the 9th century. A curious mistake must be mentioned here into which several have fallen in connection with the octave of the festival of the Innocents. In the *Indiculus operum S. Augustini* by Possidius, is an entry "de die octavarum Infantium; duo" (*Patrol.* xli, 16). This has been taken by Baronius (*Martyrologium Romanum*, Dec. 28 and Jan. 4, not.) and others as showing the existence of an octave of the festival of the Innocents in Augustine's time. The two sermons, however, of Augustine refer to the first Sunday after Easter the octave of the day on which the sacrament of baptism had been received, "hodie octavae dicuntur infantium, revelanda sunt capita eorum" (*Serm.* 260, 378; *Patrol.* xxxviii, 1201, 1669).

Attention has already been called to the proximity of the festival of the Innocents to that of the Nativity, in consequence of the association of the two events commemorated. These two indeed, with the commemorations on the two intervening days of Stephen the protomartyr and John the disciple whom Jesus loved, may be supposed to form one combined festival, all centering in the idea of the Incarnation. Thus we have a homily of Bernard of Clairvaux *de Quatuor continuis solemnitatibus, scilicet Nativitatis Domini ac Sanctorum Stephani, Johannis et Innocentium* (*Patrol.* clxxxiii, 129).

The day for the commemoration of the Innocents in the Eastern church is December 29, but we find in the Armeno-Gregorian calendar (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 799) June 10 associated with them: this same calendar being one of those which gives from what original

* The collect in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries furnished that of our own church till 1662, when it was modified into its present form.

mosian liturgy (Pamelius, 108). In the ancient Roman degree of mournfulness was day, for we find in the Gigerius (col. 659, ed. Monard) *Gloria in Execlis and Allet* and quasi prae tristitia dies of this we may derive an illness much later date, from the 20), which remarks that on fell on a Sunday, the Romanus and fit. See also Amalarius; *Patrol.* cv. 1071), and the os, c. 301; *Patrol.* cl. 1007), further omission on this day *Re, missa est.* He subjects as ness attaching to this day, that gh martyrs for Christ, "nonnam, and ad infernalem nonnam

lectionary of the Gallilean the lecture, epistle, and gospel or. xxxi. 15-20, Rec. vi. 9-11, billon, de *Liturgy's Antiqua*, the service in the Gototh. ii. p. 198). In the Mozarabic they are respectively Jer. xxxi. 2-7, Matt. xviii. 11-13, 1-6, *Victimam S. Isidori*, p. 48, ed.

(*supra*) refers to the octave of innocents as generally observed allorum Sanctorum celebrassem, however, that this is of date as a matter of general according to Binterim (*Denke*, ating in many calendars of the various mistake must be men- which several have fallen in the octave of the festival of the *Indiculus operum S. Augustini* entry "de die octavarum In- *Patrol.* xlv. 16). This has been (*Martyrologium Romanum*, s, not.) and others as showing an octave of the festival of the stine's time. The two sermons, stine refer to the first Sunday octave of the day on which the ism had been received, "bodis infantium, revelanda sunt capite 260, 376; *Patrol.* xxxviii. 1201,

already been called to the prom- val of the Innocents to that of consequence of the association is commemorated. These two commemorations on the two of Stephen the protomartyr sciple whom Jesus loved, may form one combined festival, all idea of the Incarnation. Thus ley of Bernard of Clairvaux de s solemnitatibus, scilicet Nativitatiscorum Stephani, Johannis et rol. clxxxiii. 129).

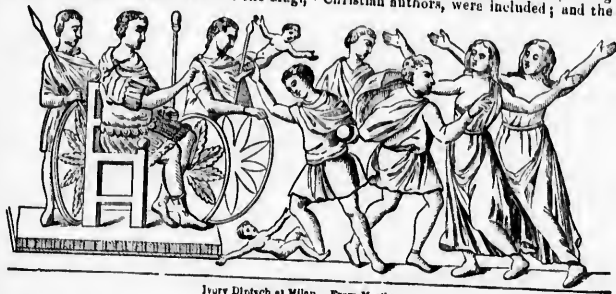
the commemoration of the Inno- stera church is December 29, the Armeno-Georgian calendar *Church*, Introd. p. 799) June 10 them; this same calendar being hich gives from what origina

ause does not appear, the amazing number of 14,000 for the infants slain. This is also the case with the pictorial Moscow calendar prefixed by Papebroch to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May (vol. i. p. lxxii.).^a Numerous Eastern calendars, however, do not contain this absurd addition (see e.g. Ludolf, *Festi Sacri Ecclesie Alexandrinæ*, p. 18; Selden, ed. *Synedii veterum Ebraeorum*, pp. 214, 231, ed. Amsterdam, 1679).

For further details on the subject of the festival of the Innocents, reference may be made to Binterim, *Denkuürdighheiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, v. 1. 549; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archibologie*, l. 304 sqq.; Assemani, *Kalendarium Ecclesie Universæ*, v. 519.

[R. S.]

INNOCENTS, THE HOLY, MASSACRE OF. Represented in the mosaics of Sta. M. Maggiore (Ciampini, l. M. l. tab. II), and in two ivories, one of which (from a diptych in the cathedral of Milan) is given by Martigny (s. r. see woodcut); also on a sarcophagus at St. Maximin, south of France (*Moum. de Ste. Madeleine*, t. i. col. 735, 736). Here it is contrasted with another relief of the Adoration of the Magi,



Ivory Diptych at Milan. From Martigny.

the two pictures occupying two sides of a frieze, and being divided by the titulus of the deceased. Martigny also mentions an ivory diptych of this subject, attributed to the period of Theodosius the Younger, and published by M. Rigollot (*Arts de Sculpture au moyen âge*).

[R. St. J. T.]

INSACRATI. [IMPOSITION OF HANDS, § 1.] **INSCRIPTIONS.** In strictness of speech every inscribed monument falls under this category, unless the writing be upon skin or upon paper; and accordingly the great collections of Greek and Latin inscriptions recently published at Berlin include every kind of monument which is inscribed, coins only excepted. These are somewhat arbitrarily but at the same time profitably excluded, as belonging to a special department of study. But in common parlance, by *inscriptions*, the larger monuments in stone are intended, and in the following article comparatively little notice will be taken of any others. In treating of this vast subject it is proposed

^a A still wilder estimate, however, is found in an *antiquarium* to the martyrology of Ursarius, which fixes the number at 14,000 (*Patrol.* cxxiii. 848), probably with reference to Rev. vii. 4.

to take into account—(1) The literature of the subject, which is indeed the only division which can be treated at all comprehensively in an article like the present. (2) Technical execution. (3) Symbols. (4) A selection of inscriptions, with notes on some matters arising out of them. (5) Their language and styles. (6) The modes of dating them. (7) An enumeration of the abbreviations which occur on them.

(1) *Literature of the Subject.*—This matter is ably treated of by M. De Rossi in the first thirty-six pages of his preface to the *Inscriptiones Christiane Urbis Romæ Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores* (Rome, 1857-1861 fol.). The principal facts are as follows. The earliest collections of Christian inscriptions of which we have any knowledge belong to the age of Charles the Great, and were made, as De Rossi thinks, by scholars of Alcuin. The most ancient of these is contained in an Einsiedeln MS. written in the age of Alcuin; about a third of the whole collection is Christian, sepulchral examples however being wholly wanting. Various compilations of inscriptions were also now made, in which many of the epitaphs written by pope Damasus, among other Christian authors, were included; and the small

remaining stone fragments of some of these can be completed with certainty by their aid. The collectors of these inscriptions cared little for their historical value, and commonly omitted all mention of their age or authors; they rather designed them to be models, after which similar verses might be composed. The others now remaining in whole or in great part are—(1) The Palatine MS. of the 11th century (now in the Vatican), edited by Gruter, *Theat. Inscr.*, pp. MCLXIII.-MCLXXVII., who has omitted a few profane epigrams, which are interspersed. None of the Christian inscriptions seem to be later than the 9th century, and they were probably collected by some one who visited Rome and various other places in Italy about the close of that century. (2) A MS. of Kloster Neuburg, about the 11th century, consisting of Christian inscriptions exclusively, which were copied from Italian originals about the 8th cen-

^a Le Blanc's catalogue of books relating to Christian epigraphy, published at the end of his *Manuel*, is a useful supplement to this, and brings the bibliography down to 1869. De Rossi is less careful to notice printed books than MS. collections, as being better known. After the publication of Martigny's papers by Mai in 1831 he ceased altogether

tury; they are almost all historical, many being by Damasus. (3) A Verdun MS. of the 10th century, containing thirty-one Roman inscriptions; a collection independent of, either of the preceding, made in the 8th or 9th century.

"Hæc tres antiquissimæ syllogæ omnes tran Alpes servatæ nobis sunt; necne quidquam his simile in Italiæ nostræ bibliothecis uspiam inveni . . . Primi ergo veterum inscriptionum amatores transalpini omnes fuerunt . . . Ab Alcuioiana ætate ad sæculum usque decimum quartum . . . antiquis inscriptionibus colligendis nemo videtur operam navasse" (De Rossi, *u. s.* pp. x.* xi.*).

The 15th century saw the revival of epigraphic studies, but among the inscriptions collected by Poggio, Sigonilli, Cyriaco, Feliciani, Marcanova, Pehem, Schedel, and others, those which are Christian "apparent rare," and are not separately classed. The earliest collector of purely Christian inscriptions, who lived in the age of the Renaissance, is Pietro Sabini, who in 1495 presented his work, in MS., comprising those which he had copied in Rome and out of it, both from the originals and from MSS., to Charles VIII., king of France. The MS. has been found in the library of St. Mark at Venice by De Rossi, who affirms that some of the inscriptions are very valuable, and have been copied by no other scholar; many however belong to a late period. A volume of inscriptions from the ancient churches of Rome, made by Giovanni Capoti in 1498, seems to have been of much the same character. The other collectors of inscriptions who lived from this time to the middle of the 16th, added scarcely anything (vix mediocre incrementum) to Christian epigraphy. Aldus Manutius the Younger however applied himself diligently to the collection of Christian inscriptions among others, and twenty volumes of these formed by various members of this illustrious family are preserved in the Vatican, from which De Rossi has derived no small profit. The most important of these was compiled in 1566 and 1567, and is entirely filled with inscriptions contained in Christian churches. The whole number of Christian inscriptions hitherto collected from all parts, from the 8th to the middle of the 16th century, excluding those of very recent date, is considerably less than a thousand; a great many of these being contained in MS. only.^b At present more than 11,000 Christian inscriptions earlier than the 7th century are known to have been found in Rome alone. With the exception of a few epitaphs by Damasus copied in tombs of the martyrs by the scholars of Alcuin, no subterranean inscription had hitherto been deciphered. But the discovery of the catacombs of Rome in 1578 marks a new era in the study. Ciaccone, L'Heureux or Macarius, Winghius, Ugone, and somewhat later in time, but first and foremost in diligence and success, Antonio Bosio, were among the earliest explorers, and all were more or less addicted to the study of Christian

inscriptions. Soon after this time the Christian inscriptions occupy a distinct place in Gruter's *Corpus Inscriptionum*, published in 1616; but besides the Palatine Collection mentioned above, all the others together reach only about 150, although many more had been now copied in Rome by several of his friends. There can be no doubt that Gruter cared comparatively little about this class of inscriptions. The extensive and accurate transcripts of Bosio were transferred, after his death in 1629, to Severani, who published the *Roma Sotteranea* in 1632; which was republished in an enlarged Latin form by Aringhi, in two folio volumes, in 1650.^c During the half century that followed the publication of Gruter's great work, many scholars collected additional Christian inscriptions, some of the most important of which are still in MS. Especially to be named are those of J. B. Doui (died 1647), preserved in the Marculli library at Florence, "codex inter primaria operis mei subsidia numerandus" (De Rossi); of Sirmoud (died 1651), in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (very valuable, containing many still unpublished), and of Peirese (died 1637), whose *Inscriptiones Christianæ et novæ* were consulted at Paris by De Rossi, who speaks of their value, more especially for the inscriptions of Gaul. To these should be added the collections of F. Ptolomeo (made about 1666), preserved in the public library of Sienna, of which Muratori made much use, and those of Brutio, in seventeen volumes, finished in 1679, preserved in the Vatican, whose value is scarcely proportional to their bulk. Between Aringhi (1650) and Fabretti, whose folio volume on inscriptions appeared in 1702, Montfaucon alone (so thinks De Rossi) can be regarded as having materially added to the knowledge of Christian epigraphy; his MSS. were examined at Paris by De Rossi, who thence derived some valuable additions to his Roman inscriptions. It deserves however to be recorded that William Fleetwood, fellow of King's College, Cambridge, afterwards bishop of Ely, published in 1691 an *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Sylloge* (Lond. 8vo), in two parts; the second part, "Christianæ monumenta antiqua quæ hactenus innotuerunt omnia collectitur:" these occupy nearly two hundred pages, and are occasionally accompanied by brief notes.^d Zaccaria several times notices this work controversially or otherwise (*Diss. de Vet. Inscr. usu*, pp. 326, 327, 370, 382, 384, 388, 399), and it is frequently quoted by other epigraphists as by Marini, Le Blant, and De Rossi himself, though he has not named it in his introduction. Fabretti's labours are both skilful and accurate; but the types which the printer made use of were inadequate to express the true reading of his inscriptions. Boldetti and Marangoni, who laboured in concert in the same field as Bosio had done, "are

^b Dr. McCaul (*Christian Epitaphs*, pref. p. iv, note) observes that these volumes "have a reputation far beyond their merits." There is no doubt, he adds, that some forger of inscriptions imposed both on Severani and Aringhi. De Rossi promises a detailed account of this matter, p. xxvii.*

^c We can do less afford to pass it over, though it appears to be little else but a compilation from other authors, as it is almost the only work on Christian epigraphy expressly devoted to the subject, that has appeared in this country till quite lately.

^b The *Edinburgh Review* for 1864, p. 221, goes so far as to say that "the results of the whole epoch (of the revival of letters) may be summed up in the single statement, that more than a century had elapsed after the discovery of printing before a single inscription of the early Christian centuries had been given to the world." Various MS. volumes are mentioned by De Rossi (*u. s.* pp. xiv.*-xvii.*) of which no notice is taken here.

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made especially memorable by one of those catas-
 trophies, which occasionally diversify the monotonous
 history of student life. They had spent
 more than thirty years in the exploration of the
 catacombs and other sacred antiquities of Rome.
 Boldetti's volume, published in 1720 at Rome
 [entitled *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri de' Santi*
 but by far the greater part still remained in
 MS., when in 1737 an unlucky fire destroyed in
 a few hours the fruit of all these years of toil-
 add, was complete and irreparable. Boldetti's
 great age precluded all hopes of his being able
 to repair his portion of the work. Marangoni
 although grievously depressed resumed his
 labours with great energy; but M. De Rossi has
 everywhere sought in vain for the results of his
 222). The destruction of these papers has left a
 void which can hardly be supplied; the chambers
 which they explored are now "demolita et horren-
 dum in modum vastata." (De Rossi). Bold-
 etti indeed and those whom he employed to
 copy the inscriptions have been proved to be very
 inaccurate both as regards the sites of their discov-
 ery and the reading of the texts; "ei me
 intissimum esse profiteor," says De Rossi (p.
 xxvii.*). Marangoni was much more exact, and
 his *Appendix ad Acta S. Victorini*, Rom. 1740,
 is a work of considerable value. P. Lupi, a
 friend of these scholars, has left, besides various
 printed works relating to epigraphy, a valuable
 collection of inscriptions preserved in MS. in the
 Vatican at Rome; and a similar collection by the
 celebrated Buonarrotti is preserved at Florence.
 It became evident that the time had now
 arrived when a fresh collection of Christian in-
 scriptions should incorporate the previous discov-
 eries of so many scholars. The industrious
 Gori projected such a work, in which they should
 be so arranged as to illustrate the doctrines, the
 ceremonies, the hierarchy and the discipline of
 the church. But his other engagements pre-
 vented. The MSS. however of his friends
 Stosch, Ficoroni and others, containing materials
 for the work, are stored up in the Marcucelli
 Library at Florence, where they were consulted
 with profit by De Rossi. The task was in some
 measure executed by the indefatigable Muratori,
 whose *Nexus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum*,
 published at Milan in 1739 in four folio volumes,
 contains, in addition to the profane inscriptions,
 a larger number of Christian ones than had ever
 yet appeared, being taken both from printed and
 from MS. sources; but the work was very un-
 der-critically executed, and his conjectural addi-
 tions are not distinguished from the actual readings of
 the broken inscriptions. Maffei, who has been
 called the founder of lapidary criticism, had
 undertaken in conjunction with Séguier a great
 body of inscriptions, in which there should be a
 purely Christian division; but both these and
 various other scholars, who had cherished like
 good intentions, bore no fruit to perfection.
 It now also again entered into the minds of
 more than one divine to turn the extant mass

* De Rossi (under his *Inscr. Crd. Rom.* n. 17, p. 24)
 calls him a man "cuius in id genus apographis excip-
 tibus imperitiam et incuriam non cetera, sed miliena
 exempla testantur."

of Christian inscriptions to theological account;
 and with somewhat better success. The learned
 Jesuit A. F. Zaccaria contemplated a very exten-
 sive work, in which the more interesting Chris-
 tian inscriptions should be arranged under the
 following heads: (i.) Religio in Deum; (ii.)
 Religio in Sanctos; (iii.) Templi; (iv.) Tem-
 porum ornamenta, vasa sacra, idque genus
 Hierarchia ecclesiasticae ac primo Romani Pon-
 tificis; (viii.) Episcopi; (ix.) Presbyteri; (x.)
 Monachi; (xiii.) Laici; (xiv.) Laici dignitate
 praestantes; (xv.) Artes atque officia minorā;
 (xvi.) Leges ecclesiasticae (De Rossi, u. s. p.
 xxx.*) This magniloquent announcement how-
 ever was never carried out; but a kind of first
 fruits were put forth in 1762 in a treatise
 entitled *De veterum Christianorum in rebus
 theologicis usu.* In this work he brings together
 with a considerable amount of industry and
 learning such inscriptions as bear or seem to
 bear upon the doctrine of the church; "quae non
 diuturnae, ne haereticis cavillandi detur occasio"
 (*Theol. Diss.* p. 325). Martigny however
 calls it "un livre mediocre;" and speaks of his
 friend and imitator, Danzetta, as having written
 "avec moins de succès encore." (*Dict.* p. 305).
 The bearing of inscriptions upon doctrinal or dis-
 ciplinary controversy is "a perfectly legitimate
 use of the subject," and indeed its true ultimate
 end, but one for which from the insufficiency of
 the data the time had not [in the 18th century]
 fully arrived." (*Edinburgh Review*, u. s. p. 224.)
 Nor can it be said to have fully arrived now. In
 a few years' time it will probably be otherwise.
 Zaccaria in his later years encouraged a rising
 young scholar, Gaetano Marini, to undertake the
 task which he had found to be too much for
 himself. Marini set about the work with great
 spirit, and from 1785 to 1801 worked at it, not
 exclusively indeed, but yet so as never to allow
 account of his preparations and of the merits and
 defects of his performances is given by De Rossi
 (u. s. pp. xxxi.*-xxxii.*). By help of his
 friends in Italy and his own labour he had
 amassed about 8000 Christian inscriptions in
 Latin, and about 750 in Greek from all parts
 of the world, of the first ten centuries. But
 these were in a confused, imperfect and unortho-
 dox state. "Murini's labours were interrupted by
 the French Revolution; and at his death he be-
 queathed to the Vatican Library the materials
 which he had compiled, and which, having

* Published in the *Theologiae Theol. Dissertationum*
 vol. I. pp. 325-396, Venet. 1762, 4to; apparently for the
 first time (see *Præfatio generalis*). Le Blanc (in his
Bibliographie) gives 1761 as the date. It has been re-
 published by Migne in his *Cursus Theol. completus*.

It would seem from De Rossi's remarks (p. xxxi.*)
 that his *Theologia Lapidaria* exists only in MS. (in the
 Vatican). He gained from it a few unpublished inscrip-
 tions which Danzetta had taken from the papers of Ma-

For the ecclesiastical historian inscriptions of all
 periods will of course have their own value; and many of
 "illustrations of almost every branch of Christian litera-
 ture, history, and antiquities" (*Edinburgh Review*, u. s.
 p. 231).

recently been put in order by M. De Rossi are found to fill no fewer than 31 volumes. Among these, four volumes had been partially prepared for publication, of which the first was in a comparatively forward state. This is the *Inscriptionum Christianarum pars prima*, which is printed in the fifth volume of Mai's *Scriptorium Veterum Nova Collectio*, in 1831. And perhaps it may be said that it is to the incomplete and unsatisfactory condition of the remaining portion of Marini's papers that we are indebted for much of the far more critical and scholarly work of M. De Rossi, entitled *Inscriptiones Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo antiquiores* (Rome, 1857-61, fol. pp. 619+123 *prol.* +40 *praf.*) This publication was undertaken at the express solicitation of Cardinal Mai, who finding the task of preparing for the press the rest of Marini's materials entirely incompatible with his other engagements, transferred to his young and learned friend the undertaking for which his tastes, his studies, and his genuine love of the subject pointed him out to Mai as eminently fitted." (*Edinburgh Rev.* u. s. pp. 224, 225, slightly altered.) The first volume of this great work, the only one known to the writer, and perhaps the only one yet published, contains those Roman inscriptions only whose precise or approximate date is positively known.¹ The number of these is 1126; among which we have one belonging to the first century, two to the beginning of the second (all very brief and unimportant), and twenty-three to the third; the fourth and fifth centuries have between four and five hundred each, and the sixth century a little more than two hundred. Fragments and additional inscriptions contained in the appendices bring the number up to 1374.

The second part of his work is intended to include select inscriptions interesting for their theological and historical worth; and in the last place he will include all the remaining inscriptions arranged according to the localities where they were found; and also the Jewish inscriptions found in Rome.²

We can afford no more space to notice this masterly performance, which every one who desires to become acquainted with Christian inscriptions must necessarily study; an interesting account of it, and also of the work following will be found in the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1854.

The impulse given to Christian epigraphy by De Rossi's great work, and by his other works of smaller dimensions³ has been manifested by the

publication of other books relating to the subject, among which those which comprise the Christian inscriptions *en masse* of particular countries hold the first rank. And among these we must place at the head the *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^{me} Siècle*, edited and annotated by M. Edmond Le Blant, in 2 vols 4to., Paris, 1856, and 1865, comprising 708 inscriptions, nearly all Latin, but a few Greek, and a few also written in Runic.⁴ The earliest dated inscription belongs to the year 334, and the latest to 695; but only four of these are as early as the 4th century. Of the rest that are dated about 50 belong to the 5th century, nearly 100 to the 6th, and 13 to the 7th century. A few which are undated are certainly before the age of Constantine (*Manuel*, p. 124).

The same learned author has likewise more recently, in 1869, written a *Manuel d'Épigraphie Chrétienne d'après les marbres de la Gaule, accompagnée d'une bibliographie spéciale*, i. e., a catalogue of books relating to Christian epigraphy generally, Paris, sm. 8vo. pp. 267. Although this valuable⁵ work refers more especially to Gaulish inscriptions, there is a great deal about others also; in particular his enumeration of formulæ (Greek and Latin) which occur in different parts of the Christian world, in Europe, Asia and Africa, where different provinces have their own styles of epigraphy, is peculiarly instructive (pp. 76-81), and a translation will be found below. The Christian inscriptions of Spain have very recently been edited by one of the most eminent living epigraphists, Prof. E. Hübnér, of Berlin. His *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae* was published at Berlin in 1871, and includes 209 inscriptions, besides 89 others of the medieval period comprised in the appendix. Of the earlier ones two or three only can be referred to the 4th century; the others are of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th centuries; about half of them are dated, the earliest being of the year 455, and the latest being 782. Nearly all are in Latin; a very few only in Greek. A splendid publication commenced in 1870, entitled *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, chiefly collected and drawn by G. Petrie, I.L.D., edited by M. Stokes, Dublin, printed at the University, 4to. Four parts have now (1874) been published. These of Clonmacnois (above 100 in number) range from

valuable information for inscriptions among other antiquities. Other works of his (some unknown to the writer) on this subject are enumerated by L. Blant in his *Bibliographie* at the end of his *Manuel d'Épigraphie*.

⁴ Both this and Hübnér's work (see below) give details for each inscription in the same exact and comprehensive manner as De Rossi, and are accompanied by numerous plates. M. Le Blant has subsequently obtained additional inscriptions from various parts of France and Switzerland, which will one day, he hopes, form a rich supplement to his former work (*Manuel*, p. 1).

⁵ It is not understanding to be regretted that so useful a book was not put together with a little more fitness and precision: it is divided into nineteen chapters, but nothing is said either at the beginning of the work or at the head of each respecting the contents of the chapters; the list of books placed at the end of the volume scarcely satisfies the requirements of the bibliographer, as it almost invariably omits the Christian name or initials of the authors mentioned, and the number of volumes in each work. At the same time it will be found very helpful without being by any means complete, particularly as regards English books.

¹ He calls them *Epitaphia certam temporis notam exhibentia*. Notwithstanding this, the mark of time on the stone, by reason of its fragmentary condition, often leaves the exact date uncertain. See, for example, n. 886, the date of which may be 522 or 485, and n. 999, which may be of the year 525, 524, 454, or 453.

² Under each inscription mention is made of the place where it was found, where it has been edited, if at all, or from what MSS. It has been copied by the editor, if he have not himself transcribed it. Plates are in most cases added. If the inscriptions were more frequently written out in common minuscules, besides being figured, they would be more easily read by the non-antiquarian scholar or student.

³ His *Buletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, of which the first volume (in twelve monthly parts) appeared in 1863 (Roma, tipografia Salviocci, 4to) is a magazine of most

er-books relating to the subject, which comprise the Christian use of particular countries hold and among these we must place *Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la an VIII^{me} Siècle*, edited and Edmond Le Blanc, in 2 vols and 1865, comprising 708 in all Latin, but a few Greek, and in Runes.²⁰ The earliest dates to the year 331, and the only four of these are as early as 331. Of the rest that are dated to the 5th century, nearly 100 to the 7th century. A few are certainly before the age of the 7th century.

The author has likewise more written a *Manuel d'Épigraphie des lettres de la Gaule, ac-bibliographie spéciale*, i. e., a work relating to Christian epigraphy, Paris, sm. 8vo. pp. 267. Al-though the work refers more especially to Gaul, there is a great deal about particular his enumeration of (and Latin) which occur in the Christian world, in Europe, where different provinces have of epigraphy, is peculiarly in-teresting, and a translation will be the Christian inscriptions of Spain have been edited by one of the best epigraphists, Prof. E. Hübn-er, *Inscriptions Hispaniæ Chris-tianæ* at Berlin in 1871, and in-cludes, besides 89 others of the period comprised in the appendix. Of these only three can be referred to; the others are of the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries; about half of them being of the year 455, and 782. Nearly all are in Latin; a few in Greek. A splendid publication of 1870, entitled *Christian Inscr-ptions in Language*, chiefly collected and edited by M. Stokes, at the University, 4to. Four volumes (1874) been published. These of over 100 in number) range from

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the 7th to the 12th century in a regular series; and by their help it is hoped that a key to the approximate date of such works in other parts of the country as well as in other parts of the British Islands may be obtained. They occupy the first part of the work. All the above works are beautifully illustrated with figures. There are also other recent books which deal with the Christian inscriptions of particular regions. Among them are to be named C. Gazzera, *Delle iscrizioni cristiane antiche del Piemonte discorso*, Torino, 1850, 4to. (also in *Mem. Accad. di Torino*, 1851); J. B. De Rossi, *De Christianis titulis C-orthoginiensibus* (in *Pitræ Spicil. Solesm.* vol. 4); and (along with the Pagan inscriptions) L. Renier, *Inscriptions Romanæ de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1858, fol.

The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, whose publication is still going forward at Berlin, includes, with specified exceptions, all Latin inscriptions, both Pagan and Christian, which can be placed with certainty or reasonable probability before 600 A.D. (see pref. to vols. ii. and iii.). The Christian inscriptions are distinguished in the indices by a dagger prefixed.

A great number of Welsh inscriptions, the earliest being probably about the 7th century, will be found in the numerous volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1846, sqq. 8vo., mostly described by the well-known palæographer Prof. Westwood. But a conspectus of the whole of the early Christian inscriptions of Great Britain and Ireland will, it is to be hoped, in process of time be included in Messrs. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain*, of which the first volume appeared at Oxford in 1869, 8vo., part of the second in 1871, and the third in 1873. The very scanty inscribed Christian remains of the Roman period will be found at vol. i. pp. 39, 40; vol. ii. p. xxii. (Addenda)

* It is astonishing how small a number of Latin Christian inscriptions (or, at any rate inscriptions known to be Christian) occur in some countries. In vol. iii. edited by Mommsen, which includes Egypt, Asia, Illyricum, and the provinces of European Greece, there are only about thirty inscriptions which can be counted upon as Christian out of 6574. Of these several were found together at a place in Dalmatia.

* The books where the inscriptions are described and figured are fully detailed under each inscription in the same complete manner as in De Rossi's, Le Blanc's, and Hübn-er's works already mentioned. It is hardly necessary therefore to say much of any of them here; many of them are periodicals, others are monographs on particular classes of monuments, particularly Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (printed for the Spalding Club, Edinb. 1856-1867, 2 vols. fol.); G. Stephen's *Old Northern Runic Monuments* (London and Copenhagen, 2 vols. fol. 1868-1868); Munch's edition of the *Chron. Manniæ* (Christian, 1860). A great number also of topographical and archaeological works by Lysons, Hodgson, Nichols, C. Roach Smith, Horsley, Borlase, &c. are brought under contribution.

* The Lincoln inscription is considered by Hübn-er (*Inscr. Brit. Lat.* n. 191) to be of the 16th century. If it deserves the name must be struck off. The christiana, however, has been found on six or seven monuments of different kinds (without counting coins), once with the name of a (Hobbs and Stubbs, u. s.). The christiana occurs Hübn-er (u. s. p. 240, n. 27), who likewise gives two rings with the Christian acclamation, "VIVAS IN DEO," found

and p. 51. To these will perhaps be added a Roman inscription found at Sen-mills, near Bristol, in 1873, seen by the writer, but whether it be Christian or no "adhuc sub jussu h. est." The sepulchral Christian inscriptions in Celtic Britain, A.D. 450-700, mostly in Latin, but one or two in Welsh, vol. i. pp. 182-169; some few of the Latin inscriptions being accompanied by Ogham characters. The same class of inscriptions in Wales, A.D. 700-1100, vol. i. pp. 625-633 (Latin); the inscriptions of Scottish and English Cumbrria (A.D. 450-900, vol. ii. pp. 51-56), some Latin, some (at Ruthwell near Dumfries, and at Bewcastle in Cumberland) Runic. The inscribed monuments (very few) in the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms (AD. 400-900), partly Latin, partly in Runes and Oghams, are in vol. ii. pp. 125-132; those of the Isle of Man, nearly all Runes, of Norwegian origin (one may be Gaelic), and inscribed on crosses, whose date is not given, will be found in vol. ii. pp. 185-187. There still remain to follow the Saxon inscriptions of the period of the Heptarchy and the Monarchy.*

A work has yet to be mentioned, which is perhaps of greater importance to the student of Christian epigraphy than any which has been already named, De Rossi's only excepted; viz., the Christian inscriptions, which are contained in Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (vol. iv. fasc. 2, Berlin, 1859, fol. plates). They are collected and edited by Prof. A. Kirchhoff, the same great epigraphist who has just been occupied upon the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*. The Christian inscriptions begin at No. 8606 and terminate at No. 9893, besides a few in the Addenda; thus making a total of nearly 1300 inscriptions of all ages and in almost all parts of the Roman world, down to the fall of the

in England (pp. 234, 235), as well as other places which seem to be Christian. The Romano-Christian remains in Britain are so extremely rare that it seems to be worth while to make these slight additions to what will be found in Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs' work. Mr. Wright's statement (*Celt. Roman and Saxon*, p. 293) that "not a trace of Christianity is found among the innumerable religious and sepulchral monuments of the Roman period found in Britain," cannot be safely contradicted. The Westminster and Bristol monuments may possibly be exceptions. So much can hardly be said of Christian. See Dr. McCaul's remarks on the Chesterholm stone in the *Canadian Journal* for 1874.

* See *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. Nov.* 1873, pp. 66-71 *Archæology Journ.* 1874, pp. 41-46 (with figure).

* Until these appear, it may be useful to indicate some of the principal sources of information. In addition to the books already referred to, among which Professor G. Stephen's *Runic Monuments* is the principal, Pogg's *Sylloge and Camden's Britannia*, with the additions of Gibson and Gough, may be omitted. Among the periodicals, the *Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal* and the *Proceedings of the West Riding of Yorkshire Geol. and Polytechnic Society* are more especially to be mentioned, where the Runic and other early inscriptions of Yorkshire are described by the Rev. D. Halgh and the Rev. J. Fowler. Professor Hübn-er informs the writer that he hopes his *Inscriptions Britannicæ Christianæ* will appear in the course of 1875, which will be analogous in all respects to the *Inscr. Brit. Lat.* It includes all Latin inscriptions down to about 200 y.c. "As there are in Wales some few in Oghams only, what the rest is in part bilingual, I do not," he says, "exclude those few merely Celtic ones."

Byzantine empire. To these are to be added about sixty already included in the earlier parts of the book, which are evidently of Christian times ("quos Christiane esse aetatis apparet"). They are divided into three classes. (1) Tituli operum publicorum et votivi, the first division of which is arranged chronologically, the second comprising those whose age is uncertain. Of the former division there are 175, but none is earlier than the 4th century, a copy of a letter of St. Athanasius, the only authority for the Greek text, being perhaps the earliest of all; there are only six or seven others which can be referred to the 4th century. The fifty-eight which follow these comprise all which are of the fifth and following centuries, several of them being in verse, to the death of Charlemagne, of which number about twelve belong to the age of Justinian (A.D. 527-565). The most important of these perhaps is a copy of the paschal canon of St. Hippolytus, which appears to have been engraved in the reign of Theodosius; most of the others are inscriptions on various kinds of buildings, such as churches, monasteries, hospitals, towers, and there are two or three which are invocations of the Virgin and the saints, or prayers for the welfare of the persons mentioned.

(2) The second class comprises 156 inscriptions on mosaics, tessellae and other vessels, glass, lamps, triptychs or other wooden tablets, "et variae supellectilis sacrae et profanae, ponderum, sigillorum, amuletorum, gemmarum" (Nos. 8953-9109). About seventy of these are on seals (nearly all lead); a few are as early as the 7th and 8th centuries. Some of those however on gems and glass are much earlier, and some notice has been taken of these in the articles on those subjects in this Dictionary.

(3) The remaining class contains no less than 783 inscriptions, all sepulchral, and these are arranged by the regions in which they are found. Those which bear dates are comparatively very few. (a) Egypt, Nubia, and the rest of Africa (Nos. 9110-9137); (b) Syria (Nos. 9138-9154); (c) Asia Minor (Nos. 9155-9287); (d) Greece and Illyricum (Nos. 9288-9449, of which 114 are from Athens); (e) Sicily and Malta (Nos. 9450-9540); (f) Italy and Sardinia (Nos. 9541-9885); (g) Gaul and Germany (Nos. 9886-9893).

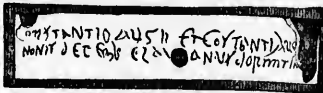
Various other Greek Christian inscriptions have been since published; in particular, it may be observed that a few have been found in Spain and Algeria, countries from which Kirchoff has not given a single example (Hübner, u. s. p. v. praef.; Rénier, u. s. pp. 255, 349).

From what has now been said, it must be apparent how utterly hopeless and impossible it is to give within the limits of an article in a dictionary a satisfactory account of this immensely numerous class of Christian antiquities. The most important aid which such an article can render must be to indicate the principal sources of information; and these, if De Rossi's labours are carried out, will be very largely increased in the course of a few years.

A little work however has been published at Toronto in 1869 by the Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., in which a judicious selection of a hundred "Christian epitaphs of the first six centuries" (Greek and Latin from various parts of the world, especially from Rome) has been brought together and ably commented upon. They occupy

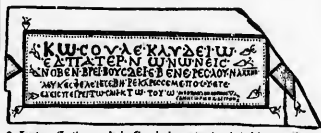
sixty-eight pages, and an introduction relating to the language, names, and dates employed fill up twenty-eight more. Besides these we have a brief preface pointing out the necessity of caution in using uncritical books, like those of Aringhi and Boldetti, and giving amusing examples of forgeries of Christian inscriptions, which have deceived some learned writers even of the present century. To those who cannot give any great amount of attention to the subject, this little work may be heartily recommended, as it bears every mark of conscientious care and of strict honesty.

(ii) *Technical Execution and Materials employed*.—The modes of writing employed have much the same variations as in all ages: the letters are most commonly engraved with a chisel below the surface of the stone, and then occasionally coloured (red) or gilded; sometimes the letters are scratched with the point of some instrument, a nail or the like (fig. 1); on some gems the



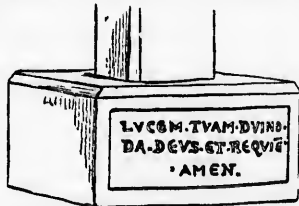
1. Letters scratched on mortar. A.D. 339. (Rome.)

letters are in relief (cameo). More rarely the letters are drawn in paint (vermilion) (fig. 2) or in gold upon the flat surface of the marble, or cut in gold leaf (upon glass), or written in ink upon sepulchral tablets or vases, or in white



2. Letters (Latin words in Greek characters) painted in vermilion on the flat (not lucid) surface of the marble; they are of mixed form, uncial and minuscule. Leaves and points introduced capriciously. A.D. 399. (Rome. The famous epistle of St. Severus.)

colour on frescoes, &c. In the entaenichs the inscriptions were occasionally, by reason of the unhappiness of the times, smeared in charcoal, in hope that when persecution had passed away, they might be recorded in a more permanent



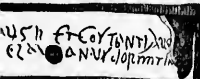
3. Words divided uniformly by points. 7th century. (Rly.)

form. Sometimes also old tombstones of the pagans were used over again, and the Christian inscriptions were written on their backs, or on their obliterated faces (fig. 5). Points are also frequently found, sometimes to distinguish words (fig. 3), sometimes scattered capriciously (figs.

SCRIPTIONS

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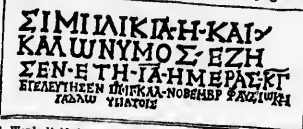


ormly by points. 7th century. (Ily)

also old tombstones of the over again, and the Christian written on their backs, or on axes (fig. 5). Points are also sometimes to distinguish words scattered capriciously (fig.

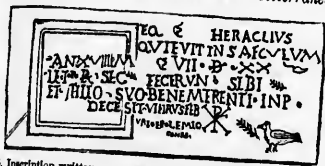
INSCRIPTIONS

2, 4); likewise a variety of other marks, particularly cordate leaves, common to pagan and



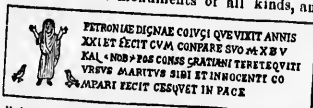
4. Words divided, but not constantly, by various small marks. Irregular uncial letters. A.D. 308. (Rome.)

Christian inscriptions (figs. 2, 5, 6). Some of the above remarks are illustrated by the inscriptions figured above and below, to be more fully described under TOMBS. The reader may see more on this subject in Martigny's *Dict. s. v. Inscriptions*, §§ II., III.; but it can only be studied to advantage by examining the plates in such works as De Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea*.



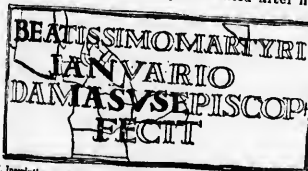
6. Inscription written on a scraped portion of a sarcophagus previously used. Branches, leaves, and various small marks introduced between some of the words. A.D. 338. (Rome.)

(coloured plates) and *Inscr. Urb. Rom.*, and the other books named above in which the letters and accessories are figured. The same remark must be made of the palaeography. The letters have the same varieties of form, such as uncial, minuscule, rustic, and ligated, which are common to MSS. and monuments of all kinds, and



4. Marks of different kinds before and after one word only; strokes drawn through two letters to indicate that they stand for words (names and uses). Regular uncial letters. A.D. 375. (Rome.)

their execution varies from extreme neatness (figs. 6, 10) and even beauty to extreme ugliness and carelessness (*litterae rusticae*) (figs. 1, 8). Of the former sort the characters employed by pope Damasus in the 4th century are the most remarkable, their apices being ornamented with little hooks (fig. 7). They are called after him

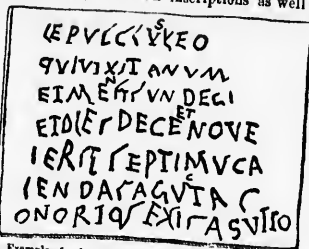


1. Inscription (completed by conjecture) written in the Damasine special characters (incised). 4th century. (Rome.)

Damasine letters; but Philocalus was his artist, or one of his artists. They are sometimes en-

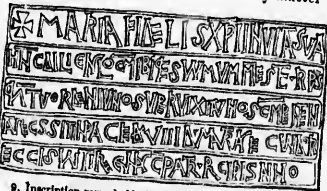
INSCRIPTIONS

graved, sometimes painted on the marble. There are also many Christian inscriptions as well as



8. Example of rude palaeography. Rustic letters. No points or other marks. A.D. 404. (Rome.)

others which are not Christian, where letters are connected by ligatures (*litterae ligatae*); sometimes to that degree that it is no easy matter to



9. Inscription remarkable for the complexity of its ligatures. A.D. 650. (Near Arjona, Spain.)

decypher them (fig. 9). For some observations on the form of letters in certain Christian inscriptions see Le Blant, *Manuel*, pp. 41, 42; Hubner,



10. Inscription in minuscule letters of variable form. 7th century. (Clonmacnoise, Ireland.)

u. s. p. 116; De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1863, p. 18.

(iii.) *Symbols*.—Of the symbols which are found with some Christian inscriptions, the principal are the following: the fish, the anchor, the dove, the Good Shepherd, the chrisma, the alpha and omega, and the cross in various forms. These will be found described under their respective heads (also noticed under GEMS and MOSAICS), and they may be regarded as either exclusively or prin-

cially Christian symbols. The palm which is also found, and that very commonly, is, like the phoenix, Christianised; but it occurs also on pagan and Jewish inscriptions. It must be sufficient to refer to a table indicating the symbols on the early Roman and Gaulish sepulchral inscriptions (by far the most complete series), and the observed dates of their introduction and disappearance, given by M. Le Blant (*Manuel*, p. 29). For symbols generally see Raoul Rochette, *Talonné des Catacombes de Rome*, pp. 229 sqq., Paris, 1853, and the authors named at the beginning and end of the book.

(iv.) *Select Inscriptions*.—These consist of such examples, arranged chronologically, in prose and verse, as are connected with churches or their furniture or adjuncts, and they have mostly some further interest of their own. No uniform system of printing has been followed. Sometimes the mere transcript of the letters seems to be sufficient; sometimes the words have been written out (corrected and at length) below these; sometimes a translation has been added; also such ones as seemed desirable.

1. De Rossi, *Bullettino di Arch. Crist.* 1864, p. 28; Renier, *Inscr. Rom. de l'Alg.* n. 4025. From Caesarea in Mauretania; written by a poet named Asterius (*ex ingenio Asterii*) to commemorate the gift of a burial-ground to the Christians by Evelpius.

AREAM AT (ad) SEPIICRA CVLTOR VERBI
CONVLIT
ET CELLAM STRVXIT SVIS CVNCTIS SYMP-
TIBVS
ECLESIAE SANCTAE HANC RELIQUIT MEMO-
RIAM
SALVETE FRATRES PVRO CORDE ET SIMPLICI
EVELPIVS VOS (salutat) SATOS SANCTO SPIRITV
ECLESIAE FIATVRVM (sic) HVNC RESTITVIT
TITVLVM. M. A. I. SEVERIANI C. V.
EX ING. ASTERII.

A wreath enclosing $\Lambda\Omega$ is on the left; a dove and palm on the right.

M. Héniery reads the end of the last line but one *titulum marmoreum anno primo Severiani, viri clarissimi*. If this be right, as seems very probable (though De Rossi feels some doubts, *Prod. Inscr. Urb. Rom.* p. xi), the mode of dating is very unusual. Other Mauretanian inscriptions are dated by the era of the province, i. e. 40 A.D. when it was reduced by the Romans (*M. Gaul. Christ. Epit.* p. 37).

The words *oeclesia fratrum* indicate the restoration of the inscription to be "assai antico" (De Rossi); the original was probably broken during the tumults against the Christians, A.D. 258-304, as De Rossi thinks; and the restored marble tablet would seem to have been put up in the first year of Severianus, probably the Roman governor of Mauretania. One of the earliest Christian inscriptions, not being an epitaph, which have come down to us in any form.

2. Böckh, *C. J. G.* 8608. Coreyra (Corfu) in the porch of a church, written in two lines
5. Hubner, *Inscr. Christ. Hisp.* No. 135. Found in a wall of the Benedictine convent of S. Salvador de Vairão, near Braga in Portugal, on seven stones.

IN NE DNI PERF	ECVVM	EST TEMPLVM II	VNC PER M	ARISPALLA	DD VOTA
SVB DIE XIII K	AP ER	DXXIII	NANTE SERE	NISSIMO VE	REMVNDV RE X

In nomine d(omi)ni perfectum est templum hunc per Arispalla d(e) vota
Sub die XIII kalendas Aprilis era DXXIII regnante serenissimo Veremundo Re.
Spanish 1. ra 523; A. n. 465.

of two hexameters each. A cross at the beginning and end of the first line.

πιστιν ἔχων βασι(ε)λιαν ἐμὸν μένεωσ συνήρθωσ
σοι, μάκαρ ὕψιμεθον, τὸνδ' ἱερὸν ἔκτισσα νηόν,
Ἑλλήνων τεμένη καὶ θυμῶσ ἐξακατάξας,
χειρὸσ ἀπ' οὐτίθανῆσ Ἰοβιανὸσ ἔδωκε δνακτι.

Render: *I constructed with unworthy hand, &c.*

This is the earliest Greek inscription relating to the imperial destruction of pagan temples, the date of Jovian's act being about A.D. 363.

3. Le Blant, *Inscr. Chret. de la Gaule*, l. 496, n. 369. Preserved in the Hôtel de Ville at Sion in Switzerland.

DEVOTIONE . VIGENS .
AVGVSTAS . PONTIVS . AEDIS
RESTITVIT . PRAEATOR .
LONGE . PRAESTANTIVS . ILLIS .
QVAE . PRISCAE . STATVRANT .
TALIS . RESPVBLICA . QVERE .
DN GRATIANO AVG . IIII ET MEI . COS .
PONTIVS ASCLEPIODOTVS VPPID .



The date of this consulpship of Gratian with Merobaudas is A.D. 377, the earliest date of any public monument yet known, bearing the chrismna. The next earliest is A.D. 390, on a column of St. Paul's basilica, extra muros, Rome. It is wonderful that the former church should be spoken of as old so early as A.D. 377; it can hardly be doubted that it was a Christian or a Christianised building. Le Blant's observation that this church-restoration is precisely contemporaneous with the greatest abundance of Mithraic monuments and those of Cybele is worthy to be noted. The abbreviations at the end are probably for *vir praepositus praetorio dedicavit*. *Tab.*, i. e. *men like Asclepiodotus*. De Rossi, however (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, p. 25), who evidently considers Asclepiodotus to be the author of the verses, refers *titulos* to *aedos* ("che li dedicò alla republica"). He takes the building to be "il palazzo dei presidi imperiali," the chrismna and *devotio* notwithstanding.

4. Rasponi, *De Basil. et patriarch. Lateran.* iii. 7, Rom. 1656. On the bronze-silvered gates of the Baptistery of the Lateran, Rome.

IN HONOREM S. IOANNIS BAPTISTAE
HILARVS EPISCOPVS DEI FAMVLVS OFFERT.

Hilarus was pope from A.D. 462 to 467; and the inscription has the appearance of being contemporary. The ancient baptisteries were commonly placed under the patronage of St. John the Baptist; and both they and the fonts which they contained were frequently inscribed. Ciampini gives both kinds of inscriptions from the Baptistery of the Lateran, which are said to have been there in the 5th century; but this edifice has been often remodelled. (See Ciamp. *de Sacr. Edif.* c. iii., *Mart. Dict.*, p. 321; Hübner, *Arch. Chret.* p. 5, Guerber's French transl. 1866.)

For this class of inscriptions generally see the posthumous papers of Marini published by Mai, *Script. Vet. Noe. Collect.* t. v., pp. 167-177.

5. Found in a wall of the Benedictine convent of S. Salvador de Vairão, near Braga in Portugal, on seven stones.

imeters each. A cross at the end of the first line.

Ἰ(ε)αν ἐμῶν μένων συνέριθον
 σου, τὸνδ' ἱερὸν ἔκτισα νηόν,
 καὶ βωμοῦς ἑξατάτας,
 καὶ ἰοβανὸς ἔδων ἄνακτι.

Translated with unworthy hand, &c.
 Earliest Greek inscription relating
 destruction of pagan temples,
 not being about A.D. 363.

Inscr. *Chrét. de la Gaule*, i. 496,
 preserved in the Hôtel de Ville at
 Cherland.

VIGENS .
 ONTIVS . AEDIS
 PRAETOR .
 STANTIVS . ILLIS .
 E . STETERANT .
 BLICA . QVERE .
 IO AVG . IIII ET MER . COS .
 LEPIODOTVS VPPID .



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 A.D. 377, the earliest date of any
 yet known, bearing the chrisma.
 It is A.D. 390, on a column of
 a, extra muros, Rome. It is won-
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 is *practorio dedicavit*. *Talos*, i.e.
Jobis. De Rossi, however (*Urb.*
 367, p. 25), who evidently con-
 sutes to be the author of the in-
 scription to *aedes* ("che li dedicò
 e takes the building to be "il
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 ending.

asil. et patriarch. Lateran. iii. 7.
 On the bronze-silvered gates
 story of the Lateran, Rome.

I. IOANNIS BAPTISTAE
 COIVS DEI FAMVLVS OFFERT.

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of the Benedictine convent of
 seven stones.

RISPALLA | DŌ VOTA
 SSSIMO VE | REMVNDV RE | X
 (e) vota
 Veremundus Rex.

Diction barbarous, as frequently in these
 Spanish inscriptions. The church seems to have
 been completed under the auspices of a nun,
 named Marispalla; probably the text really is
 having a stroke above them, which may have
 been obliterated or accidentally omitted. The
 inscription is interesting as being doubtly dated,
 both by the Spanish era and by the reign of the
 Visigothic king. The Spanish era, whose origin
 is uncertain, but which appears to commence
 A.C. 38 (see Hubner, *praef.*, p. vi.), is the era
 most commonly used to mark the time of the
 Spanish Christian inscriptions; about 100 of
 them are thus dated (Hubner, p. 109), the
 earliest appears to be A.D. 466, and the latest
 A.D. 762. Both the proper names in the in-
 scription are Gothic (see Hubner, *praef.*, p. vii.,
 who gives several others); the remark of M. Canl
 (*u. s.*, p. xxi.) that Gothic names are "very
 rarely" found in inscriptions does not apply
 to Spain.

6. Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, i. 87,
 n. 42. Found at Lyons, formerly on the
 exterior of the church of St. Romanus, where
 Spon saw it in the 17th century; now lost.

TEMPLI FACTORES FVERANT FREDALDVVS
 ET TVOR MARIVRIS EGREGII QD
 CONSTAT HONORE ROMANI ILLIVS VT
 IQ BEQVEATVR (sic) SEDE PE . . ENNE.

Date, as Spon believed, of the 5th or 6th cen-
 tury. He thus restores and rectifies the lines—
*Templi factores fuerant Fredaltus et uxor,
 Marivris egregii quod constat honore Romani
 Illius ut precibus recreetur sepe perenni.*

The motive of the founders is here sufficiently
 clearly expressed, that they may enjoy eternal
 rest through the prayers of the saint. They do
 not, however, actually invoke him.

7. Böckh, *C. I. G.*, n. 8640. On a stone found in
 the Peloponnese by S. Alberghatti; origi-
 nally (see l. 7) erected at Corinth; now in
 the museum at Verona.

+ΑΓ. ΜΑΡΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΦΤΑΞΕΩΝ
 ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ
 ΦΙΛΟΧΙΛΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΗΝΣΙΩΕ
 ΔΟΥΛΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΑΤΤΩ
 ΒΙΚΤΩΡΗΦΗΝΩΝ + ΕΥΝ ΤΟΙΕ
 ΟΙΚΟΥΤΙΝ ΕΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΩ Κ. ΘΕΩΝ +
 ΖΩΝΤΑΣ +

'Αγία Μαρία θεοτόκε, φύλαξον τὴν βασιλείαν
 τοῦ φιλοχ[ρ]ίστου Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ τῶν γη-
 σίας δουλεύοντα αὐτῷ Βικτωρῶν σὺν τοῖς
 οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Κορίνθῳ (κατὰ) θεῶν ζῶντας.

*Holy Mary, God-bearer (Deipara), guard the kingdom
 of the Christ-loving Justinian and his faithful servants
 Victorinus with them that live godly in Corinth.*

Sixth century, between A.D. 527 and 565.
 Other and even stronger invocations of saints
 occur about this time. In one, too long to quote
 at length, Demetrius is invoked by Justinian to
 aid him against his enemies, in the capacity of
 a mediator with God (ὁ μεγαλομάρτυς Δημή-
 τριε μεσίτευσον πρὸς θεῶν ἕνα. κ.τ.λ. n. 8642).
 Another inscription, mutilated, from Thera (San-
 tovin), of uncertain date, not later than the 4th
 or 5th century at latest according to Ross,
 begins—*Ἐγὼ καὶ φοβέρε Μιχαὴλ ἀρχάγγελε,*
 CHRIST. ANT.

βοῦθε! τῷ δούλῳ σου Ἰερώνῳ (n. 8911). Votive
 tablets were also erected to saints; one from
 the cemetery of Cyrinus in Rome runs thus:
*Petrus et Pancratia votum posuunt (sic) marturis
 Felicitati.* (Marini, *u. s.*, p. 15.) In another,
 found near the baths of Diocletian, Cummisus
 and Victorinus pay their vows (votum reddunt)
Domnis Sanctis Pappo et Mauroleoni marturibus
 (Id. p. 14).

The expression, *μήτηρ Θεοῦ* (*Mother of God*),
 the usual title of the Virgin on the early medi-
 eval camei (see GEMS) had not yet come into
 common use in the Greek church, as appears
 from Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, as appears
 from Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, a contem-
 porary of Justinian. See Pearson *On the Creed*,
 Art. III.

8. *See. Voy. de deux Bénédict.* p. 234 (quoted by
 Martigny, *Dict.* p. 321). On a silver chal-
 lice given by Remigius, archbishop of
 Rheims (died A.D. 533) to his cathedral
 church.

HAURIAT HING POPVLVS VITAM DE SAN-
 GVINE SACRO
 INIECTO AETERNVS QVEM FVDIT VVLNERE
 CHRIVSIVS
 REMIGIVS REDDIT DOMINO SVA VOTA SA-
 CERDOS.

This is considered by Martigny to be in all
 appearance the "ministerial" (sacramental)
 chalice given by St. Remigius himself to the
 church of Rheims; see also *Archæol. Journ.*
 1848, p. 134. The magnificent chalice of gold
 which goes by the name of Remigius, formerly
 at Rheims, now in the Paris Library, is of the
 12th century (*Arch. Journ.* n. s.). For other
 inscriptions on chalices, see Marini, *u. s.* p. 197.

9. Le Blant, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, ii. 348,
 n. 574. Engraved on the four scalloped
 edges of a square marble altar slab formerly
 in the ancient cathedral of Bodez.

DEVSDEDIT EPS INDIVNVS FIERI IVSSIT HANC
 ARAM.

Deusdedit is supposed to have been bishop of
 Rodez about the end of the 6th century; the in-
 scription is doubtless a contemporary composition,
 but the letters and the sign of contraction *æ*
 are suspected of having been restored.

The name *Deusdedit* occurs also on a gem (see
 GEMS); the form *Deusdet* is likewise found more
 than once in inscriptions (Le Blant, *u. s.* p. 433);
 for similar instances, see *Names below*. For the
 altars of Christian churches *ara* (though as old
 as Tertullian) is less commonly used than *altare*,
 especially in prose. For other inscriptions on
 altars see Marini (*u. s.* pp. 74-80). This and
 the altar at Ham of the 7th century are among
 the earliest that are inscribed (Le Blant, n. 91).

10. Camden, *Britan.* § "Brigantes," ed. 1600:
 "Accipimus cruce[m] hic (at Dewsbury, York-
 shire) existisse, in qua inscriptum fuit:

PAVLINVS HIC PRAEDICAVIT ET CELE-
 BRAVIT."

Paulinus was bishop of York, A.D. 625-664.
 The inscription upon it is among the earliest
 that we have in England, which are not sepul-
 chral. Fragments of the ancient cross itself,
 probably broken at the Reformation, which
 Leland, in his *Itinerary*, mentions having seen,
 bearing the above inscription (temp. Henr. VIII.),

have been built up against the church there. The miracles of Cana and the multiplication of five loaves and three fishes were represented thereon, and a few Latin words of the Gospels in Runesque characters can still be read. (Figured and described by the Rev. J. T. Fowler, in a recent number of the *Yorkshire Archaeol. and Top. Journal*.)

The most remarkable cross of the same kind as the present is that at Ruthwell, near Dumfries (then part of Northumbria), with Scriptural and other scenes, and Latin legends from the Gospels, &c.; also having extracts from a poem by Cedman, entitled *A Dream of the Holy Wood*, written in Runes, near the edges. It is between seventeen and eighteen feet high, and appears to be of the 8th century. For a full account of it see Stephens, *Runic Mon.*, vol. ii., pp. 405-448, with figure.

11. Copy of the dedication stone of Jarrow chapel, Durham, made in 1863 by the Rev. J. T. Fowler. Marini, u. s. p. 163; Camden, *Brit.* 956 (Gibs). Pegge, *Sylloge*, p. 15, pl. 1 (in Nich. *Bibl. Top. Brit.* vol. vi.).

It is now over the nave-arch of the church, "and may be original" (Fowler, *in litt.*).¹ The forms of the letters O and C, and their inconspicuity, quite favour this supposition.



DEDICATIO BASILICAE
SCI PAVLI VIII KL MAI
ANNO XV EGFRIIDI REG
CEOLFRIIDI ABB EIVSDEM
Q. ECCLESIE DO AVCTORE
CONDITORIS ANNO IIII

The date is A.D. 685, determined by the reign of Egfrith, king of Northumbria. One of the very few early English inscriptions which bear a date.

The basilica or chapel of the monastery has been converted into the parish church, some remaining parts of which "are generally supposed to be of ante-Norman date" (G. G. Scott's *Report*). For the history, see *Flor. Wiporn.* s. n. 682. Benedict Biscop should rather be called the founder than Ceolfriith, whom he appointed as the first abbot.

The above scanty selection must suffice for this place. More is to be sought in other articles under AMPULLA, GEMS, GLASS, LAMPS, MONEY, MOSAICS, SEALS, and TOMBS.

(v.) *Language and Style of the Christian Inscriptions.*

A. *Orthography, Inflections, and choice of Words.*—While some of the Christian inscriptions are composed with correctness and even with elegance both in prose and verse, there are others which are written barbarously as respects the letters, the forms of words, the declensions, the genders, the conjugations, the syntax, and the prosody.

It would scarcely fall within the province of this article to enter into the grammar or rather non-grammar of the language of the latter sort. It partakes of the barbarisms with which various non-Christian inscriptions are more or less disfigured,² and which have even found their way

¹ Martigny (*Dict.* p. 399) calls them "communs aux inscriptions chrétiennes et aux romaines," referring to Hub. Goltzius (*Theat. Rei. Ant.* § 23) and R. Fabretti (*Inscr. Lat. expl.*) for further information. The indices

into literature in their most aggravated shapes, if the *Formularies* of the monk Marculfus (circa 680 A.D.) can be called literature. In the Greek Christian inscriptions the frequent and various changes of vowels and diphthongs are the most noticeable particularity. Thus *κείρα* is written *κετε*, or *κιτη*, or *κητη*. *Ἡράκλειος* becomes *Ηρακλιος* or *Ηρακλιος*, *κοιμητήριον* is changed into *κομητεριον*, *τελειωθῆς* becomes *τελειωθεις*, *ἐξων* is written *ερον*, *μικᾶ* is simply *μικα*, and the i-adscript of the dative is generally omitted. The change of consonants, as *κόλαφος* for *κόλτος*, *ταυμάσια* for *θαυμάσια*, *γληγορει* for *γρηγορει*, *κωρια* for *χωρια*, is more rare. There is also an occasional tendency to abbreviate words, so as to substitute *μνηστη* for *μνήσθητι*, *διακων* for *διάκονος*, &c. or to enlarge them, as *κολαπιτι* or *κολασι* for *κόλατοι*. Sometimes Coptic influence is discernible; sometimes uncouth late forms as *μεγαλλωτατος*, make their appearance (Böckh, *missim*).

In the Latin the changes are much more remarkable.³ From the selection of inscriptions (including the notes) given above and under TOMB, also under GEMS and GLASS, and from a few others we obtain such changes as *Agustus* for *Augustus*, *eclesia* or *aelesia* for *ecclesia*, *quere* for *quiere*, *que* for *quae*, *hae* for *haec*, *hird* or *virid* or *viril* or *visit* or *bissit* or *risse* for *visit*, *posuete*, *posuent* for *posuit*, *posuerunt*, *bobis* for *cohis*, *batun* for *totum*, *vibi* for *viri*, *stautis* for *stabilis*, *provata* for *probatu*, *omnebus* for *omnibus*, *quesquis*, *quesuet*, and *repsicit*, for *quisquis*, *quiescit*, *requiscit*, *spetit* for *spectat* (expected), *jacit* for *jacet*, *annus* for *annos*, *hae* for *haec*, *epitulum* for *epitaphium*, *martyribus* for *martyrium*, *ozza* for *ossa*, *et* for *et*, *ex* for *ex*, *im pace* for *in pace*, *anitema* for *anathema*, *ehonnes* for *canones*, *tinta* for *tincta*, *petem* for *pellem*, *meces* or *misis* for *menses*, *ziconus* for *duconus*, *Istephanus* for *Stephanus*, *slinatarius* for *linatarius*, *Zesus* for *Jesus*, *Zenuaria* for *Januaria*, *Gerosale* for *Jerusalem*, and various other words which contain barbarous substitutions of consonants and vowels and also of diphthongs. Again, neuter substantives are sometimes treated as masculines, e.g. *hunc*: *templum*, and conversely masculines as neuters, e.g. *hoc tumulum*. The regimen of the cases is frequently violated in the use of prepositions (see below), and also in such expressions as *vixit annis* (or even *annus* or *annorum*) and the like. See more in Martigny, *Dict.* pp. 309-311; and McCaui, u. s. pp. xii. and xiii.; the latter of whom observes: "The student should beware of regarding what may be new to him in Christian epitaphs, as peculiar to them. Very many of the variations from classical usage are to be found in Pagan inscriptions, and some of them in authors that are not commonly read."

The actual words also vary little from the Pagan ones; *requiscit*, *refrigerat*, and even *deposuitus*⁴ (about which Cardinal Wiseman in his

at the end of the volumes of the *Corp. Inscr. Latin.* now being published at Berlin, under *Res grammatica*, will be found still more useful. They go far to establish the truth of Martigny's remark.

² M. Le Blanc refers to a work by A. Fuchs, *Die Römischen Sprachen in ihrem Verhältnisse zum Lateinischen*, which the writer has not seen.

³ It was not after all so very common in the earliest Christian times. "La formule *depositus*—*depositio* caractérisée particulièrement les inscriptions des quatrième

A third monument is erected *pro caritatem* (Le Blant, *Inscr. Chret. Gaul.* vol. i. p. 400). In a fourth, a mother is entreated to pray for the child she has left behind, "*pro hunc unum ora subolem*" (De Rossi, p. 133). Conversely, we find *de sua omnia* (De Rossi, p. 133) and *decessit de sarcophago* (p. 103). And although an occasional solecism of this kind might be explained by the rule and illiterate character of the individual author of the inscription, the frequency of the occurrence clearly indicates the settled tendency of the popular usage of the prepositions towards the abolition of all distinction in the government of cases.* We may add that the same confusion of case is found in the inscriptions of the Jewish catacombs published by Father Garrucci, among which we read, on the one hand, *cum* with the accusative, as *cum virginium* (p. 50), and *cum Ceterianum* (p. 52); and on the other, *inter* with the ablative, as *inter dicentes*.

It is hardly worth while, perhaps, to advert to such solecisms as *pauperorum* for *pauperum* (although it is plain from the recurrence of the same form in other words, as *omnium* for *omniunum*, that the change is not an accidental error); or to the occasional use of forms rare, but not entirely unexampled, in classical Latin, as *noctus* (Le Blant, p. 15) as the participle of *noceo*, or *ulero* (De Rossi, p. 233) as the ablative of *ulero*, a rare form following the third, instead of the second declension.¹ But it is impossible not to discern a foreshadowing of the modern idiom of Italy in such words as *pulla*, and still more *Pizzinina*, which is the direct prototype of the Italian *Piccinnina*. The same may be said of the orthography, which, in many cases, points clearly towards the modern pronunciation. The form *santa* for *sancta* already appears; and the *z*, as in *sesies* for *sesies*, begins to give place to the modern *s*. This tendency goes, however, beyond individual words, and seems to indicate certain general principles of usage. We do not mean those broad characteristics which distinguish Italians and foreigners generally from ourselves, in the sounds of the vowels and diphthongs of the ancient languages, although in all these the interchanges of the characters of the two languages which the inscriptions frequently exhibit, and the characters employed in each to represent equivalent sounds of the other,

* Martigny (*Dict.* p. 320) thinks that if an inscription has *cum* or *de* followed by an accusative, it must be placed in the fourth or fifth century. This seems very doubtful. We have certainly *inter sanctis* in an inscription of 268 A. D., and perhaps *cum eum* in another of 279 A. D. (see De Rossi, pp. 16, 21). Before this *cum z*-dates occurs at Pompeii (*C. I. L.* iv. n. 221).

¹ Dr. McCaul notes some very singular instances of inflection, as the datives *Nicenti*, *Agapenti*, *Leopardeti*, *Treneti* (also *Treni*), *Mercuraveti* from *Nice*, *Agape*, *Leoparde*, *Eirene*, *Mercuravane* (Mercuriane); also *ispelli* for *ispeli*; likewise *Victorietes* for *Victoriatē* (n. s. p. xiii. and 18, 19). The same forms, as was to be expected, occur in Pagan inscriptions. Thus we find *Glycei*, *Staphylenti*, &c. in Spain (*C. I. L.* ii. Index, p. 179). We have also *Januariavet* for *Januariatē*, at Pompeii (*C. I. L.* iv. n. 2233), and several similar examples; and *Ampliatet* in Spain (*C. I. L.* ii. n. 4975, 60). Professor Hübner, in his observations in a few Christian inscriptions of Spain, *Joanni*, *Pastori*, &c. as the genitives of *Joannes*, *Pastor*, &c. (p. xiii.), and conversely we have *Saturnis*, *Mercuris* as the genitives of *Saturnus*, *Mercurius* (De Rossi, nos. 172, 475).

are quite decisive against the English usage. We refer rather to certain peculiarities of Italian pronunciation, which are regarded as defects even by the Italians themselves, and which nevertheless find their counterpart here. One of these is the well-known *codā* or additional vowel sound, which Italian speakers often attach to words ending with a consonant. Of this there are numberless examples in De Rossi's volume, as *posuete* for *posuit* (p. 18). In like manner we find a type for the vowel sound prefixed to words; as *aspiritus* for *spiritus*, *iscribit* for *scribit* (p. 228); and the actual Italian sound of *h* (*ch* or *k*) between two vowels, which has long been the subject of ridicule, is found directly expressed in these inscriptions, in which *nichi* is one of the forms of *nichi*.

It is amusing too, to meet in the Roman catacombs, or among the Christians of ancient Gaul, the prototype of the cockney aspirate and its contrary. Thus we find upon the one hand (*Le Blant*, vol. i. p. 2-3), *Hossa* (for *ossa*), *Hordine*, *Hoctobres*, *Heterna*; and upon the other *oc* for *hoc* (*Le Blant*, p. 93), *ic* for *hic*, *Horus*, *oc*, *Oporius*, &c." (*Elinb. Rev.* 1864, pp. 234-5).

The *Index Grammaticus* added at the end of Hübner's Christian Inscriptions of Spain, gives a rich harvest of similar barbarisms. Nearly all the vowels are blundered in one way or other, and no small number of consonants; without dwelling on them we have the following: *hunc edficium*; *in auidius*; *post funere*; *in hunc tumulum requiescit*; *cum operarios venulos*; *offeret* (for *offeret*) besides other less heinous sins against inflections. For the Saxon forms which occur in inscriptions in England the reader is referred to Stephens' *Runic Monuments*, and for the Celtic forms in the Irish inscriptions to Petrie and Stokes' work thereon (see above).

Examples of bilingual inscriptions (Greek and Latin) and of Latin inscriptions in Greek characters, also of double rendering of words into Runic and Roman characters, as well as Celtic words in Ogham characters, will be noticed under **TOMB**.

B. Proper Names used in Christian Inscriptions.—For the proper names used in Christian inscriptions see careful and interesting notices in De Rossi, *I. U. R. Procl.* cxli-cxv.; McCaul, u. s. pp. xix-xxi.; Hübner, u. s. pp. vi. vii., and the references.

The Edinburgh Reviewer has treated this matter so well for the Latin inscriptions of Italy, Gaul, and Africa, taking also some slight notice of the Greek inscriptions, that his words are set down with little abridgment. The account has been supplemented by a few words about the Spanish, British, and Irish names which occur in the early Christian inscriptions of those countries.

The small proportion of patrician families among the early Christians will hardly suffice to explain the rapid disappearance among them of the use of the three names, which had hitherto been the peculiar privilege of the aristocratic class. Not a single inscription after Constantine presents three names; and of the ante-Constantinian inscriptions, there are but two [namely, 1. but one] in which the three names occur After Constantine, except Flavius, which continued in partial use, prænomena may be said entirely to disappear. The old distinctive *Genitile* name too, qu'etly followed. The inscriptions before Constantine abound with Amili

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INSCRIPTIONS

Cornelli, Claudii, Antonii, &c. Thus, in the Aurelian age, we find Aurelius or Anpila, repeated seven times; and under Constantine and his sons, Constantinus. Constantius and Constans, have their turn of popularity. The Gentile name, however, was quickly displaced by new forms terminating in *stinus* as Lactantius, Dignantius, Crescentinus, Leontinus; or in *osus*, as Bonosus. A favourite form in the third and succeeding centuries was some laudatory epithet, as Benignus, Catus, Grata, Castula, Obes, especially in Africa, in the superlative degree; as Dignissimus, Felicissimus, Acceptissimus. Sometimes similar adjectives appear in the comparative degree, as Dignior, Nobilior; and occasionally the abstract quality itself, as Prudentia, *Avyap*, &c. is found as the name. The names of the fourth, fifth, and later centuries would be found on examination to furnish the type, if not the exact equivalent of most of the fanciful appellatives of the palmy days of puritanism. We meet, not merely with simple forms such as *maris*, *daris*, *ayarn*, *D-centia*, *Prudentia*, *Dignitas*, *Idonitas*, *ausoulogis*; or *Renatus*, *Redemptus*, *Refrigerius*, *Projectus*; or the more self-proud names of the two Paritan stamp, such as *Deus Iceli*, *Servus Dei*, *Adesolus*, *Quod vult Deas*

"In a few instances occasion is taken from the name to introduce into the a niment of the epitaph some playful allusion to the etymological import of the name; and although this practice is more common than with the tastes of the later times, yet the inscriptions of the classic period, present examples of a similar play upon words, which we may instance the sentence from the very pretty epitaph of Claudia given by Orelli (vol. I. p. 647). "HIC EST SEPULCRUM HAUD PULCRUM PULCRUM FEMINAE." [Pulcher was a cognomen of the gens Claudia.] These allusions in the Christian epitaphs are commonly very simple. Thus we meet INFELIX FELICITAS, and INFAUSTUS FELIX. A monument is erected to *Innocentia* in recognition of his *innocence*, PRO INNOCENTIA SUA. GLYCO (*glyce*, sweet) is described as "sweeter than his name." The sorrowing friends of ANTHIUS beson his years "strip of their flowers;" and even in a very tender poetical epitaph, addressed to the nursery of Verus, by his wife Quintilla (whose grief for his loss proclaims itself so extreme that it is only the fear of God that restrains herself from following him to the grave, and that she vows to remain a widow for his sake), room is found, in the midst of all the writer's passionate expressions of sorrow, for a pun upon the name of "HIC VERIUS, QUI SEMPER VERA LOCUTUS," a pun exactly similar to that contained in the epitaph of the emperor Probus, which Vopiscus has preserved.—HIC PROBUS IMPERATOR, ET VERE PROBUS, SITUS EST" (u. s. pp. 235-237).

The proper names which occur on the Christian inscriptions of Spain (Hübner, *praef.* pp. vi. sqq.) are more varied. The old Roman nomina gentilia are rare, and generally occur alone, as Aurelius, Julius, Licinia, &c., but with a provincial cognomen occasionally added, such as A. (Aurelius) Vincentius. We have also numerous examples of old Roman cognomina, as Avitus,

* A remarkably pretty specimen is given in De Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. I. p. 262, where Faith makes an epitaph to her sister Hope which runs thus—

PISTE SPEI
S-FORI DVL
CISIMAE
FECIT. (Dove)

But it ought to be remembered that *Spee* is a name not unrequent in Roman Pagan epitaphs, so that the now famous fragment of the Bristol inscription which contains it is not on that account presumably Christian; apart from the symbols, dog, cock, and asp, and the portico (p). It now reads only SPES C. SENI (611).

† This Christian epitaph is published by Fabreth, *lib. 630.*

INSCRIPTIONS

Dexter, Flix, Crispinus, Camilla. Of the more modern names are these which are of truly Latin origin, as Aeternus, Amator, Asella, Domitius, Februarius, Honorius, Sanctus, which seem to be generally diffused in the provinces of the empire; also the following, which appear to be peculiar to Spain (including of course Portugal: Braclarus, Cerevela, Cuparius, Gran-niola, Lillialis, Salvianella, &c. There are also many which come from the Greek, as Arendius, Basilis, Glaucus, Leontius, Macarius, Theodostus, Zenon, &c. Others are still more modern, such as Agilo, Ermengod, Froila, Gultinus, Hunirie, Oppila, Reccsvinthus, Reswentus, Sonnien, Mari-spulla (fem.), Swinathiluba (fem.), all which are probably Gothic; also "Anna Gaudiosa sive Africa" (n. 7) and Maurus, which are of course both African; and Bacanda and Cammelates, which appear to be Gaulish. The origin of others, as Istoria, Locuber, Macon (fem.), Quingia, Quistricia, and Rexina, is unknown. To these must be added Scriptural names, as Emmanuel, Johannes, Maria, Sullomon, Susanna, Thomas, &c.; those of the puritanical type mentioned above appear to be wanting.

With regard to Great Britain we find (for the British period) some Latin names, as Viventius and Florentius (in Scotland), also Sillus, Paulinus, Saturninus, and Carausius (in Wales and Cornwall), and some of these forms, as Augustinus and Paulinus, were re-imported from Rome in Saxon times. But there are also Celtic names occurring, as Isnlac (in Cornwall), Pascent (or Pasgen), Cudfan, Cyngen, Pabo, Bodluc (in Wales), and Drost, Voret, Fercus (Fergus) and others (in Scotland); as well as Saxon or Scandinavian names, such as Sinuk (in Scotland), Herebricht, Hildithrith, Wulfhere, and the like (in England). A Saxon name is occasionally Latinised, as Wini into Orvinius. In Ireland the great mass of the names is Celtic, but occasionally a Latin form is Iberized, as Columbanus into Cholomban; very occasionally a Latin form, as Martinus, survives.

C. Words and Formulae employed in different ages and places.—The words and phrases relating to burial and other matters vary a good deal in different places, and in the same place at different times. M. Le Blant has collected these "formules d'épigraphie chrétiennes" with considerable industry; but a good many additions might easily be made. He even takes no notice at all of some provinces, e. g. Dalmatia and Pannonia, which however have some formulae and words of interest.

Several of the selected inscriptions (sepulchral and others) have been chosen partly on account of the formulae therein contained, and some remarks upon them are made in their places.

But it is well observed by Hübner (that until the Christian inscriptions of all parts of the world have been collected and edited, it is im-

† E. g. an inscription from Sahara (Stein an Anger) speaking of a dead child, has "requiem accipit in Deo patre nostro, et Christo ejus" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* t. III. n. 4221, edited by Mommsen). Another (n. 4220) from the same place begins: "Bonememorle, in Deo vivas. Memorius Civ. Graec. ex reg. Ladic. q. vix. an. L. &c. (*Bonememorius* occurs in Gaul, Le Blant, *Man. p. 77*). See also n. 6399 sqq. from Palmaria, where we have *hic in pace jacet, depositus, &c.*

possible to say what formulae are peculiar to each: those which we consider to be peculiar may turn out to be universal or common to many provinces (u. s. p. vii.).¹

The following is a translation with slight omissions and additions¹ and a few tacit corrections, mostly for the Greek, of M. Le Blant's *Manuel d'Épigraphie Chrét.* pp. 75-85 (Paris, 1890), omitting the references to his own work for Gaul and to those of others, as De Rossi (Rome), Gazzera (Piedmont), Mommsen (kingdom of Naples), Lérier (Algeria), and (for the Greek) Böckh. To this has been added (besides some Roman phrases) a collection of Spanish formulae derived from Hubner; also a notice of the few formulae which occur in Great Britain and Ireland.

"That which is true for ancient coins, as also for the works of architecture, is not less so in that which concerns the monuments of epigraphy. In each new place which he visits, the antiquary sees variations of the formulae, the symbols, the writing, the disposition, the ornaments of the marbles. Though apparently of little importance, these marked differences are worthy of being studied with care. Arising sometimes from the difference of the times, as well as from that of the places, they are able to serve as guides in the restoration of the texts, to fix the nationality of personages, the age of the inscriptions, and even to furnish materials for the history of ideas.

"I must appeal to the patience of the reader in undertaking to place before him some features of the localisation of the types and formulae of Christian epigraphy. Below are those which seem to me the most remarkable in different provinces:

Germania Prima:

Mayence: IN HOC TITVLO REQVIESCIT FELICITER. Worms: TITVLVM POSVIT.

Belgia Prima:

Troyes: PRO CARITATE, and the like; TITVLVM POSVIT; IHC IACET; IHC IACET IN PACE; PATRES (titulum posterunt).

Belgia Secunda:

Arles: VBI FECIT NOVEMBER DIES XV, and the like; DEFVNCTVS EST.

Viennensis:

SVRRECTVRS IN XPO, and analogous formulae. Briard: HVMANITAS; ABSTVTVS (i. e. *astutus*, in a good sense). Briard and Vienne: VOLVNTAS. Valson and Arles: PAX TECVM. Marseilles: RECESSIT, retained even when this word has disappeared in other places from the epigraphical formulae.

¹ Dr. M'Cauley, usually most accurate, illustrates this remark by a statement that among the many expressions for our "in peace" we have "hic iacet (not *ofen*), *hic iacet in pace*." *ibid.* p. xiii. We may safely say of *hic iacet* that it occurs everywhere, being found first in Rome, then in Gaul, Sicily, Dalmatia, Algeria, and Britain, in which the latter is almost the only formula. Nor does this warrant us any reason to think it rare in any of these countries. M. Le Blant, however, only notices it in Sicily. The Greek rendering of this, *hic iacet in pace*, or *in pace iacet*, is also very general, but perhaps not quite so common: it occurs in Rome, Sicily, Gaul, in Egypt, Dalmatia, and Greece; Algeria, and Cyrene; also in Asia Minor, but not everywhere. In truth M. Le Blant's is only a sketch partially worked out, but still very interesting.

¹ They are enclosed in brackets.

Aquitania Prima:

Combes: TRANSHIT IN ANNOS.

Narbonensis Prima:

Narbonne: REQVIEVIT IN PACE.

Lugdunensis Prima, Viennensis: BONAE MEMORIVS (adject.) APTVS (i. e. *symptomatic*).

Lugdunensis Prima et Secunda, and a good many other (though not all) parts of Gaul: BONAE MEMORIAE; very uncommon at Rome.

Lugdunensis Prima, Germania Prima, Maxima Sequanorum, Viennensis, Aquitania Prima:

VIXIT IN PACE.

Lugdunensis Prima et Quarta, Viennensis, Prima et Secunda Narbonensis:

OBIT, in common use (though seldom at Rome).

Lugdunensis Prima, Viennensis, Aquitania Prima:

TRANSHIT; not common at Rome.

[Lugdunensis Prima, Viennensis:

FAMVLVS DEI (applied in epitaphs to the dead. See Le Blant, *Manuel*, pp. 10, 24, and references.)

Spain:

FAMVLVS DEI, or CHRISTI. [Apparently always similarly applied. See Hubner, pp. xi, 111, 112 and references. For the Spanish formulae in general, see below.] This formula does not occur among those of the catacombs registered by Balz and Boldetti.

^m Spain:—

The formula *In pace*.—IN PACE (in various connections), with REQVIESCIT, REQVIEVIT, RECESSIT, REQVIESCAT, &c.; DOMINI, CHRISTI, IESV being sometimes added. See Hubner, u. s. pp. ix. x.

Consecration formulae.—IN NOMINE DEI (DOMINI) NOSTRI I. C. CONSCRATA EST ECCLESIA S. STEPHANI PRIMI MARTYRIS; IN NOMINE DOMINI CONSCRATA ECCLESIA S. MARIE; EPISCOPVS CONSCRAVIT HANC BASELICAM; IN NOMINE DOMINI SACRATA EST ECCLESIA; IX. KAL. IANUARI ERA D LXXX DEDICATA EST HAEC ECCLESIA SCE MARIE; DEDICATA EST HEC BASILICA A PIMENIO ANTISTITE; DEDICAVIT HANC AEDEM DOMINVS BACAVIA EPISCOPVS.

Reliquary formulae.—IN NOMINE DOMINI HIC SVNT RECONDITE RELIQVIE SANCTI IVM NERVANDI, GERMANI, etc.; RECONDITE SANCTE RELIQVIE DE CRVORE DOMINI, SANCTI LEBILE, etc.

Building formulae.—CEPRIANO EPISCOVO (sic) ORDINANTE EDIFICATA [est haec ecclesia]; HAEC SANCTA TRIA TABERNACVLA IN GLORIAM TRINITATIS (to unilate ?) COOPERANTIBVS SANCTIS AEDIFICATA SVNT AB INVSTIBVS QVIDLIVVA CVM OPERARIOS VERNOSOS ET SVMPTV PROPRIO; CONSVMATVM OC OPS ERA DCXXII; FVNDAVIT EAM (sc. aram) ALTISSIMVS PER EVLALIAM ET FILIVM EIVS PAVLVM MONACHVM; PERFECTVM EST TEMPLVM.

Notes formulae.—RECESSVINTHVS REX OFFERET (offert) (sc. coronam); OFFERET MVNVSVLVM S. STEPHANO THEODOSIVS ABBA.

Sepulchral formulae (length of life).—VIXIT TOT ANNOS, or ANNIS; or ANNORVM TOT; CVM MARITO ANNIS TOT; PLYS MINVS TOT (without annos); ANNORVM DIERVMQVE TOT; QVI IN HOC SAECVLO CONPLEVERAT LVSTROS TOT

little more. Many of those on gems and glass, and a large number of the epitaphs contain what are termed *acclamations*, or short expressions addressed to, or in behalf of, the living, or to or in behalf of the dead. Both one and the other existed for the Pagans, and both one and the other were adopted with various modifications by the Christians.

(1.) To begin with those which concern the living. The sentiment on the inscription AMICI DUM VIVIMVS VIVAMVS (Gruter, p. 609, 3) on the glass IN NOMINE HERCVLIS ACERENTINO (Acherontium), FELICES VIVATIS (Garrucci, *Petri*, t. xxxv. f. 1), and on the gem VIVAS (sic) LVXVI HOMO BONE (King's *Ant. Gems and Rings*, vol. i. p. 311), was adopted by the Christians in the sense of living in God; and they engraved VIVE or VIVAS IN DEO, and cognate expressions expressive of hope both for time and for eternity on their own gems and glass vessels, and occasionally on a lamp or an amulet. Sometimes a saint is added, as VIVAS IN CHRISTO ET LAURENTIO, or a saint only is expressed, as VIVAS IN NOMINE LAVRE(N)TII. Sometimes again a married couple, or a man and his family, are the subjects of this kind of good wish. Sometimes, however, the name of God or Christ was omitted, but a Christian symbol, as a palm or a chrisma, was introduced in order to insure the Christian significance. The Christians did not indeed refuse the sense of enjoying this life, when they wrote PIE (sic) ZESES, or ZESSES only on their glass drinking-cups, which were employed in sacred festivities, but the sacred representations which accompanied the legend would be a witness against any intemperate use. A smaller number of acclamations inscribed on glass, prays that the persons addressed may live in the peace of God. Thus one in favor of a married couple: VIVATIS IN PACE DEI (Garrucci, *Petri*, t. i. f. 3); on another we have HIRAS (vivas) IN PACE DEI (Id. t. vi. f. 7), or VIVAS IN PACE DEI (Id. t. vii. f. 2).

For the matters here touched on see GEMS, GLASS, LAMPS, SEALS. That this kind of acclamation exhorting to live was usually addressed to the living, is clear upon the face of it; but there are a few cases where it is less certain, whether the persons addressed were alive or dead. Thus it has been made a question whether HILARIS VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER SEMPER REFRIGERES IN PACE DEI is an acclamation to a living or dead person: Martigny (*Dict.* p. 8) relying principally on the word expressing a desire for his refreshment, looks on him as dead. Garrucci, probably with greater reason, interprets: *sui sempre lieto et ti refrigera nella pace di Dio, cioè con la grazia di lui*, shewing that *refrigerium* is not rarely used of living persons u. s. p. 126).

On Christian epitaphs the living are sometimes addressed by the living, sometimes by the dead. Of the former are requests to the reader to pray for the soul of the person buried. These are very rare for the earlier periods. Dr. M'Caul says, "I recollect but two examples in Christian epitaphs of the first six centuries of the address to the reader for his prayers, so common in mediæval times." In the early mediæval inscriptions of Great Britain and Ireland examples will be seen under TOMB. At other times the readers are saluted by the author of the inscription, SALVETE FRATRES (Rönier n.

4025; see above), or asked to pray for him (Le Blant, n. 619).

The dead person sometimes prays the living not to meddle with his bones, as PREDOR EGO HILPERICVS NON AVFERANTVR HINC OZZA MEA (Le Blant, n. 207). See similar examples in his notes on this inscription and TOMB.

Sometimes the survivors are exhorted not to weep; and the *notite dolere parentes, hoc faciundum fuit* (*Mus. Disn.* i. 117, pl. liii.) becomes on a Christian epitaph—

"Pareite vos lacrimis, dulcis cum conjugæ natæ,
Viventemque Deo credite flere nefas."

De Rossi, *I. U. R.* n. 843 (A. D. 472).

More strange are the epitaphs counted to be Christian, *μη λυποῦ, τέκνον, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος* (Böckh, n. 9589), and *θάρα, Τάρια μήτηρ, οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος* (Id. 9624), both from the Roman catacombs. A Jewish epitaph in a Roman cemetery runs similarly (Id. n. 9917).

(2.) Of acclamations addressed to the dead we have the following:

VIVAS or VIVATIS IN DEO; this and the allied forms VIVE or VIVAS IN CHRISTO, DOMINO, INTER SANCTIS (sic, De Rossi, u. s. n. 10, A. D. 268), IN NOMINE CHRISTI (Marini, p. 45); also, IN NOMINE PETRI (Baldetti, p. 388), the same, or nearly so, as those which have just been noticed as addressed to the living, recur abundantly on the sepulchral monuments of Rome and other places (De Rossi, *I. U. R.* Prol. p. c3; Le Blant, n. 576; Mart. *Dict.* p. 7, and TOMB).



Epitaph of Aeternalis and Servilla, Vivax, France. Bought by De Rossi, judging from the style and palaeography to be earlier than Constantine (*Hull. Arch. Cris.* 1853, p. 47, whose fig. is copied); if so it probably gives the oldest known example of the Chrisma. Fifth century, according to Le Blant (n. 576).

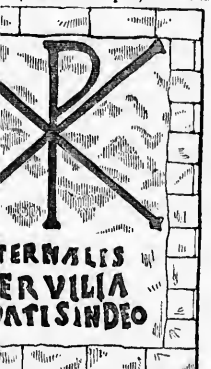
Similarly in Greek *ζῆσαι ἐν θεῷ* (Böckh, n. 9800), *ζῆσαι ἐν κυρίῳ* (Id. n. 9673). They proceed on the supposition that the Christian life is continuous, and that expressions in the form of good wishes, which primarily belong to this life, may when their fulfilment is ac-

Of Pagan acclamations addressed in behalf of the dead we have, among others, the following: *Sui tibi terra levis, Ossa tua bene quiescant, Ave, Vale, Di tibi beneficiant, Χαίρει, εὐχῆσαι* (Rönier n. 1000); *Ὁσπας τῷ ψυχῆς τῷ σώματι* (M'Caul, n. p. xvii).

ve), or asked to pray for him (La...
erson sometimes prays the living
with his bones, as PREGOR EGO
ON AVERANTVR HINC OZZA MEA
207. See similar examples in his
scription and Tom).
The survivors are exhorted not to
nolite dolere parentes, hoc facinus
s. Dian. i. 117, p. liii.) becomes
epitaph—

lacrima, dulcis cum conjuge natae,
quo Deo credite flere nefas."
De Rossi, I. U. R. n. 843 (A.D. 472).
are the epitaphs counted to be
Αυτοῦ, τέκνου, οὐδέλ; ἀδελφῶν
9), and θάπτει, Ταρία μήτηρ, οὐδέλ;
3624), both from the Roman cata-
wish epitaph in a Roman cemetery
(I. n. 9917).
Imitations addressed to the dead we
ring.

IVIVATIS IN DEO; this and the
VE O VIVAS IN CHRISTO, DOMINO,
(sic, De Rossi, u. s. n. 10, A.D.
NE CHRISTI (Marini, p. 455); also
TU (Boldetti, p. 388), the same,
as those which have just been
ressed to the living, recur abun-
sepulchral monuments of Rome
(De Rossi, I. U. R. ProI. p. c.
76; Mart. Dict. p. 7, and Tom).



and Servilia, SILVANO, FINE... brought by
from the style and pterocarpus, in the earlier
(Bull. Arch. Crist. 1863, p. 47), whose sig. is
probably gives the oldest known example of the
century, according to Le Blant (n. 576).

greek ἕταρος ἐν θεῷ (Böckh, n.
ἐν κυρίῳ (Id. n. 9673). They
supposition that the Christian
ns, and that expressions in the
wishes, which primarily belong
ny when their fulfilment is ac-

amations addressed in behalf of the
ng others, the following: SUI OPTI TERRA
ne guescant, Ave, Vale, In tibi laus,
o Ὁμοῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἕταροι εἶπα (M. Gall, 184

longer doubtful, be transferred to the life to
come.⁸

Other forms express to the dead good wishes
for their rest or peace. Thus on a gem, found
in a grave D (bene) QVESQVAS, (quiescas) (see
GEMS), and on tombs QUESQVAS IN PACE (Marini, p.
366), CISQVAS BENE IN PACE (Id. p. 385). Nor
an we well take such phrases as PAX TECUM (Le
Blant, n. 490, &c.), εἰρήνη σοι (Böckh, n. 9486),
εἰρήνη σοι ἐν οὐρανῷ (Id. n. 9844), and
εἰρήνη πάσι, with or without ἐν θεῷ (Id. nos.
9487-8), as other than good wishes addressed
to the departed, not affirmations of a fait ac-
compli, but a confident prayer, or rather a sur-
hope, that the state of peace may continue. In
other inscriptions, however, it is evidently re-
garded as already accomplished, e. g., ἀνέταυρον
Ἄπια ἐν εἰρήνῃ (Marini, p. 456). Compare ἐν
εἰρήνῃ πορεύεαι (Böckh, n. 9645 and 9632); ON-
DOMIVIT IN PACE IHSV, QVEM DILEXIT, OHIIT IN
PACE DEI (Hübner, u. s. p. x.). The full expres-
sion εἰρήνη σοι ἕτα, PAX VOHSCVM SIT, also
occurs (Böckh, n. 9710; Le Blant, n. 526).
More interesting are the acclamations which
relate to refrigerium, which God himself is often
elsewhere invoked to bestow on the departed.
De Rossi notes the occurrence of spiritum, tuum
Deus refrigeret,⁹ and the like, as occurring in
early Christian epitaphs (ProI. p. cx.). But here
the deceased is addressed, in the hope that he is
in receipt of that refreshment, or as being sure
to receive it. Thus we have the neuter verb
refrigerare, to enjoy a cool repose, in this con-
nection, IN DONO REFRIGERES (Marini, p. 420),
i. e., may you enjoy refreshment in a good place,
by which is intended Paradise, or the bosom of
Abraham; REFRIGERA CVM SPIRITU SANCTO, i. e.,
in thine own holy soul (Marangoni, Cose Gent.
p. 460. See Tertull. adv. Marc. lib. iv. c. 34).
More rarely ACCEPTA SIS IN CRISTO (Marini,
p. 454) is the form which the acclamation
assumes, with which Χριστός μετὰ σου (Böckh,
n. 9697) may be compared, as well as AETERNA
TIBI LUX IN CHRISTO (Marini, u. s. p. 450), the
last word being expressed by the chrisma. Some
addresses to the dead, however, are congratula-
tory, as BENE VIXISTI (sic), VENE CGNSVMASTI
(Marini p. 434), ANIMA TVA CVM IVSTIS (Id.
p. 381), IN REFRIGERIO ANIMA TVA (Falretti,
p. 547), where est rather than sit seems to be
understood.

The Greek acclamation θάπτει (i. e. θάπτει) is
sometimes placed at the end of an epitaph
(Böckh, n. 9821); and sometimes at the begin-

⁸ The indicative is likewise found, as in Deo decedit
a cōis (Hübner, u. s. p. xl.); and both expressions mean
in reality the same thing. The reader, however, may see
Marini, Dict. s. v. "Purgatoire" for a different view of
the optative formulae.

⁹ The verb is then used transitively. In the Latin
version of St. Irenaeus, refrigerare is the rendering of
ἀναψυχαίνειν, and DuRoiie accordingly (Class. s. v.)
explains the Latin word by requiescere, which is substan-
tially correct. Refrigerium, as used by Tertullian and in
the acclamations does not mean "a release from pain,
but an enjoyment of positive though imperfect happiness
on the part of the just from the very moment of their
dissolution in that separate abode which Tertullian as-
sumes our Lord to distinguish by the appellation of Abra-
ham's bosom."—EABER, Diff. of Roman-ism, book I. c. v.

¹⁰ See De Rossi (u. s.). The words occur in this sense
in the epitaph of St. Severa at Rome. See Tom.

ning (Id. n. 9789), addressed in each case to the
departed. Another imperative γαργάρε (waxe
up!) in singular contrast to the quiescas above,
is occasionally found at the end of Christian in-
scriptions (Id. 9599, 9570); it may probably also
contemplate the return of the Saviour. Εἰδοῦσι
also occurs (Id. 9800).

The Latin classical form Ave, much used by
the Pagans, is found also in a Christian epitaph,
and written AVE (Böckh, n. 9655). We have
also HAVE VALE on the same monument (Le
Blant, n. 495).

In the last place are to be noted prayers or
requests to the departed to pray to God for the
survivors.* De Rossi notes that in the earlier
undated inscriptions of the catacombs (i. e., those
before the peace of Constantine), we have pete
pro nobis, pro parentibus, pro conjugē, pro filiis,
pro sorore (ProI. p. cx.). To these Dr. McCaul
adds roga, ora pro nobis, but adds at the same
time that there are "comparatively few among
the thousands" of these undated inscriptions,
which contain these prayers, and "that instances
of the mention in such forms of others than the
members of the family of the deceased are ex-
tremely rare." He has observed only one dated
example, of the year 380 A. D. (De Rossi, n. 288)
which contains any such request; it has the
expression PRO HVXC VVVM ORA SVBOLEM
(u. s. p. xviii). With respect to such acclama-
tions of affection as oculis animo, animi
pura et mundi, anima innox, puer innocens,
ψυχῃ καλῇ, and the like, they are applied in
Christian inscriptions of various kinds both
to the living and the dead, and need hardly be
dwelt upon in this place (see Garrucci, u. s.
Index, s. v. dulcis anima; Martigny, Dict. p. 7;
Perret, Catac. de Rome, t. v. pl. 17; Böckh,
n. 9697).

E. Style and Structure.—Such inscriptions as
relate to public works, churches, basilicas, foun-
tains, or to sacred objects and furniture, altars,
chalices, crosses, liturgical book-covers, &c., or to
votive offerings and the like, need hardly be taken
into the present account. They exist in prose and
verse, both in Greek and in Latin, and are of very
various styles and lengths. A large number of
such are collected by Marini, and edited by Mai
(Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. tom. v. pp. 1-236); to
this work more especially the reader is referred.
Many of them, however, are later than the
period embraced in his work. Very few inscrip-
tions, if any, which belong to this class, go back
before the time of Constantine, so far as the
writer is aware, and can hardly be called nume-
rous till after the close of the 4th century.
With regard, however, to the sepulchral inscrip-
tions the case is somewhat different. They can,
to some extent at least, be classified by their
style. But the first thing to be borne in mind
is that inscriptions of one country are no rule
for those of another. Those of Britain and of
Ireland, for example, are both unlike each other,
and unlike those of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, of
nearly the same period. The Greek inscriptions,
again, admit for the most part of but little com-
parison with the Latin ones; the Greek and

* The invocation of the Virgin and of saints (see above
§ iv.) are scarcely to be accounted acclamations, and are
better considered separately.

Latin inscriptions to Dometius, written on the same slab, are a good illustration of this (Le Blant, *Insc. Chrét. Gaul.* n. 613A).

With few exceptions the earlier inscriptions are characterised by their brevity and simplicity, while from the 4th century onwards they assume in some countries, as in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, a more complex and ornate character. In the earlier epitaphs, moreover, sometimes occur traits more or less similar to the pagan epitaphs, e.g. mention of those who made the tomb, which by degrees disappear. They also contain a much greater number of acclamations, most of which soon vanish completely. In the 4th century Christian Latin epigraphy began to make a style of its own, and for the first time we now get at Rome such opening words as *hic requiescit in pace*, or in *summa pacis, hic quiescit, hic juvet, hic positus est*, &c.; and new rhetorical phrases, as *mirae innocentie, sapientiae, sanctitatis*, &c., begin to make their appearance. It is not until about this time that any mention of the secular profession of the deceased occurs in the Latin inscriptions; and it is not very commonly mentioned at any time. The *chrisma* and the cross, signs of a triumphant faith, now come in abundantly. The inscriptions of Gaul followed the style of Rome a good deal, and the same or similar formulae appear upon them at a somewhat later time. It is in these Roman and Gaulish inscriptions that changes of style can best be studied, because they are so numerous, because so many of them bear dates, and, in fine, because they have been so admirably edited. M. De Rossi makes some remarks on the changes of style in the Roman inscriptions (*Insc. Urb. Rom., Prolegom.*, pp. ex.-xxvi.), and will in another volume discuss *totam stili epigraphici Christiani doctrinam*. M. Le Blant, in the first fifty-eight pages of his *Manuel*, treats of the successive variations in the Gaulish inscriptions (few of which, however, are before the age of Constantine), and also establishes the fact that blank formulae were in circulation for the use of stonecutters, where of course the number of years of the deceased or of the reigning king could only be expressed by the word *tot* or *tantus*, and that the stonecutter has sometimes neglected to replace the *tantus* by the particular number required. (See Le Blant, *u. s.* pp. 59-74.) Similarly in Spain traces of blank formulae can be recognised (Hubner, *u. s.* p. viii.).

By means of a careful study of the phrases of the dated inscriptions a close approximation may sometimes be made to the date of an undated one; great caution, however, is necessary, as certain expressions held their place for a long period. (See Le Blant, *u. s.* pp. 31-33).

(vi). Dates of Christian Inscriptions.

(a) Christian inscriptions, when dated, most usually bear the names of consuls, and all the earliest are thus dated. Sometimes one, more usually both consuls, are given, the names being commonly contracted. The abbreviation *cos* for *consulibus* was in use up to the middle of the 3rd century, after which *COSS*, *CONS*, and *CONSS*, came to be successively adopted: *cos* is very seldom found during the 4th century, and almost never in the 5th or 6th: *COSS* fell into disuse

about the first quarter of the 5th century, and after that *CONS* was used.¹

The numerals, to designate a second or third consulate, are frequently prefixed to *cos* and the other abbreviated forms; but where there is no ambiguity they are sometimes omitted. A very strange abbreviation was occasionally used, though in Christian inscriptions it is exceedingly rare: the names of the consuls were omitted and the numbers only retained. In an epitaph from a Christian crypt at Motyca, in Sicily, to "Euterpe, the companion of the Muses," her death is fixed to Nov. 27, *θραρία τῶν κυ [πλω]ν τῶ δ' ἰ καὶ τῶ γ' ἰν τῆ consulship of our Lords for the tenth time and for the third time*, i. e. 360 A.D., when Constantius was in his tenth consulate, and Julian in his third. (Böckh, n. 9524.)

Another form of dating was by a post-consulate, i. e. the words *POST CONSULATVM*, or the abbreviations *POST COS*, *POST CONSS* (or from the middle of the 5th century), *P C*, and even *POST* (or *POS*) only was placed before the consuls' names of the year preceding, "when it was not known who were the consuls of the year, or when the name of but one was known, or when it was necessary or expedient not to mention them" (Mc Caul, *u. s.* p. xxvi.). This formula, which is said to have arisen in the troublesome times of Maxentius, 307 A.D., rarely appears in Christian inscriptions till 542 A.D., when the post-consulate of Basil the younger was taken as a point of departure for almost the whole empire, and the years *post consulatum Basilii* extend up to xxix. The consulate of Justin in 568 A.D. gave birth to another era of post-consulates, which lasted nine years.

There are various other matters connected with consular dates which are intentionally passed over here. For the whole subject see De Rossi (*Insc. Urb. Rom.* pp. xiii.-li.); and for an epitome of the more important parts, Mc Caul (*u. s.* p. xxiii.-xxvii.).²

(b) Other inscriptions are dated by an era, whether of a province or of a city. Examples of the former are seen in Spain and Mauretania; of the latter in various parts of Asia, where the eras of Antioch and Bostra (among others) obtained currency. Examples of these will be found above, and below under *TOMB*. In all these parts of the empire Christian inscriptions were very rarely dated by the consuls, and those are mostly of the 6th century (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. xlii.). For other eras employed in Christian inscriptions, see De Rossi (*u. s.* pp. v. vi.).

(c) Dates by Indictions* (or cycles of fifteen years) are not found in Christian inscriptions of Rome before the beginning of the 6th century. The earliest seems to be 522 A.D. (De Rossi, *I. U. R. n.* 984). In Gaul, however, we find an

¹ In Diocletian's time *CONS* was first used for one consul, and *CONSS* for two consuls; as well as *CS* and *CC*, *SS*, similarly.

² In Christian inscriptions dates taken from the office of magistrates other than consuls are extremely rare (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. xi. See above § (iv. n. 1)).

* These have been thought to be connected with the fifteen years of military service and the extraordinary tribute necessary for their payment from time to time, as adjusted by Constantine; but their origin is not altogether certain.

quarter of the 5th century, and is used.¹

to designate a second or third indiction frequently prefixed to CONS and the word foras; but where there is no word foras is sometimes omitted. A deviation was occasionally used, and in inscriptions it is exceedingly rare. The use of the consuls were omitted only retained. In an inscription from Motyca, in the province of the companion of the consul is fixed to Nov. 27, *ἡμερησίου καὶ τοῦ ἴου ἐν τῇ consulship of the tenth time and for the third time*, when Constantius was in the consul and Julian in his third. (Böckh,

of dating was by a post-consuls POST CONSULATVM, or the POST CONS, POST CONSS (or from the 5th century), P C, and even was placed before the consuls' name preceding, "when it was not the consuls of the year, or of but one was known, or when expedient not to mention the name of the consul, u. s. p. xxvi.). This formula, have arisen in the troublesome times, 307 A.D., rarely appears in inscriptions till 542 A.D., when the Basil the younger was taken as emperor for almost the whole empire, *et consulatum Basilii extendit post consulatum Justiniani in 566 A.D.* another era of post-consulates, 5 years.

ious other matters connected dates which are intentionally omitted. For the whole subject see *Arch. Rom.* pp. xliii-liv.; and for more important parts, McCaul *op. cit.* p. vii.)²

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inscription dated *Ind. XV. Olibrio juniore cons* (consul), i. e. 491 A.D. (Le Blant, n. 388). The indications themselves (which commence 312 A.D.), unless accompanied by other notes of time (as they often are), do not suffice to determine even approximately the year A.D. For the first year of each cycle is counted as the first indication, and thus the tenth indiction merely signifies the tenth year in some undetermined indiction. See De Rossi (u. s. *De Cyclo Indictionum*, pp. xvii.-ci.)

(d) For the mode of dating by solar and lunar cycles, i. e. by the day of the month, the day of the week, and the day of the moon, as compared with each other and with the year, the reader who desires to enter into so difficult a subject must consult De Rossi (u. s. pp. lxx.-xviii.). See also MONTH; WEEK.

There are now to be noticed a few eras or modes of dating which are peculiar to the Christians.

(e) The era of the martyrs is only used in Egypt and the adjoining regions. A barbarous Greek inscription (n. 9121 Böckh) dates March 30, *ἡμερησίου τοῦ*, i. e. 209 of the Dioclesian era, which commenced August 29, 284 A.D., and so corresponded to 494 A.D. This era, invented and first used by the pagans, was adopted afterwards by the Christians, who more usually changed its name (Martigny, *Dict.* p. 532, and the references, also Böckh, n. 9134).

(f) Episcopal dates. A Roman epitaph (De Rossi, *I. U. R.* n. 139) is dated *DEPOSITA IN PACE SUB LIB[ERIO] EP[ISCOPO]*, and another (n. 190) has *RECESSIT IN NOB. IN PACE SUB DAMASO EPISCOPO*. These are the only examples of the kind known, and do not prove that epitaphs were then dated merely and simply by the papal era, but rather that those who put them up wished to express their adhesion to the orthodox pontiffs and not to their opponents Felix and Ursicinus.³

But from the end of the 4th century it became common at Rome to date sacred buildings by inscriptions in which the pope's name occurred; thus we have in such connections *SALVO SIRICIO EPISCOPO* (like the *SALVIS DD. NN. AUGUSTIS*) and *TEMPORIBVS SANCTI INNOCENTII EPISCOPI*, and the still remaining inscription in the basilica of St. Sabina:

CVLIVEN APOSTOLICVM CVM CAELESTINVS HABERET PRIMVS ET IN TOTO FVLGERET EPISCOPOVS ORBE.

(De Rossi, u. s. pp. viii, ix). In the 5th and following century the custom of dating sacred buildings by bishops and other ecclesiastics spread abroad, and at length became very general throughout Europe; but public monuments of the provinces of the 4th, 5th, and even 6th and later centuries are dated by the eras of Mauretania or of Bostra or Antioch, or by consuls, or by the reigns of emperors (De Rossi, u. s. p. ix, and the references). Sometimes, but very rarely, the exact year of office of the bishop or abbot is given (De Rossi, u. s. and above, § iv. n. 11).

There are two other eras much employed in inscriptions soon after the period with which we are concerned, and which indeed at length almost

¹ Martigny (*Dict.* p. 317) says: "Après Clovis, ils (les Gaulois) inscrivirent quelquefois sur les marbres l'année du pontife Romain."

superseded the others in common use—the Dionysian epoch of the Incarnation,* and the mundane era, which reckons the Creation at 5508 n.c. [ERA.]

(g) Bede brought the former into vogue in the beginning of the 8th century, and there are also some early inscriptions dated thereby. De Rossi affirms that he knows of no inscription of the first six centuries so dated. There is one of the year 617 A.D., which records the construction and consecration of a baptistery, at Brixia, by Domina nostra Flavia Theodolinda, which is thus dated at the end: *virente domino nostro Adalvaldo sacrae salutis sacculo CCC CCC XVII* (Marini, u. s. p. 170); besides this there is one at Interamna (Merni), dated AN. S. DCC. XXVII. (Marini, u. s. p. 157); others just below our period are a little differently expressed: one is dated AN. INCARNAT. DNI DCCCLVII IND V REGE LOVDOWICO IMP. AVG. (Marini, u. s. p. 85), and another is placed ANNO DOMINI DCCC LXIII (Marini, u. s. pp. 164, 5). All these are in connection with the dedication or building of sacred edifices.

(h) An early example* of the mundane era is furnished by an inscription on a tower at Nicea in Bithynia, *ἔτους στττ*, in the year 6316, corresponding to 808 A.D. (Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 8669). But as it is called "the tower of Michael, the great king in Christ, emperor," some error in the date (as edited) has slipped in. For Michael I. reigned from 811-813 A.D., and Michael II. from 820-829 A.D. Possibly the σ is a misreading for θ : if so, the date is 811 A.D. Another mutilated inscription, relative to the foundation of an arsenal (*τοῦτον μεγα- Ἀδρατον* (sic) *ἀρματηλίου*) by "Theophilus the king, son of Michael the king," is doubly dated, *ἀπὸ κτίσεως* (sic) *κόσμου, σττθ, ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἔτους ωλδ*, the year 6342 of the mundane era, corresponding to the year 834 of the Christian era (*Id.* n. 8680).

(i) There are, in fine, inscriptions dated by the reigns or by the years of the reigns of the sovereigns of the kingdoms which sprung out of the ruins of the western empire. Examples occur in England, France, Spain, and Italy. (See above § iv., Nos. 5, 11, and TOMR.)

In like manner, after the consulate came to an end in 541 A.D., the year of the Byzantine emperor's reign, was occasionally placed on inscriptions as a date. An early example of the year 592 A.D., in the 11th year of Justinian II. (in an inscription relating to a church), is given in Böckh's *C. I. G.* n. 8651. Another less precise is dated by the joint reign (842-857 A.D.) of Theodora, Michael, and Thecla (Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 8683).

More than one mode of dating often occurs on the same monument, as by consuls and an indiction conjointly; by an era and a king conjointly;

* This was devised in 625 A.D. by Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot. For his purpose, which was neither literary nor historical, but simply had reference to Easter, see the late Professor Grote in the *Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, vol. I. pp. 88-99. In a paper entitled "On the dating of Ancient History," where several subjects here touched upon are discussed.

* Probably there may exist somewhat earlier inscriptions dated by this era than those here referred to. "It began to prevail in the 7th century, and appears in the *Paschal Chronicle*" (Grote, u. s. p. 66).

or by a king and an ecclesiastic conjointly. In addition to the years the months are often noted; these are in general the Roman months.

But the day of the month, whether of the death or of the burial, is sometimes in the more ancient inscriptions alone set down. Thus in a^b Roman inscription we have simply *Fortunatus depositus 111 Kal. Oct. in pace*; and in another, *Laurentiu (sic) idus Iovinus (sic) decessit*, followed by the *christina* (Marini, u. s. pp. 380, 387).

In Egypt, however, the Egyptian months are set down, either alone (Boeckh, n. 9110), or together with an indiction (*id. n. 9111*), or with the era of "the martyrs" (*id. 9121*), or with an indiction together with the same era, under its proper name, "the year of Diocletian" (*id. 9134*).

The days are added to the months when these occur: usually computed according to the Roman calendar by kalends, ides, and nones; but the cyclic inscriptions have the days of the week (*die Lunaris, die Saturnis (sic)*, &c.; also *die Sabbati, die dominica*), the days of the moon, or the octave of Easter. (See De Rossi, u. s.; Me Caul, u. s. pp. 53-58.) In Egypt the day of the month is reckoned numerically, as the 21st of Tybi, the 10th of Phacphi, &c.

We have also examples, though they are not numerous, of epitaphs dated by saints' days. One at Briord, of about the 6th or 7th century, records of "Ricelfus et jugalis sua Guntello" that "*obierunt in die Sci Martini*, who probably himself died Nov. 8, A.D. 397 (Butler's *Lives of Saints*, under Nov. 11). M. Le Blant, who gives this inscription (n. 380), quotes other and earlier examples from the catacombs; such as *Natale Susi, Natale Domnes Sitivctis, poster i die marturorum, ante natale Domini Asteri, d. nat. Sci Marci*.

In addition to the day the hour is sometimes added, and occasionally even the fraction (*scrupulus*) of the hour. See *TOMB*.

(vii.) *Abbreviations used in Christian Inscriptions*.—This catalogue might no doubt be enlarged considerably: it has been taken from Martigny (*Dict.* pp. 322-324, omitting, however, the numerals, L for quinquaginta, X for decem, and the like); and the writer has made various additions to it, mostly by help of Hubner's Index to his Spanish Inscriptions, p. 115.

- A.—Anima,—annos,—ave.
 ABHI.—Abbatia.
 A. B. M.—Anima benemerenti.
 ACOL.—Acolytus.
 A. D.—Ante diem,—anima dulcis.
 A. D. KAL.—Ante diem kalendas.
 A. K.—Ante kalendas.
 A. N.—Annotum,—annos,—annis,—ante.
 A. N. S.—Annos,—anima.
 AP. or APH. or API.—Aprills.
 APOSTOR.—Apostolorum.
 A. Q. T. C.—Anima quiescat in Christo.

^b Cardinal Wiseman says of the deceased Christians in early times that "annual commemoration had to be made on the very day of their departure, and accurate knowledge of this was necessary. Therefore, it alone was recorded" (*Fabiola*, p. 147). Even if this be the true reason (which is very much to be doubted), it remains to be explained why the day of burial alone is sometimes recorded. The truth seems to be, that some little incident which would be sufficient to remind the friends of the deceased, was sometimes regarded as date enough.

- A. R. T. M. D.—Anima requiescat in manu Dei.
 AVG.—Augustus.—Augustus.
 B.—Benemerenti,—bixit (*for* vixit).
 B. A. N. V. D. IX.—Vixit annos quinquaginta, dies novem.
 BENER.—Veneriae.
 B. F.—Bonae feminae.
 BIBAT.—Bibatia (*for* vivata).
 B. I. C.—Bibias (*for* vivas) in Christo.
 B. M., or BO. M., or BE. ME., or BO. ME.—Bonae memoriae.
 B. M. F.—Benemerenti fecti.
 BMT.—Benemerenti.
 BN. M., or BN. M. I.—Benemerenti, or benemerentibus.
 B. Q.—Bene quiescat.
 B. Q. T. P.—Bene quiescat in pace.
 BVS. V.—Bonus vir.
 C.—Consul,—cum.
 CAL.—Calendas.
 CC.—Consules,—carissimus, or carissima conjux.
 GESQ. I. P.—Quiescit, or quiescat in pace.
 C. F.—Clarissima femina,—curavit fieri.
 CH.—Christus.
 C. H. L. S. S.—Corpus hoc loco sepultum (*or* situm) est.
 CL.—Clarus,—clarissimus.
 C. L. P.—Cum lacrymis posuerunt.
 CL. V.—Clarissimus vir.
 C. M. F.—Curavit monumentum fieri.
 C. O.—Conjugi optimo.
 C. O. B. Q.—Cum omnia bona quiescat.
 COI.—Conjugi.
 COIVG.—Conjux.
 CONI.—Conjugi.
 CONS.—Consul,—consulibus.
 CON. F. VOF.—Contra votum.
 COS.—Consul,—consulibus.
 COSS.—Consules,—consulibus.
 C. P.—Clarissima puella,—curavit poni.
 C. Q.—Cum quo, or cum qua.
 C. Q. F.—Cum quo fecti (*for* vixit).
 G. R.—Corpus requiescit.
 CS.—Consul.
 C. V. A.—Cum vixisset annos.
 CVNG.—Conjux.
 D.—Dies,—die,—defunctus,—deposuit,—dormi—
 ductus.
 D. B. M.—Dulcissima benemerenti.
 D. B. Q.—Dulcis, bene quiescat.
 D. D.—Dedit,—dedicavit,—dica.
 D. D. S.—Decessit de saeculo.
 DE. or DEP.—Deposuit,—deposita,—depositio.
 DE.—Deum.
 DEC.—Decembria.
 DF.—Defunctus,—defuncta.
 DI.—Del.
 DIAC.—Diaconus.
 DIEB.—Diebus.
 D. III. ID.—Die tertius idus.
 I. I. P.—Dormit, or decessit, or d'positus in pace.
 D. M.—Dormitibus.
 D. M. S.—Dixit Manibus sacrum.
 DM.—Dormit.
 DMS.—Dominus.
 D. N., or DD. NN.—Domino nostro, or dominis nostris
 (the emperors).
 DNI.—Domini.
 DO.—Deo.
 DP.—DPS.—DPT.—Deposuit,—depositio.
 E.—Est,—et,—eja,—erexit.
 EID.—Ejus for idus.
 EPIC.—EPVS.—EPS.—episcopus.
 E. V.—Ex voto.
 E. VIV. DISC.—E vivis discessit.
 EX. TM.—Ex testamento.
 F.—Fecti,—ful,—filius,—filla,—femina,—felictes,—
 filix,—fidelis,—fetroarius.
 F. C.—Fieri curavit.

SCOR.—Sanctorum.
 SCORVM.—Sanctorum.
 SED.—Sedit.
 S. D. V. 11. IAN.—Sub die quinto Idus Januariarum.
 SEP.—September, —septimo.
 S. H. L. R.—Sub hoc lapide requiescit.
 S. I. D.—Spiritus in Deo.
 S. L. M.—Solvit lubens merito.
 S. M.—Sanctae memoriae.
 S. O. V.—Sine offensa ulla.
 SP.—Sepultus, sepulcrum,—spiritus.
 SP. F.—Spectabilis femina.
 SS.—Sanctorum,—suprascripta.
 ST.—Sunt.
 S. T. T. C.—Sit tibi testis coelum.
 T. and TT.—Titulus.
 TB.—Tibi.
 TIT. P., or PP., or FF.—Titulum ponit, or posuerunt, or fecerunt.
 TM.—Testamentum.
 TPA.—Tempora.
 TTM.—Testameotum,—titulum.
 V.—Vixit,—vixisti,—vivas,—viva,—vivas,—venemerunt (for benemerunt),—votum,—vovit,—vir,—uxor,—vidua.
 V. B.—Vir bonus.
 V. C.—Vir clarissimus.
 V. F.—Vivus, or viva, fecit.
 V. G., or VGO.—Virgo.
 V. H.—Vir honestus.
 V. K.—Vivas carissime.
 V. I. AET.—Vive in aeternum, or in aeterno.
 V. I. FEB.—Quinto Idus februarii.
 V. ILL.—Vir illustris (illustris).
 VIX.—Vixit.
 V. O.—Vir optimus.
 VOT. VOV.—V tum vovit.
 VR. S.—Vir sanctus.
 V. S.—Vir spectabilis.
 V. T.—Vita tibi.
 VV. CC.—Viri clarissimi.
 VV. F.—Vive felix.
 V. K.—Uxor carissima,—vivas carissime.
 X.—Christus.
 XI.—XVI.—Christi.
 XO.—XTO.—Christo.
 XPC.—XS.—Christus.
 Z.—Zesus, for vivas,—Zesu, for Jesu.

[C. B.]

INSINUATIO. The making certain customary payments to the bishop on appointment to a church. See Thomassin (*Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discip.* iii. 1, c. 56). Justiniana (*Novell.* 56, col. 5, tit. 11, § 1) provides that if any of the clergy make the payments which are called insinuatives, "quae vocantur insinuativa," except in the great church of Constantinople, the bishops who exact them shall be deprived of their office.

[P. O.]

INSPECTOR. [BISHOP, p. 210.]

INSTALLATION. [BISHOP, p. 224.]

INSTRUCTION. 1. For the Christian instruction of children in general, see CATECHUMEN, CHILDREN.

2. In a mere special sense, the lections from the Old Testament read to the candidates for baptism immediately after the benediction of the taper, and before the benediction of the font, on Easter Eve, were called "Instructiones baptizandorum." See the Gelasian *Sacramentary* (i. c. 43), and the Gregorian (p. 70). Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* i. 19) gives mystical reasons why

the lections should be four in number, which however is by no means invariably the case. They are four in the *Ordo Romanus I.* (c. 40, p. 25), but the Gelasian *Sacramentary* gives ten and the Gregorian eight. Instruction of this kind seems to be alluded to in Palladius's description of the scene which took place when soldiers burst into John Chrysostom's church at Constantinople on Easter Eve; "some of the presbyters," he says (*Vita Chrysostr.* c. 9) "were reading Holy Scriptures, others baptizing the catechumens." So Paschasius Lilybetanus, in a letter to Leo the Great (quoted by Martene), speaks of a case in which, after the accustomed lections of Easter Eve had been gone through, the candidates were not baptized, for lack of water (Martene, *De Rit. Ant.* I. i. 13, § 3). As in the responses of the candidates at Rome both Latin and Greek were used, so also the lections in baptism were in ancient times recited in Latin and Greek. Thus *Ordo Romanus I.* (c. 40, p. 25), after noticing that the reader does not announce the lection in the usual way, "Lectio libri Genesis," but begins at once "In principio," goes on to say, "First it is read in Greek, and then immediately by another in Latin." The next lection is read first in Greek and then in Latin; and so on. Amalarius (*De Eccl. Off.* II. 1) says of this custom, that lections were recited by the ancient Romans in Greek and in Latin, partly because Greeks were present who did not understand Latin, and Latins who did not understand Greek; partly to show the unanimity of the two peoples. Anastasius tells us (p. 251, ed. Muratori) that pope Benedict III. (855-858) caused a volume to be prepared in which the lessons for Easter Eve and Pentecost were written out in Greek and in Latin, which volume, in a silver binding of beautiful workmanship, he offered to a Roman church. [C.]

INSTRUMENTA. By the word *instrumenta* we understand vessels, &c. employed in the sacred ministry; thus, pope Siricius, A. D. 385 (*Epist. I. ad Himerium*, c. 14), forbidding persons who had incurred public penance to be ordained, says, "nulli debent gererendum sacramentorum instrumenta suscipere qui dudum fuerunt rassa vitiorum."

By the words "instrumentorum traditio" is technically designated the handing to a person on ordination some vessel or instrument used in his office. Thus, the African statutes at the end of the 4th century (*Conc. Carth. IV.* c. 5) order the bishop to hand to a subdeacon on ordination an empty chalice and an empty paten, and the archdeacon to hand to him a water vessel with a napkin, because he receives no imposition of hands. Similarly the acolyte (c. 6) is to receive from the archdeacon a candlestick with taper; the exorcist (c. 7) is to receive from the hand of the bishop the book of exorcisms; the reader (c. 8) the codex from which he is to read; the doorkeeper (c. 9) the keys of the church.

In these cases it is to be observed that the "instrumentorum traditio" takes place only in the case of those ordained to minor orders (sacratu ministri) who received no imposition of hands.

The fourth council of Toledo, A. D. 633, provides (c. 28) that a bishop who is restored to

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his orders shall receive from the bishops, before the altar, stole, ring, and staff; a priest, stole and chasuble; a deacon, stole and alb; a subdeacon, paten and chalice; and that those in other orders shall receive back on restoration those instruments which they had first received on ordination. We see from this that the appropriate vestments were regarded in the 7th century as the outward sign of the bestowal of the higher orders. The delivery of the pastoral staff and ring also forms part of the ceremony of the ordination of a bishop in the Pontificals of Gregory the Great and of Egbert [BISHOP, p. 222].

In later times, the heading of the chalice with wine and the paten with a host to a priest on ordination came to be regarded as the "matter" of the sacrament, while the "form" was the words "Acclipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo missaque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis in nomine Domini." But this opinion not only has no support in Scripture, but it seems to have been totally unknown in the church for at least nine hundred years; Isidore, Amalarius, Rabanus, and Walafrid Strabo, know nothing of it. (Martene, *De Rit. Ant. I.* viii. 9, § 16.) [C.]

INSUFFLATION. [BAPTISM, § 31, p. 158; EXORCISM.]

INSULANI. A designation of monks in Southern France in the 5th century, on account of the great reputation of the monasteries and of their schools on the islands near the coast, especially on the island Lerina (Lerins) (Bingh. *Orig. Loc. VII.* ii. 14). [I. G. S.]

INTERCESSION (*Intercessio, ἔντευξις*). It does not fall within the scope of the present work to discuss or to investigate historically the doctrine of the intercession of the saints, or of the nature and efficacy of intercessory prayer generally; the subject is considered here simply in its relation to liturgical forms. And here we have to consider (1) the persons whose intercession is asked; (2) the objects on behalf of which intercession is made.

(1.) a. Throughout the Western church a large portion of the prayers end with a pleading of the merits of Christ, the great Intercessor; generally in the form "per Christum Dominum nostrum." This is in fact an extension to all prayer of the principle laid down for the altar-prayers, "cum altari adistitur semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio" (*Conc. Carth. III.* c. 23); when the prayer is addressed to the Father, it is through the intercession of the Son. This principle is not adopted in the East, where the prayers, being addressed to the Triune Deity, generally end with an ascription of glory; if with a pleading of merits, it is of the Virgin Mary or the saints (Freeman, *Principles of Divine Service*, i. 373).

b. We may take the words of Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Myst. V.* 9, p. 328) as an authentic account of the manner in which the intercession of the saints departed was invoked in the church of Jerusalem in the middle of the 4th century. "Then we also commemorate those who have gone to rest before us (τῶν προκεκλιμένων). God at their prayers and intercessions (προεβήταις) would receive our supplication." It appears then that in Cyril's time the church asked

the intercession of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs; for the rest of the faithful departed, including "holy fathers and bishops," it interceded [CANON OF THE LITURGY, p. 269; DIPTYCHS, p. 560]. But it is "beyond all question that the early church offered the eucharistic sacrifice as well for the highest saints, and even for the blessed Virgin Mary, as for the common multitude of the departed faithful" (Neale, *Eastern Ch. Int.* 510). The intercession of saints, for whom at the same time intercession is made, is asked in the so-called liturgy of St. Chrysostom, where we have the following form (Daniel, *Codex Lit.* iv. 360):—"We offer to Thee also this reasonable service on behalf of (ὡς ἕπερ) those who are at rest in the faith, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs . . . and every just spirit made perfect in the faith; especially our most holy . . . Lady Mary, Mother of God and ever Virgin . . . for the holy Prophet, Forerunner, and Baptist, John; for the glorious and highly-praised Apostles; for Saint N, whose commemoration we are celebrating, and all Thy saints; at whose supplications (ἱκεταίαι) look upon us, O God. And remember all who have gone to rest before us in hope of the resurrection to eternal life." Then follow the diptychs. The Syrian St. James (Renaudot, *Litt. Orient.* ii. 36), after commemorating holy Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, St. John Baptist, St. Stephen, the Virgin, and all Saints, proceeds, "Therefore do we commemorate them, that when they stand before Thy throne, they may remember us in our weakness and frailty, and offer with us to Thee this awful and unbloody sacrifice, for the safe-keeping of those who are living, for the consolation of the feeble and unworthy, such as ourselves; for the rest and good memory of those who have passed away in the true faith, our fathers, brethren, and masters." Here the saints departed are represented as joining in one great act of intercession with those on earth, rather than as interceding for them. These may serve as examples of the manner of asking the intercession of the saints in the Eastern church.

Of the Western liturgies, Mabillon's Gallican (Daniel's *Codex Lit.* i. 75) has, after the oblation of the unconsecrated elements, "We pray for the souls of Thy servants, our fathers and former teachers, Aurelian, Peter, Florentinus . . . and all our brothers whom Thou hast vouchsafed to call hence to Thee; . . . for the souls of all faithful servants and pilgrims deceased in the peace of the church; that Thou, O Lord our God, wouldst grant them pardon, and rest eternal; by the merits and intercession of Thy Saints, Mary mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, Stephen, Peter, Paul, John, James, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James, Simon, Jude, Matthias, Gesenius, Symphorianus, Bandillus, Victor, Hilary, bishop and confessor, Martin, bishop and confessor, Caesarius, bishop, vouchsafe in mercy to hear and grant these petitions, who livest and reignest in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God for ever and ever." The Roman has the following in the *Communicantes* of the CANON, "Claiming fellowship with and venerating the memory of, first, the glorious ever-virgin Mary, mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ; and also of Thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thad-

daens : Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyriacus, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian: and all Thy saints: in consideration of whose merits and prayers, grant that in all things we may be guarded by the help of Thy protection." The Ambrosian (Daniel i. 84) has, besides these, the names of Apollinaris, Vitalis, Nazarius and Celsus, Protasius and Gervasius. [Compare IMAGES, § viii.; INSCRIPTIONS, p. 856.]

The rule of the church in St. Augustine's time drew a broad distinction between martyrs and other saints; for that father observes (*In Joann. Tract. 84*), "So at the Table of the Lord we do not commemorate martyrs in the same way that we do others who rest in peace, so as to pray for them, but rather that they may pray for us, that we may follow in their footsteps;" and again (*De Vir. Apost. 17*), "martyrs are recited at the altar of God in that place where prayer is not made for them; for the rest of the dead who are commemorated prayer is made." It is in accordance with this that the Roman canon, besides the Virgin and the twelve apostles, recites as intercessors twelve martyrs. Other churches however, out of respect to their local saints, did not (as we see in the Gallican and the Milanese) draw so rigid a line, and inserted the names of confessors as well as martyrs. The martyrs of the Roman canon seem to be all connected with the city or see of Rome. [See LIBELLAS, MARTYRS.]

In the EMBOLISMUS of the Lord's Prayer, the Roman and Ambrosian liturgies pray for peace in our days at the intercession of (intercedente) the Virgin Mary with the apostles Peter and Paul and Andrew and all the saints (Daniel i. 96). In the benediction of incense, in the Roman use (Dan. i. 72), the priest prays that God will bless it, at the intercession (per intercessionem) of Michael the archangel, who stands at the right hand of the altar of incense.

(2.) With regard to the objects of intercession, we may say that Christians have been taught to make intercession for all things of which they know that their brethren have need. Such intercessions are scattered over a great variety of offices or litanies [LITANY]. With regard specially to the intercessions made in the eucharist, we will take the form of the Greek St. James (Daniel, iv. 14) as a specimen of the objects recited in the great eucharistic intercession. When the priest, after consecration, has prayed that the Body and Blood of Christ may be to the partakers for remission of sins, for the strengthening of the Holy Catholic Church, etc., he proceeds—"We offer (προσφέρουμεν) to Thee, Lord, on behalf of (ὡς) the Holy Places, especially Zion; the Holy Catholic Church; holy fathers, brethren, bishops; all cities and countries and the orthodox who dwell there; those who are journeying; those fathers and brethren who are in bonds, imprisonment, mines or tortures; the sick and demoniac; every Christian soul in trouble; those who labour in Christ's name; for all men, for peace, and for the dispersion of scandal and heresy; for rain and fruitful seasons; for those who have adorned the churches or shown pity to the poor; for those who desire to be remembered in our prayers; those who have offered; the celebrant and his deacons; all spirits and all flesh, from Abel even to this day, "give them

rest in the land of the living, in Thy kingdom, in the bliss of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, our holy fathers, whence sorrow and grief and mourning have fled away;" for the forgiveness of sins, "by the grace and mercy and compassion of Thy only-begotten Son;" for (ὡς) the Gifts, that God may receive them into His spiritual sanctuary.

Some of the more remarkable peculiarities of the Intercessions of different churches are noted under CANON OF THE LITURGY, p. 273. [C.]

INTERCESSION, EPISCOPAL. By a custom which grew up less by any definite enactment than by the general respect attaching to their office, the bishops came to be looked upon as protectors of those who were oppressed by the secular power. The patrimony of widows and orphans was often placed under the protection of the churches and bishops (*Aug. Ep. 252*). Flavian, bishop of Antioch, interceded successfully in A.D. 387 with the Emperor Theodosius, on behalf of the city, which had been guilty of a riot. So Theodoret with the Empress Pulcheria. Many other instances might be cited. These interpositions obtained the technical name of *intercessio*, and were recognised by the law. The bishop was expected to visit the public prisons on Thursday and Friday (Codex Justinian. lib. i. tit. 4). They were charged with a special oversight of such as held civil office in their dioceses (Concil. Arelat. l. c. 56, Conc. Arel. ii. c. 13, "ut comites iudices, seu reliquos populi obediētes sit episcopo, et in iudicio consentiant ad iustitias faciendas, et in iudicio non recipiant, nec falsos testes, ne per hoc pervertant iudicia iustorum," Conc. General. ii. p. 618, ed. Crabbé). The right of sanctuary for fugitives in the churches grew up in the same period, and was very frequently exercised (Cod. Theodos. l. ix. tit. 45, ap. Neander). See Neale, *Introd. to Eastern Church*, and essay by Moultrie in Neale's *Ecclesiology*, pp. 427-474; Neander's *Church History*, vol. iii. sect. 2. [BISHOP, p. 237; IMMUNITIES OF CLERGY, p. 824.] [S. J. E.]

INTERCESSORES or INTERVENTORES. In the African churches when a see was vacant the senior bishop appointed one of his suffragans as guardian or procurator. He was styled *Intercessor* or *Interventor*. The fifth council of Carthage made a canon that no intercessor should remain in this office more than a year, and that if the vacancy was not then filled, another should be appointed. No intercessor was permitted to be chosen bishop of the vacant see himself. So also in the Roman province, as we learn from the letters of Symmachus (*Ep. v. c. 9*) and Gregory the Great (*Ep. ii. 16*); Suicer (*Thesaurus*, s. v. *intercessor*); Bingham (*Ant. lib. ii. c. 13*, and iv. c. 2). [BISHOP, p. 237.] [S. J. E.]

INTERMENT. [BURIAL OF THE DEAD.]

INTERPRETER. Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid. n. 21*) speaks of interpreters of the languages employed both in reading the Scriptures and the sermons, and ranks them among the lower orders of the clergy, after the exorcists. An instance of their existence is afforded in the case of Procopius, who is said to have discharged three offices in the church of Palestine, having been reader,

the living, in Thy kingdom, in the bosom of Abraham, our holy fathers, whence mourning have fled away;" of sins, "by the grace and of Thy only-begotten Son, that God may receive His sanctuary. remarkable peculiarities of different churches are noted LITURGY, p. 273. [C.]

EPISCOPAL. By a less by any definite enactment respect attaching to us came to be looked upon who were oppressed by the patrimony of widows and placed under the protection of bishops (Aug. Ep. 252). Antioch, interceded successively the Emperor Theodosius, which had been guilty of instances might be cited. obtained the technical name were recognised by the law. expected to visit the public on Friday (Codex Justinianus). They were charged with the such as held civil office in I. Arelat. l. c. 56, Conc. Arel. judges, seu reliquos populi episcopo, et in vicem consecrari, et munera pro nec, nec falsos testes, ne per in iustorum," Conc. Gen. Crabbé). The right of sanctification in the churches grew up in the as very frequently exercised. tit. 45, ap. Neander). See *Eastern Church*, and essay by *Eccelesiology*, pp. 427-474; *History*, vol. iii. sect. 2. **MUNITIES OF CLERGY, p. 824.** [S. J. E.]

RES or INTERVEN African churches when a see or bishop appointed one of his successor or *Intervenor*. The rathage made a canon that no remain in this office more than if the vacancy was not then could be appointed. No interceded to be chosen bishop of the f. So also in the Roman from the letters of Symmachus and Gregory the Great (Ep. *Thesaurus*, s. v. *metrns*); Bingham, c. 13, and iv. c. 2). [BISHOP, c. 15, and iv. c. 2). [S. J. E.]

C. (BURAL OF THE DEAD). **ER.** Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.* interpreters of the languages reading the Scriptures and the them among the lower orders the exorcists. An instance afforded in the case of Proclus to have discharged three offices Palestine, having been reader,

erorcist, and interpreter of the Syriac language. (Acta Procop. apud Vales.; note in *Euseb. Martyr. Palest.*, c. 1.) [LITURGICAL LANGUAGE.] [P. O.]

INTERROGATIO (sc. de fide). This is a questioning a candidate for baptism as to his belief, before he was baptized, and formed part of the office of baptism from very early times. After the RENUNCIATION (Abrenunciatio) of the devil by the candidate for baptism, and his anointing, and before he was baptized he was questioned as to his faith, and called upon to make public profession of it. The custom is frequently alluded to by the fathers. It is sufficient here to refer: (1) *For the custom:* to St. Augustine (*de Animâ et origine ejus*, i. 10). "Ideo cum baptizantur (i. e. pueri) jnm et symbolum reddunt, et ipsi pro se ad interrogatn respondent." (2) *For its object* to St. Cyprian (*Ep. 70 ad Januarium de baptizandis hæreticis*). "Ipsa interrogatio que fit in baptismo testis est veritatis." (3) *For its substance*, to St. Ambrose (*de Mysteriis*, v. 28). "Descendisti igitur (i. e. in fontem) recordeare quid responderis, quod credas in Patrem, credas in Filium, credas in Spiritum Sanctum;" and more fully *de Sacramentis* lib. ii. vii. "Interrogatus es: Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem? Dixisti: Credo, et miseristi, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es: Credis in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et in crucem ejus? Dixisti: Credo, et miseristi; ideo et Christo es conspuitus; qui enim Christo consepelitur, cum Christo resurgit. Tertio interrogatus es: Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum? Dixisti: Credo, tertio miseristi; ut multiplicem lapsum superioris ætatis absolveret tua confessio."

The rite is still retained in the office of Baptism in the Roman church, in the same position as of old; and in the Greek church in the preliminary office of "making a catechumen" (eis τὸ ποιεῖν κατηχούμενον).

The forms of the questions closely resemble the old forms [v. *Rit. Rom. de Sacramento Baptismi*, and *Euchologion* ἐὼχαλ εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν κατηχούμενον]. For further details and patristic references see Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Lit.* i. 47. See also BAPTISM, §§ 43, 46, pp. 159, 160; CREED § 4, p. 489; PROFESSION. [H. J. H.]

INTERSTITIA. These are intervals of time which according to the regulations of the church ought to elapse between the reception of one order and the admission to a superior. Their object was to exercise a cleric in the functions of his order, and to test his fitness for promotion to a higher. The institution is an old one in the church. The tenth canon of the council of Sardica decrees "Hæbit autem minusculusque adhis gradus non minimi scilicet temporis longitudinem pro quod et fides et morum probitas et constantia et moderatio possit cognosci." The duration of these *interstitia* was not determined at the first, and it has varied much at different times and places. Zosimus c. g., A. D. 417 (*Ep. 1 ad Hesychium*) proposes the following rule. "If any one has been designed for ecclesiastical ministratio from his infancy, he is to remain among the *readers* till his twentieth year. If he has devoted himself to the sacred ministry when grown and of ripe age, provided he has done so immediately after baptism, he is to be kept among the *readers* or *exorcists* five years. CHRIST. ANT.

Then he is to spend four years as an *acolyte* or *subdeacon*. Then if deserving he is to be promoted to the *diaconate*, in which order he is to remain five years, and, if worthy, promoted to the *priesthood*." Another canon prescribes that a bishop must have been at least four years a priest. [It must be remembered that in the early church the age required for conferring holy orders was more advanced than is the case at present, twenty-five being the ordinary age for a deacon, and thirty for a priest.]

Gelasius (A. D. 492) shortened the prescribed intervals between the different sacred orders, and in cases of urgency they were occasionally altogether dispensed with. Of this the most conspicuous instance is that of St. Ambrose, who is said to have passed through all the sacred orders and to have been consecrated bishop on the eighth day after his baptism.

In process of time, as the proper functions assigned to the several minor orders fell into disuse, the *interstitia* between them ceased to be observed, and the modern practice is to confer the four minor orders simultaneously. The council of Trent requires a year between the minor orders and the subdiaconate, between the subdiaconate and the diaconate, and between the diaconate and the *priesthood*. Legitimate exceptions are recognised, and dispensations under certain conditions allowed; but two (major) orders are not to be conferred on the same day: "Duo sacri ordines non eodem die, privilegiis ac indulgiis . . . non obstantibus quibusenque" (*Con. Trent. Sept. xxiii. col. 3; De Reform.*) [ORDINATION.] [H. J. H.]

INTERVENTORES. [INTERCESSORES.]

INTROIT. *Introitus* is the name commonly given throughout the Latin church to the anthem at the beginning of the eucharistic office. At Rome it was originally called *Antiphona* ad *Introitum*, as in the earliest editions of the *Ordo Romanus* (i. n. 8, ii. n. 3, iii. n. 8, in *Musæ. Ital. tom. ii.*). In *Ordo Romanus VI.* (n. 2, *ib.*), probably a little later than our period, it is first called *introitus* simply. Meanwhile in one *Ordo* (v. n. 5, *ib.*), we find the name of *invitatory* given to it. At Milan it was termed *Ingressa* (*Ambros. Miss. Ritus in Panellii Lituale SS. PP. tom. i. p. 293*), a word of the same meaning as *introitus*. In Spain (*Miss. Mozar. Leslie*, pp. 13, 55, 64, &c.) and in England (the missals of Sarum, York, Hereford; Maskell's *Ancient Liturgy*, pp. 20, 21) the *introit* was called *officium*, or *officium missæ*. This arose from a mistake. The several masses in the early missals were headed by the words *Ad Missam Officium* (Leslie, u. s. pp. 1, 7, 10, &c.; *Missale Sarum*, coll. 1, 18, 27, &c., ed. Forbes), which were the heading of the whole office, but were supposed to refer to the *introit* which followed immediately without any heading of its own. The antiphon had this name in all the churches of Normandy, and in many others (Le Brun, *Explic. de la Messe*, p. ii. art. 1), and in the missals of the Carthusians, Carmelites, and Dominicans. This extended use would be a sufficient proof of its great antiquity, were we without the evidence of the Mozarabic ritual. In the barbarous *Expositio Missæ*, ascribed to Germanus of Paris, A. D. 555, and certainly not much later than his time, the *introit*, as used in the old Gallican liturgy, is

called *praelegere*, or antiphona ad *praelegendum* (*sic*), because it preceded the eucharistic lessons (*Expos. printed in Martens, De Ant. Eccl. Lit. lib. i. c. iv. art. xii. ord. 1.*)

The origin of the Introit is obscure. At the earliest period the office began with lessons from holy Scripture, of which psalms said or sung formed a part, but this psalmody is in the West to be traced in the GRADUAL and TRACT. In the Syrian rite a psalm is sung before as well as after the epistle, but this appears to have had the same origin (*Ordo Communis*; Renaud. *Liturg. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 7). The Introit is clearly another rite, and of later introduction. It seems to have been introduced partly as a fitting accompaniment of the solemn entrance (introitus, *ingressa*) of the celebrant into that part of the church in which the altar stood, and partly as a means of employing and solemnizing the minds of the people before the service began. The name *introitus* suggests that the people were still entering the church while it was being sung.

The *Ordo Romanus* in its earliest state, about 730, gives us some suggestive information respecting the introit as sung in the churches of Rome at that time. The bishop having vested is still in the secretarium, the choir waiting in the church for an order from him to begin "the antiphon for the entrance" (introitum). On a signal from him "ut pallant," a subdeacon enters the church, orders the candles to be lighted, and then stands with a censer before the door of the secretarium, while one of the leaders of the choir, who has also been in waiting, carries the order for the singing to commence. As soon as this is heard two deacons enter, and each taking a hand of the bishop lead him into the church, up to the altar. He is preceded by the subdeacon with incense, and seven acolytes bearing candles. On his way to the altar the Sanctus or FERMENTUM is brought to him that he may select what is necessary for the celebration. After private prayer at the altar, and giving the peace to the ministers, he stops the singing by giving a signal for the *Gloria Patri* (*Ord. Rom. l. n. n. 7, 8*; comp. ii. n. n. 4, 5, iii. n. n. 7, 8, v. n. n. 5, vi. n. 3).

The *Liber Pontificalis* is supposed to ascribe the introduction of the introit to Celestine, A.D. 423, when it tells us that he "ordered the 150 psalms of David to be sung antiphonally before the sacrifice" (*Anastas. Biblioth. Vitae Pont. n. 44*). The tradition probably refers to the introit, although the next statement shows that the author connects it with the earlier Gradual. For he adds:—"This was not done before, only the epistles of the apostle Paul were recited and the holy gospel, and so masses were celebrated." It will be observed that the *Ordo* cited calls the introit an antiphon, though it uses the word psalter. Gregory the Great, A.D. 595, is said to have compiled the antiphons, selecting proper verses from the psalms, and retaining the *Gloria*, which was then said, as now, at the end of every psalm. Some ancient writers, as Amalarius (*De Eccl. Officiis*, lib. iii. c. 5), Walafrid Strabo (*De Rebus Eccl. c. 22*), and Micrologus (*De Eccl. Observ. c. 1*), suppose that this selection was the work of Celestine; but Honorius of Autun, more in consonance with the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*, and with the circumstantial

evidence of the case, says,— "Pope Celestine ordered psalms to be sung at the introit of the mass, from which pope Gregory afterwards arranged and compiled antiphons for the introit of the mass" (*Genina Animæ*, lib. i. c. 87). All the psalms in the antiphony ascribed to Gregory are taken from the old Italic version, as it stood before the corrections of St. Jerome, but this is no proof of an earlier antiquity of the introits than we ascribe to them. For Gregory himself professed to use the Italic and the Vulgate versions of the Bible indifferently (*Ep. ad Leandr. c. 5*, in fine; *Expos. in Lib. Job. proef.*), and Jerome's corrected Italic psalter, long called the Gallican at Rome until the time of Pius V. (*Bona, Rer. Liturg. lib. ii. c. 3, § 4*). The following example of the Gregorian introit is for the first Sunday in Advent—"Antiph. Ad Te, Domine, levavi animam meam. Deus meus in Te confido: non erubescam neque irideat me inimicus meus (*Vulg. irideat me inimici mei*) etenim universi qui Te expectant (*Vulg. sustinent Te*) non confundentur (*Ps. xxv. 1-3*). *Psal. Vias Tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi et semitas tuas edoce me*" (*ib. v. 4*). Durandus (*Rationale*, lib. iv. c. 5, n. 5) tells us that "in some churches tropes are said for the psalms, according to the appointment of pope Gregory, to represent greater joy on account of the coming of Christ." The introit itself had long been thought designed to "bring back His advent to our mind" (*Amalar. De Eccl. Off. lib. iii. c. 5*); but Durandus is without doubt wrong in ascribing to Gregory the attempt to emphasize that meaning by the addition of tropes. We cannot, however, say at what period subsequent to his they first appeared. They were not like the Greek troparia, independent of the antiphons in connection with which they were sung, but were farsings or interpolations in the antiphons of the Gregorian introit. In the following example the farsing is in italics. The antiphon is that for the Epiphany:—"Eja, Sion gaude, et lactare aspectu Dei tui. Ecce advenit dominator Dominus; cui materies coeli et terrae famulantur; et regnum in manu ejus. Ipsi manet Deus (*sic*) gloria atque jubilatio; et potestas et imperium" (*Pamelli, Rituale*, tom. ii. p. 613; comp. p. 73).

Of the Gallican introit we only know that like the Roman it was sung before the office of the mass began. "While the clerks are singing psalms" (*psallentibus*), says Germinus (*l. s.*), "the priest comes forth out of the sacrum" (*acer*=secretarium). The council of Agde, A.D. 506, appears to recognize the introit, when it orders that as in other churches "collects be said in order by the bishops and presbyters after the antiphons" (cap. 30). The following is the introit (taken from the original Italic version of *Ps. xciii. 1*) used in the Mozarabic liturgy on every Sunday between Whitsunday and Advent, and again on the Circumcision and the Sundays before and after the Epiphany:—"Dominus regnavit; decorem induit: Alleluia. Ψ . Iudaei regnavit; decorem induit: Alleluia. Ψ . Iudaei fortitudinem et praecinxit se. *P.* Dominus fortitudinem et praecinxit se. *P.* Presbyter. Alleluia. Ψ . Gloria et honor Patri et Filio: et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum: Amen. *P.* Alleluia." It will be seen that this belongs to the later period, when the celebrant was at the altar before the choir began, a rule which has prevailed in the church of

case, says, — "Pope Celestine was sung at the introit of the pope Gregory afterwards as antiphons for the introit of *na Animæ*, lib. i. c. 87). All antiphons ascribed to Grem the old Italic version, as it corrections of St. Jerome, but an earlier antiquity of the inscribe to them. For Gregory; to use the Italic and the Vulgate Bible indifferently (*Ep. ad ne; Eneas. in Lib. Job. pref.*), acted Italic psalter, long called ter, did not take the place of one until the time of Plus V. (*Ep. lib. ii. c. 3, § 4*). The fol- of the Gregorian introit is for in Advent — "Antiph. Ad Tr, animam mem. Deus meus in erubescam neque irident me *Vulg. Irident me invidiosus qui Te expectant (Vulg. susti- fandi Ps. xv. 1-3). Paul, funderum (Ps. xv. 1-3). Paul, demost, demonstrat mibi et semitas (ib. v. 4). Durandus (Rationale, tells us that "In some churches or the psalms, according to the pope Gregory, to represent cont of the coming of Christ," had long been thought designed his advent to our mind" (*Am- f. lib. iii. c. 5*); but Durandus wrong in ascribing to Gregory emphasize that meaning by the s. We cannot, however, say at osequent to his they first apere are not like the Greek troparia, re antiphons in connection with sung, but were farsings or in- the antiphons of the Gregorian following example the farsing is antiphon is that for the Epiphany: *laude, et lactare aspectu Dei tui. iminator Dominus; cui materies amuluntur; et regnum in manu; Deus (sic) gloriæ atque jubilatio; perierum*" (*Pamelli, Rituale, tom. p. 73*).*

In introit we only know that hie was sung before the office of the While the clerks are singing entibus), says Germanus (u. s.), es forth out of the sacration") The council of Agde, A.D. recognize the introit, when it other churches "collects be said bishops and presbyters after the s. 30). The following is the in- the original Italic version of ed in the Mozarabic liturgy on between Whitsunday and Advent, e Circumcision and the Sunda- re the Epiphany: — "Dominus rer induit: Alleluia. *Ÿ. Idu, iudicinem et præcinxit se. P. leluia. Ÿ. Gloria et honor Patri spiritui Sancto in sæcula sæculi. P. Alleluia.*" It will be seen g to the later period, when use at the altar before the choir, hich has prevailed in the church of

Rome also for many ages. See Sabu, *Annot. 11, lu Bona, Rev. Liturg. lib. ii. c. iii. § 1*; and Le Brun, *Excubation*, p. ii. art. 1. The Ambrosian ingressa is very simple. The following is for Christmas Day, from Is. ix. 6, Ital. vers. "Puer natus est nobis, et filius datus est nobis, cuius imperium super humerum ejus, et vocabitur nomen ejus magni consilii angelus" (*Pamellius, u. s. tom. i. p. 293*). "It is an anthem without psalm, or *Gloria*, or repetition" (*Le Brun, Diss. iii. art. 2*).

The following hymn is sung in the liturgy of St. James before the priest enters to the altar. It is preceded by the rubric, "Then the deacon begins to sing in the entrance," which at once suggests an analogy to the Western introit. "Only begotten Son and Word of God, who being immortal didst for our salvation take upon Thee to be incarnate of the holy Mary, mother of God and ever Virgin, and didst unchangeably become man, and wast crucified, O Christ (our) God, and didst by death trample on death, being one of the Holy Trinity, glorified together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, save us" (*Liturgiae SS. PP. p. 6, Bas. 1560*). The matter of this hymn proves it to be later than the outbreak of the Nestorian heresy; but its great antiquity is sufficiently attested by its appearing also in the liturgies of St. Mark (*Renaudot, Liturg. Orient. tom. i. p. 136*), in copies, apparently the older, of St. Basil (*Eucholog. Goar, p. 180*, and the old Latin version, *Liturgiae, sive Missæ SS. PP. p. 32, Par. 1560*), in many copies of St. Chrysostom (*Goar, u. s. pp. 101, 105*), and in the Armenian (*Neale's Intro. to Hist. of East. Church, p. 380*). In St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, however, we have a nearer approach to, and the probable origin of, the Western introit, viz., in three antiphons, composed for common days, of three or four verses (*Rubric in St. Basil, Goar, p. 180*, and the old Latin, p. 32) of the 92nd, 93rd, and 95th psalms (as numbered in E. V.). See *Goar, pp. 101, 104, 105*. While each antiphon is sung, a prayer is said secretly by the priest; and it may be interesting to mention that the "Prayer of St. Chrysostom;" in our daily office, is in the Greek liturgy (*Lib. PP. pp. 45, 81*) the "Prayer of the Third Antiphon." The revisers of our offices were familiar with it in the translation of St. Chrysostom by Leo Thuscus, A.D. 1180 (printed by Hofmeister, in 1540), and in the Greek and Latin of the editions of Venice, 1528, and Paris, 1537, and introduced it at the end of the litany in 1544. When the Greek antiphons were first used is not known. Amalarius, writing about the year 833, says that he had heard the 95th psalm sung at Constantinople "in the church of St. Sophia at the beginning of mass" (*De Ord. Antiph. c. 21*). The use of the antiphon by the Nestorians and Jacobites seems to carry us up to the 5th century, in which they were separated from the church. On Sundays the Greek church commonly substituted "typica" (so-called because they were forms prescribed by the rubrics) for the first two antiphons, and the Benedictus for the third (*Goar, pp. 65-67; Liturg. PP. pp. 44, 80-82*), with verses (*ἑσπέρια*) commemorating the saint of the day (*Goar, u. s.*). The liturgic typica are from the 103rd and 146th psalms (*Demetrius Ducas, in Lebrun, Diss. VI. art. iv. Leo Allatius, De Libris Eccl. Diss. I. p. 14*). For the third antiphon may also be used

on common days, the third and sixth centile (when thus united called *ἑσπέρια*) of the matin office (*Goar, pp. 67, 124*). The typica, we must add, are not sung on every Sunday. "It should be known," says the *ἑσπέρια* of Sabas, "that from New Sunday to the Feast of All Saints (i. e. from the octave of Easter to that of Whit-sunday) the church sings antiphons and not typica. We sing the antiphons likewise in the Twelve Days (between Christmas and Epiphany), and on the memorials of saints which we keep as feasts" (*In Leo Allat. u. s.*).

The Syrian rite preserves a fragment of the 93rd psalm and nearly the whole of the 95th, at the beginning of the service. They are sung while the veils and the altar are being cased (*Renaudot, tom. ii. pp. 3, 4*). In the Nestorian liturgies, the priest and deacon, standing near the altar, say, in alternate verses, on common days, parts of psalms 15, 150, 117; and proper hymns on Sundays and the greater festivals (*Budger's Nestorians, vol. ii. p. 215; Raulin, Liturgie Mahabarian, p. 294; Renaudot, tom. ii. p. 584*). In the Armenian, beside the hymn before mentioned, there are hymns proper to the day, sung where the Greek has its antiphons (*Le Brun, Diss. X. art. 12*).

Cardinal Bona (*Rev. Liturg. lib. ii. c. iii. § 1*) suggests that "perhaps Celestine (in adopting the introit) transferred to the Western churches a custom which had long flourished in the Eastern." The great use made, as we have seen, of the 93rd psalm (*Dominus regnavit*) in the introits of Spain, creates a strong suspicion that Spain was a borrower from the Greeks, in whose liturgy that psalm was used on all common days and many Sundays in the year. Hence it is probable that the introit was, like some other rites, derived by Rome from the East through Spain.

[W. E. S.]

INVENTION OF THE CROSS. [Cross, FINDING OF THE, p. 503.]

INVESTITURE The Latin word *Investitura* (from vestire, to put into possession; see Ducange s. v.), is of later date than the 9th century; nor had the thing signified by it really commenced by then, in the sense which concerns us here: the putting ecclesiastics in possession of their temporalities by a formal act of the civil power. When Siegbert, quoted by Gratian (*Dist. lxxiii. c. 22*), in enumerating the privileges supposed by him to have been conferred on Charlemagne by Adrian I., says of that pope: "Insuper archiepiscopus et episcopus per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere definit: et nisi a rege laudetur at investituræ episcopus, a nemine consecratur," he is, apart from the doubtfulness of the fact (on which see *De Marca, de Concord. viii. 12*), making the pope depose, not merely to language, but to customs unknown in his day. Lanulph, who was contemporary with Siegbert, is bolder still; making Adrian the inventor of both. "Qui primus," as he says of him, "annulos et virgæ ad investiendum episcopatus Carolo donavit" (*Hist. Mediol. ii. 11*); but then he couples another incident with this tale, which explains its origin. The absence of notice in the Caroline capitularies of any such custom, and their apparent ignorance of the word itself, seems conclusive against the existence of either at that

date, particularly as the word "vestitura" is of frequent occurrence in them, denoting either possession, or the payment for it. Of course there were symbolical forms also then in use for giving possession, but none peculiar, as yet, to the clergy; and the common name for the act of doing this was "traditio." Hence, probably, the new word arose from joining the two words, "in vestitura," in one; and then understanding it of the special formality by which the clergy were put in possession of their temporalities, on this becoming essential to possession in their case. That Charlemagne, as well as his predecessors, appointed bishops of his own choosing occasionally to sees in his dominions, is no more than had been done by the Greek emperors ages before, where investiture in its Western acceptation has never been known. Neither the Theodosian Code, nor the Code or Novels of Justinian exhibit traces of anything approaching to it, though by the latter limits are prescribed to the fees for enthronization (*Noel.* cxliii. 31; see also Du Cange and Hofmann, s. v.; Sirmion ap. Baluz. *Capitul.* ii. 802; and Thomassin. *Vel. et Noe. Eccl. Discipl.* ii. ii. 38).

INVITATORIUM. In the Gregorian and Benedictine * offices the psalm "Venite exultemus Domino" xciv. [E. V. xcv.] is said daily at the beginning of Nocturns preceded by an antiphon which is called the *Invitatorium*. It is of precisely the same character as other antiphons to psalms, and varies with the day, but is said differently from other antiphons, and repeated several times during the course of the psalm as well as at the beginning and end. Thus the ordinary Sunday invitatory is "Adoremus Dominum, qui fecit nos," which is said twice at the beginning of the psalm, and repeated in whole or in part five times during its course, and again after the *Gloria*.

On the Epiphany no invitatory was said; but the psalmody began, and still begins, with the psalms of the first nocturn with their antiphons [Hodie non cantamus invitatorium, sed absolute incipimus. *Ru'ric ex Antiphonario Vaticano Rom. Eccl.*]^b and the psalm "Venite" was said with its own antiphon as the last psalm of the second nocturn. [Later it was said as the first psalm of the third nocturn, and its antiphon repeated during its course in the ordinary manner of an invitatory]. Amalarius (lib. iv. c. 33) and Durandus (lib. vi. c. 36) suggest that the reason for this omission may have been to mark the difference between the invitation to the faithful to praise God, and that which Herod gave to the scribes and doctors to find out where Christ should be born. More probably it was omitted [Martene *de Rit.* lib. iv. c. 14] simply because the psalm to which it belonged was said in an-

* In the Benedictine Psalter Ps. "Venite" is preceded by Ps. 3; but its antiphon is called "Antiph. Invitatorium."

^b Amalarius c. xl writes: "Nostra regio in presentis officio [i. e. in die Epip.] solita est unum omittere de consueto more, id est Invitatorium," as if the custom were local; but from what he says in the passage referred to in the text, it would seem that it soon became general. Some French churches, however, among which were those of Lyons and Rouen, were in the habit of singing the Invitatory on the Epiphany. At Lyons it was sung with special solemnity (Martene *ut sup.*).

other place, though why the psalm should be displaced from its ordinary position is not so clear.

The psalm "Venite" is also known as the "Invitatory Psalm."

In the Ambrosian psalter, "Venite" is not said at the beginning of the office, and there is no antiphon which corresponds to the Gregorian *Invitatorium*. [H. J. H.]

INVOCATION. [EPICLISIS.]

IRENAEUS. (1) [HYACINTHUS (1).]

(2) Bishop, martyr at Sirmium under Maximian; "Passio," March 25 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) [THEODOUS.]

(4) Martyr at Thessalonica with Peregrinus and Irene; commemorated May 5 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(5) Bishop of Lyons, and martyr under Severus; commemorated June 28 (*Mart. Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(6) Deacon, martyr with Mstiola, a noble matron, under the emperor Aurelianus; commemorated July 3 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(7) Martyr at Rome with Abundius, under Decius; commemorated Aug. 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(8) and Phocas; commemorated Oct. 7 (*Cal. Armen.*) [W. F. G.]

IRENE. (1) Virgin, martyr at Thessalonica; commemorated April 5 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Hieron., Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr; commemorated with Agape and Chionia, April 16 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(3) [IRENAEUS (4).] [W. F. G.]

IRENICA. [EIRENICA.]

IRELAND, COUNCILS OF (*Hibernia concilia*). But two such are recorded before A. D. 800, both held by St. Patrick, according to Spelman (*Conc.* p. 49 and seq.), A. D. 450 or 456, viz. in his 80th or 86th year, assisted by his condisciples, Bishops Auxilius and Isernius. At least the 34 canons passed at the first run in their joint names. The discipline prescribed in them, indicates very primitive manners. By the 6th any clerk, from the doorkeeper to the priest seen abroad without his shirt, and with his nakedness uncovered, if his hair be not tonsured in the Roman style, and his wife walk out with her head unveiled, is to be lightly regarded by the laity, and excluded from the church. Thirty-one canons of a similar description are given to the other council. But these 65 by no means exhaust the number ascribed to St. Patrick. Seventeen more from other sources are supplied by Mansi (vi. 519-22). Another collection of Irish canons, supposed to be earlier than the 8th century, may be seen in Dnebery's *Spicil.* by Baluz. i. 491 and seq., and a supplement to them in Martene and Durand, *Antec.* iv. 1-21. [E. S. FE.]

IRREGULARITY. [ORDINATION.]

ISAAC. (1) The patriarch; commemorated with Abraham and Jacob, Ter 28 = Jan. 23, Maskarram 28 = Sept. 25 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); also at

Why the psalm should be di-
cinary position is not so clear.
Venit" is also known as the
ian psalter, "Venite" is not said
g of the office, and there is no
corresponds to the Gregorian
[H. J. H.]

ON. [EPICLESIS.]

(1) [HYACINTHUS (1).]
martyr at Sirimium under Maxi-
March 25 (Mart. Rom. Vet.,
).

at Thessalonica with Peregrinus
memorated May 5 (Mart. Rom.
Adonis, Usuardi).

Lyons, and martyr under Sever-
ated June 28 (Mart. Hieron.,
).

martyr with Mustiola, a noble
the emperor Aurelian; comme-
(Mart. Usuardi).

at Rome with Abundius, under
emorated Aug. 26 (Mart. Rom.
Usuardi).

as; commemorated Oct. 7 (Cal.
[W. F. G.]

1) Virgin, martyr at Thessalo-
ated April 5 (Mart. Rom. Vet.,
Adonis, Usuardi).

commemorated with Agape and
16 (Cal. Byzant.).

US (4.) [W. F. G.]

[EPIHENICA.]

COUNCILS OF (Hibernia

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held by St. Patrick, according to
p. 49 and seq.), A.D. 450 or 456,
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ene and Durand, *Anec.* iv. 1-21.
[E. S. FE]

ARITY. [ORDINATION.]

(1) The patriarch; commemorated
in and Jacob, Ter 28 = Jan. 23,
3 = Sept. 25 (Cal. Ethiop.); also

intervals of thirty days reckoning from these
dates throughout the year; also commemorated
alone, Nalasse 24 = Aug. 17 (Cal. Ethiop.).

(2) Armenian patriarch; commemorated Feb.
9 (Cal. Armen.).

(3) Palmata, *βίαιος πατήρ*, in the time of the
emperor Valens; commemorated May 31 (Cal.
Byzant.).

(4) Monk, martyr at Cordova; commemorated
June 3 (Mart. Usuardi).

(5) and Mesrop; commemorated June 27 (Cal.
Armen.).

(6) Holy Father, A.D. 368; commemorated
Aug. 3 (Cal. Byzant.).

(7) and Joseph; commemorated Sept. 16 (Cal.
Georg.).

(8) King of Ethiopia; commemorated Tekemt
30 = Oct. 27 (Cal. Ethiop.). [W. F. G.]

(9) The Just, patriarch of Alexandria; com-
memorated Hedar 9 = Nov. 5 (Cal. Ethiop.).

ISAIAH, the prophet; commemorated May 9
(Cal. Byzant.), July 6 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Bedne,
Adonis, Usuardi), Maskarram 6 = Sept. 3, and
Ter 3 = Dec. 29 (Cal. Ethiop.). [W. F. G.]

ISAPOSTOLOS. [APOSTLE.]

ISBODICON. [FRACTION.]

ISCHYRION, martyr at Alexandria; com-
memorated Dec. 22 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis,
Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

ISIDORUS. (1) Bishop of Antioch; "Pasa-
lo." Jan. 2 (Mart. Hieron., Usuardi).

(2) Saint, of Pelusium in Egypt, *βίαιος πατήρ*
circa 415 A.D.; commemorated Jan. 15 (Mart.
Adonis, Usuardi), Feb. 4 (Cal. Byzant.).

(3) Bishop of Seville (Hispania); deposition at
Seville, April 4 (Mart. Usuardi).

(4) [HELLAS.]

(5) Martyr at Chios, A.D. 255; commemorated
May 15 (Mart. Adonis, Usuardi, Cal. Byzant.).

(6) [DIOSCORUS (3).] [W. F. G.]

ISMAEL, martyr A.D. 362; commemorated
June 17 (Cal. Byzant.). [W. F. G.]

ISSUE OF BLOOD, CURE OF THE.
This miracle is repeated on many sarcophagi.



Figures on a Sarcophagus. (From Martigny.)

See Bottari, *trav.* xix. xvi. xxiv. xxxix. xli.
[XXVII. LXVII. LXVIII. LXIX.]. She has been taken
as representing the Gentile church, particularly
by St. Ambrose, *lib. ii. in Luc.* c. viii. She is of
small stature in the carvings, like the other
subjects of our Lord's miraculous cures. In
Eusebius (*Ecc. Hist.* vii. 18) mention is made of
a bronze statue of our Lord, or rather of a group
of two figures, which existed at Caesarea Philippi,
Dan (or Banaas at this day), and was said to
have been erected by this woman, who was also
represented as kneeling at His feet. Eusebius
saw the statue himself, but its being meant for
our Lord seems to have been matter of tradition.
Τούτου τῶν ἀνδράντων εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φέρειν
ἔλεγον. Ἐμίειν δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ ὄψει
παραλαβεῖν ἐπιδημήσαντας ἀσθενεῖς τῆ πόλει.
(See JESUS CHRIST, REPRESENTATIONS OF.)

[R. St. J. T.]

ISTRIAN COUNCIL. (Istrina Concilium).

held by the partisans of the Three Chapters at
some place in Istria, A.D. 591, according to Mansi,
to petition the emperor Maurice in their own be-
half, and that of Severus, bishop of Aquileia, their
metropolitan, who had been forced by the exarch
into condemning them in his name and was now
summoned with his suffragans to Rome. Their
remonstrance, to which eight names are affixed,
was successful, and the pope was ordered to leave
them in peace for the present (Mansi, x. 463-7).
[E. S. FE.]

ITALIAN COUNCILS. (Italiana Concilia).

Three councils are given under this heading in
Mansi. 1. A.D. 380, at which Maximus the Cynic,
who had just been deposed at Constantinople, was
heard (iii. 519). 2. A.D. 381, at which St. Ambrose
was present, and whose proceedings are preserved
in two letters addressed in his name and that of
his colleagues to the emperor Theodosius, in one
of which an attempt to introduce Apollinarian
errors among them is noticed; and in the other
the claims of Maximus, and the consecration of
Nectarius to the see of Constantinople are dis-
cussed with some anxiety (*v.* 630-3). 3. A.D.
405, at which the emperor Honorius was peti-
tioned to intervene with his brother Arcadius in
favour of St. John Chrysostom (*ib.* 1182).
[E. S. FE.]

IVENTIVUS, EVANTIUS, or EVENTIVUS,

confessor at Pavia; commemorated with Syrus
Sept. 12 (Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi).
[W. F. G.]

J

JACINTHUS. (1) [FELICIANUS (4).]
(2) [HYACINTHUS.]

JACOB, the patriarch; commemorated Na-
hasse 25 = Aug. 18 (Cal. Ethiop.). See also
ISAAC. [W. F. G.]

JADER. [FELIX (24).]

JAMBlichus, one of the seven sleepers of
Ephesus; commemorated Oct. 22 (Cal. Byzant.).
[W. F. G.]

JAMES THE GREATER, ST., LEGEND
AND FESTIVAL OF.

1. Legend.—By the name of James the
Greater, the son of Zebedee is distinguished
from the other apostle of the same name. The

epithet would seem to have regard either to stature or to age, though some, with apparently less likelihood, would make it refer (1) to priority in the call to the apostleship, or (2) to higher privileges in intercourse with Christ, or (3) to the dignity of an earlier martyrdom.

The elder brother of St. John, universally believed to have been the last survivor of the apostles, St. James was the first to be called away, having been beheaded by Herod Agrippa I., shortly before the Passover of 44 A. D. Out of a mass of tradition concerning him, the only point supported by any adequate evidence is the incident related by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 9) on the authority of Clement of Alexandria, of the conversion of St. James's accuser as the apostle was led away to death. Struck by his steadfastness, he too embraced Christ, and the apostle and his accuser suffered together.

The stories, however, of St. James's connection with Spain are deserving of very little credit. In spite of such plain statements as Acts viii. 1 (very lamely met by Baronius), the apostle is made to undertake a missionary journey into Spain after the death of Stephen, returning to Jerusalem before A. D. 44. The ancient evidence for such a story is of the weakest. Isidore of Seville (ob. 636 A. D.) does say (*de Ortu et Obitu Patrum*, c. 71; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 151), if indeed the work is his, which is certainly doubtful, that St. James preached the gospel to the natives of Spain and the Western regions;^a and the same statement is found in the *Collectanea*, once wrongly attributed to Bede (*Patrol.* xciv. 545). Mere unsupported statements, however, of so late a date can amount to very little. It is worthy of notice too that at a much earlier period, Innocent I. (ob. 417 A. D.) states that no church had been founded throughout Italy, Gaul, or Spain, except by those who owed their authority directly or indirectly to St. Peter (*Ep.* 25 *ad Decentium*, c. 2; *Patrol.* xx. 552). With every allowance for the desire of a bishop of Rome to exalt the see of St. Peter, so sweeping a statement could hardly have been ventured on, had there been a strongly established tradition as to St. James's connection with Spain. Ambrose evidently knew no such legend, for he speaks of St. Paul's projected journey into Spain being "quia illic Christus non erit predicatus" (*Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.* xv. 24; *Patrol.* xvii. 176); nor did Jerome, for he mentions St. Paul's journeys having reached even to Spain, immediately after referring to the apostle's never building "super alterius fundamentum, ubi jam fuerat praeedicatum" (*Comm. in Amos*, v. 8 sqq.; vol. vi. 291, ed. Vallarsi). Baronius (notes to *Martyrologium Romanum*; July 25), in summing up concerning these legends, can only urge "non esse adeo impossibilia, vel haberi pro monstro, ut putant aliqui."

The story of the translation of the apostle's body into Spain is obviously totally apocryphal. It is to the effect that after his body had been interred at Jerusalem, his disciples removed it to Iria Flavia, in the far north-west of Spain. (For an elementary form of the story see the *Martyrologies* [July 25] of Usuard and Notker;

^a This writing speaks of St. James as buried "in Maritima" (at Carnaria, &c.), a name which does not seem to have been satisfactorily explained.

Patrol. cxiv. 295, cxxi. 1125: those of Bede and Wandalbert ignore it.) Here it was discovered early in the 9th century, and removed to Compostella (a corruption of *Giaoma Postola*, ad *Jaoban Apostolan*), a few miles distant, by order of Alphonso II., king of Asturias and Leon (ob. 842 A. D.). For a very full account of these legends, see Cuper in the *Acta Sacrorum* (July, vol. v. pp. 3 sqq.); also Mariana, *De uoluntate Jacobi Apostoli majoris in Hispaniam*, in his *Tractatus*, Col. Agr. 1609; Tolra, *Justification historico-critica de la venida de Santiago el Mayor á España, y de su sepulcro in Compos etc.* Matriti, 1797; Arevalus, *Isidoriana*, c. 61 (*Patrol.* lxxxi. 382 sqq.), and sundry writings in connection with St. James, wrongly attributed to pope Callixtus II. (*Patrol.* clxiii. 1370 sqq.). Strangely, however, in spite of this lack of evidence, the legend took such root in Spain, as practically to count there as an article of faith, and thus we find Luther holding it necessary to protest against such a view (*Sämmtliche Schriften*, xv. 1864, ed. Walch).

For the wild legends connecting St. James with the false teachers Hermogenes and Philetus, reference may be made to the *Historia Apostolica* of the pseudo-Abdias, lib. iv., in which, it may be remarked in passing, there is no allusion whatever to Spain (Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. ii. p. 516 sqq. ed. 1719).

2. *Festival of St. James.*—The date when St. James was first commemorated by a festival cannot be determined very closely. It is well known that at first the only apostles who had a special festival were St. Peter and St. Paul, and that the others gradually obtained separate commemorations afterwards. In the case of St. James, the notices are such as to point to the conclusion that the festival was one which only made its way very gradually, and that the date at which it had attained general observance was quite late. We find a mention, it is true, in the ancient *Kalendarium Carthagenense*, where for December 27 is this notice: "vi. Kal. Jan. Sancti Joannis Baptistae [here probably Evangelistae should be read] et Jacobi Apostoli, quem Hercules occidit" (*Patrol.* xiii. 1228). On the other hand, many ancient Sacramentaries give no indication of the existence of a festival of St. James. The Ambrosian (Pamelius, *Liturg. Lat.* i. 405) and Gregorian (col. 115, ed. Menard), as we now have them, do so, the forms being almost identical in the two cases; but the Leonine and Gelasian pass it over. In the ancient Gallican Liturgy edited by Mabillon, to which we have referred below, it will be seen that St. James is commemorated, together with his brother, on December 27, but in the Gallican Lectionary the festival is of St. John alone, and in the *Martyrologium Gellomense* (D'Achéry's *Spicilegium*, xiii. 39c), the notice is "vi. Kal. Jan. Ornatissimo Episcopus Jacobi Apostoli fratris Domini et Adsumptio Sancti Joannis Evangelistae." In the Gothic Breviary edited by Lorenzana, a form is provided for a festival of St. James on December 30 (*Patrol.* lxxvi. 1306), but there is none in the Mozarabic Missal. The Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York (ob. 755 A. D.) has no notice of such a festival. Additional evidence to the same effect may be found in the fact that the earliest traces of a vigil of a festival of St.

xxxi. 1125: these of Bebe re it.) Here it was dis- rupted of *Guiana Postole*, a few miles distant, by king of Asturias and Leoa very full account of these the *Acta Sanctorum* (July, also Marianna, *D. adven- ris in Hispaniam*, in his 1609; Tolra, *Justificación penali de Santiago el Mayor cutero in Compos et. Ma- Isidorus*, c. 61 (*Patrol.* sundry writings in con- sence, wrongly attributed to *Patrol.* cxliii. 1370 sqq.). in spite of this lack of took such root in Spain, and there is an article of d Luther holding it neces- such a view (*Sämmtliche* st. Walch).

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James are of very late date. Binterim (*Denk-*, v. 1. 401) asserts that the vigil does not occur at all in calendars before the 10th century. Even so late, however, as the 13th century, the festival itself does not appear to have attained universal acceptance; for in the canons of the council of Oxford (1222 A.D.) it is not included in the list of the chief festivals observed in Eng- land (can. 8; Labbe xi. 274). At the council of Cognac in France (1256 A.D.) the case is some- what doubtful, yet taking the context into con- sideration (cf. can. 19), the words "duodecim Apostolorum, et maxime Petri et Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi . . ." perhaps point to separate festi- vals and not to the collective festival of the apostles (can. 21; Labbe xi. 749: cf. *Cow. Tolosianum* [1229 A.D.], can. 26, *op. cit.* 433, where the probability seems to incline the other way). We may appeal, however, finally to the proceedings of the synod of Exeter (1287 A.D.), where the festivals to be observed are named in their several mouths, and where the entry for July is, "Translationis S. Thomæ martyris, Sanctæ Mariæ Magdaleneæ, S. Jacobi Apostoli majoris" (can. 23, *op. cit.* 1288).

Besides this vagueness as to the date of the origin of the festival, the utmost latitude also prevails as to the day when it was to be cele- brated. We have evidence indeed of a kind which is wanting in the case of every other apostle, for from Acts xii. 4 we may assume that St. James was put to death shortly before the Passover. Still, in the Western church, perhaps from the wish not to have a celebration of a martyrdom in Lent and Easter-time, we generally find St. James's festival on July 25.^a The calendar of the church of Carthage associates him, as we have seen, with his brother John on December 27; as does also the Gothico-Gallic Missal, where the heading for the day is "in natale Apostolorum Jacobi et Johannis" (*Ma- billon, de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. iii. p. 196). [In the Gothic calendar, however, prefixed to Lorenzana's edition of the Gothic Breviary, we find on December 30, "Jacobus frater Joannis Apostoll et Evangelistae," following the notice on December 29, "Jacobus, frater Domini," *Patrol.* lxxvii. 19.] The same combination too meets us in the calendar of the Armenian church on December 28 (*Neale, Eastern Church*, introd. p. 804), and in that of the Ethiopic church on September 27 (*Ludolf, Fiesti Sacri Ecclesie Alexantrinae*, p. 5). The calendar of the Byzantine church appoints April 30 for the commemoration of St. James, and so we find in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides* prefixed by Papebrock to the *Acta Sanctorum* for May (vol. i. p. xxv.) *κρίσις μάχαρια θύου Ιακώβου ἐν τριακάρτη*. In the martyrology given by Cardinal Sirletus, besides the commemoration on April 30, there is also noted on November 15, "Natalis SS. Barnæ et Jacobi, fratris Joannis Theologi" (see Canisius, *Theaurus*, vol. iii. pp. 427, 486). The spring period is also recognised in the Ethiopic and Coptic calendars. In the former, besides the festival mentioned above, there are also commemorations on February 4 and April

^a The statement of some writers (e. g. Augusti, *Denkw.* iii. 227) that this particular day is the anniversary of the translation of the saint's remains to Compostella, is one whose proof and disproof is equally impossible.

12 of St. James, apparently the son of Zebede (Ludolf, pp. 20, 26). The Coptic calendar has generally a very close affinity with the preceding, and, like it, has a festival of St. James (defined as the son of Zebede) on April 12; and also on February 12 of a James, presumably the present, and on April 30 of a James, defined as the son of Zebede.^c

3. Whether or no it is due to the early date of this apostle's martyrdom, but little litera- ture is directly associated with his name. The canonical epistle of James is indeed assigned to him in the subscription of a Corbey MS. of the old Latin version cited by Tischendorf (*in loc.*), and also in the passage of Isidore already referred to. This theory, however, is exceedingly im- probable, and need not be further referred to here.

A pretended discovery was made near Granada in Spain in 1595 A.D. of the remains of two of St. James's disciples, and with them of eighteen books on leaden plates, including several by St. James, which with the others were condemned by Innocent XI. in 1682 A.D. (Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti*, i. 352, iii. 725; *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. vii. pp. 285, 393).

For further remarks on the subject of the preceding article reference may be made to Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katho- lischen Kirche*, vol. v. part i. pp. 400 sqq.; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archæologie*, vol. iii. pp. 237 sqq.; Tillmont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. i. pp. 342 sqq., 625 sqq. ed. Paris, 1661; Cajetan Cenni, *Dissertat. i. de Antiq. Eccl. Hisp.* c. 2, Rome, 1741. [R. 8.]

JAMES THE LESS, ST., LEGEND AND FESTIVAL OF.

1. *Legend, &c.*—It does not fall within our present province to discuss the question whether James, the son of Alphaeus, one of the twelve apostles, is or is not the same as James, the Lord's brother, bishop of Jerusalem. The probability seems to incline in favour of the non-identity of the two, but there are considerable difficulties attending either hypothesis; and the matter will be found discussed at length in the *DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE*. Of ancient liturgies, martyrologies and calendars, some identify, while others distinguish them; and hence it may perhaps be most convenient here to collect together the various notices under either designa- tion.

It may be remarked at the outset that if James, the son of Alphaeus, be a different person from James the Lord's brother, there is almost a complete lack of tradition as to his history. The ancient so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymi* speaks of his being martyred in Persia (*Patrol.* xxx. 478), and the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, which we have cited be- low, assert that he was crucified; but it is im- possible to say what amount of belief is to be given to either of these statements. James, the

^c It should be noticed that sundry slight variations from Ludolf's calendar of the Egyptian church occur in those given by S. Ken (*de Synæria Veterum Ebraeorum*, pp. 210 sqq., ed. Amsterdam, 1679). Here one calendar gives Feb. 11, the other Feb. 12; one April 11, the other April 12; and one (the other has no entry) has April 29 for April 30.

Lord's brother, on the other hand, fills a prominent place in the history of the Acts, he is referred to by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians in a way that sufficiently indicates his importance, and there can be no doubt that it is to him we owe the so-called Catholic Epistle of St. James. Ecclesiastical tradition also tells much concerning him, and the account of his martyrdom given by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23) from Hegesippus is doubtless substantially correct. It is not, however, necessary to repeat here what has already been said in the Bible Dictionary, to which reference may be made.

2. *Festiv. d.*—The exact date of the rise of a special festival of St. James, whether as the son of Alphaeus or as the Lord's brother, is hard to fix. Like those of most of the apostles, it is comparatively late. Among the earliest witnesses, we may mention the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*, the metrical martyrology of Bede, and the ancient liturgies referred to below. The first of these, as well as other early Roman martyrologies, commemorates James, the son of Alphaeus, on June 22, and also James, the Lord's brother, on March 15, April 25, and December 27. On the last of these there is associated with the "Assumptio S. Joannis Evangelistae," also the "Ordinatio episcopatus S. Jacobi fratris Domini," a combination to which we shall again refer. There is also in this martyrology, as we now have it, a commemoration of James, not further defined, but obviously the present, on May 1. The metrical martyrology of Bede commemorates St. Philip and St. James together on May 1, the latter, it will be seen, defined as the Lord's brother,

"Jacobus Domini frater pius atque Philippus
Mortico Malas veneratur honore Calendas."

This has been the general custom throughout the Western church, and so we find it in the Gelasian (*Patr. l. lxxiv. 1161*), Gregorian (col. 101, ed. Menard) and Ambrosian (Pamelius, *Liturgia. Lat. l. 370*) liturgies. The reason for this combination of apostles, and for the choice of this particular day does not appear. Schulting (*Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica* ii. 130) simply states that it is because of the translation of the relics of the two on that day in the Pontificate of Pelagius I. (ob. 560 A.D.). We are not aware that anything can be adduced in support of this statement beyond the remark of Anastasius Bibliothecarius that under Pelagius I., "initata est basilica Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi" (*Vitae Pontificum*; Pelagius I. *Patrol.* cxxxviii. 614), where we see the two names already associated.

It is stated by the *Micrologus* that this festival was originally one of all the apostles; there seems, however, to be no real evidence for the assertion "idea etiam invenitur in martyrologiis sive in Sacramentariis festivitas Sanctorum Jacobi et Philippi et omnium Apostolorum" (*de Eccl. Observ.* c. 55; *Patrol.* cli. 1017). This is followed, however, by sundry liturgical writers, e.g. Honorius Augustodunensis (*Gemma Animo* iii. 140; *Patrol.* clxxii. 681), and Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off.* vii. 10).

Besides the festival of May 1, the Ambrosian liturgy also commemorates on Dec. 30 the "ordinatio B. Jacobi Alphaei Apostoli" (*op. cit.* 309), resembling the already cited notice of the

Martyrologium Hieronymi; and we may again refer to the entry in the *Martyrologium Galloense* quoted in the preceding article. The Gallican liturgy, published by Mabillon, omits altogether the festival of St. James, whether as son of Alphaeus or as brother of the Lord; but in the Mozarabic missal we find a commemoration of "S. Jacobus, frater Domini" on Dec. 29. We may take this opportunity of adding that the prophetic lection, epistle and gospel there are respectively Wisdom xviii. 20-24; i. Tim. i. 18-ii. 8; Luke viii. 21, 27, John xii. 24-26, xiii. 16, 17, 20, xv. 6, 12, 13 (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 104). In the Mozarabic Breviary, the form is merely headed "in festo S. Jacobi Apostoli" (*Patrol.* lxxxvi. 136), but there are numerous references to the martyrdom of James, the Lord's brother, at Jerusalem.

The Byzantine calendar distinguishes the son of Alphaeus from the Lord's brother, the former being commemorated on Oct. 9, the latter on Oct. 23; and so we find in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, published by Papebroch in the *Acta Sanctorum* (May, vol. i. p. xlviii.)—*ἀσφ' ἐνάτη Ἰάκωβος ἐνὶ σταυρῷ τεράσσεται, καὶ ἐσθλὸν ἀδελφῶθεον τριτάτη ἕλλη εἰκάδι παῖζαν*. In the Armenian church, besides the commemoration of the two sons of Zebedee on Dec. 28, there are also commemorations on August 31 of "Thomas and James, Apostles," and on Dec. 23 of "James, Apostle" (Neale, *Eastern Church*; Introd. pp. 801, 804). In the calendars of the Egyptian and Ethiopic churches given in Laloff's *Festi Sacri Ecclesiae Alexandrinae*, we find that the former commemorates James, the son of Alphaeus, on October 2, and James, the Lord's brother, on October 23, and that they both commemorate this latter on July 12. Besides this, the Coptic calendar has on Feb. 12, and the Ethiopic on Feb. 4, a James, an apostle, not otherwise specified.*

It may be remarked here that many of the customs which still characterize the day on which the Western church commemorates St. James, have obviously sprung from lingering heathen usages. These are, as a rule, connected with the idea of the return of spring, and thus are in some sense parallel to those associated with the festivals of Christmas and St. John the Baptist's day, which dwell on the idea of the returning and retreating sun. [CHRISTMAS; JOHN THE BAPTIST, ST., FIRE OF.]

Thus the gathering of flowers and the adorning of houses with them on May-day morning may fairly be connected with the Roman festival of the *Floralia* held on the five days following April 28; similar festivals to which were also held in other places, as the *Anthesphoria* in Sicily, etc.

A trace of the ancient sun-worship is still to be found in one of the customs prevalent on this day among Celtic peoples, and notably the Irish and Highland peasantry, viz. the lighting of great fires in the open air; and thus the common Irish name for the day, is *Lu Bealtine* (day of Beal's or Baul's fire), and similarly in Gaelic.

* It may be noted that one of the Egyptian calendars, given by Selden (*de Synaetris Veterum Egyptiorum* pp. 215, 219; ed. Amsterdam, 1670) puts Feb. 11 for Feb. 12, and July 11 for July 12.

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JAMES. (1) Bishop, ἅγιος πατρις καὶ ὁμο-
 ὡγηγῆς—circa 824 A.D.; commemorated March
 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Patriarch of Alexandria, †830 A.D.; com-
 memorated Oct. 8 (*Cal. Copt.*).

(3) Patriarch of Antioch; commemorated
 Tekent 11=Oct. 8 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(4) Martyr of Persia, A.D. 396; commemo-
 rated Nov. 27 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(5) Presbyter, martyr in Persia under Sapor
 with Melchius the bishop, and Accepimas the
 bishop (circa 345 A.D.); commemorated April 22
 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(6) Of Nisibis, confessor under Maximin;
 commemorated Dec. 14 (*Cal. Armen.*); July 15
 (*Mart. Rom. Vet., Adonis, Usuardi*).

(7) Deacon, martyr under Decius apud Lam-
 besitanan urbem with Marianus the reader;
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Usuardi); May 6 (*Cal. Carth.*). [W. F. G.]

JANUARIA. [SCILLITA, MARTYRS OF.]

JANUARIUS. (1) [FELIX (1).]

(2) [FELIX (5).]

(3) *Iepodiprus*; commemorated with compa-
 nion martyrs, April 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(4) [FELIX (15).]

(5) [FELIX (16).]

(6) [SCILLITA, MARTYRS OF.]

(7) Martyr with Pelagia at Nicopolis, in
 Lesser Armenia; commemorated July 11 (*Mart.*
Usuardi).

Customs also with the same central idea
 existed among the ancient Gothic nations (see
 Olaus Magnus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentriona-*
libus xv. 8, p. 503, ed. Rome, 1555).

3. With the name of the person or persons
 now before us, more literature is associated than
 in the case of the son of Zebedee. Besides the
 Canonical Epistle of St. James, there are still
 extant the so-called *Prolegomena Jacobi*, the
 most respectable of the Apocryphal gospels, and
 the so-called liturgy of St. James. It is possi-
 ble too that at one time there existed other
 pseudonymous writings bearing the name of
 St. James, for we find Innocent I. in alluding to
 sundry works of this class, mention those which
 "sub nomine . . . Jacobi minoris . . . damnaanda"
 (*Ep. 6 ad Exsuperanum* c. 7, *Patrol.* xx. 502).
 Again, in the records of a council held at Rome
 in 494 A.D., under the episcopate of Gelasius, it
 is ruled "Evangelium [d. Evangelia] nomine
 Jacobi minoris, Apocryphum" (*Patrol.* lix. 162,
 175, 176). Apocryphal letters to St. James
 from St. Peter and St. Clement are prefixed to
 the various editions of the Clementine Homilies
 (see e.g. Cotelierus, *Patres Apost.* i. 602, ed.
 1700). The *Apostolic Constitutions* again (viii.
 23), cite James, the son of Alphaeus, as giving
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 Lesser Armenia; commemorated July 11 (*Mart.*
Usuardi).

(8) [FLORENTIUS (1).]

(9) [SIXTUS (2).]

(10) Bishop of Beneventum, martyr at Naples
 with Festus and Proculus, deacons, Desiderius,
 Euticus, and Acotus, under the emperor Dio-
 cletian; commemorated Sept. 19 (*Mart. Bedae,*
Usuardi).

(11) [FAUSTUS (3).]

(12) [FELIX (23).]

(13) Saint; commemorated Dec. 2 (*Cal. Ar-*
men.). [W. F. G.]

JASON. (1) [HILARIA (2).]

(2) And Sospiter, apostles; commemorated
 April 28 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

JEREMIAH. (1) The prophet; commemo-
 rated May 1 (*Mart. Usuardi, Bedae, Cal. Byzant.*);
 Sept. 5 (*Cal. Copt.*); Aug. 29 (*Cal. Armen.*);
 Gibot 5=April 30 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). [W. F. G.]

(2) [PETER (8).]

(3) [EMILIANUS (4).]

JERUSALEM, COUNCILS OF (*Hieroso-*
lymitana Con-ii). (1) A.D. 47, says Cave (*Hist.*
Lit. i. 38); Baronius and others, A.D. 51: the
 third, in chronological order, of the meetings
 of the Apostles recorded in their Acts, but the
 only one deserving the name of a synod. Its
 proceedings are described there (c. xv.). A con-
 troversy having arisen at Antioch, over which
 according to Eusebius (*Chron.* ad l.) Euodius had
 been appointed bishop as far back as A.D. 43, on
 the necessity of circumcising the Gentile con-
 verts and obliging them to keep the law of Moses,
 it was referred to the Apostles and elders at
 Jerusalem for decision, SS. Paul and Barnabas
 being sent thither for that purpose. The Apostles
 and elders came together, accordingly, to con-
 sider of it. St. Peter spoke first, and gave his
 opinion against burdening the disciples with any
 such yoke. Then all the multitude—in other
 words, the body of believers, or brethren who
 were present—listened to the reports given of
 the conversion of the Gentiles that had been
 achieved on their first expedition as missionaries
 into Asia Minor by SS. Paul and Barnabas.
 After which St. James, as bishop, doubtless, of
 Jerusalem, delivered his "sentence," which was
 embodied in the synodical letter, addressed in
 the name of the Apostles and elders and brethren,
 finally, to the brethren of the Gentiles in Antioch,
 Syria, and Cilicia, and sent by two principal men
 of their own number, in addition to SS. Paul
 and Barnabas. On reaching Antioch, the bearers
 of this epistle gathered the multitude together
 and delivered it, when its contents having been
 read caused great joy.

(2) Mansi's reasons for dating this council A.D.
 349 seem conclusive (ii. 171, note). Constans,
 who ruled in the West, threatened his brother
 Constantius with hostilities, if St. Athanasius,
 in whose favour the Sardian council had pro-
 nounced two years before, was not restored to
 his see; and Gregory, his rival, having died in
 the early part of this year, his return was allowed.
 In his way he stopped at Jerusalem, when a synod
 was held under its orthodox bishop, Maximus,
 and a letter despatched from it to congratulate
 the Alexandrians on this act of grace on the part
 of the emperors: which Constans, however, did

not live to see carried out, as he was slain in Jan. 350. And Maxianus having held this synod without leave from his metropolitan, Aeneius, bishop of Caesarea, was ejected by him in another synod a few months later, to be succeeded by St. Cyril, then catechist, and a supposed Arian.

(3) A.D. 399. A synod of bishops, met to celebrate the feast of the dedication of the church there, acknowledge the receipt of a synodical epistle from Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, condemning some of the errors of Origen lately revived in his diocese, and profess their agreement with it (Mansi, iii. 989-92).

(4) A.D. 415. What we should call a diocesan synod: of presbyters, that is, under their bishop, John Orosius, the historian, then on a mission from St. Augustine to St. Jerome, was present at it, and gives an account of its proceedings. Pelagius being there, and accused by him of heresy, was invited to come in, and put on his defence. Neither what he said, nor what Orosius said, were considered altogether unexceptionable by the bishop, who proposed that letters should be sent to Pope Innocent of Rome on the subject, and that all should abide by what he decreed (Mansi, iv. 307-12).

(5) A.D. 518, to express its adhesion to the Constantinopolitan synod of the same year (see the art.); its own synodical letter being also preserved in the subsequent council under Mennas.

(6) A.D. 536, Sept. 19: under Peter, its patriarch, on receipt of the acts of the synod of Constantinople under Mennas, between four and five months previously, with the edict of the Emperor Justinian confirming them, and a letter from Mennas to Peter acquainting him with their contents (see the article on this council). The deacon and notary present having recited them, they were received synodically by Peter, and subscribed to by forty-eight bishops, with himself at their head (Mansi, viii. 1164-76).

(7) A.D. 553, under its patriarch, Eustochius, at which the acts of the 5th council were received and confirmed.

(8) A.D. 634, under Sophronius, on his elevation as patriarch, to condemn Monothelism, against which he had contended with so much labour as monk previously. The encyclical epistle sent by him on this occasion to the bishops of Rome and Constantinople is preserved in the 11th action of the 6th council where it was recited (Mansi, x. 649-52). [E. S. F.]

JESSE, ab Silciani; commemorated Dec. 2 (Cal. Greg.). [W. F. G.]

JESUS. [JOSHUA.]

JESUS CHRIST, REPRESENTATIONS OF. I. The symbolic representations of the Lord are discussed severally, as under the titles **FISH**, **IXOTC**, **LAMB**, **VINE**; see also **SYMBOLISM**. For the pictorial types of the Lord derived from the Old Testament, see **OLD TESTAMENT IN CHRISTIAN ART**; for pagan types used to represent Him, see **PAGANISM IN CHRISTIAN ART**. For representations on gems, see **GEMS**, §§ xii, and xiii, p. 718; on the bottoms of cups, see **GLASS**, **CHRISTIAN**, p. 732. See also **IMAGES**, p. 813; and **NUMISMATICS**. Setting aside such representations as these, it is to be observed, in the first instance, that He is represented in the human form from the earliest times of Christian

art as the Good Shepherd; and this symbolic picture, though in no case whatever considered as a portrait, must have made the idea of representations of His human form a very familiar one at all times in the Roman and other Western churches—and in earlier centuries, in the Byzantine also. One of the latest, and the most important perhaps, of all these, is the often described Good Shepherd of the chapel of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, middle fifth century; and one of the earliest ideal portraits of our Lord is found in the church of St. Apollinaris, built a century later within the walls of that city. In art these two figures mark the transition from the elder Graeco-Roman ideas and traditions of art to the later style, properly called Byzantine. The leading difference in feeling and principle between them will be illustrated in the course of this article: for the present it may briefly be thus stated: that in the earlier illustration of the Lord's Parable of Himself, the attempt at beauty predominates, and is far from unsuccessful; whereas in the Byzantine picture of St. Apollinaris, though considerable beauty of feature is retained, the tendency to the ascetic or melancholy ideal of later art, both Italian and German, is unmistakably visible.

It is perhaps fortunate that the words of St. Augustine (*De Trinitate* viii. 4, 5) put it apparently beyond question, that the world cannot possess now, and did not possess in his time, any authentic record whatever of the bodily appearance of Jesus Christ the God-Man on earth. "Nam et ipsius Dominicae facies Carnis innumerabilium cogitationum diversitate variatur et fingitur; quae tamen una erat, quaeque erat." Two centuries before, indeed, St. Irenaeus (*contra Haeres.* l. 25) had spoken, with indignant absence of comment, of certain Gnostic representations of Christ, both painted and sculptured, as it appears. "Quasdam quidem [imagines] quasi depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et propouunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum, videlicet cum imagine Pythagorae, et Platonis, et Aristotelis." These passages seem conclusive to the effect that no real portrait of our Lord existed, or was remembered as existing, in the 2nd century. Indeed as Martigny observes, the controversy (dating from the 2nd century) with regard to the human comeliness of our Lord's body visible on earth, makes it perfectly certain, were proof necessary, that no authentic portrait of Him ever existed. Augustine acknowledges without blame the universal tendency of thought to picture to itself persons and events by imaginative effort, instancing St. Paul in particular, and taking it for certain, as it probably may be, that each of all the innumerable readers of the epistles will form a different idea of his own about the author's appearance, though none can say whose will be nearest the truth.

In his mind then, and indeed in our own, all ideal or fancy portraits of our Lord, so called, are merely symbolic of His humanity; and in this view, the crucifix itself may be taken as a symbol only of the fact of His death and the doctrine of His sacrifice for man; however the word sacrifice be defined or enlarged upon; and this may certainly make its presence in Christian churches not only allowable but desirable. We

herd; and this symbolic picture whatever considered as a made the idea of representation a very familiar one at all and other Western churches curies, in the Byzantine also, the most important perhaps then described of Good Shepherd in Placidia at Ravenna, middle one of the earliest ideal persons found in the church of St. century later within the walls of these two figures mark the difference between the earlier and the later style, properly called difference in feeling and em will be illustrated in the le: for the present it may ated: that in the earlier Lord's Parable of Himself, duty predominates, and is far whereas in the Byzantine

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may observe on the different relation of the church to the arts in Augustine's days, when Christian art of a well marked and distinctive character existed, from the state of things in the time of Tertullian, who protests against all simulacra, likenesses, or representations whatever, and, as he well might in the presence of the whole Pantheon, considers all images or likenesses practically the same as idols.*

Human art, however, was adopted by the church along with human thought and learning. We cannot tell whether Tertullian knew or cared for the catacomb-paintings of Rome. Some of them, as those in the more ancient part of St. Domitilla, were certainly in existence before his time; but he seems, in the presence of the heathen, to protest against all paintings whatever, and the fact that St. Augustine not unwillingly accepts them, is an illustration of a highly natural change of Christian feeling on the matter.^b

The more ancient usage of representing the Lord as the Good Shepherd culminates in the Mosaic of Galla Placidia's chapel. A far higher antiquity is claimed for the no-longer existing portrait-head of Christ, which Bosio represents, from a chapel of the Callixtine catacomb.



Head of Christ from the Callixtine catacomb. (Marigny.)

There is a general opinion that it may have been of as early date as the 2nd century; and what we know of it may well induce us to believe that it was the original of that ideal of our Lord's countenance which has passed, through Lionardo da Vinci, into all Christian painting. Lord Lindsay, however, says that the traditional Head with which Europe is so familiar, was unknown in the West till the 4th century, when the original was sent to Constantia, sister of Constantine, by Eusebius of Caesarea. It is therefore of Byzantine or Eastern origin. The earliest example, he continues, is a supposed 4th century mosaic, found originally in the Callixtine, and now in the Vatican. See Eusebius's

* *De Idololatría*, c. iii. "Idolum aliquando retro non erat," he says, "sola templa et vacuæ aedæ. At ubi artifices statuarum et imaginum, et omnis generis simulacrorum diabolus sculto titulis illud negotium humane calamitatis et nomen de idolis consecutum est."

^b Tertullian begins his book against Hermogenes with reproaching him for his profession as a painter: "Pingerit illicite, nubit asidue: Ioseph Dei in libidinem defendit, in aitem contemnit: bis falsarius et cæterio et stylo (encaustic)," &c. *Athenagoras* (*Legat. pro Christ.* c. 26) speaks of images or statues in general as portraits of demons.

letter in Lohbe, *Conc. t. vi.* col. 483 sq. This letter repudiates (rhetorically but with sincerity) any idea of our Lord's real appearance, and from it and the passage in *Hist. Ecc.* (viii. 19) it appears that Eusebius had not seen any historic portrait which he (or indeed others) believed on evidence to be a genuine likeness [IMAGES § III.]. Others of the same type are repeated on sarcophagi, dating from that of Junius Bassus, A.D. 359; see Bottari, *tav. xv. xxi.-xxv. xliii. xlv.*; the latter represents the paintings in the catacomb of St. Pontianus, probably renewed over older pictures in the time of pope Adrian I. (A.D. 772-775). This catacomb also contains a highly ornamented cross, which is evidently intended to represent the person of our Lord [Cross].

The assertion of the idea that our Lord not only took upon Him the flesh of mankind, but the "form of a servant" or slave, all bodily ugliness instead of beauty, is derived from meditation on the prophetic text (Is. liii. 2), "He hath no form nor comeliness;" as the natural thought of His beauty from the Messianic Psalm (xlv. 3), "Thou art fairer than the children of men." The former view seems to have been entertained, or is nowise discouraged by Justin Martyr, who twice uses the word *αἰδώς* of our Lord; meaning evidently to repeat the expression of Isaiah (*Did. cum Tryph.* cc. 85 and 88). So Clement of Alexandria (*Prod.* III. 1) appeals to the two texts to which we have referred on the same side. Compare *Stronata*, ii. 5, § 22; iii. 17, § 103; vi. 17, § 151. Tertullian may be supposed to have thought likewise (*Adv. Jul.* c. 14): "Ne aspectu quidem honestus;" (*De carne Christi*, c. 9) "Adeo nec humane honestatis corpus fuit." He infers from the cruelty of Jews and soldiers at the crucifixion, that such insults could not have been offered to the Lord, had His person possessed any beauty. So Origen (*c. Cels.* vi. 75, p. 327, Spencer), who, however, held that the Lord could appear in whatever form he pleased (*Ib.* ii. p. 497). A list is given by Molanus (*Hist. Sacrament. Imaginum*, p. 403) by which it appears that St. Jerome (*in Matt.* ix. 9; *Epist.* 65, *ad Princip.* c. 8), St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 [al. 28] *in Matt.* p. 328; and on Ps. 44 [45] p. 162), and Theodoret, followed the text which speaks of Him as fairest of all men, St. Basil and St. Cyril of Alexandria (little to our surprise) taking the other side. This unifying controversy belongs to art rather than to theology. The Oriental, or Egyptian, or ascetic view of the human body, would necessarily have weight on the ill-favoured side, theologically speaking. And in practical art, the want of skill, and also of models possessing any degree of earthly good looks, must have borne strongly in the same direction. Beauty of expression was so subtle a thing for the hands of the Mosaicists of the 8th and 9th centuries.

There were various reasons why the ideal of bodily beauty should gradually be lost, up to the 12th century. It has often been remarked that as the ascetic life was more and more severely enforced on the faithful, and the sufferings of the later Roman world bore more and more severely on the whole community, the honour of the body of man was lost and forgotten. In the earlier Gothic days, strength and

manly beauty must have been associated in the eyes of the Monastic Church only with the ignorance and fierceness of barbarian soldiers. The Christian assembly on earth, under the hands of Alaric and Genseric, Attila and Alboin, was utterly hopeless of any good on earth. The eastern end of a Byzantine or Romanesque church from the 6th century, begins accordingly to be adorned as a mystical representation of heaven, beyond the wilderness of earth, with the portrait figure of Christ as its centre. The Lord, whom all seek so piteously, shall suddenly come to His temple; and the eyes of distressed congregations are allowed a vision in symbol of His presence breaking in on the distresses of later days. One of the earliest examples of churches thus ornamented is that of SS. Cosmas and Damianus at Rome. Here the figure of our Lord coming with clouds and standing on the firmament, is grand and sublime in the highest degree, and is perhaps the earliest or greatest instance of very early date, in which passionate conception, supported by powerful colour, forces itself, without any other advantage, into the foremost ranks of art-creation. The towering and all commanding form of the Lord must have seemed to "fill the whole temple," with the symbolic hand of the First Person of the Trinity above His Head, and the Holy Dove on His right hand. The mystic Jordan, or River of Death, is at His feet, and on its other side, with small rocks and trees to indicate the wilderness of this world, are the twelve sheep of His flock, with the houses of Jerusalem and Bethlehem; He, Himself, appearing again in the centre on earth as the Lamb of the elder dispensation. The same idea is similarly treated in the early 9th century decorations of St. Prassede. The form of the Lord is tall and spare, not without grandeur, but markedly ascetic; the signs of the other Two Persons of the Holy Trinity are with Him, and He is surrounded with all the imagery of the Apocalypse; with this grand addition, that on the spandrels of the Arch of Triumph before Him, the twenty-four elders are inlaid in white and gold mosaic, in the united act of casting their crowns before Him. He appears below as the Lamb; and the same symbol is repeated at the top of the Arch of Triumph, laid on an ornamented altar-table—as the Paschal Lamb that was slain. The Offering of the Crowns by the Elders was also represented on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and the author of an interesting article on Portraits of Christ, (*Quarterly Rev.* Oct. 1867) says it still exists, having been rescued from the flames in 1823. There were, or still exist, similar figures, in the Vatican Basilica of St. Peter (*De Sac. Aedif.* xiii. xiv.) in St. Constantia, (*ib.* xxxii.) St. Andrew in Barbara (*V. M.* i. lxxvi.) St. Agatha Major in Ravenna (l. xvi.) and St. Michael of Ravenna (ll. xvii.) &c. The greater part of these mosaics will be found photographed in the unique collection of Mr. J. H. Parker, which, in spite of all the deficiencies of the photographs, gives an idea of the tessellated work which does not exist elsewhere. To historians, or students of Christian art, their importance is, that by the presence of the sheep of Christ's church, they connect His Glorified Form with the more ancient catomb representations of the Good Shepherd.

In St. Andrea in Barbara, the Lord stands on the Rock of the Four Rivers, and He is thus represented very frequently on the sarcophagi. See Aringhi, vol. I. p. 280 (Probus and Proba) and pp. 293, 297. On that of Junius Bassus (Aringhi l. 277) and elsewhere, He is sitting above a half-veiled figure representing the firmament or clouds of heaven [FIRMAMENT].

The figure described above from SS. Cosmas and Damianus possesses awe and grandeur, and can dispense with regularity or sweetness of feature. But the very earliest ideal portraits certainly possessed this; and it is one instance of the cheerfulness of spirit which Mr. Lecky notices in the Primitive Church, that the remnants of Græco-Roman skill were devoted to such works as Bosio's picture (above) must have been; or the other mentioned by Boldetti (*Osservazioni sopra i Cimieri* pp. 21 and 64) as "maestosa figura del Salvatore, come quella dipinta nel cimitero di Ponciano." The question stands on and indicates one of those great human divergences of character and thought, which determine the lives and conduct of whole generations; and it will be remembered how the Mediaeval German or half-featured ideal was set forth against the Lionardesque; not altogether without the countenance of Diirer and Holbein. On this subject, the last chapter but one of vol. iv. of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, is worthy of grave attention. There is no doubt, further, that Protestant asceticism often resembles that of earlier days, in a certain suspicion of beauty as carnal and idolatrous.

The Gnostic images of our Lord (see St. Ireneus *supra*) are also worthy of attention. One was set up by Marcellina (Aug. de *Innoc.* vii.), a follower of Carpocrates, and adored along with others of St. Paul, Homer, and Pythagoras; and the eclectic Lararium of Alexander Severus, containing the statues of Christ, of Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana, is mentioned by Lampridius (*In Alex. Severum* xxix.). Raoul Rochette (*Discours sur les types imit.* p. 21), is



Portrait on Ivory. (Martigny.)

referred to by Martigny for a "pierre basilidienne," which he thinks may give an idea of the type of portraiture which was in vogue among that class of sectaries. It is altogether different, in any case, from that of the Callixtine and other catacombs; and for further contrast with it, he gives a wooden (reproduced above) of that which he considers, on De Rossi's authority, indisputably the most ancient of all representations of our Lord. It is taken from a portrait

OF

Barbara, the Lord stands on our rivers, and He is thus frequently on the sarcophagi, p. 280 (Probus and Proba). On that of Junius Bassus elsewhere, He is sitting above representing the firmament [FIRMAMENT].

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on Ivory, in the Christian Museum of the Vatican.

The classic type which insists on personal beauty, is by far the most common on the sarcophagi, and all early monuments. Christian artists in fact seem, as was natural, to have invested their ideal with comeliness as long as they had skill to do so. The dress (of course excepting the Good-Shepherd representations), is invariably the tunic and pallium, sometimes ornamented with the stripes or clavi (Ciampini *Vet. Mon.* li. p. 60, i. 184, xlvi.). The idea of white raiment generally seems to be intended, though gold, dark imperial blue, and other colours are used in the mosaics. The white and glistening raiment of the Transfiguration will account for this (Ciampini *Vet. Mon.* li. tab. xvi. i. tab. lxxvii.). Our Lord is generally shod with sandals, if at all. The colubarnus is given apparently in Aringhi, vol. i. lib. ii. c. x. pp. 332, 333, and something resembling it is worn by the Good Shepherd (Aringhi, vol. ii. pp. 63, 67, 75, 79, &c.)

Portraits of our Lord are generally youthful, as symbolizing His eternal nature, even (Aringhi, vol. ii. p. 213) when He instructs the apostles (Bottari, exl.). In the dispute with the doctors His youth is of course insisted on, but He is not made small of stature, whereas in pictures of the miracles, as has been frequently remarked, His figure greatly exceeds His human companions in height. This is the case also (Aringhi, i. pp. 307, 313 and *passim*), where any dead persons are carved on their tomb as presented before him, as in many 'bisomatous' sarcophagi of husband and wife. A beautiful illustration of this tradition of early Christian work in later times will be found in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*, vol. iii. p. 78, where this distinction is used by the artist, with the detail of the human figures partly hiding themselves in the folds of the robes of attendant angels, who are inferior in size to the divine figure, though of superhuman stature. The Lord sometimes stands or sits on a sphere (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 270, tab. vii.), probably to give the flux of all things being put under his feet. He is accompanied by attesting angels, or His form is represented, full length or half-size, on a metathalon supported by angels, as in the diptych of Rambona, and very frequently in the mosaics of Rome and Ravenna. These medallions are sometimes called IMAGINES CLIPATAE, the use of them being probably derived from portrait-images on shields of ancient times. The cross sometimes represents our Lord thus borne. This seems to point to the Ascension, and to his glory as Lord of Hosts or of Sabaoth. It is not our work to follow the idea into its various developments in the angelic choirs of the middle ages, for which we may refer to Lord Lindsay, and to Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*. But a curious example of transition from the circular or oval medallion into the Gothic quatrefoil, containing the figure of our Lord, and supported by angels, still remains in the Collegiate Hall or Refectory at Worcester, and is certainly derived from classic or Byzantine antiquity.

Our Lord frequently bears a rod and wand, especially in representations of the miracles, apparently as an emblem of his power over nature, or as the leader of His people in the wilderness, with a reference to Moses. The roll

or volume very often appears in His hand, as committed to St. Peter and St. Paul or other apostles, or when He instructs the disciples. The full-grown rather than the youthful type appears in such examples, as in Bottari, clxxvi. See woodcut reproduced below.

Frequent representations of the Second Person of the Trinity as present at some transaction narrated in the Old Testament, or as the anti-type of some typical event or person. Martigny mentions a glass vessel in Garrucci (*Vetri*, xiii. 13), in which He is with Daniel, who is giving the cakes to the dragon. A more certain and satisfactory example is in His appearance with the three holy children in the furnace, Bottari, xxii. xli. See also Gori (*Thes. Apych.* t. iii. tab. 8) where He stretches the cross out over the flames. The representation of the holy Three appearing to Abraham (Gen. xviii. 2), in S. Vitale at Ravenna is well-known, and Ciampini's plate is now supplemented or super-



The Lord, with book. (Martigny.)

sed by the photographs of Mr. Parker and others. [TRINITY].

We may conclude with the mnemonic lines of St. Damascus (*Carm.* vi. *Patrolog.* Migne, t. xiii. col. 378), of the symbolic or other names and titles applied to our Lord up to his days.

"Spes, Via, Vita, Salus, Ratio, Sapientia, Lumen, Juxta, Porta, Gigas, Rex, Gemma, Propheta, Sacerdos, Messias, Zebaoth, Rabbi, Sponsus, Mediator, Virga, Columna, Manos, Petra, Filius Emmanuelque, Vinea, Pastor, Ovis, Pax, Radix, Vitis, Oлива, Fons, Paries, Agnus, Vitulus, Leo, Propitiator, Verbum, Homo, Rete, Lapis, Domas, omnia Christus Iesus.

[R. St. J. T.]

II. Besides the representations of the Lord which strictly belong to art, there are others which have an archaeological rather than an artistic interest. We have ancient accounts (1) of portraits of the Lord produced in the ordinary manner; and (2) of portraits of the Lord produced miraculously. Some of both kinds are even believed still to exist.

(1) *Ordinary Representations.* — Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 18) tells us that at Caesarea Philippi [Panens] there existed a group in bronze

representing a woman kneeling before a dignified man, who stretched out his hand benignantly towards her. This group Eusebius says that he had himself seen. He adds, that it was long unknown whom this statue represented; but as it was observed that a plunt of healing virtues grew at its foot, care was taken at last to cleanse it, so as to make the inscription legible; then it was discovered that the woman cured of the issue of blood, who lived at Paneas, had erected the statue in honour of the Saviour. On this discovery it was at once removed into the Diaconicum or Sanctuary of the church. That such a statue existed seems past all doubt; as to its original intention, the opinion of most modern archaeologists is, that it had been erected in honour of Hadrian, or some other who had benefited the province, which was represented as a kneeling woman at the feet of her benefactor. Similar representations are frequently found on coins, especially of the time of Hadrian. Supposing some such expression as "σωτήρι," or "σωτήρι τοῦ κόσμου"—titles at that time very frequently given to emperors—to have been found on the inscription, while the name had become illegible, the statue would naturally be referred by the Christians of the fourth century to the true "Saviour of the World" (Hefele, *Beiträge*, ii. 257). The emperor Julian, angry at the respect paid to this statue, caused it to be thrown down and his own substituted. This is related by Sozomen (*H. E.* v. 21), who adds, that the statue of Julian was soon afterwards struck by lightning and partly destroyed, while some fragments of the statue of Christ, which the heathens had dragged about the street, were collected by the Christians and restored to the church. Philostorgius (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. 3) gives nearly the same account, except that he says nothing of any edict of Julian, but attributes the whole transaction to the pagan inhabitants of Paneas, and that he gives the more exact detail, that the head of the statue was preserved. This however was again lost at a later period. Asterius of Amasea (*Conc. Nic. II.* Labbe, vii. 210) gives again a different account, attributing the destruction of the statue to Maximia, who (he says) was nevertheless unable to destroy the fame of the miracle related in the Gospel.

Eusebius also says (*H. E.* vii. 18) that he had discovered that, besides this statue, there existed coloured pictures of Christ (*εἰκόνας διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς*), as well as of the apostles Paul and Peter.

In the time of the Iconoclastic controversy, pope Gregory II. asserted in his letter to the emperor Leo III., about A.D. 727, that portraits of Christ, of St. James the Lord's brother, of St. Stephen, and of other martyrs, had been made in their life-time (Labbe, vii. 12). And it was probably about this time that the legend arose that St. Luke had painted portraits of Christ, of His Mother, and of SS. Peter and Paul. This story is found in Simeon Metaphrastes, in the Menologium of the emperor Basil, and in the history of Nicephorus Callisti (ii. 43). At a yet earlier date (about A.D. 518) Theodorus Lector (fragment in Valesius, p. 551, ed. Meutz) spoke of a portrait of St. Mary painted by St. Luke, which was sent by Eudocia to Pulcheria, but said nothing of any picture of Christ. Such portraits of the Virgin are said

even still to be in existence; one is shown, for instance, in the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome.

Nicodemus is sometimes described as a wood-carver, and an image of Christ of cedar-wood from his hand is said by Ariangh (*Roma Subterr.* lib. iv. c. 47) to have existed at Lucca. Some have ventured to identify this with a wonder-working image at Berytus, mentioned in the pseudo-Athanasian document read before the second council of Nicea, A.D. 786 (Labbe vii. 217). Leo Diaconus, in the tenth century, says that his contemporary, the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus, placed this statue in the church of the Saviour at Constantinople; but neither he nor the pseudo-Athanasius says anything of its having been the work of Nicodemus. The legend attached to the image of Lucca is of course destitute of every shadow of probability.

Among the likenesses of the Lord reported once to have existed, we must reckon one said to have been the work of the Virgin herself, described in Adamian's account of Arculf's visit to the holy places in the seventh century (*De Locis Sanctis*, i. 10; in Mabillon's *Act. SS. Bon. saec. iii.* pt. 2, p. 460). Among the wonders of Jerusalem he mentions a napkin, partly red and partly green, said to have been woven by the Virgin Mary herself, containing pictures of the twelve apostles and of the Lord himself.

(2) *Images not made with hands*.—Another class of portraits of Christ are the *εἰκόνας ἀχειροποίητος*, images of miraculous origin, of which the most famous are (a) the Abgarus portrait, (b) the Veronica.

(a) The story of a correspondence between the Lord and Abgarus of Edessa is found as early as the time of Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13). Evagrius, in the sixth century (*H. E.* iv. 27) speaks also of a divinely-fashioned likeness (*εἰκὼν θεοεικτος*) which Christ sent to Abgarus on his desiring to see him, and which saved Edessa when it was besieged by Chosroes in the year 540.

This story is alluded to by Gregory II. in his letter to Leo before referred to, when the famous picture had already become an object of pilgrimage. "Send"—he adjures the iconoclastic emperor—"to that image not made with hands, and see; to it flock all the peoples of the East, and pray; and many such there are made with hands." His contemporary, John of Damascus (*De Fide Orthod.* iv. 16) gives more detail. A story was current, he says, that Abgarus, king of Edessa, sent a painter to take a portrait of the Lord; and that when he was unable to perform his task in consequence of the brightness of His countenance, the Lord himself put his outer garment (*ἱμάτιον*) to His own face and impressed upon it a perfect likeness (*ἀπεικόνισμα*) of His countenance, which He sent to Abgarus. Leo Diaconus (*Hist.* iv. 10, in Niebuhr's *Scriptt. Byzant.* xi. 70) adds to this a wonderful story of a tile having received the impression from this robe. The tile is also alluded to by Zonaras (*Annal.* xvi. 25). The image on the cloth was brought to Constantinople in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenetes, A.D. 944; its translation is celebrated by the Byzantine church on August 16, which is a great festival. What

* Hefele states that this is mentioned at a somewhat earlier date by Moses of Chorene.

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became of the picture when that city was taken
by the Turks is not recorded, but pictures claim-
ing to be this miraculous portrait are found in
Italy. The Genoese lay claim to the possession
of it, and say that it was brought to their city
by Leonardo de Montalto, who presented it to
the Armenian church of St. Bartholomew, where
it is still exhibited once a year. St. Sylvester's
at Rome also claims to possess the original
Abarus-picture. This is (according to Helele)
of the Byzantine type, and represents the coun-
tenance of the Lord in the bloom of youthful
power and beauty, with high and open forehead,
clear eyes, long and straight nose, parted hair,
and a thick, auburn, bifurcated beard. Dr.
Glückselig contends that the Edessa portrait
furnished the type for the pictures of Christ in
mosaics from the fourth century onward; before
that time (he believes) no attempt at portraiture
of the Lord was made, the early representations
in the catacombs being mere symbols or adapta-
tions of pagan types.

(b) The opposite of the calm and beautiful
face represented in the Abarus-portrait is the
"Veronica" picture of the suffering Saviour
crowned with thorns. The legend attached to
this picture is, that as the Lord was bending
under the cross on his way to Golgotha, a pious
woman, Veronica, offered Him her veil, or a
napkin, to dry the sweat on His face; an image
of the face remained miraculously impressed on
the cloth. In the *Martyrology* of Usuard, for
instance, (ed. Greven.) we have under March 25,
"Veronica sancte matronee cui Dominus
imaginem faciei suae sudario impressam reliquit."
Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia Imperiale*, c. 25, in
Leibnitz's *Scriptt. Brun.* i. 968), who wrote in
the thirteenth century, speaking of the "figura
Domini quae Veronica dicitur," informs us that
some say that it was brought to Rome by an
unknown person, Veronica; but the account
given by the most ancient writers is (he pro-
ceeds) that the woman who brought it was
Martha, the sister of Lazarus. From the tradition
of the elders we learn that she had a likeness of
Vetusianus, a friend of Tiberius Caesar, who was
sent by the emperor to Jerusalem to report on
the deeds and miracles of Christ, caused to be
taken away from her, that by means of it Tibe-
rius might be healed of his disease. Martha,
however, it is said, followed the "countenance of
her guest," came to Rome, and at the very first
sight healed Tiberius. Whence it came to pass
(continues the veracious chronicler) that Chris-
tinity was known in Rome before the arrival of
the apostles, and that Tiberius, instead of the
milkest of sheep, became the fiercest of wolves,
raging against the Senate because they refused to
recognise Christ according to his wish—certainly
a remarkable way of accounting for the aberrations
of Tiberius's later years.

The Veronica-portrait is said to have been
brought to Rome as early as the year 700; in
the year 1011 an altar was dedicated in its
honour, and even to this day it is one of the
relics exhibited in St. Peter's, though only on
extraordinary occasions. It was exhibited on the
8th December, 1854, when Rome was crowded
with bishops assembled to be present at the pro-
mulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Con-
ception. On that occasion it was seen by M.

Barbier de Montault, who describes it as fol-
lows (*Quarterly Rev.* No. 246, p. 491):—

"The Holy Face is enclosed in a frame of
silver, partially gilt, and square, of a severe
character, and little adorned. The simplicity of
the bordering gives prominence to the interior of
the picture, which is protected by a thin plate
of crystal. Unfortunately, by one of those cus-
toms so common in Italy, a sheet of metal covers
the field, and only leaves apparent the figure
indicating its outline. By this outline one is led
to conjecture flowing hair reaching to the
shoulders, and a short beard, bifurcated and
small. The other features are so vaguely indi-
cated, or so completely effaced, that it requires
the liveliest imagination in the world to perceive
traces of eyes or nose. In short, one does not
see the material of the substance because of the
useless intervention of a metal plate, and the
place of the impression exhibits only a blackish
surface, not giving any evidence of human
features."

For many years the explanation of the name
Veronica given by Mabillon and Papebroch was
generally adopted; that "Veronica" is simply
an anagram of "vera icon," a true image. Me-
trical writers do in fact use the word Veronica
rather to designate the picture itself than as the
name of a woman. Thus Gervase of Tilbury, as
we have seen, speaks of "figura Domini quae
veronica dicitur;" and he afterwards uses the
expression, "Est ergo veronica pictura Domini
vera." But more recently W. Grimm has
maintained a different view. He notices the
fact, that the woman with the issue of blood who
(c. 7), probably of the fifth century, and by
John Malalas, a Byzantine historian of the sixth
century, named Beroice (*Bepovικη*); and supposes
that the legend of the veil or napkin in question
arose from some confusion of the Paganus statue
with the Abarus-portrait; the Veronica-legend
is, he believes, no more than a Latin rival-story
or metamorphosis of the Greek Abarus-legend,
with the Veronica introduced from another
source. M. Maury (*Croniques et Legendes*)
connects the name *Bepovικη* with the Gnostic
feminine symbol η *Πρόνοικος*, but this conjecture
seems rather ingenious than sound.

(3) In the eighth century the iconoclastic
party, seeing the great variety of pictures of
Christ, very naturally asked which they were to
consider the true portrait; were they to adopt
the Roman type, or the Indian, or the Greek, or
the Egyptian? To this Photius (*Epist.* 64) replies,
that the difference between these representations
is much the same as the difference between the
gospels circulating in the several countries,
which are written in one character by the
Romans, in another by the Indians, in another
by the Hebrews, in another by the Ethiopians,
and which differ, not only in the forms of letters,
but in the pronunciation and significance of the
words. If Photius's illustration is to be taken
exactly, it seems to imply that all the pictures
of which he knew anything represented the same
face, and were only made to differ by the pecu-
liarities, whether individual or national, of the
painter; and it is probable enough that the
Byzantine type was so far determined in his
time, that all the pictures which he had

seen might have passed for copies, of various degrees of merit, of one original.

(4) The descriptions of the Lord given by John of Damascus in the eighth century, and by the supposed Publius Lentulus at a later period, no doubt had considerable influence on the representations of Christ. The former (*Epist. ad Theoph.* c. 3), referring to the testimony of still earlier writers, describes the Lord as having been somewhat bent even in youth, with meeting eyebrows, beautiful eyes, large nose, curling hair, dark beard and tint the colour of wheat, like His mother. The latter is supposed to be written to the Senate of Rome by one Publius Lentulus, a friend of Pontius Pilate. The age of this document is unknown (see Gabler, *de aëthvriâ Epistolæ Pub. Lentuli ad Senatum*; Jena, 1819), but it does not seem to be quoted in its present form by any earlier writer than Anselm of Canterbury († 1109). Another description of the Lord's person is given by Nicephorus Callisti (*H. E. l.* 30), but this, as it is of the fourteenth century and does not claim to rest on earlier authorities, may be passed over.

Literature.—Besides those portions of works on Christian Art which relate to representations of the Lord, as Molanus, *De sacris Picturis, et Imaginibus*; Alt, *Heiligenbilder*; Münter, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorfstellungen*; Pflger, *Mythologie und Symbolik der Christl. Kunst*; v. Wessenberg, *Die Christlichen Bilder*; J. G. Müller, *Ästhetische Darstellungen in Sanctuarium der Car. Kirchen vom v.-xiv. Jahrhundert*; Lord Lindsay, *Sketches of Christian Art*; St. John Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church*; we may mention the following special works:—

1. *On Representations of the Lord in general*, P. E. Jablonsky, *Dissertatio de Origine Imaginum Christi in Ecclesiâ, in Opera*, iii, 377 ff. ed. de Water; J. Reiske, *Ercevitut. Hist. de Imaginibus Jesu Christi*; L. Glückselig, *Christusarchäologie*; Peignot, *Récherches sur la Personne de Jésus-Christ*; Pascal, *Récherches éditantes et curieuses sur la Personne de N. S. Jésus Christ*; Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, *The History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art*; T. Heaphy, *Examination into the Antiquity of the Likenesses of our Blessed Lord, in Art Journal*, New Ser., vol. vii, (1861); Hebele, *Christusbilder*, in *Beiträge zur Kirchengesch. Archäol.* u. s. w. (Tübingen, 1864); Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chré.* s. v. 'Jésus Christ'; [Baring-Gould], *Portraits of Christ*, in *Quarterly Review*, No. 246 (Oct. 1867), p. 490 ff.

2. *On the Images not made with h. mds.* Gretser, *Synagma de Imag. non manu factis*, etc., in *Opera*, vol. xv., Ratisbon, 1734 ff.; Beausobre, *Des Images de Main Divine*, in *Biblioth. Germanique*, xviii, 10; W. Grimm, *Die Sage vom Ursprung der Christusbilder*.

3. *On the Panœus-Statue*. Th. Hasnæi Dissert. II, de Monumento Panœdensi, Bremen, 1726; also in his *Sylloge Dissert.*, pt. 2, p. 314. [C.]

JEWS AS REPRESENTED ON CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS. The Jews of our Lord's time appear in various sculptures of His life and works (Bottari, tav. lxxxv. et passim; Millin, *Midi de la France*, pl. lxxiv. et passim). They are generally distinguished, especially in all subjects connected with the Wilderness, by wearing a flat cap or beretta, as in the above plates from sarcophagi. The Old

Testament mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore are without the limits of our work, and Roman dress and armour prevail in them. The supposed arrest of St. Peter contains some of these figures, but though Aringhi, Bottari, and Buonarroti are against him, Martigny is still inclined to think the group in question intended to represent Moses attacked by the rebellious people in the Wilderness, when (Exodus xxiv. &c.) they were ready to stone him. This subject constantly accompanies that of the Rock in Horeb, where their complaints were silenced by miracle. Moses or St. Peter (whichever figure may be intended), always has his head uncovered in it, and the other Hebrews wear the flat head covering, short tunics, cloaks or sags fastened with fibule, and sandals (Exod. xii. 11). The cap may have been a common or distinctive part of Jewish dress.

[R. St. J. T.]

JEWS, TREATMENT OF. The fortunes of the Jews after the rise of Christianity are matters of general history. An account of their relation towards the expanding power of the church will be found in Milman's *Hist. of Jews* (iii. 167-203). This article only gives a brief summary of the ecclesiastical enactments against coannivance with Jewish practices, or against the Jews themselves. To desert Christianity for Judaism was APOSTASY; to confound together the rites or doctrines of the two religions was HERESY; see *Cad. Theod.* XVI. v. 43, 44; *ibid.* XVI. viii. de *Judeis Cœli orbis et Samaritanis*. But in addition to these grave offences, Christians were ordered to hold themselves separate from various Jewish customs. Thus resting on the Sabbath (Saturday) was denounced (*Conc. Laod.* c. 29) on the ground of its being a relic of Judaism; it was also forbidden (*ibid.* cc. 37, 38) to receive festival presents, or unleavened bread, from the Jews, or to share in their feasts. A similar injunction against participating in Jewish festivals or fasts appears in the *Apostolic Canons* (cc. 69, 70) under pain of excommunication, and also in the Trullan council (c. 11). The council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, initiating the violent hostility against the Jews which prevailed in Spain up to and through the time of the Inquisition, forbade (c. 49) any landlord to call upon a Jew to bless his crops; and in the next canon prohibited a Christian from eating with a Jew. This prohibition against sharing food with a Jew, because he regarded certain meats as unclean, is enacted in many subsequent Gallic councils (*Conc. Vinct.* c. 12; *Conc. Agath.* c. 40; *Conc. Epaon.* c. 15; 3 *Conc. Aurel.* c. 13; 1 *Conc. Matiscon.* c. 15). Inter-marriages with Jews was guarded against as strictly as with heathen (1 *Conc. Arvern.* c. 6; 3 *Conc. Aurel.* c. 13; 3 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 14; 4 *Conc. Tolet.* c. 63). The dangers which were supposed to lurk in association with the Jews are exemplified at length in Chrysostom's 6 Homilies in *Judeos*, also in Hom. 23 *ad eos qui primo Pasch. jejuniunt*, and Hom. 24 *ad eos qui Judaorum jejuniunt* (tom. 6 Ed. Savil.). One of the matters regarded with special jealousy by the church was the right of the Jews to hold Christian slaves. By a law of Constantine (*Enseb. Vit. Const.* iv. 27), the right had been considerably restricted; but the law appears to have fallen into disuse. The 3rd council of

kept, in connection with the Baptist's own words (John iii. 30). "He must increase, but I must decrease," so that from our Lord's activity the days began to lengthen, and from St. John's to shorten. This idea is found dwelt upon in Augustine (*Serm.* 287, § 4, vol. v. 1692). See also a sermon formerly attributed to Augustine [*Serm.* 197 in *Appud.* § 2, ib. 2856], but now referred to Cæsarius of Arles) and Maximus Taurinensis (*Serm.* 4 in *Ap. end.*, *Pat. l.* ix. 859); and the presence of numerous homilies for the festival of the Baptist among the writings of this father show at how early a date it was commemorated. A remark of his may further be added, that it was kept "maiorum traditione" (*Serm.* 292, § 1, vol. v. 1747). Consequently with all allowances for a rhetorical way of speaking, this will carry back the festival at any rate as far as the middle of the fourth century. We find it also mentioned in the ancient *Kalendarium Carthagenense*, where the notice is "viii. Kalend. Jul. Sancti Joannis Baptistæ" (*Patrol.* xiii. 1221)^c. It is wanting, however, in the calendar of Bucherius, which is generally referred to the middle of the fourth century, and in the list of festivals in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 33). These, however, are mere passing exceptions, for its otherwise universal presence in ancient liturgies, martyrologies, and calendars, and the numerous homilies for it in the writings of the fathers (Augustine, Maximus Taurinensis, etc.) are evidence of the wide-spread observance and early date of the festival. The council of Agde (506 A.D.) in ruling concerning private chapels, includes the Nativity of St. John the Baptist among the most important festivals on which a man was not to forsake his proper church, the only others specified being Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, the Ascension, and Whitsunday (*Conc. Ayalense*, can. 21; Labbe, iv. 1386).

It may next be remarked that, as might have been expected from the interdependence of the dates of the nativities of our Lord and of the Baptist, the East agrees almost unanimously with the West as to the particular day on which the latter is to be commemorated. See e.g. besides the regular Byzantine calendar, the notice in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, published by Papebroch in the *Acta Sanctorum* (May, vol. i. p. xxxii.), *Πρόδρομος ἀμφὶ τετάρτῃ εἰκάδι γελυατο μύστηρ*; the curious design in the Moscow pictorial calendar (*ibid.*); and the calendars of the Egyptian and Ethiopic churches published by Ludolf (*Fæsti Sacri Ecclesie Alexandrinæ*, p. 32). So far as we have observed, the Armenian church, the only church that does not celebrate Christmas on December 25, is also the only one that does not commemorate the Nativity of the Baptist on June 24, keeping it on Jan. 14 (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. p. 797).^d

We may add a few words here as to the vigil and octave of the festival. The former is recognized,

as we have shown below, in the Leonine Sacramentary, though not specified by name as in the Ambrosian. We need not, however, with Papebroch, consider St. Ambrose to have been the first to institute the vigil. It is also found included in the later Roman Sacramentaries, the Gelasian and Gregorian, and its observance throughout Gaul and Germany is shown by its presence in ancient martyrologies and calendars of those countries, e.g. [in one form of] the *Mart. Gallonense* (D'Achèry, *Spicilegium*, xiii. 424), the *Mart. Autissidorensis* (Martene, *Collectio Amplias*, vol. vi. 709), and a calendar of the 9th century described by Binterim. This writer refers also to a German Sacramentary published by Gerbert, where the notice for the day is, "jejunium S. Joannis Baptistæ, una cum Missa pro more vigiliarum" (*Denke*, v. i. 377). It may be mentioned that the council of Seligenstadt (1022 A.D.) ordered that all Christians should abstain from flesh and blood for fourteen days before the festival of St. John the Baptist (can. 1, Labbe ix. 844).

As regards the octave, it would appear that Papebroch is in error in considering that no earlier traces of it could be found than of the 13th or 14th centuries, for Binterim cites several calendars of the 9th and 10th centuries which mark it, e.g. the *Cal. Frisingense* of the 10th century (Eckhart, *Franc. Orient.* i. 835). It will be remembered that this octave has a special importance of its own, as being the day on which the Baptist was circumcised and received the divinely declared name of John, and on which the speech of Zacharias was miraculously restored.

(B.) *Decollation of the Baptist.*—Besides the festival of the Nativity of St. John, there are other Johannine festivals of comparatively minor importance, the chief of which is that of the Decollation, generally commemorated on August 29, the chief exception being that the Armenian church celebrated it on April 13, and the Gallican church, according to one view, on the octave of the Nativity of the Baptist, and according to another view on September 24.^f

This festival, too, must be of comparatively early date, for we find it in the Gelasian and [in some forms of] the Gregorian Sacramentaries, to its presence in which Bede alludes (*Expos. in Marc.* lib. ii.; *Patrol.* xcii. 192). Again in the Eastern church, we may appeal to the Byzantine and Russian calendars, and reference may be made to the Moscow pictorial calendar and the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, the notice in the latter being, *εἰκάδι ἀμφ' ἑσπέρῃ Πρόδρομου τήμεν αὐχένα ξίφος*. See also Ludolf's Egyptian and Ethiopic calendars (p. 1); here, however, there is a simple commemoration of the Baptist on August 29, and the festival of the Decollation on August 30.

With reference to the usage of the Gallican church alluded to above, the fact that in their liturgy the festival of the Decollation almost in-

^c The other mention in this calendar of St. John the Baptist [v. Kal. Jan. Sancti Joannis Baptistæ et Jacobi Apostoli quem Herodes occidit] is probably due to a copyist's error, because of the constant association of St. John the Evangelist with Dec. 27. It has been maintained, however, that this is an early African form of the festival of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist.

^d For a possible variation from general usage in the case of the church of Tours, see Gregor Turon. *Hist. Franc.* x. 31 (*Patrol.* lxxxi. 566).

^e The *Martyrologium Hieronymi* (*Patrol.* xxx. 488), and a MS. of the *Martyrology of Bede* (*Patrol.* xciv. 1025), place it on Aug. 30. So also the Egyptian calendar in Selden (p. 221, ed. Amsterdam, 1678).

^f Augusti (*Denke*, ii. 186) argues that the Decollation was not originally a distinct festival from that of the Nativity of the Baptist, but the evidence for this view, it must be said, is hardly conclusive.

below, in the Leonine Sacramentary, is specified by name as in the Decollation, but, however, with Papebroch, Ambrose to have been the first to include it. It is also found in the Gelasian Sacramentaries, the Gelasian and its observance throughout is shown by its presence in the legends and calendars of those of the form of the *Mart. Gallonensis* (xiii, 424), the *Mart. Martense*, *Collectio Amplias*, a calendar of the 9th century, Binterim. This writer refers to a Sacramentary published by notices for the day is, "Jejunium de die, una cum Missa pro Deo, v. l. 377). It may be the council of Seligenstadt and that all Christians should fast and blood for fourteen days of St. John the Baptist (can.

etate, it would appear that error in considering that no could be found than of the legends, for Binterim cites several of the 10th centuries which *Cal. Frisingense* of the 10th century, *Orient.* i. 835). It will be that this octavo has a special as, being the day on which was crucified and received the name of John, and on which the same was miraculously re-

of the Baptist.—Besides the nativity of St. John, there are several of comparatively minor importance of which is that of the Decollation commemorated on August 29, being that the Armenian calendar on April 13, and the Gallican on one view, on the nativity of the Baptist, and according to September 24.

must be of comparatively importance of it in the Gelasian and in the Gregorian Sacramentaries, in which Bede alludes (*Expos.* in *M.* xcii, 192). Again in the Byzantine calendars, and reference may be made to the pictorial calendar and the *Menologia*, the notice in the *Menologia* of Bede (*Menologia* also Ludolf's Egyptian and Arabic, p. 1) here, however, there is no mention of the Baptist on the festival of the Decollation

the usage of the Gallican calendar, the fact that in the Decollation almost in-

Hieronymi (Patrol. xxx, 488), the legend of Bede (Patrol. xciv, 10). So also the Egyptian calendar (Amsterdam, 1679).

argues that the Decollation is distinct festival from that of the Nativity, the evidence for this view, is conclusive.

mediately followed the Nativity of the Baptist, induced Papebroch (*Acta Sanctorum*, June, vol. v. p. 608) to maintain that the former commemoration was probably held there on the octave of the latter. Mabillon, on the other hand, appeals to a letter which bears the name of Augustine, to one Bibianus, a Gallican bishop, which asserts that the conception and death of St. John fell on the same day (i.e. Sept. 23 or 24), and further refers to August 29 as the day "quando inventum legitur caput domini præcursoris" (Patrol. lxxii, 431). This letter, while obviously spurious, may be taken as evidence as to ancient Gallican custom, and we find the same usage, at any rate partially, among the Gothic of Spain. (See Leslie's notes to the Mozarabic Missal; Patrol. lxxv, 837.)

Legend.—This will perhaps be the most convenient place to give a very brief résumé of the legends respecting the body of St. John. This was said to have been buried at Sebaste, a town on the site of the earlier Samaria. In the time of the emperor Julian, the coffin was broken open, the bones burnt, and the dust scattered abroad. With this definite statement, it might have been thought that the history of the relics was at an end; but the story runs that the Christians saved some of the remains, which were sent to Jerusalem, and afterwards to Alexandria to Athanasius (Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.* xi, 28; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* iii, 3; vol. iii, 918, ed. Schulze and Nessellet; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, vol. i, 117, ed. Classen); part also were obtained by Theodoret for his own church of Cyrus (see his *Kelig. Hist.* vol. iii, 1245). In order to contain the relics of the Baptist, a church was some time afterwards (circa 330 A.D.) built in Alexandria on the site of the temple of Serapis by the emperor Theodosius, and finished in the reign of his son Arcadius. Concerning the Head of the Baptist also there is a long series of traditions. These are often plainly conflicting, and it is to be regretted that a scholar with Papebroch's great learning should have wasted time on the attempt to reconcile them. The Head was said to have been buried in Herod's palace, where it was first discovered about the year 330 A.D. and taken into Oclia. In the time of the emperor Valens it was moved as far as a place named Coslans, but about 390 A.D. Theodosius transferred it to Constantinople (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* vii, 21). Besides all this, however, we read of a finding of the Head at Emesa in 454 A.D., a discovery which can hardly harmonize with the preceding, and which was not improbably due to a growing demand of the age for relics. However, there is a further story of another translation of the Head, from Emesa to Constantinople in 850 A.D., to preserve it from the Saracens, and here it remained till 1204 A.D., when Constantinople was taken by the Latins. The Head then, or part of it, was brought to France by one Walo de Sartone, a canon of Aviens. The further legends given by Papebroch, compared with which the above almost rises to the dignity of history, we pass over.

We find at a comparatively early period evidence of the existence of literature on the subject of the Finding of the Head, for at a council held at Rome in 494 A. D. under the episcopate of Gelasius, such writings as were with others ordered to be read with caution. ("Scripta

de Inventione capitis Joannis Baptistæ novellas quædam relationes sunt, et nonnulli eas Catholici legunt. Sed cum hæc ad Catholicorum manus pervenerint, beati Pauli apostoli præcedunt sententia, *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.*" Patrol. lxx, 161.)

(γ.) We are now naturally brought to the third of the Johannine festivals, the Finding of the Head. It would appear that different supposed findings are commemorated, and that commemorations are held on the various days on which the Pseudo-Augustine already quoted names August 29 as the day on which the Head was found, and in connection with this we may cite one form of the martyrology of Bede, "Passio et decollatio vel potius inventio capitis beati Joannis Baptistæ . . ." (Patrol. xciv, 1025). That day, however, has ordinarily been reserved for the Decollation, and Feb. 24, for the Finding. In that arrangement, generally speaking, Western, Byzantine, Coptic, and Ethiopic calendars agree; and the Byzantine also commemorates another finding on May 25. There is besides a commemoration of the "Apparition corporis" ["Inventio ossium" Copt.] in the Ethiopic and Coptic calendars on May 27, and of the "depositio capitis" on Oct. 27 (26, Selden) in the latter. The notice for Feb. 24 in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides* is *εὐκρίστην προφήτου φάνην κείνη ἀμφὶ τετάρτην*.

(δ.) The festival of the Conception of the Baptist on Sept. 23 (or 24) is also found in the above calendars, and in many Western martyrologies. It is not recognized, however, in the Armenian calendar. The notice for Sept. 23, in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides*, is *εὐκρίστην ἡμερῶν ἡμερῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς*.

(ε.) Besides the two preceding, comparatively unimportant festivals, we find also a commemoration of the imprisonment on Aug. 24 in the Ethiopic calendar (Ludolf, p. 39), and general commemorations of the Baptist in the same, on Aug. 29 and April 10 (*ib.* pp. 1, 25); and on June 6 and September 5 in the Armenian calendar (Nesle, pp. 799, 801).

2. *Liturgical Notices.*—The oldest Roman Sacramentary, the Leonine, contains no less than five masses for the festival of the Nativity of the Baptist. The first of these evidently belongs to the vigil, for though included with the second and third under the general heading *Natalis S. Jo. Bapt.*, still the point is settled by the words of the preface (also occurring, be it said, in the Gregorian and Ambrosian liturgies in the service for the vigil) ". . . exhibentes solemnem jejuniium, quo anti Joannis Baptistæ natalitia prevevimus" (*Leonis Opera*; vol. ii, 28, ed. Bullerini). The fourth and fifth masses, portions of which are also found in the Gelasian Sacramentary, are headed *ad fontem*, showing the use made of the day as a solemn season for baptism. The Gelasian Sacramentary both has services for the vigil and Nativity, each with its own title (Patrol. lxxix, 1165), and also for the Decollation (*dis passionis*) of the Baptist (*ib.* 1175); and the same too is the case with the Ambrosian (Pamelius, *Liturg. Litt.* i. 392, 420), and the Gregorian Sacramentary (coll. 108, 126; ed. Menard). In this last, while the first mass is headed in *vigilia*, the second bears the title *In prima missa de nocte*.

In the ancient Gallican Lectionary, published by Mabillon, we find no mention of a vigil: the prophetic lection, epistle and gospel, are respectively Isaiah xl. 1-20; Acts xiii. 16-47; Luke i. 5-25, 39-47, 56-68, [to the words *Dominus Deus Israel*], 80. This is immediately followed by the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, and this by the "Passio S. Joannis Baptistae" for which the prophetic lection, epistle and gospel are respectively Isaiah xliii. 1-13, 22, —xliv. 5; Heb. xi. 33—xl. 7; Matt. xiv. 1-14 (*de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. ii. pp. 158, 160). The same too is the case in the Gallican missal, save that there the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul is immediately followed by a mass "In Natale unius Apostoli et Martyris" (*Op. cit.* lib. iii. 271, 275). In the Mozarabic missal we find forms given for the Sunday "pro adventu S. Joannis," as well as for the festival of the Nativity itself, and for that of the Decollation. The prophetic lection, epistle and gospel in the three cases are Isaiah xl. 1-9, Eph. iv. 1-14, Mark i. 1-8; Jer. i. 5-10, 17-19; Gal. i. 11-24, Luke i. 57-70, 80; Wisdom iv. 7-15, 2 Cor. xii. 2-10, Matt. xiv. 1-15. Sundry variations to the above occurring in ancient lectionaries are mentioned (*in loc.*) in the notes to Leslie's edition of the Mozarabic missal. (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 751, 756, 837; and for the Breviary [June 24, Sept. 24], *Patrol.* lxxxvi. 1129, 1133, 1209).

3. *Miscellaneous Notices.*—We have hitherto spoken of the Baptist solely from the Christian point of view, we shall now dwell briefly on some further references. Josephus's account (*Antiq.* xviii. 5. 2) is practically the same as that of the New Testament, but he adds that, besides other causes, Herod Antipas was more or less moved to the murder of St. John by political reasons, the dread of a revolution.*

There are, moreover, some curious associations connecting St. John with some semi-Christian, or rather non-Christian, religions. The Clementine Homilies (ii. 23) make Simon Magus to have been the chief (*πρωτος και δοκιμωτατος*) disciple of St. John, who is further described as a *μυροβαπτιστης* (see Hegesippus apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 22; Justin Martyr *Dial. cum Tryph.* c. 80; and esp. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 17). We may perhaps, therefore, connect the *Hemero-baptistiae* with the so-called Mendaean (or properly Mandaeans), known also as the Zabians, disciples of St. John, Christians of St. John. This sect, which still exists, chiefly near the Tigris, claims to be the lineal successors of the actual disciples of St. John, respecting whom they give some wild traditions, and whom they regard as superior to Christ. They totally ignore his beheading, and say that on his death-bed he bid his disciples to crucify his body, in reference to the death that should befall his kinsman Jesus. The body was then preserved in a crystal sarcophagus at Sijster in Persia. (Ignatius in Jesu, *Narratio originis, rituum et errorum Christianorum Johannis*, Romae, 1652; Kaempfer, *Anoentibus Excotiae* pp. 435-454, Lemgoviae 1712; Norberg, *De religione et lingua Sudaorum*; Petermann in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* s. vv. *Mendäer*, *Zabier* :

* As a parallel to this we may mention the story of Herod the Great's attempt to slay the infant John from the fear that he might hereafter prove the king of Israel (*Protev. Jacobi*, c. 23)

Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* pp. 100-138, St. Petersburg, 1856.) They celebrate in August (or April, according to Ignatius a Jesu) an annual festival of three days' duration, in honour of the Baptist, and an annual festival in June of five days' duration, when all the sect receive baptism. (Kaempfer, p. 446.) This reminds us of Augustine's protest cited above. Their chief sacred book, the *Sitra Adem* or Book of Adam, edited by Norberg (*Codex Nasaraeus, liber Adami appellatus*, Hafniae, and recently by Petermann [Lipsiae, 1867], contains several references to St. John (see vol. i. 108, vol. ii. 20, 22, 24, 60; ed. Norberg). They also possess a "Book of John [the Baptist]" reported to have been given to their ancestors by John himself; of which there is a MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris (Norberg *de Lingua*, &c., p. 4). Among their most curious superstitions is one in connection with the baptism of our Lord by St. John, which accounts for the view they take of blue as an unholy colour (Kaempfer, p. 447).

For a possible connection of the sect of the Elkaites with the teaching of St. John, see Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum* iii. 158. Chwolsohn (*Op. cit.* p. 112) views Elkat as the actual founder of the Mendaean, another point of coincidence.

Among the Mohannedsas, St. John is accounted as a prophet, and he is mentioned in the Koran in terms of high respect (*Sura* iii. 39). The passage in Sale's translation runs, "John, who shall bear witness to the word which cometh from God, an honourable person, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets."

We must in conclusion only allude in the briefest terms to a point, which though not strictly within our province, must not be absolutely passed over, the position of St. John the Baptist as the patron saint of the Knights Hospitaliers of St. John, and his association in some form with the esoteric rites of the order of the Templars, though probably here there has been at times a confusion with St. John the Evangelist. For the possible connection with St. John the Baptist in such rites as the Baphomet, the dissevered head, etc., see Von Hammer, *Mysterium Baphometis revelatum*, Vindobonae, 1818. Reference may also be made to Von Wedekind, *Das Johannis-Fest in der Frey-Maurerei*, Frankfurt, 1818.

For the matter of the present article, we have to express considerable obligations to Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. v. part 1, pp. 373, 394; 446 sqq.; Augusti *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, vol. iii. pp. 152 sqq. Paperbroch in *Acta Scriptorum* (July 25). Reference may also be made to Paciaudius *de Cultu S. Joannis Baptistae*, Romae 1755. Wasewitz *Zurart Joannes*, Magdeburg, 1659. [R. S.]

JOHN THE BAPTIST, ST., FIRE OF. We called attention in the previous article to the way in which early Christian writers dwell on the mystical significance of the fact that the festival of St. John the Baptist coincides with the period of the summer solstice, and we also referred in passing to various superstitions and customs, which Christianity evidently inherited from heathenism. The most prominent of these is that which has long been known under the name of the Fire of St. John the Baptist,

und der Sabemius pp. 1856.) They celebrate according to Ignatius a of three days' duration, and an annual festival, when all the sect pmpfer, p. 446.) This e's protest cited above, the *Sidra Adem* or Book berg (*Codex Nasaraeus*, infanie), and recently (1867), contains several e vol. i. 108, vol. ii. 20,). They also possess a istist]" reported to have estors by John himself; MS. in the *Bibliothèque berg de lingué, &c.*, p. 4.) us superstitions is one in ptism of our Lord by or the view they take of r (Knaempfer, p. 447.) ction of the sect of the ing of St. John, see Hilmentum *extra Canonem wolschon* (*Op. cit.* p. 112) nal founder of the Men- coincidence. medatus, St. John is acml he is mentioned in the h respect (*Sera* iii. 39.) translation runs, "John, ss to the word which onourable person, chaste, s prophets." sion only allude in the point, which though not vince, must not be abso- position of St. John the saint of the Knights Hosp- his association in some rites of the order of the dally here there has been th St. John the Evangelist. ction with St. John the s as the Baphomet, the s as Von Hammer, *Mys-latum*. Vinlobanne, 1818. e made to Von Wedekind, *der Frey-Maurerei*. Frank-

the present article, we have e obligations to Binterim, *Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, s, sqq.; 446 sqq.; Augusti *der Christlichen Archäologie*, Papelbroch in *Acta Stue-* ference may also be made. *Ita S. Johannis Baptistae*. sewitz *Turtur* *Jouneus*. [R. S.]

PTIST, ST., FIRE OF.
in the previous article to rly Christian writers dwell fience of the fact that the e Baptist coincides with mmer solstice, and we also to various superstitions rto Christianity evidently inhe- M. The most prominent of he long been known under e of St. John the Baptist,

which, with numerous attendant customs, is obviously nothing more than a relic of ancient sun-worship, conected with that period of the year when the sun has reached the turning point of his annual course. This custom of kindling great fires in the open air on Midsummer's Eve has been shown to exist (and in not a few places even to the present day) among almost all European nations, as well as in the East* (see Jac. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* pp. 583 sqq., ed. 2); and it can hardly be rightly viewed unless we associate it with the universally observed festival at the winter solstice, the *Natalis Invicti*, when the sun is, as it were, born again for the coming year [CHRISTMAS], with that on May-day, the *la Real-fine* of the Irish, when the sun's warmth has awakened the dormant earth [JAMES THE LESS, ST., FESTIVAL OF], and with other similar instances.

Thus, it will be seen, there is plainly no original connection of St. John the Baptist with the practice now under consideration. The birthday of our Lord having been once fixed, by whatsoever means, at the winter solstice (and there is certainly no inconsiderable body of evidence pointing to the conclusion that the well-known universal prevalence of a festival at that time of the year had much to do with the matter, and that it is a case of the transference of worship from the material sun to Christ, the sun of righteousness), then, since there was a difference of six months between the ages of our Lord and of the Baptist, the birthday of the latter would naturally be assigned to the summer solstice. The existing heathen practices, at first strongly opposed by the church, gradually came to be tolerated and finally to be recognised; while the attempt was continually made to associate the customs of the day with the saint whose festival had thus happened to coincide with the older celebration.

A curious view on this subject, which may just claim a passing notice, is found in Hislop's *Two Babylons* (p. 184), which refers the great Midsummer festival of many heathenisms *primarily* to the Babylonian festival of Tammuz, who is further identified with Oannes, the Fish-God mentioned by Berossus (lib. i. p. 48, ed. Richter). It is there maintained that this name was suggestive of that of Joannes, and thus a Christian festival grew out of a heathen one, with hardly a change in the name of the object of the festival. More evidence, however, and less theorizing is wanted, before such a view can be seriously entertained.

To return now to the main part of our subject;—we shall cite, as showing the church's original point of view in the matter, a passage from one of the sermons of Augustine first edited by Fragipane in 1819, where he protests strongly against this practice of the lighting of fires on St. John's Eve:—"Cessent religiones sacrilegiorum, cessent studia atque joca vanitatum; non fiant illa quae fieri solent, non quaedam jam in daemonum honorem, sed adhuc tamen secundum daemoneum morem. Hesterno die post vesperum putescentibus flammis antiquitus more daemo-

niorum tota civitas flagrabat atque putrescebat, et universam aërem fumus obfluxerat" (*Serm. 8 de S. Joh. Bapt. § 3; Patrol. xlvii. 896*). Theodoret again (*Quæst. in iv. Reg. [xvi. 3]. Anterr. 47, vol. i. 539, ed. Schulze*) in referring to Ahaz's "causing his sons to pass through the fire," sees in it an underlying reference to a custom existing in his time, of lighting fires in the streets, over which men and boys leaped, and even infants were carried by their mothers. Theodoret states that this was done once a year, and though he does not further define the time, there is a probable reference to the Midsummer fire. The Quinisext or Trullan council (circa 692, A.D.) forbids the lighting of such fires before houses, etc., and the leaping over them; and penalties are laid down for all, cleric or lay, who followed the practice (can. 65, Labbe vi. 1172). In this last case, however, the periods are distinctly specified as the times of the new moon, but the superstition legislated against is clearly a parallel one; and, at any rate, Theodore Balsamon (cited by Puciaudius, *infra*), in his comments on this canon, makes special mention of the fires on St. John the Baptist's Eve. One more such instance may suffice: the German council, which sat under the authority of St. Boniface, either at Augsburg or Rathsbou in 742 A.D., forbids "illos sacrilegos ignes, quos *Nodfrates* [*Nodfyrr*, *Niedfyrr*] vocant" (can. 5, Labbe vi. 1535).

We have already referred to the change of feeling with which such practices were regarded by the church as time went on, and to the consequent attempt to connect them directly with the Baptist. As examples of this we may cite John Bebeth (*Rat. div. off. c. 137; Patrol. cclii. 141*), who wrote about 1170 A.D., and Durandus (*Rat. div. off. vii. 12, 10*). In these passages reference is made to three customs practised at this season, the lighting of fires (which are described as being made of "ossa et quedam alia immunda"), the carrying of firebrands about the fields, and the rolling of a wheel. After a strange explanation of the first of these as being a means for driving away dragons, another reason is given, namely, that it was done in memory of the burning of the bones of St. John the Baptist at Sebaste (see last article). The carrying about of firebrands is explained as having reference to him who was a "burning and shining light" (John v. 35); while the rolling of the wheel, which has an obvious reference to the course of the sun, is made further to refer to the glory of St. John wailing before Him who was the True Light.

An attempt to disprove the idea of the connection of the Fire of St. John with heathen rites is made by Puciaudius (*de Cultu S. Joh. Bapt. Antiquitates Christianae*, pp. 335 sqq.), who, however, is mainly combating the idea of its connection with the Roman *Palia*, a point urged by Reiske, Zeumer (*infra*), and other writers. The arguments here, however, though ingenious, rest altogether on too narrow a footing.

In addition to works already cited, reference may also be made to F. C. de Khautz *de ritu ignis in Natali S. Joh. Bapt. accens.* Vindob. 1759; Reiske, *Untersuchung des bei den alten Deutschen gebräuchlichen heidnischen Nordfyrrs, ingleichen des Osters- und Johannis-feyers*. Frankfurt 1806; Zeumer, *Dissertatio de igne in festo S. Johannis*

* Nor need this remark be confined to the old world. For we find the same class of rites prevailing also among the Peruvians under the dominion of the Lucas (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, l. pp. 98 sqq.; 10th ed.).

accendi solito. Jenae 1699: Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, vol. I. p. 166 sqq., ed. 1841. [R. S.]

JOHN THE BAPTIST, ST., IN ART, ETC.

1. *Iconography.*—We find abundant evidence that representations of St. John the Baptist were very frequent in early Christian times. Epiphanius (*Conc. Nic. II.* Act. vi.; Labbe, vii. 538) tells us that those who delighted in "soft clothing" were rebuked by the figure of the Baptist in his "raiment of camel's hair;" in this garb, indeed, he is most usually represented, especially in the Baptism of the Saviour [see JORDAN], a subject of very frequent recurrence in early Christian art, as for instance, in the well-known painting in the cemetery of Pontianus, in many mosaics (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii tab. xxiii.), and on various engraved stones and bronze medals (Vettori, *Num. ver. explic.* p. 68 and frontispiece), where he is shown in the act of pouring water from a shell on the Lord's Head; he carries a staff in his left hand.

Sometimes the Forerunner points with his



St. John the Baptist. From Picciardi.

finger to the Messiah, represented in the form of a lamb, or in person (*Concil. in Trull.* can. lxxvii.). He has been figured by some artists in tunic and pallium, as for example on the bottom of a cup given by Buonarrotti (*Vetri*, tav. vi. No. 1), and assigned to St. John the Baptist. If this assumption be correct, we have here one of the most ancient representations of this saint, but many competent judges believe that it is a representation of St. Paul. Be this as it may, we find the Baptist clad in a similar manner, and also nimbed, in a mosaic of the 6th century (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* tab. xxxi.), in the centre of an ivory cross of almost the same date (Pacchiudi, *De cultu Joann. Bapt.* p. 182, see woodcut), in an ancient diptych figured by Gori (*Theosaur. Diptych.* vol. iii. p. 235), and also in bust upon a chalcodony attributed to the 5th century (Pacchiudi, u. s. p. 189).

In the Mosaic of the Greeks the figure of St. John the Baptist is winged, in allusion to

the passage of Isaiah quoted by St. Mark (i. 2), and applied by the Lord Himself to the Forerunner: "Behold! I send My Messenger before Thy Face which shall prepare Thy way before Thee." His right hand is raised in the act of exhortation, and in his left he carries a cross, and a scroll inscribed with these words.

The annunciation of the birth of the Baptist is depicted in mosaic on the great arch of St. Maria Maggiore, A.D. 443. The angel is addressing Zacharias, who stands before the altar of Incense (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* vol. i. tab. xlix. nn. 1, 2, 3). In the ancient mosaic on the portico of St. John Lateran the head of John the Baptist is carried in a dish by a licitor, while the decapitated body remains still kneeling before the executioner whose sword is still raised.

2. *Dedications.*—The first church dedicated to him was probably the basilica built by Constantine, and dedicated to the Forerunner, upon the Coelian Mount, near the Lateran. It is, however, not improbable that the name was transferred to it from the baptistery of Constantine, a short distance from it, which was dedicated to St. John.

Anastasius Bibliothecarius states that Constantine built churches dedicated to the same saint at Ostia and at Albano (*in S. Sylvest.* §§ 45, 46; Migne, cxxvii. 1524 f.), and Du Cange mentions one at Constantinople (*Constantinop. Christ. lib.* iv. § 4), of which, however, we can find no other record. At Naples it is commonly asserted that a church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was built in that city by Constantine on the site of the temple of Hadrian, in fulfilment of a vow made during a violent storm on his voyage from Sicily. But it has been proved by Majocchi, that this founder could not have been Constantine the Great, though he may possibly have been the younger Constantine, son of Constans (*De Cat.* Neap. part ii. 3). It appears certain that at Florence in early times a church was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, who became the tutelary saint and protector of the city (Villani, *Chronica*, l. i. c. 60). St. Benedict dedicated to the Baptist one of the two oratories which he erected on the site of the temple of Apollo on Mount Cassino (Greg. *Dialog.* li. 8, in Migne, lxxi. col. 152 n). Tradition asserts that at Milan a temple of Janus was converted into a church, and dedicated as "Sancti Joannis ad quatuor fates" (Castellione, *Mediæv. Antiq.* pars 1, fasc. 2). There were at Ravenna in the 6th and 7th centuries two churches dedicated to this saint, one of which, called *In Marmorario*, specially commemorated his decollation (Rubeus, *Hist. Raven.* ii. and iii.). At Monza, queen Theodelinda built a church in honour of St. John the Baptist, on which she lavished wealthy endowments and precious gifts of every description. Agilulph, her husband, followed her example at Turin (Pacchiudi u. s. pp. 15 and 16). Pacchiudi enumerates many other churches dedicated to the Baptist in different places and in later times. Altars dedicated to him were usually to be found in the baptisteries; these were always placed under his protection, adorned with paintings and sculptures in which he is the principal figure, and sometimes enriched with his relics. (Pacchiudi, *De Cultu Joann. Bapt.*; Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* c. v.)

[C.]

JOHN THE EVANGELIST, ST., FESTIVAL OF.

I. *History of Festival.*—It is not necessary to enter here upon a discussion of the various early legends respecting St. John the Evangelist, which will be found treated of in the Bible Dictionary, where merely reference may be made. We shall and add a notice of the chief pseudonymous works attributed to him.

We hardly find the festival of St. John standing out in early times with that prominence which we should expect in the case of one so essentially the chief of the apostles. As we have already mentioned in the article on the festival of St. John the Baptist, there is a not improbable commemoration of the evangelist in the ancient *Calendarium Carthaginense*, it, as seems reasonable, we assume the word *Baptistæ* to have been written "per incuriam scribæ" for *Evangelistæ*. The notice is "vi. Kal. Jan. Sancti Joannis Baptistæ, et Jacobi Apostoli, quem Herodes occidit" (*Patrol.* xiii. 1228). On this assumption then we have a joint commemoration of the two brothers, the sons of Zebedee; and the same combination is also found in the Gothic-Gallic missal (*infra*). The Armenian church commemorates the two brothers together on Dec. 28 (Neale, *Eastern Churches*; *Intro.* p. 804); and the Ethiopic church on Sep. 27 (Ludolf, *Fasti Sacri Ecclesie Alexandrinæ*, p. 5).

In the West, however, the name of St. John alone is ordinarily found associated with Dec. 27, a day which by its close proximity to Christmas seems especially appropriate for the commemoration of the beloved disciple, as also those of the innocents, the first martyrs for Christ, and of Stephen the first confessor martyr. This idea is often dwelt upon by mediæval writers, some of whom allude further to a tradition that the Evangelist died on the day which is now the festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, but that his commemoration was transferred to a day in the octave of Christmas (see e.g. Durandus, *Rat. Div. Off.* vii. 42). As we have implied above, however, there is a lack of recognition of this festival in the writings of the earlier fathers, scarcely any of whom furnish us with hemilies for the day, even those who have written them for the festivals of St. Stephen and the Innocents.

It may be noted here that in many ancient calendars December 27 is marked not as the *Natalis* or *Nativitas*, but as the *Assumptio* or *Transitus* of St. John. Thus we find, e.g., in the ancient so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymi* "vi. Kal. Januarii Assumptio S. Joannis Evangeliste apud Ephesum" (*Patrol.* xxx. 137), and similarly the *Martyrologium Cellense* (D'Achéry, *Spicilegium* xiii. 390). This wording is doubtless due to the belief in some of the curious legends as to the death of this apostle. Of this we find no trace in the earliest writers; thus Polycrates, a near successor of St. John, simply says *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκολληται* (Polycr. apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 31). Soon, however, the legendary element showed itself, and as early as the time of Augustine the story prevailed that the apostle had been laid in the tomb merely in the semblance of death, but that he really lived was shown by the movements of the

ground where he was laid, and the appearance as of dust expelled from the grave by the process of breathing (*August. Tractatus* 124 in *Joannem* c. 2; vol. iii. 2467, ed. Gaume). Later writers speak of this dust by the title of manna (see e.g. Gregor. Turon. *de Gloria Martyrum* l. 30, *Patrol.* lxxi. 730; Hildebert Turon. *Serm. in festo S. Joh.*, *Patrol.* clxxi. 726 sqq.). It is this which appears to be specially dwelt on by the Greek church in their commemoration of St. John on May 8 (*infra*). In some writers the legend makes St. John live to the end of the world, to witness with Enoch and Elijah to the truth (see e.g. Ephraemius Antioch. apud Photium, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 229; *Patrol. Gr.* ciii. 985). According to another form, he died in the ordinary course of nature, and was immediately raised from the dead and translated into paradise (see e.g. Nicephorus *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 42). All these legends have doubtless grown from a misunderstanding of our Lord's words in John xxi. 22.

We may add further that the festival of St. John "ad portam Latinam" on May 8, which commemorates the apostle's having been thrown at that place into a cauldron of boiling oil and escaping unhurt, is often noted as the "Nativitas (Natalis) ad portam Latinam" (e.g. in the Gregorian Sacramentary and some forms of the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*) the apostle having there as fully won the martyr's crown as though no miraculous deliverance had been wrought. Whatever truth there may be in this story, it is at any rate as old as the time of Tertullian (see *De Præscript.* c. 36; cf. Jerome, *adv. Jovinian.* l. 26, vol. ii. 280 [where he appeals to Tertullian], *Comm. in Matthæum* xxi. 23, vol. vii. 155).

In later times a church was built near the Latin gate in memory of this event. It may reasonably be inferred that it is this church that Anastasius Bibliothecarius refers as being restored by Adrian I. (ob. 795 A.D.), though he describes it as "ecclesiam beati Joannis Baptistæ sitam juxta portam Latinam" (*Vitus Pontificum*, Adrian I.; *Patrol.* cxviii. 1191). On this point see further G. M. Crescimbeni, *L'istoria della chiesa di S. Giovanni avanti Porta Latina*; Roma, 1716.

In the Greek church St. John is commemorated on May 8 and September 26, regard being had on the former day to the miracle of the "manna," and on the latter to his translation. Thus in the Greek metrical *Ephemerides* published by Papebroch in the *Acta Sanctorum* (May, vol. i., pp. xxvii. xlii.) the notices are *ἀγία ἡμετέρα τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἐπισημοῦ*. The latter festival is also found in the calendars of the Ethiopic and Coptic churches* (Ludolf, p. 5), which also commemorate St. John on December 30, and also his translation on May 11 (*ib.* pp. 16, 28).

Before passing on to the next part of our subject, we may refer briefly to a custom prevalent in the middle ages of sending to

* Polycrates (l. c.) calls St. John *μαρτυρῶν*, and the Gothic-Gallic Missal (*infra*) speaks of the two sons of Zebedee together as martyrs.

b So Ephraemius (l. c.) *τὸ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος*.

c In one form of the calendar given by Seldene (*de Synedr. veterum Ebraeorum*, p. 212, ed. 1678), the date is given as September 24.

friends on St. John's day presents of wine which had been previously blessed (*Benedictio* or *Haustus S. Joannis*). The origin of this custom is not certainly known. Some have viewed it as a continuation of the old Roman custom of sending to friends at the beginning of January presents in honour of Janus. Whether or no there be any connection between the two customs, it seems probable that there must be some reference to the legend of the poisoned wine cup sent to St. John, who signed it with the cross and drank it unhurt (see *act. Isid. Hispal. de ortu et obitu Patrum* c. 72; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 151). This legend has very likely arisen from our Lord's words (*Matt.* xx. 23; cf. also *Mark* xvi. 18), and has itself obviously been the source of a common mediæval representation of St. John, as holding a cup round which a serpent is entwined.

2. *Liturgical Notices.*—In the Leonine Sacramentary we have two masses for the festival of St. John on December 27 (*Leonis Opp.* ii. 153, ed. Ballerini). There is, however, but one in the Gelasian Sacramentary (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1060), and in the Gregorian, as given by Menard (*col.* 10); he mentions, however, that two occur in the *Cd. Rotondi*, and in the text of Pamelius, and also in the Gregorian Antiphony (*ib.* *col.* 659). We may probably assume that one mass was for early morning, and another for a later service. In some forms of the Gregorian Sacramentary is also a mass for May 6, "Nativitas S. Joannis ante portam Latinam" (*ib.* *col.* 87). The Ambrosian liturgy gives one mass for December 27 (*Pamelius, Liturg. Lat.* i. 307).

In the ancient Gallican lectionary published by Mabillon, Dec. 27 is inscribed in *festa S. Joannis*, but in the Gothic-Gallic missal the heading is in *Natide Apostolorum Jacobi et Joannis* (Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. iii. 111, lib. 196). In the former case the epistle and gospel assigned for the day (no prophetic lection is provided) are *Rev.* xiv. 1-7, *Mark* x. 35. . . . (one leaf of the MS. is here torn away). The Gothic-Gallic missal has also a commemoration of St. John, "ante portam Latinam" (*ib.* *cit.* lib. 262).

The Mozarabic liturgy commemorates St. John alone on Dec. 27 (*Patrol.* lxxxv. 199), the prophetic lection, epistle, and gospel being respectively, *Wisdom* x. 10-18, 1 *Thess.* iv. 12-17, *John* xxi. 15-24. (For sundry variations from these, see Leslie's notes to the Mozarabic liturgy *in loc.*) For the service in the Mozarabic breviary, see *Patrol.* lxxxvi. 127.

The so-called *Liber Comitis* provides for the festival of December 27 an Old Testament lection and gospel, *Ezech.* xv. 1-6, and *John* xxi. 19-24 (*Patrol.* xxx. 489).

3. *Apocryphal Literature.*—With the name of St. John is associated a considerable amount of pseudonymous literature. First among these we may mention the book *de transitu Marine*, first edited by Tischendorf (*Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, pp. 70 sqq.; see also his *Prolegomena*, pp. xxiv. sqq., and Fabricius, *Cdex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti*, i. 352, ed. 1719). This was one of the books condemned by the council at Rome

under Gelasius in 494 A.D., where it is simply spoken of as "Liber qui appellatur Transitus, id est, Assumptio Sanctæ Marine" (*Patrol.* lix. 162); and the false claim to the name of John the *θεολόγος* is referred to by Epiphanius Monachus (*de Vita B. Virginis*, c. 1; *Patrol. Gr.* cxx. 188). Fabricius also refers to another apocryphal document found attached to a copy of the above, *ὑπόμνημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποκαθήκασιν αὐτοῦ συγγραφεῖσα (sic) παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου θεολόγου*. A passing allusion may be made here to the Templars' mutilated recension of the canonical gospel of St. John, published by Thilo (*Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* i. 817) as the *Codex Evangelii Johannis Parisiis in sacro Templariorum tabulario asservatus*, and also to the *Book of St. John*, said to have been in use among the Albigenses, and brought to light by the Inquisition of Carcassonne (*Op. cit.* 884).

We may next mention the Apocryphal Acts of St. John, the Greek text of which was first edited in Tischendorf's *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (pp. 266 sqq.), and a Syriac version of the latter part of it in Dr. Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*. Any detailed account of this document is out of place here; reference may be made to Tischendorf (pp. lxxiii. sqq.): it may, however, be noted that it was known to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 25). A history of St. John at Ephesus, in a Syriac translation of an unknown Greek original, has been published by Dr. Wright (*Op. cit.*).

There is also an apocryphal Apocryphal of St. John, first edited by Birch in 1804, and subsequently by Tischendorf (*Apoc. Apoc.* pp. 70 sqq. cf. pp. xviii. sqq.). Assemani (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* iii. part 1, 282) mentions three MSS. of an Arabic version of this document. Less important than the above, but claiming a passing notice, are the *Epistle ad Hydropticum quemdam* given by the Pseudo-Prochorus (see Fabricius, i. 926), the *Prayer of St. John*, cited from Martene by Fabricius (ii. 334), and the *Prophetia de Consummatione Mundi*, said to have been discovered with a commentary of Caecilius in 1588 A.D., in Granada (*ib.* iii. 720). In connection with St. John may also be mentioned the *Historia Apostolica* (lib. v.) of the Pseudo-Abdias (*ib.* i. 531 sqq.) and the *Passio S. Joannis Evangelistæ* of Melitius (*ib.* iii. 604). The *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 16) connect with the name of St. John the regulations as to the ordination of presbyters. Finally, we may mention the Syro-Jacobite liturgy of St. John the Evangelist. A Latin translation of this is given by Renaudot (*Liturg. Orientalium Collectio*, ii. 153, ed. 1847).

In addition to works already cited, reference may also be made to Tillemont (*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, vol. i. pp. 370 sqq. and notes 17 and 18, ed. 1693) and to Augusti (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christliche Archæologie*, i. 288 sqq., iii. 242 sqq.). [R. S.]

JOHN, ST., THE EVANGELIST, IN ART. From very early times the eagle has been assigned to St. John as his emblem among the four living creatures which have always been held symbolical of the four Evangelists; indeed the most ancient method of representing the beloved disciple appears to have been by this symbol alone. [EVANGELISTS.]

Perhaps the oldest personal representations of

⁴ This mass occurs between those for the "Finding of the Cross" and those for the Rogation days. It contains, however, it must be stated, no reference to the event "ad portam Latinam."

(21) Martyr at Nicomedia, under Diocletian; commemorated Sept. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(22) Martyr with Adulfus at Cordova; commemorated Sept. 27 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

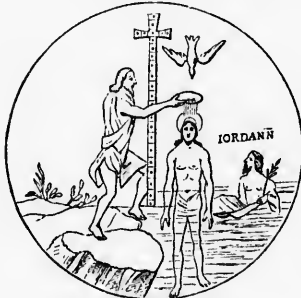
(23) Martyr in Tuscany; commemorated with Festus, Dec. 21 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi).

(24) Calybita, A.D. 460; commemorated Jan. 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*) [W. F. G.]

JONAH, the prophet; commemorated Makarram 25=Sept. 22 (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [W. F. G.]

JONILIA, martyr at Langres with Leonidas, Speusippus, Elaspippus, and Melaspippus; commemorated Jan. 17 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*) [W. F. G.]

JORDAN, THE RIVER, IN ART. The representations of the river Jordan in early Christian art, especially those sculptured on sarcophagi (Bottari, *tav. xxix.*), are generally copied, with more or less exactness, from the river-gods of pagan antiquity. Thus we find him personified as an old man with a crown and sceptre of reeds, sometimes leaning upon an urn from which flows a stream of water. He is thus represented in the mosaic in the baptistery of St. John in fonte at Ravenna, with the name



Mosaic at Ravenna. From Ciampini.

IORDANN, written over his head (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon. i. tav. lxx.*, see woodcut); also in an illumination in a copy of the Book of Judges, in the Vatican. The same mythological type appears again at Ravenna, in a mosaic in the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin; in this instance, however, two horns are substituted for the crown of reeds on the head of the figure (*Id. ibid. II. tav. xxiii.*).

The Jordan, simply as a stream, appears in some sculptured representations of the translation of Elijah (Bottari, *Sculture*, *tav. lii. 2.*), in a painting of the baptism of the Lord in the cemetery of Pontianus, in another fresco in the cemetery of Callistus (Bottari, *lxxii.*), on a bronze medallion of the baptism of the Lord with the name of the river below, **IORDA** (Vettori, *Num. Aer. explic. frontisp.*); in some bottoms of cups, where it flows at the feet of the Saviour (Buonarrotti, *tav. vi. 1.*), and in various mosaics, that of SS. Cosmas and Damian at Rome, for example, with the inscription

JORDANES (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon. tav. xvi.*). See **JESUS CHRIST**, p. 876. On some sarcophagi the Lord appears seated, in the act of teaching, and, at his feet, a half-length human figure holding with both hands a piece of cloth, which inflated by the wind, spreads above his head in the form of an arch. This has been supposed to be another emblem of the river Jordan (Cavdoni, *Rugquot. crit.* p. 50), on the banks of which several of the Lord's discourses were delivered. But see **FIRMAMEN**. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chréti.* s. v. 'Jourdain'.) [C.]

JOSEPH. (1) Of Thessalonica, *ἱεὸς παῖθo καὶ διολογητής*; commemorated July 13 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Husband of the Virgin Mary; commemorated Hamle 26=July 20 (*Cal. Ethiop.*)

(3) Ab Alaverli; commemorated Sept. 15 (*Cal. Georg.*).

(4) Patriarch of Alexandria, †849 A.D.; commemorated Tekent 23=Oct. 20 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

(5) The Just; commemorated July 20 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

JOSEPH, ST. Early Christian art has left us no work in which St. Joseph appears alone.



St. Joseph. Carving in Ivory, from Martigny.

or even as a principal figure. In such subjects as the Nativity, the Adoration of the Shepherds, and of the Magi, and the finding of Jesus in the Temple, he appears only as an accessory; never in an exalted, seldom even in a prominent, position.

He is represented as a middle-aged man, sometimes bald (Bottari, *tav. lxxxvi.*), sometimes with thick hair (*Id. lxxxv.*; Allegranza, *Monum. Sacr. di Milano*, *tav. iv.*); he is generally robed in tunic and pallium, and carries some carpenter's tool, as the distinctive mark of his calling (Molanus, *de Hist. SS. Imag.* p. 269). Thus in a diptych in Milan cathedral he is represented with a saw (Bugati, *Meoior. di S. Celso*, p. 282), on the sarcophagus of Celsus, also in Milan, he carries an adze (Bugati, *u. s. p.*

an, *Vet. Mon.* tav. xvi.). See 70. On some sarcophagi the 1, in the act of teaching, and length human figure holding piece of cloth, which inflated is above his head in the form has been supposed to be an the river Jordan (Cavdoni, 50), on the banks of which P's discourses were delivered. r. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chin.*) [C.]

Of Thessalonica, *ἁγίου πατρὸς* commemorated July 13 (*Cal.*

the Virgin Mary; commemor- 20 (*Cal. Ethiop.*)

; commemorated Sept. 15

Alexandria, †849 A.D.; com- 23—Oct. 20 (*Cal. Ethiop.*); commemorated July 20 (*Mo. t. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

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242), and wears the everydny costume of an artisan.

In all these cases St. Joseph retains the unobtrusive position assigned to him in the gospel narratives—always in the background, and apparently full of earnest thought. He appears absorbed in his duty as the protector of the Holy Family; in an attitude of watchful love he stands behind the Virgin while the Holy Child sleeps upon her knees; sometimes his hand is stretched over them in token of protection (Perret, vol. v. pl. xii.); sometimes, seated near the cradle, he guards the slumbers of the Divine Infant.

Bandini gives an ancient ivory (*In tabulam ebura*, in fine; see woodcut), which shows two scenes in the life of St. Joseph. Above, the dream; an angel standing by a bed extends his arm over the sleeper in the attitude of exhortation. Below, we have the journey to Bethlehem; an angel leads the ass on which the Virgin is seated; her arm encircles Joseph's neck, and his whole attitude expresses the most reverent affection. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* s. v.) [C.]

JOSHUA, the son of Nun; commemorated Sept. 1 (*Cal. Byzant.*); Senne 25=June 19 (*Cal. Ethiop.*). Also with GIDEON. [W. F. G.]

JOURNEYING. All travellers and strangers were expected to bring COMMENDATORY LETTERS, i.e. testimonials from their own bishop, and were then admitted to communicate in the Eucharist. Persons who had not provided themselves with these, might share if they needed it, in the hospitality provided by the churches and religious houses, but were not admitted to communion. This was to guard against the admission of excommunicated persons. The Apostolical Canons order that if any person was received without commendatory letters, and it afterwards appeared that he was excommunicate, both the receiver and received should be cast out of communion (*Can. xiii.*). From an allusion in the letters of Gregory the Great, we learn that those who travelled by sea sometimes took the reserved sacrament in both kinds with them in tin ship, so as not to be deprived of communion. (*Gregor. Dialog.* III., c. 36, apud Baron. an. 404). "Peregrina Communio," or the Communion of Strangers, is a well-known phrase in Canons, but is not well understood (Bingham, xvii. 3; and COMMUNION, HOLY, p. 417). From the fifth century downwards, these rules were of continual application, in consequence of the increasing practice of going on pilgrimages. [PILGRIMAGE.] [S. J. E.]

JOVINIANUS, the reader of Auxerre; Pas- cio, May 5 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

JOVINUS, martyr at Rome with Basileus, under Gallienus and Valerianus; commemorated March 2 (*Mart. Rom. Vel., Adonis, Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

JOVITA. [FAUSTINUS (1).]

JUDAS ISCARIOT. The subjoined wood- cut is taken from Assemani's *Catalogus Bibl. Laurentianae*, and represents one of the illuminations in the great MS. of Rabula, in this collection. The subject is very rare in early Christian art. The Betrayal of our Lord afterwards became specially popular with painters;

but is not found that we are aware of (except possibly in MSS.) within the limits of our period



Martigny makes no mention of it, and Guéne- baut's earliest example is of the 12th century. [C.] [R. St. J. T.]

JUDE THE APOSTLE, ST., LIXOEND AND FESTIVAL OF.

1. *Legend, &c.*—With the name of this apostle considerable difficulties are associated; the questions as to the identity of Jude with Lebbaena and Thaddaeus, the identity of Jude the apostle with Judas the Lord's brother, and, on the hypothesis which distinguishes these two last, the question as to which was the author of the canonical epistle. As to the first point, in spite of some curious complications, we can hardly hesitate to assume the identity of the three; it is not conceivable that the Evangelists should have actually varied in the lists of the Twelve. It is not necessary to enter at length into this point here, as it will be found discussed in the DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE; a few further remarks, however, may be made. The most prominent tradition in connection with the name of this apostle is the mission to Abgarus, king of Edessa, to which we shall again refer. The case is, however, complicated by the fact that some writers describe this Thaddaeus as the apostle (e.g. Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.* x. 4; vol. vii. pt. 1, 57, ed. Vallarsi; and the *Acta Thaddaei, infra*), while others (e.g. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 13) speak of him as one of the Seventy disciples, who was sent to Edessa by the apostle Thomas. This last writer introduces another difficulty by stating (*l. c.*) that the name of Thomas was really Judas.* Yet another element of confusion has been brought in by those who identify Lebbaeus with Levi (cf. *Orig. contra Celsum*, i. 62). Any discussion, however, on these theories is quite beyond our present province, and we shall therefore assume the identity of Jude, Lebbaeus, and Thaddaeus; and in collecting the various notices of Thaddaeus we shall include all as belonging to the apostle, except those which distinctly refer to him as one of the Seventy. As to the varying forms of the traditions about Thaddaeus's labours and death, it is utterly impossible to say how far they are to be viewed as distinctly confic-

* In the Syriac *Acts* of Thomas, published by Dr. Wright, the name Thomas appears as a mere occasional addition to Judas. See also Assemani, *Bibl. Or.* t. 318.

ling legends, and how far they are to be explained as referring to two different men.

We shall now proceed briefly to glance through the various legends. The *Martyrologium Hieronymi* speaks in its Prologue of St. Simon and St. Jude having suffered together "in Susia, civitate magna apud Persidem" (*Patrol.* xxx. 451), though in the body of the work the scene of the martyrdom is simply given as "alibi" (ib. 495). The Martyrology of Bede speaks of previous labours of St. Jude in Mesopotamia (*Patrol.* xciv. 184); so also the Western Martyrologies generally, see e.g. those of Wandalbert (*Patrol.* cxli. 616) and Usuard (*Patrol.* cxxiv. 630). So also Isidore, who refers to labours in Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Armenia (*de ortu et obitu Patrum*, c. 78, *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 453) and Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* viii. 6; *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 270). Paulinus of Nola does indeed speak of his labours among the Libyans (*Poena* xix. 82; *Patrol.* lxi. 514), but a mere unsupported statement of this kind need not count for much. The account given by Nicephorus (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 40) varies somewhat, and, as will be seen, we cannot account for the variation by referring it to the other Thaddaeus. The apostle is spoken of as labouring in Judaea, Galilee, Samaria, Idumaea, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, finally dying peaceably at Edessa; on his arrival at which place he found that Thaddaeus, one of the Seventy disciples, had been there before him. The Apocryphal Acts of Thaddaeus (*infra*) differ again. According to these, Thaddaeus was a native of Edessa, who was a disciple of St. John the Baptist before he followed Christ. Abgarus, king of Edessa, having been healed by a miraculous portrait sent him by our Lord, is visited by Thaddaeus after the Ascension. The apostle, after making many converts, journeys to Amis on the Tigris, and thence to Berytus in Phoenicia where he apparently dies a natural death.

Syrian traditions almost universally distinguish Thaddaeus, the apostle of Edessa, from St. Jude; though, like Western authorities, they assign Mesopotamia to the latter as the sphere of his labours; the former, however, whom they ordinarily name Adai, they maintain to be one of the Seventy (see Asemanni, *Bibl. Orient.* i. 318; iii. part 1, 297, 302; from which latter reference it appears that practically the only exception to the general character of the stream of Syrian tradition is Jesuhabus, bishop of Nisibis, with whom Adai is the same as the apostle St. Jude:—for the history of this Adai, see *Op. cit.* iii. part 2, pp. 8–13).

2. *Festival*.—As in the case of not a few others of the apostles, there is a lack of evidence for any early special commemoration of St. Jude; and its absence from the earlier Sacramentaries, as well as the fact that hardly any ancient Homilies⁴ are extant for such a festival, points in the same direction. In the West the commemoration of St. Jude has been joined with that of St. Simon on October 28, but this combination does not occur in Eastern calendars. The reason for this association of the two names it is impossible to ascertain; it may have been from the belief that the two apostles were brothers, or from the tradition of their having suffered martyrdom on the same day, but as in the parallel case of St. Phillip and St. James it is perfectly useless to theorize. It may merely be remarked that as regards the first of these theories, there is no trace of such a combination of St. Peter and St. Andrew, and but little of one of St. James and St. John: as regards the latter, the tradition can have been by no means a wide-spread one, inasmuch as only the Western church commemorates the two apostles on the same day.

We have already remarked as to the absence of this festival from the oldest liturgical authorities. Thus we find no trace of it in the Leonine or Gelasian Sacramentaries, in Mabillon's Gallican liturgy, in Maratori's Gregorian Sacramentary and in the calendar of Fronto: nor is it recognized in the Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York (ob. 766 A.D.). It is found, however, in the Gregorian Sacramentary as edited by Menard (*col.* 137), where also a separate mass is provided for the vigil. The vigil is also recognized with the festival in Menard's Gregorian Antiphonary (*col.* 711), and in the St. Gall MS. of the *Martyrologium Gellonense* (D'Achèry, *Syneclogium*, xlii. 427). A mass for the festival is given in the Ambrosian liturgy, part of which is the same as that in the Gregorian (Pamelius, *Litu. yg. Lat.* i. 427); and in the Mozarabic missal, where, however, it must be noticed that the greater part of the service is borrowed from that for another festival, that for St. Peter and St. Paul (*Patrol.* lxxv. 888, where see Leslie's note: also for the form in the Mozarabic breviary, see *Patrol.* lxxvii. 1236). The *Comes Hieronymi*, as published by Pamelius (*Liturgy. Lat.* ii. 53) gives an Old Testament lection [or epistle] and gospel for the vigil and the festival; Wisdom iii. 1 sqq., John xv. 1 sqq., and Romans viii. 28 sqq., John xv. 17 sqq.

Besides the festival of October 28, it may be noted that some Western calendars give other commemorations of St. Simon and St. Jude: thus the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*, as given by D'Achèry from the Corbey MS., adds one on July 1 (*Patrol.* xxx. 464), and the *Martyrologium Gellonense* (D'Achèry, 405) two, on June 29 and July 1.

In the Eastern church, as we have already said, St. Jude is commemorated apart from St. Simon, on June 19. There is also a festival on August 21 of Thaddaeus, whom we should assume to be the apostle of Edessa viewed as distinct from St. Jude. Papebroch, however (*infra*), evidently refers both to the same St. Jude in his notes to the Greek metrical *Ephemerides* published by him in the *Acta Sanctorum* (May, vol. i. pp. xxxii. xl.). The notices here are—*ἕνεκα καὶ δευτέρῃ Θθάδαῖος Βελέσσαν Ἰουδας, καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρῃ Θθάδαῖος ἄδραον ἀπέβη*. In the Armenian calendar we find commemorations of Thaddaeus on July 20 and of Thaddaeus and Bartholomew on November 30 (Neale, *Eastern Church*, Introd. pp. 800, 804). Whether, however, both of these are to be referred to St. Jude we are unable to say. We may refer lastly to the com-

³ The *Martyrologium Gellonense* speaks of St. Jude's having been buried "in Nerito Arminiae urbe" (D'Achèry, *Syneclogium*, xlii. 390). This is probably a false reading for "in Beryto"; so Isidore (l.c.) "in Beryto Armeniae."

⁴ Maratori (*not. in loc.*) tries to account for the discrepancy by supposing Libya to be the place of sepulture, but not of death, but this is palpably over-refining.

⁵ Among the very few, we may note that of Nicetas Paphlago (*Patrol.* Gr. cv. 251); that once attributed to Bede (*Patrol.* xciv. 489) is spurious.

Jude has been joined with that of October 28, but this combination is an Eastern calendar. The reason of the two names it is obvious; it may have been from the two apostles were brothers, or from their having suffered martyrdom day, but as in the parallel of St. James it is perfectly clear. It may merely be remarked that the first of these theories, there is such a combination of St. Peter and but little of one of St. James regards the latter, the tradition by no means a wide-spread one, of the Western church commemorates the apostles on the same day.

It is also remarked as to the absence of the oldest liturgical authorities no trace of it in the Leonine sacramentaries, in Mabillon's *Gallia Muratori's* Gregorian Sacramental calendar of Fronton; nor is it in the Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of A.D. It is found, however, in a sacramentary as edited by Menard also a separate mass is prescribed. The vigil is also recognized in Menard's Gregorian Antiphonal, and in the *Gal. Mass of the Gelonense* (D'Achèry, *Spicil.* A mass for the festival is given in a liturgy, part of which is the Gregorian (Pamelius, *Liturg.* and in the Mozarabic missal, it must be noticed that in the service is borrowed from the festival, that for St. Peter and St. James, 888, where see Leslie's form in the Mozarabic breviary, lxxvi. 1236). The Comes published by Pamelius (*Liturg.* as an Old Testament lesson for the vigil and the festival; *ibid.*, John xv. 1 sqq., and Romans xv. 17 sqq.).

The festival of October 28, it may be seen in the Western calendar give other names of St. Simon and St. Jude: *Logium Hieronymi*, as given by the Corbey MS., adds one on Oct. xx. 464), and the *Martyrologium* (Achèry, 405) two, on June 29 and

church, as we have already said, commemorated apart from St. Simon. There is also a festival on August 15, whom we should assume to be the same as distinct from the arch, however (*infra*), evidently the same St. Jude in his notes to call *Ephemerides* published by *Sanctorum* (May, vol. i. p. notices here are — *ἡγία καὶ θεοτάτη Ἰούδας*, and *ἡγία Βάσιλα ἀρέστη*. In the Armenian commemorations of Thaddeus and Bartholomew 30 (Nelle, *Eastern Church*, 304). Whether, however, both be referred to St. Jude we are not sure. We may refer lastly to the ca-

endars of the Egyptian and Ethiopic churches published by Ludolf (*Pastor Sacri Ecclesie Alexandrinae*). Here we find "Jude, Apostle," commemorated by the former church on Jan. 26 and May 10 (pp. 19, 28); and a commemoration by both churches of Thaddeus on June 29 (p. 32), and of the Translation of the body of Thaddeus on July 23 (p. 35). The last two are perhaps to be referred to Thaddeus viewed as external to the Twelve.

3. Whether the apostle St. Jude is to be considered as the author of the canonical epistle bearing the name of Jude, we do not discuss here; reference may be made on this point to the *DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE*. But little pseudonymous literature is connected with the name of St. Jude; an apocryphal gospel bearing the name of Thaddeus is mentioned in some forms of the records of the council held at Rome in 494 A.D. under the episcopate of Gelasius (*Patrol.* lix. 162). It has been suggested, but does not seem probable, that *Thaddæi* is a false reading for *Matthæi*. There are also extant *Acta Thaddæi*, of which the Greek text was first published by Tischendorf (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pp. 261 sqq.). In this is contained the letter of Abgarus to our Lord in a somewhat different form from that given by Eusebius. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 25) give, in the name of "Lebbeus, surnamed Thaddeus," the regulation as to the order of widows in the church, and also as to exorcists. Finally, we may refer for the legendary history to the *Historia Apostolica* of the Pseudo-Abdias (lib. vi.; Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti*, i. 591 sqq., ed. 1719). In addition to works already cited, see also Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, vol. iii. pp. 206 sqq. Van Heeke in the *Acta Sanctarum* (October, vol. xii. pp. 437 sqq.); Assemani, *Kalendarium Ecclesie Universae*, vi. 432 sqq.

[R. S.]

JUDGE. The early ecclesiastical jurisdiction was exercised without formality or strict adherence to legal rights and requirements, in a quasi-paternal manner. [Compare **DISCIPLINE.**] No special training was therefore required for it. The bishop himself was the usual and "ordinary" judge; and appeals from him went to the provincial synod or to the metropolitan, primate or patriarch in person. [APPEAL; AUDIENTIA EPISCOPALIS; BISHOP, p. 236.]

The earliest officer of the bishop occupying in any sense an independent position was the OECONOMUS or treasurer. This office was often united with that of the *defensor* or guardian and advocate of the liberties of the church, who is spoken of in the 2nd canon of the council of Chalcedon. [ADVOCATE OF THE CHURCH.] Gothofredus (in *Col. l. iii. 33. 2*) says that the *defensor* became in time a judge in small causes; and his office is supposed by Ayliffe (*Parerg.* 160) to have been the original of the modern official or chancellor.

The word "official," the technical word in later times (as in the 12th century) for the officer exercising coercive jurisdiction on behalf of the bishop or metropolitan, is not used in this sense in the Code or in the Novels. The word indeed often occurs in them, but as the name of a secular officer.

The 9th canon of the council of Chalcedon

speaks of arbitrators being chosen with the bishop's consent to determine civil controversies between clerks, instead of the bishop.

The greater formality and style of the ecclesiastical courts grew up with the increase of jurisdiction over civil matters and with the appointment of "officials" in the 12th century. The presence of a registrar to make solemn record of the decrees of the court was first ordered in the council of Lateran held under Innocent III. A.D. 1215; though it was probably customary to have a scribe or notary present at the formal sittings of the courts for some time before this; and we actually hear of notaries at the pseudo-council of Ephesus, A.D. 449. Apparitors or summoners to the bishop's courts are spoken of in the Code and Novels, where the fees to be taken by them are specially regulated.

In what has been said as to the bishop being the "ordinary" judge, it is not intended to imply that he decided, at any rate grave cases, alone, or without the advice and concurrence of his clergy.

Similarly the metropolitan, even if he did not convene the whole provincial synod, collected some of the bishops of the province to assist him in deciding the causes brought before him. In some cases the canons or imperial laws speak of the metropolitan, in others of the synod, as the proper court.

The jurisdiction of abbots [AUBAT] had hardly grown up during the period of which we are treating. They had at the utmost a sort of parental authority subordinate to the bishop. [JURISDICTION.] [W. G. F. P.]

JULIA. (1) Virgin, martyr in Corsica; commemorated May 22 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi).

(2) [FLORENTIUS.]

(3) Virgin, martyr at Troyes; commemorated July 21 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

(4) Martyr in Lusitania with Venerissima and Maxima (S.).

(5) Virgin, martyr at Augusta Eufrestasia; commemorated Oct. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(6) Virgin, martyr at Emerita (Merida) with Eulalia; commemorated Dec. 10 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

JULIANA. (1) Martyr "apud Augustanum urbem" with Quiriacus, Largio, Crescentianus, Ninnius, and 20 others; commemorated Aug. 12 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

(2) Virgin, martyr at Cumæ, in the time of Maximianus; commemorated Feb. 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedæ, Adonis, Usuardi).

(3) Martyr of Nicomedia, A.D. 299; commemorated Dec. 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

JULIANUS. (1) Martyr with Maximianus and Lucianus (*Mart.* Usuardi).

(2) and Basilissa, martyrs at Antioch under Diocletian and Maximian; commemorated Jan. 6 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi) Nov. 25 (*Cal. Armen.*).

(3) Martyr in Egypt with five others; commemorated Feb. 16 (*Mart.* Adonis, Usuardi).

(4) Martyr in Africa with Publius; commemorated Feb. 19 (*Mart.* Usuardi).

(5) Martyr at Alexandria; commemorated Feb. 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(6) Bishop; deposed at Toledo, March 6 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(7) [SYMPHOROSA.]

(8) Tharsenus, martyr; commemorated June 21 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(9) Martyr at Damascus with Sabinus, Maximus, Macrobis, Cassius, Paula, and 10 others; commemorated July 20 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(10) Martyr at Rome with Peter and 18 others; commemorated Aug. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(11) Saint in Syria; commemorated with Macarius, Aug. 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(12) Martyr at Clermont; commemorated Aug. 28 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(13) Presbyter, martyr at Terracina with Caesarius the deacon in the time of Claudius; commemorated Nov. 1 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi).

(14) Patriarch of Alexandria, *†*A. D. 189; commemorated Magabit 8 = March 4 (*Cal. Ethiop.*).

[W. F. G.]

JULITTA or **JULIETTA**, martyr at Antioch with her son Cyricus or Cyrillus, A. D. 296; commemorated June 16 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi); Jan. 21 (*Cal. Armen.*); July 15 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

[W. F. G.]

JULIUS. (1) The pope, martyr under Constantius; commemorated April 12 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Hieron., Adonis, Usuardi, *Cal. Bucher.*).

(2) [FELIX (5).]

(3) Senator, martyr at Rome under Commodus; commemorated Aug. 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(4) Martyr in Thrace; commemorated Dec. 20 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuardi).

(5) Martyr in Mesia at Dorostorum; commemorated May 27 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi).

(6) Martyr with Potamian, civ. Thagora; commemorated Dec. 5 (*Mart. Usuardi*). [W. F. G.]

JUNCA, COUNCIL OF (*Juncense concilium*). Of Junca in Africa, A. D. 523 (see **AFRICAN COUNCILS**). A canon attributed to it by Ferrandus (n. 23) is to the effect that no bishop may claim anything for himself in a flock that is not his own (Mansi, viii, 633).

[E. S. FE.]

JUNIA and **Andronicus**, apostles, (Rom. xvi. 7); commemorated May 17 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

[W. F. G.]

JURISDICTION. Before the time of Constantine the Great such jurisdiction as was exercised in the church must have been of a purely spiritual character, and its sanctions must have been purely spiritual. Sinners were brought before the tribunal of the bishop, who judged and inflicted spiritual censures, and inflicted them probably without appeal.

Upon the recognition by Constantine of the church as a *collegium licitum*, these spiritual

judgments and censures began to have an effect of which the civil law could take cognizance, and a civil effect was given to them. They were also made use of to assist or sometimes even take the place of the sanctions of the civil law.

In criminal causes where the accused was a clerk, or in any way specially connected with the performance of religious observances, there was an early tendency to make the bishop the judge, first in conjunction with the lay judge and in time as the sole judge. Judging as a spiritual judge over spiritual persons, a confusion arose between the sentences which he imposed in execution of the discipline of the Church, and those which he imposed as a delegate of the power of the State and armed with the authority of a criminal judge. The two matters are so intertwined, that it will be convenient to discuss together the *jurisdiction in spiritual matters* and that over *spiritual persons*.

A second fountain of jurisdiction in the courts of the church was arbitration. Bishops were encouraged by the Christian Emperors to arbitrate on moral grounds between Christians disputing as to matters of right and property, and the civil law gave a civil force to their judgments. Where clerks were parties, the propriety of a recourse to the tribunal of the bishop was considered to be greater. Where a clerk was defendant, his right to escape the annoyance of appearing before a secular tribunal was paralleled and strengthened by his privilege to be tried by the bishop when defendant on a criminal charge. Hence arose *jurisdiction between parties* generally.

Lastly, certain special matters of civil litigation began to be considered, irrespective of the parties, as being peculiarly fit for the cognizance of the ecclesiastical judge. Hence arose a *jurisdiction over special civil causes*.

Jurisdiction in spiritual matters and over spiritual persons.—We have here first to consider the difference between the *forum internum* and the *forum externum*. The *forum internum* was the tribunal in which the bishop or sometimes the priest decide^d on cases of conscience, gave spiritual directions, and counselled with fatherly authority penitential discipline. The procedure and the decision of this tribunal were not, except in the cases where public penance was required, necessarily known to any but the penitent and his judge. The terror of conscience was the only sanction, and there could be no formal appeal. But along with this *forum* the church from its earliest time possessed also a *forum externum* (see 1 Cor. v.; 1 Tim. i. 20). [PENITENCE.]

When the gravity of the offence altered the relation of the parties and converted the father into the avenger, or made it necessary to prefer the public weal of the community to the individual welfare, the sentences of deposition or excommunication were inflicted.

These sentences on clerk or layman were inflicted by the bishop. They were or ought to be recognized by all other bishops, and there was originally no appeal. The so-called Apostolical Canons, though requiring the imposition of these sentences in several cases, are silent as to the procedure by which they were to be inflicted. The Nicene Canons for the first time provides limited right of appeal.

The 5th canon says that clerics or lay people

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cases where the accused was a layman specially connected with the religious observances, there was a tendency to make the bishop the judge. Judging as a spiritual person, a confusion of discipline of the Church, and imposed as a delegate of the lay judge. The two matters are so mixed that it will be convenient to discuss jurisdiction in spiritual matters and persons.

of jurisdiction in the courts of arbitration. Bishops were Christian Emperors to arbitrate between Christians dividers of right and property, and to use a civil force to their judges. Clerks were parties, the property to the tribunal of the bishop was greater. Where a clerk had the right to escape the annoyance of a secular tribunal was paralleled by his privilege to be when defendant on a criminal case jurisdiction between parties

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separated from communion by their own bishop, shall be held everywhere to be so separated; but that in order that no one should be expelled from communion through a contentious or harsh spirit of their bishop, the occasion of their expulsion shall be inquired into by the provincial synod, which is to be held for this purpose twice a year. The decision of the synod is to be final. It was not till considerably later, when, it does not exactly appear, that further appeals were allowed. [APPEAL; INDULGENCE.]

The original discipline of the church had made all crimes as imputing sins the subjects of the penitential discipline or the *forum internum*, and by consequence in the graver and more public cases, or where penitence was not shown, of the *forum externum*. It became however obviously impossible, as the church tribunals took a more formal shape and as appeals came to be allowed, that ordinary criminal offences against the laws of the state should be tried in any fashion by the church courts; and hence a division arose, whereby certain offences became the subject of the almost exclusive jurisdiction of the church courts, while on other offences they were not allowed to sit in judgment.

Offences of laymen subject to the jurisdiction of the church courts were heresy (Van Espen *Jus Eccles. Univ.* pars iii. tit. iv. cap. 2, and the article HERESY), magic (can. 10, caus. 26, q. 5), blasphemy, to be punished by bishop or count according to the capitularies of the Frank kings (lib. vi. cap. 101), and probably cases of laying violent hands on clerks. It seems that incest and incontinence were not distinctly reckoned as offences over which the church had coercive jurisdiction till late in the 9th or the 10th century, though they were of course subject to penitential discipline [FORNICATION; MARRIAGE; INCEST].

Every offence which when committed by a layman subjected him to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court, subjected *a fortiori* a clerk.

But the subjection of clerks to the ecclesiastical tribunals was much wider than this. In A.D. 376 a law of Gratian and Valentinian is said to have subjected clerks for small offences or offences of an ecclesiastical nature to their diocesan synod (L. 23, *Cod. Theod. de Episcopis et Clericis*). But a special exception was made of such offences as gave rise to a criminal action before the ordinary or extraordinary judges or the higher officials classed as the *Illustres*. So in A.D. 399, Arcadius and Honorius are said (L. 1. *Cod. Theod. De Religione*) to have ordered causes relating to religion to be tried by the bishops, but questions which related to the civil law to be tried according to the law (*i.e.* by the lay judges). Rather stronger is an edict attributed to Valentinian Theodosius and Arcadius (L. 3 *Cod. Theod. de Episcop. Jud.*) Van Espen (*Jus Eccl. pars iii. tit. iii. cap. i.*) cites a constitution of Honorius, A.D. 412 (L. 41, *Cod. Theod. de Episcop. et Clericis*) which would apparently subject the clerk for all offences to the bishop; but it is held that the words, though vague and general, do not really refer to other than ecclesiastical offences.

We come next to Justinian. The Code contains an enumeration of the courts by which an accused clerk is to be tried as follows: he is to be tried before his bishop. If the bishop be

"suspected" there is to be an appeal (or possibly an original trial) before the metropolitan. If his decision be not satisfactory, an appeal lies to the provincial synod and thence to the patriarch, whose judgment (subject to certain peculiar rights in the patriarch of Constantinople) is to be final. The law then proceeds as follows: "As for these proceedings, if they relate to ecclesiastical matters, we order that they be of necessity tried only by the most religious bishops or metropolitans, or by the sacred synods, or by the most holy patriarchs. But if there is a controversy as to civil matters, though we will allow those who wish it to bring the question before the bishops, yet we will not compel them, since there are civil tribunals, if they prefer to go to them, before which tribunals also criminal proceedings can be had" (Cod. i. iv. 29).

This law seems to confuse civil and criminal proceedings, and has a relation to both. The 83rd Novell is more precise. It recites a request of Menas or Mennas, the patriarch of Constantinople, and proceeds to confer certain privileges upon clerks. The first relate to civil suits. As to criminal causes, it enacts that where they relate to secular matters they shall be tried before the lay judge; but before the lay judge proceeds to execute the sentence, he shall allow the bishop to depose or degrade his clerk. Criminal causes relating to ecclesiastical matters are to be tried by the bishop. The 123rd Novell effected a further alteration (cap. xxi.) Making the same reservations as to ecclesiastical causes, it provides that a clerk accused of a secular criminal offence shall be brought before the bishop, who if he find him guilty shall depose him *ab honore et gradu*, from his office and order, and send him to the lay judge for secular punishment; or he may be brought before the lay judge first, in which case the lay judge is to transmit the evidences of his guilt to the bishop, who is to depose him and send him back to the lay judge for secular punishment. This Novell extends to monks, deaconesses, and nuns.

Van Espen (*loc. cit.*) quotes some canons of the 6th century as going further in this respect, and the capitularies of the Frank kings enact that clerks shall not be judged by lay judges, but by ecclesiastical ones (lib. i. cap. 38); and that no one shall presume to accuse a clerk, monk, or nun before a lay judge (lib. v. cap. 378).

In England it is well known that the distinction between secular and ecclesiastical courts did not exist during the Anglo-Saxon rule, the sheriff and the bishop sitting side by side on the same bench.

The punishments or censures inflicted by the episcopal tribunals were at first mere acts of penance, the discipline retaining its original penitential character. So early indeed as the Theodosian Code (L. 21 *De Haereticis*) a fine of ten pounds of gold seems to have been imposed on any clerk or bishop who was convicted of heresy; but it does not appear whether this fine was imposed by the ecclesiastical judge or by the lay judge after sentence by the ecclesiastical judge. [FINES, p. 671.]

Seclusion in a monastery both for laymen and more especially for clerks and bishops was an earlier punishment. It seems to be mentioned in the Epistles of St. Gregory (lib. 2 *Epist.* 27, 40), and in a canonical rule of about the year 816 as

a substitute for scourging. [IMPRISONMENT, p. 829.]

The 123rd Novell (cap. xi.) orders that any bishop who has been by law expelled from his see, yet returns to the city, shall be shut up in a monastery.

Exile or banishment from the city they disturbed, or in which the public offence was committed, seems to have been first used as an ecclesiastical punishment towards the close of the period of which we are writing (see *Epist. of St. Gregory*, lib. 9, *Ep.* 66). It is very doubtful though whether it was ever exercised in *vitium*, unless it was supported by a special decree of the civil authority. The bishops of large towns, particularly Constantinople, were however often armed with a power of sending back to their own dioceses clerks disorderly frequenting the capital.

Scourging, as a means of penitential discipline, is mentioned by St. Augustine (*Epist.* 133) and St. Gregory (*Epist.* lib. 2, *Epist.* 52, lib. 9, *Epist.* 66) [CORPORAL PUNISHMENT]. It seems to have been used by bishops with reference to their younger clerks, and by abbots with reference to monks. In the canon law (can. 10, c. 26, q. 5) an epistle of St. Gregory is quoted in which he orders practisers of magic if they be slaves to be scourged, if free men, to be secluded till they are penitent. The 38th of the Apostolical Canons orders that any bishop, priest, or deacon, who endeavours to make himself feared by scourging either sinners or men outside the Christian community who have done wrong shall be deposed. St. Paul requires as a qualification of a bishop that he should be "no striker" (1 Tim. iii. 3). The 123rd Novell (cap. xi.) forbids the bishop to beat any one with his hands.

Besides these corporal punishments, the ecclesiastical courts continued to administer and inflict their old censures, now become also of worldly import, of excommunication and deposition or degradation.

So clearly was the distinction between these last censures and matters of internal and penitential discipline now marked, that St. Augustine seems to say that bishops cannot prohibit any one from communicating unless the penitent has confessed his crime or been convicted by a secular or an ecclesiastical judge; "nos a communione prohibere quenquam non possumus . . . nisi aut sponte confessum, aut in aliquo sive seculari sive ecclesiastico iudicio nominatum atque convictum" (*Serm.* 351, § 16; *Opp.* v. 1358, ed. Bened.). Conformably to this the 123rd Novell (cap. xi.) forbids the excommunication of any one till after a full trial.

It should be said here that monks, who were originally subject to their bishops like any other laymen, were made in a special and further degree subject to them by the council of Chalcedon at the suggestion of the emperor Marcian (Van Espen pars III. tit. xii. cap. 1). There seems to have been no question of their exemption from episcopal authority till the 6th century; and even then the exemptions conferred on them were not exemptions from jurisdiction, but from despotic invasion of their internal rights.

The abbot or dean exercised a subordinate jurisdiction, such as remains now with our

deacons and chapters; and actual exemption from their bishop's authority sometimes was conferred on monasteries. [EXEMPTION OF MONASTERIES.]

The trial of bishops has been reserved for separate mention.

It is first provided for in the Apostolical Canons (can. 74). This is the more remarkable as there are no provisions in these canons regulating the trials of clergy or laity.

This canon provides that a bishop when accused by credible persons shall be summoned by other bishops (that is, the other bishops of the province), to appear before them. If he appears and confesses, or is convicted, his punishment is to be decreed. If he does not appear, he is to be summoned a second time personally by two bishops, and so if necessary a third time, after which he is to be tried and condemned in his absence. The 75th canon prevents heretics from giving evidence against a bishop, and requires the evidence of two witnesses.

The Nicene Canon (can. 5) as to the appeal of clerks and laymen to the diocesan synod (quoted p. 894 *supra*) has been held by many, notably by St. Augustine (see Van Espen, pars III. tit. iii. cap. 5) to relate also to the trial of bishops. However this may be, the 6th canon of the council of Constantinople undoubtedly provides for the trial of bishops. After refusing the evidence of heretics, excommunicated persons and persons accused of crimes, it proceeds to enact that if any not disqualified person has any ecclesiastical charge to prefer against a bishop, he shall bring it before the provincial synod. If the synod cannot correct the crime, the bishops thereof shall go before the greater synod of that "diocese" (diocese is here used in the imperial sense of a larger province, exarchate or patriarchate), but shall not bring their accusation till they have submitted to undergo a like penalty, if they are found calumniators. The decree is to be then made by the greater synod, and there is to be no appeal either to the emperor or to a general council from it.

The 9th canon of the council of Chalcedon seems to relate primarily to civil suits. It orders that any dispute between a clerk and a bishop (whether his own bishop or not) shall be tried by the provincial synod. If bishop or clerk have a dispute with the metropolitan, the trial should be before the exarch of the diocese or the emperor.

The 123rd Novell provides (cap. viii.) that a bishop shall not, whether in a pecuniary (civil) or criminal cause, be brought against his will before any civil or military judge; and (cap. xvii.) that disputes between bishops, whether on ecclesiastical or other matters, shall be tried in the first instance by the metropolitan and his synod, with an appeal to the patriarch; while bishops accused of crimes are to be tried by the metropolitan (apparently alone), from whom an appeal lies first to the archbishop (that is probably the primate or exarch or president of the greater synod), and thence to the patriarch.

Jurisdiction between parties.—In the early days of the church, when Christians formed a small and separate society, it was natural and almost necessary that disputes between them should be settled by arbitration within their own body, to avoid the scandals to which references to heathen judges might give rise. St. Paul expressly

ters; and actual exemption from authority sometimes was conferred [EXEMPTION OF MONASTRIES]. Jurisdiction over bishops has been reserved for

provided for in the Apostolic (1 Cor. vi. 8). The arbitrator chosen would naturally be the bishop, and this appears to have been the case.

After the recognition of the church by Constantine, provision was made for giving a legal sanction to these arbitrations. Constantine himself is said (Van Espen, pars III. tit. i. cap. 2) to have allowed litigants to choose the bishop instead of the lay judge, and to have ordered effect to be given to the sentence of a bishop as judging. A constitution of Arcadius and Honorius is preserved in the Code (l. iv. 7) allowing litigants to go before the bishop in civil matters only and as before an arbitrator.

Another constitution of Honorius and Theodosius (Cod. l. iv. 8) orders that the bishop's judgment shall be binding on all those who have chosen him as judge, and shall have as much force as a judgment of the praetorian prefect, from whom there could be no appeal.

It appears that at this time Jews had the privilege of trying their disputes if they pleased before their rabbi or "patriarch." Valentinian III. allowed the same result to be obtained by means of a previous formal "compromissum" or submission to arbitration. None of these constitutions, however, in the least degree compel the resort to the ecclesiastical tribunal, unless the matter in question be of an ecclesiastical nature, not even though the defendant be a clerk.

So the emperor Marcian (Cod. l. iii. 25) speaks of an episcopal audience for clerks who are sued at law, but gives the plaintiff the power of choosing the lay tribunal.

The 67th Novell makes provision for the mode of trial, which is to be summary. There being the power of resorting to the arbitration of the bishop, the church compelled by threats of censure every clerk at least to resort only to the tribunal of the bishop. Among other canons on this subject may be cited that of the council of Chalcedon (can. 9) which orders that any clerk who shall have a dispute with another clerk shall not go before the secular tribunals, but shall plead his cause first before his bishop, or before such person, with the consent of the bishop, as both parties shall choose to decide the question.

The 9th canon of the 3rd council of Carthage orders that any bishop, priest, deacon, or clerk, who has a civil matter in dispute, and brings it before the secular tribunals, shall lose all that he gains by the sentence of the secular tribunal, or shall be deprived of his office. There are also canons of the 4th council of Carthage to the same effect.

The 79th Novell (cap. 1.) gives the *fori privilegium* for the first time. It provides that any one having a cause with any of the venerable holy men (the monks) or the holy virgins, or any women living in nunneries, shall go before the bishop. The bishop is to send to the monastery and to provide for the appearance of the defendants before him, either by the intervention of their abbots or of agents (*responsales*) or is on no account to come before the secular judges.

reprobates the practice of "brother going to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers" (1 Cor. vi. 8).

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The 83rd Novell, which has been already

referred to,^a extends the privileges. Any one having a pecuniary cause against a clerk is to go before the bishop,^b who is to decide summarily without writing. His sentence may, however, be put in writing. There is to be no recourse to the civil tribunals; but the main object of the Novell is to avoid long delays and pleadings, rather than to change the tribunal which is to adjudge.

The 123rd Novell puts the privilege on a firm basis. Clerks, monks, deaconesses, nuns, and ascetic women, are to be impleaded before the bishop. The lay judge is to execute the bishop's sentence, if there is no appeal. But either of the parties may appeal within ten days to the local lay judge. If he decides in accordance with the bishop's judgment, the decision is final.

If the lay judge decides contrary to the bishop, his sentence may be appealed from in the regular way of civil suits.

If the bishop delayed to hear or decide on the cause, the plaintiff might go at once before the lay judge. This Novell expressly reserves all ecclesiastical suits for the sole cognizance of the bishop.

The capitularies of the Frank kings (lib. i. cap. 28) ordered all disputes between clerks to be settled by their bishop, and not by secular judges; while another capitulary (lib. vi. cap. 366) recites and enforces an edict, attributed to Theodosius, declaring that the sentences of the bishops, however declared, and apparently in whatever causes, shall be ever held inviolate. This edict was declared by Charlemagne to be binding over all parts of his empire.

The object of these laws also seems to have been to avoid prolixity of pleadings, technicality of procedure, and long disputes, distracting holy men from their proper avocations, rather than any supposed impropriety of secular judges exercising jurisdiction over clerks.

The constitution of the special court of his bishop for the clerk or monk, seems to have been considered by the secular authorities as a privilege given to him, which he might waive, the secular court having always the capacity to exercise jurisdiction over him, if the *privilegium fori* were not set up. But the canons and decrees of the councils and synods leave the clerk no option, forbidding him to sue, or to abstain from raising his privilege when sued, in the lay court.

The secular authorities seem to have retained nevertheless their view of this exemption as a privilege and capable of waiver. Gothofred (in Cod. l. iii. 33 and 51) cites a constitution of the emperor Frederic (apparently Frederic II.) strongly denouncing any assertion of jurisdiction by the lay judge in civil or criminal matters; but yet allowing the clerk to waive his privilege and submit to the jurisdiction.

The emperor Alexius Comnenus brought the matter under the general rule "*actor sequitur forum rei*" (Constit. Imp. 289, § 11).

Jurisdiction over special civil causes.—This is mainly the outgrowth of a period later than that prescribed for this work.

^a Supra, p. 895.

^b The text seems to say "archbishop," but this must be a mistake.

The jurisdiction over testamentary causes did not arise in Western Europe till the 12th century. It appears to have arisen early in the 12th century in England; not till the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century in France.

The only indication of testamentary jurisdiction in Eastern or Western Europe during the period of which we treat, appears in the commission given by the Christian emperors to the bishops, to take care that the wishes of the dead should be faithfully performed.

Charlemagne especially intrusted the bishops with the duty of protecting wards, widows, and paupers, and of seeing that no wrong was done to them. This led in time, but not during our period, to a sort of jurisdiction over all cases where a member of one of these classes was concerned.

Matrimonial causes, though infringements of the marriage vow were probably treated of with other matters of spiritual discipline, did not as involving formal legal rights or questions of property, fall to the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical tribunals till the 11th century.

Suits relating to ecclesiastical matters are in many of the Imperial Constitutions mentioned as unquestionably matters for the bishop's jurisdiction. The term "ecclesiastical matters" is vague, and probably varied at different times; but before the expiry of our period, causes relating to tithes and offerings were probably considered as coming within its meaning.

[Authorities referred to for this article.—*Corpus Juris Civilis, cum notis Gothofredi*, ed. Van Leeuwen, Amsterdam, 1663; Ayliffe, *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani*, ed. London, 1734; Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum, pars tertia*; *Commentarius in Canones*; ed. Louvaine, 1753; Landon, *Manual of Councils*, 1846; Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law*, 1873.] [W. G. F. P.]

JUSTA. (1) [FLORENTIUS (1).]

(2) Martyr in Spain, at Seville, with Rufina; commemorated July 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

JUSTINA, virgin, martyr with Cyprian, the bishop; commemorated Sept. 26 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Bedae, Adonis, Usuardi); and Oct. 2 (*Cal. Byzant.*). [W. F. G.]

JUSTINUS. (1) The philosopher, martyr at Pergamus with Carpus the bishop, Papius the deacon, and Agathonica, and many other women; commemorated April 13 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi); June 1 (*Cal. Byzant.*).

(2) Martyr with companions, A.D. 142; commemorated June 1 (*Cal. Byzant.*; see Daniel's *Codex*, iv. 260).

(3) [SYMPHOROBA.]

(4) Martyr in terra Parisiensi; commemorated Aug. 1 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(5) Presbyter, martyr at Rome under Decius; commemorated Sept. 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis, Usuardi). [W. F. G.]

JUSTUS. (1) [FELIX (14).]

(2) Martyr in Spain at Complutum [ALCALA], with Pastor his brother under Decius (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*).

(3) Bishop of Lyons, "Natalis," Sept. 2 (*Mart. Adonis, Usuardi*): translation Oct. 14 (*ib.*).

(4) Martyr in terra Belvacensi (Beauvais); commemorated Oct. 18 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

[W. F. G.]

JUVENALIS. (1) Bishop, confessor at Rome under Adrian; commemorated May 3 (*Mart. Usuardi*).

(2) Martyr on the Island Pontia; commemorated May 7 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Usuardi).

[W. F. G.]

ENALIS

LORENTIUS (1.)
 in, at Seville, with Rufina;
 19 (*Mart. Rom. Vet.*, Adonis,
 [W. F. G.]

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 8 (*Mart. Uuuardi*).
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om. Vet., Uuuardi).
 [W. F. G.]

K
 N.B.—Greek words beginning with K, and their derivatives, are generally given under C, as CATARACTA,
 CATALOGUS, CATECHUMEN, CORNOSTEM.

KALENDS

KALENDS (*Kalendae*), the first day of
 each month in the Roman calendar. The Rule
 of Fructuosus (c. 10) orders that on the first of
 each month (per capita mensium), the abbats of
 a district shall meet in one place, and earnestly
 celebrate monthly litanies, and implore the help
 of the Lord for the souls committed to their
 charge. The monks of Fulda in their petition
 to Charles the Great (§ 1, Migne, *Patrologia*,
 cv. 419) beg that they may be allowed, according
 to the custom of their fathers, to hold one vigil
 and say fifty psalms on the kalends of each month,
 for their brethren departed this life. This was
 in addition to the daily commemoration. (Mar-
 tene, *de Rit. Monach.* II. xiii. 1.) For the observance
 of the Kalends of January in particular, see
 CIRCUMCISION, I. 394; NEW YEAR. [C.]

KEVIN (or COEMGIN), abbat of Glen-da-
 och (valley of the two lakes), in the county of
 Wicklow in Ireland, and bishop (ob. circa A.D.
 618). He is commemorated on June 3 (*Acta*
Sanctorum, June, vol. i. p. 303). [R. S.]

KELLAC, bishop and martyr in Ireland (died
 early in the 7th century, A.D.), commemorated
 [especially at Eiscreach, in Galway] on May 1.
 (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. i. p. 106.) [R. S.]

KENELM, boy-martyr in England (ob. A.D.
 819), son of Kenulf, king of Mercia, commemo-
 rated on July 17; especially at Winchelcombe
 Abbey, which had been built by his father. In
 the *Sarum Breviary* are three lessons for the
 day (add. to Uuuard, *Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol.
 iv. p. 297). [R. S.]

KENTIGERN, bishop of Glasgow (circa A.D.
 560), commemorated on Jan. 13. Some mar-
 tyrologies also give July 1, "In Scotia, Trans-
 latio S. Kentigerni, ep. et conf." The reference,
 however, is quite unknown. (Molanus, *Add.*
 to Uuuard; *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. vol. ii. p. 87.)
 [R. S.]

KESSOG (or MACKESSOG), bishop of
 the provinces of Leven and Boiu in Scotland (ob.
 circa A.D. 560), commemorated on March 10.
 CHRIST. ANT.—VOL. II.

KEYS OF ST. PETER

(*Breviarium Aberdonense*; *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar.
 vol. ii. p. 35.) [R. S.]

KEYNA, virgin recluse of Brecon in South
 Wales, in the 5th or 6th century. From her
 Keynsham in Somersetshire, one of her abodes,
 is said to take its name; where the ammonites
 found in the neighbouring quarries were long
 attributed to her miraculous destruction of the
 serpents. She is commemorated on Oct. 8. (*Acta*
Sanctorum, March, vol. iv. p. 275.) [R. S.]

KEYS OF ST. PETER (IN ART). The
 key or keys appear to be one of the natural
 emblems of early civilisation, always conveying
 the idea of deputed authority and power. The
 abbd Auher (*Symbolisme Religieux*, vol. i. p. 199)
 speaks of the symbolic meaning of the keys in
 the Scandinavian-Gothic household. He further
 connects the prophecy of Isaiah xxii. 22, "I will
 set on his shoulder the key of the house of David,"
 with Rev. iii. 7, where the church of Phila-
 delphia is said to be in possession of the key of
 the house of David, and gives various interpre-
 tations of that expression, making it refer, very
 properly as it appears, to the Lord's Incarnation
 as a member of the house of David after the
 flesh, as the key or central doctrine of the
 Gospel. It seems unnecessary to follow him into
 the further meanings of the keys of hell in the
 Apocalypse; but it is preferable to take the
 symbol in its obvious meaning of deputed power,
 committed to the holder by a higher authority,
 as the Northern or Roman husband committed
 the keys of his house to the custody of his wife.
 (Smith, *Dict. of GR. AND ROM. ANT.* s.c. Matri-
 monium; Festus, s. c. Clavis.) "The bride saluted
 her husband with the words 'Ubi tu Calus ego
 Caia,' and after she had entered the house with
 distaff and spindle, she was placed on a sheep-
 skin; and there the keys of the house were de-
 livered into her hands." The distaff, spindle,
 and sheepskin will remind the Christian archaeo-
 logist of their frequent appearance on the sacro-
 phagi.

The delivery of the keys to St. Peter occurs

in early bas-reliefs. See D'Agincourt, *Sculpture*, planche viii. 11, where the apostle is certainly receiving a key, as it appears a single one, though two are delivered to him on other monuments. In Ariangi (t. i. p. 293) there appear to be two handles, though the wards of only one key are visible. On the sarcophagus on which this subject occurs, St. Peter is bearing the cross and receiving a roll of the Gospel from the Lord's hand, with another apostle. Martigny refers to Perret (vol. i. pl. vii.) for a remarkable but dubious fresco of the catacomb called Platonis,* where our Lord is seen half issuing from a cloud, with St. Peter on His right and St. Paul on the left, and giving the keys to the former. From Bottari (i. 185) we give a woodcut of this subject, which Bianchini regards as of great antiquity (note in *Anast. Vita Urbani*, p. 18). It forms part of the bas-relief round a vase. St. Peter and the keys appear next to our Lord in the church of St. Cecilia, in a mosaic restored by Paschal I., about 820 (*Ciampini, Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. lii. 160).



From Martigny, after Bottari.

St. Peter is also represented with the keys on a sarcophagus at Verona (Maffei, *Museum Veron.* p. 484; *Arch. Numm.* vii. 22), and in the mosaic of the great vault of the basilica of St. Peter, on the Via Ostiensis, dated 441 (Ciampini, V. M. tab. lxxviii.); also in that of S. Maria in Cosmedin, at Ravenna, A.D. 553, where he seems to be presenting them before the throne of the Lamb (*ibid.* ii. tab. xxiii.). Martigny mentions a Greek MS. in the Vatican, dating as far back as the emperor Justin I., where St. Peter holds three keys on a large ring. (Alemani, *de Lateranens. parietin.* tab. vii. p. 55. See also Perret, vol. iii. pl. xii.) Alemani considers the third key as conveying authority over the Empire and the temporal power in general. [R. St. J. T.]

KEYS, POWER OF THE. The metaphor implied in the symbolic use of the word "key" is obviously derived from the fact that he who has the key of a house can admit or exclude whom he will. Thus in Isaiah xxii. 22, the promise is given to Eliakim that on his shoulder shall be laid "the key of the house of David, . . . so he shall open and none shall

* Probably that built by St. Damasus. Anastasius: "Et edificavit Platoniam, ubi corpora apostolorum Juconron." † c. S. Petri et S. Pauli. Ducange: Platonis; Platoniae; Platonis—marmora in tabulis dijecta.

shut; and he shall shut and none shall open." With a similar intension the Lord Himself is said (Rev. iii. 7) to have the "key of David," and again (Rev. i. 18) to have "the keys of hell and of death."

With the same use of metaphor our Lord gave the famous promise to St. Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xvi. 19), implying a power of opening and shutting the portals of the church on earth. We are not here concerned with the critical interpretation of the passage, but simply with the use of the term "power of the keys" (clavium potestas) in the ancient church.

The general belief of the fathers was, that the words were addressed to St. Peter as representing the whole church (Van Espen, *de Censur. Eccl.* c. 2, § 1; *Opp.* tom. iv. ed. Colon. 1777). Cyprian (*de Unit. Eccl.* c. 4) identifies the power given to St. Peter with that given to all the apostles after the Resurrection; it was given in the first instance (he thinks) to one man to indicate more emphatically the oneness of the church; and he proceeds to insist on the oneness of the episcopate. This power he seems in another place (*Epist.* 73, 7) to limit to the remission of sins in baptism. The power of "binding and loosing," and of putting away sins by the healing method or treatment (curatio peccata dimittendi), is expressly assigned to bishops in the treatise *De Aleatoribus* (c. 1) in Cyprian's works (vol. ii. p. 93, ed. Hartel).

Augustine (*c. Advers. Legis*, i. 17) says expressly that Christ gave the keys to the church, and that St. Peter in receiving them represented the church. So also in commenting on St. John (*Tract.* 50, quoted by Gratian, causa 24, qu. 1, c. 6), he repeats that St. Peter in receiving the keys symbolised (significavit) the holy church; and again (*Tract.* 124) he says, "the church which is founded on Christ received from Him the keys of the kingdom of Heaven in the person of Peter, that is the power of binding and loosing sins." Leo the Great (*Serm.* 3 in *Anniv. sanc. Assumpt.* and *Serm.* 2 *de Nat. Apostl.* in Gratian, cau. 24, qu. 1, c. 5) holds that the power in the church derived from St. Peter must be administered in the spirit of St. Peter in order to have validity: "manet ergo Petri privilegium, ubi cunque ex ipsius fertur aequitate iudicium, nec nimia est vel severitas vel remissio; ubi nihil erit ligatum, nihil solum, nisi quod bestus Petrus aut solverit aut ligaverit."

The "power of the keys," then, is held to reside primarily in the church at large, though it be exercised through its bishops and other ministers. And, as Jansen (quoted by Van Espen, *u. s.*) has noted, in the primitive church sinners were in fact, after a first and second admonition, brought before the whole church of the place, that is, the whole body of Christians duly convened, and there, if found impenitent, excommunicated with the assent and approbation of all (1 Cor. v. 4). The evidence of Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 39) and Cyprian (*Epist.* 30, c. 5; 55, c. 5; 64, c. 1) shews that questions involving the reception or excommunication of a member of the church were not decided by the bishop alone, but by the bishop with the assent of the presbyters, deacons, and faithful laity. And although in after times the power of the keys came to be exercised by the ministers of

all shut and none shall open," attention the Lord Himself is to have the "key of David," (18) to have "the keys of hell

use of metaphor our Lord gave to St. Peter, "I will give to thee the kingdom of heaven" applying a power of opening portals of the church on earth, concerned with the critical passage, but simply with term "power of the keys" in the ancient church.

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Legis. i. 17) says that he gave the keys to the church, a receiving them represented in commenting on St. John by Gratian, *causa 24, qu. 1.* at St. Peter in receiving the episcopate) the holy church; (124) he says, "the church a Christ received from Him dom of Heaven in the person power of binding and loosing (Serm. 3 in *Anniv. sac. 2 de Nat. Apostt.* in Gratian,) holds that the power in from St. Peter must be spirit of St. Peter in order anet ergo Petri privilegium, fertur aequitate iudicium, veritas vel remissio; ubi ill solutum, nisi quod beatus ut ligaverit."

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the church and ecclesiastical judges without consulting the church, yet the source of that power remains in the church, so that it has always the right to prescribe the conditions on which that power is to be exercised. It is on the "power of the keys" that the right of the church to exclude offenders from its pale, and again to readmit them to its privileges and graces, to prescribe penance and grant absolution, is held to depend. The distinctions between the "forum internum," or penitential jurisdiction, and the "forum externum," or penal jurisdiction; and between the "potestas ordinis" and the "potestas jurisdictionis," were probably not drawn before the twelfth century (Morinus, *de Sacram. Penit.* vi. 25, § 12); with these therefore we are not here concerned. [EXCOMMUNICATION, PENITENCE.]

[C.]

KIARA (or CEAR, CERA, etc.), virgin (ob. circa A.D. 680 according to her chronicler, though this date is probably too late), commemorated at Killehrea, in the south of Ireland, on Oct. 16. There is also another commemoration, perhaps of a translation, on Jan. 5 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. vol. vii. p. 950).

[R. S.]

KIRAN (CIARAN, CIERAN, etc.) (1) bishop and abbot of Saigir in Ossory, in Ireland (ob. circa A.D. 520), commemorated on March 5. (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. i. p. 387.)

(2) O Queran, abbot of Cluain-Mac-Nois, in Westmeath, in Ireland (ob. circa A.D. 548), to whom is due one of the most famous of the Monastic Rules of Ireland. He is commemorated on Sept. 9. (*Mart. Usuard.* "In Scotia, Querani abbas" *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. vol. iii. p. 370.)

[R. S.]

KILIAN (KYLLENA, KILLENA, KILINUS, CHILIANUS, etc.), the apostle of Thuringia and bishop of Würzburg, in the latter part of the 7th century, commemorated on July 8 (Usuard, Wandelbert, Rabanus, Notker). His day had its proper office, and seems to have had a vigil at an early period (*Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. ii. p. 608).

[R. S.]

KINDRED. [PROHIBITED DEGREES.]

KINEBURGA and KINESWITHA, virgins, daughters of Penda, king of Mercia (ob. A.D. 655), who, with their kinswoman Tibba, are commemorated on March 6, or according to some martyrologies on March 5. In one case, a separate commemoration of Kineswitha is assigned to Jan. 31 (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, vol. i. p. 443).

[R. S.]

KINEDUS (KYNEDUS, KINETHUS, etc.), hermit and confessor in Gower, in South Wales, in the 6th century (ob. circa A.D. 529), commemorated on August 1. (*Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. vol. i. p. 68.)

[R. S.]

KINGS, PRAYER FOR. Prayers for the reigning Sovereign were introduced into the Liturgy at a very early date, in obedience to the injunction of St. Paul. In the so-called Clementine Liturgy we read: "Furthermore we implore Thee, O Lord, on behalf of the King, and those in high station (*ὅν ὑπεροχῆν*), and all the army," &c. Tertullian writes (*ad Scapulam*, c. 2): "We sacrifice for the safety of the Emperor; but to our God, and his, but in the manner which God has commanded, in simple

prayer." So Arnobius (*Contra Gentes*, iv. 36), in a passage thought to refer to the Diocletian persecution: "Why have our writings to be cruelly broken up, in which prayer is made to the Supreme God; peace and pardon asked for all in authority; soldiers, kings, friends, enemies; alike for those who are still of the flesh?" So also Cyril of Jerus. (*Catech. myst.* v.): "Then after that spiritual sacrifice is completed . . . we beseech God for the common peace of the churches, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, for soldiers," &c. Many other patristic references to the practice might be adduced. St. Athanasius (*Apol. ad Const.*) states that prayer was made in the liturgy for the heretical emperor Constantius; and Theophylact, on 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, observes that the minds of Christians would probably be disturbed if ordered to pray for unbelieving kings at the time of the Holy Mysteries, and that St. Paul on this account gave as the motive for the command, and the inducement to obey it, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life

In accordance with these passages the name of the reigning sovereign was inserted in the Diptychs which were read in the liturgy, and was so continued from the time of Leo the Great till the twelfth century.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom contains the following prayer in the canon (*ἀναφορά*); after the commemoration of the saints, and prayers for the orthodox bishop and clergy, the church and the "religious," follows:—"Moreover we offer unto Thee this reasonable service . . . on behalf of our most faithful and Christ-loving kings, and all their court [lit. palace, *παλάτιον*] and army. Grant them, O Lord, a peaceful reign, that in their tranquillity we too may lead a calm and quiet life in all righteousness and holiness." The Liturgy of St. Basil, in the corresponding place, contains the prayer: "Remember, O Lord, our most religious and faithful kings, whom Thou hast ordained to have rule upon earth. Invest them [lit. crown, *στέφανωσον*] with the armour of truth, with the armour of Thy blessing; shelter their head in the day of battle; strengthen their arm; exalt their right hand; confirm their kingdom; subdue to them all barbarian nations, who wish for war; grant to them a deep peace which shall not be taken away; speak to their hearts good things concerning Thy Church and all Thy people, that in their tranquillity we may lead a calm and quiet life in all righteousness and holiness. Remember, O Lord, all rulers and authorities, and our brethren who are in the palace, and all the army."

Both the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil contain also the following prayer, immediately after that for the bishop and clergy, in the *εὐχητικὰ* [see LITANY] at the beginning of the service, which are the same for both liturgies: "For our most religious and divinely

* e.g. Dion. Alex. (suprad. *Euseb. Hist.* vii. 11); St. Augustine (*Ep.* 89, *ad Paulin.*); Tertullian (*Apol.* 30, 31); St. Ambrose (*de Sacr.* iv. c. 4), &c.

† *ὅν τῶν παλατίων*. We should say, "who are about court," or "who are members of the household," but the expressions are somewhat too familiar to form part of a prayer.

protected kings, for all their court (παδριω) and army, let us beseech the Lord,

"R. Kyrie Eleison.

"For his help to them in war, and that He will put under their feet every enemy and foe, let us beseech the Lord,

"R. Kyrie Eleison."

The Roman canon contains, near the beginning: "Imprimis, que tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua Sancta Catholica . . . unum cum famulo tuo Papa nostro N., et Antistite nostro N., et Rege nostro N., et omnibus orthodoxis," &c.

There are also votive masses, *pro imperatore* and *pro rege*.

The following prayer is found in Roman missals from an early date.^d It is one of a series of intercessory prayers said on Good Friday, after the reading of the Passion according to St. John, headed successively: "Pro pace ecclesie," "Pro Papa," "Pro universis gradibus ecclesie," "Pro Imperatore," &c., and each introduced with its own preface of "Oremus," &c. That for the emperor is as follows:—

"Oremus et pro christianissimo Imperatore nostro N., ut Deus et Dominus noster subditum illi faciat omnes barbaras nationes ad nostram perpetuam pacem.

"Oremus. Flectamus genua. *Levite*. Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, in cujus manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium jura regnorum, respice ad Romanum benignus imperium; ut gentes, quae in sua feritate confidunt potentiae tuae dextera comprimentur. Per Dominum. Amen."

The Ambrosian canon has nearly the same words as the Roman: "una cum famulo et sacerdote tuo Papa nostro III., et Pontifice nostro III. et famulo tuo III. Imperatore, sed et omnibus orthodoxis," &c.; and the two missal Litanies said on the Sundays in Lent, each contained a similar prayer: "Pro famulo tuo III. Imperatore, et famula tua III. Imperatrice, et omni exercitu eorum. R. Kyrie Eleison."

[Litany used on first, third, and fifth Sundays in Lent.]

The litany used on the alternate Sundays has an almost identical clause.

The Mozarabic Liturgy, in which the eucharistic intercession is short, contains, in its present form,^e no special prayer for the king.

Prayers for the king, however, are by no means confined to the *Liturgy*, but are found under varied forms scattered throughout the offices of the church.

Thus in those of the Greek Church the intercessions (*επιηυκτα*) at the end of the daily midnight office contain the clause, "Let us pray . . . for our most religious and divinely-protected kings,

"R. Kyrie Eleison.

"For the prosperity and the efficiency of the Christ-loving army,

"R. Kyrie Eleison."

Also at the end of Vespers is a prayer headed by the rubric, "And we confirm the kings, say-

^c This clause is omitted in some modern editions of St. Chrysostom's *Liturgy*.

^d It is in the collection of liturgies by Pamelina.

^e Mentioning his name. See Ménard on *Greg. Sacram.* note 997, p. 572.

^f The Mozarabic canon bears signs of having been rearranged.

ing" (*καὶ ἡμεῖς σπερδαίμεν τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγομεν*), which begins thus: "O King of heaven, confirm our faithful kings, establish the faith, calm the nations, give peace to the world," &c. The *Euchology* again contains a long prayer "for the king and his army," to be used in time of war and threatenings of war.

In the Latin Church we may refer to the ordinary form of Litany said according to Roman use on Fridays in Lent, St. Mark's Day, and the Rogation Days, which contains the petition, "Ut regibus et principibus Christianis pacem et veram concordiam [ante victoriam *Sarum*] donare digneris,

"Te rogamus audi nos."

And also the verse "Domine saluum fac regem, R. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te," which enters into the *preces* of Lauds and Vespers according to the Roman Breviary, and into those of Prime according to the Ambrosian.

[H. J. H.]

Prayer was also made for kings in the daily hour-offices. Thus the Council of Clovesho, A.D. 747 (c. 15, *de Septem Canonis Horis*), desires the clergy, secular and monastic, in saying the ordinary offices, not to neglect to pray for kings and for the safety of the Christian church (Hadden and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 367); and the monks of Fulda in their petition to Charles the Great (c. i. Migne, *Patrol.* cv. 419), pray the emperor, in the first place, that he may be permitted to continue their daily prayer for him and his children, and all Christian people, which they said after the Capitulum. [C.]

KINGS, THE THREE. [EPIPHANY, I. 620.]

ΚΙΣΣ—KISS OF PEACE (*ἀσπασμός, εἰρήνη, osculum pacis, pax, salutatio*).

The kiss, the instinctive token of amity and affection, from the earliest time found a place in the life and the worship of the Christian Church. The symbol of peace and love could nowhere find a more appropriate home, in its highest and purest idea, than in the religion of peace and love. As a form of Christian greeting, indicating the inner communion of spirit, "a holy kiss" is four times enjoined by St. Paul at the close of his Epistles (Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 26); and "a kiss of charity" (or "of love") once by St. Peter (1 Pet. v. 14). No limitation is expressed or implied. The Christians were simply bidden thus to "greet one another." Nor is there any doubt that the primitive usage was for the "holy kiss" to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were all one in Christ Jesus; who thus, in St. Augustine's words, "in token of catholic unity, when about to communicate in the Church, demonstrated their inward peace by a mutual kiss" (*de Amicit.* c. vi.). In the early Christian worship, there is no reference to any restriction, while the cautions and admonitions we meet with as to its profanation and abuse plainly indicate the indiscriminate character of the salutation. A primitive extracanonical scripture, quoted by Athenagoras, A.D. 177 (*Legat. pro Christian.* § 32), shews that the kiss was sometimes given a second time, in certain cases, for the gratification of appetite,

σπερ αὐτὸν τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγειν thus: "O King of heaven, fulfill kings, establish the faith, give peace to the world," again contains a long king and his army," to be and threatenings of war. Church we may refer to the Litany said according to days in Lent, St. Mark's Day, Days, which contains the bus et principibus Christianis concordiam [atque victoriam] neris,

"Te rogamus nudi nos."
"Domine saluum fac regem, in die qua invocaverimus te," o the *preces* of Lauds and to the Roman Breviary, and according to the Ambrosian.

[H. J. H.]
made for kings in the daily as the Council of Clovesho, *de Septem Canonibus Norwic*, secular and monastic, in ry offices, not to neglect to for the safety of the Christian and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 367; of Fulda in their petition to (c. i. *Migne, Patrol.* c. 419), in the first place, that they to continue their daily prayer adren, and all Christian people, ter the Capitulum. [C.]

THREE. [EPIPHANY, I.

PEACE (ἀσπασμός, εὐφρην, saluti).

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adding, "therefore the kiss, or rather the salutation, should be given with the greatest care, since, if there be mixed with it the least defilement of thought, it excludes us from eternal life." Clement of Alexandria also condemns "the shameless use of the kiss which ought to be mystical," with which certain persons "made the churches resound, occasioning foul suspicions and evil reports" (*Pædagog.* lib. iii. c. 11). Origen, too, commenting on Rom. xvi. c. 11), stating that this and similar passages had given rise to the custom among the churches, for Christians after prayer to receive one another with a kiss, goes on to say that this kiss should be "holy, i.e. chaste and sincere; not like the kiss of Judas, but expressive of peace and simplicity unfeigned" (*in Roman.* lib. x. § 33). Tertullian speaks of the reluctance likely to be felt by a heathen husband that his wife should "meet any one of the brethren to exchange a kiss," "alicui fratrum ad osculum convenire" (*ad Exor.* lib. ii. c. 4). The calumnious charges against the Christians to which this custom gave rise, joined to the real peril of it, especially when false brethren began to creep into the Church, led to the abrogation of the promiscuous salutation, and its restriction to persons of the same sex. The Apostolical Constitutions supply the earliest example of this distinction: "Let the deacon say to all, 'Salute ye one another with the holy kiss'; and let the clergy salute the bishop, the men of the laity salute the men, the women the women" (*Const. Apostol.* lib. viii. § 2). We find the same less distinctly stated in the 19th canon of the council of Laodicea (A.D. 371): "After the presbyters have given the peace to the bishop, then the laymen are to give the peace to one another" (*Labbe, Concil.* i. 1500). An early Oriental canon given by Renaudot (*Liturg. Orient. Collect.* vol. i. p. 222) from the collection of canons by Ehdnassalus (c. xii.), lays down the same rule: "The men shall kiss one another, but the women shall kiss other women; nor shall men give the kiss to them." It also prevailed in the Western Church. An *Ordo Romanus*, probably anterior to the 9th century, ordains that the "archdeacons should give the peace to the bishop first; then the rest in order; and the people, the men and women separately" (*Muratori*, tom. ii. p. 49). Amalarius, when speaking of the dangers and inconveniences which led to this limitation, remarks that if the men are distinguished from the women in their place in church, much more should they be in the reception of the kiss (*de Eccl. Offic.* lib. iii. c. 32).

This primitive custom seems to have been maintained in the Western Church till after the 13th century. We find from the acts of the Council of Frankfurt, A.D. 794 (c. 50), and those of the Council of Mentz, A.D. 813 and 9th centuries. Cardinal Bona says that it is mentioned as still in use by Innocent III. (A.D. 1198-1216) in his *Myst. Miss.* (lib. vi. c. 5). But not long afterwards we first read of the introduction of a mechanical substitute for the actual kiss, in the shape of a small wooden tablet, or plate of metal, bearing a representation of the Crucifixion (*Osculatorium, de Osculatorium, p. 2*). This, after having been kissed

by the priest and deacon, was handed by the latter to the communicants, who, by all kissing Christ. This departure from primitive usage, in deference to the growing corruption, is attributed to the Franciscans by Bona (*Her. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. xvi. § 7). The earliest notice of these instruments is in the records of English councils of the 13th century; (*Scudamore's Notit. Eucharist.* p. 438). The rite of the holy kiss has not entirely ceased in the Greek Church. In the Armenian Church the people simply bow to one another; but in the strictly Oriental churches, of whatever language, the kiss is observed without any difference (*Renaudot, Lit. Orient.* vol. ii. p. 76).

The holy kiss originally formed an element of every act of Christian worship. No sacrament or sacramental function was deemed complete in its absence. To quote the words of Bona, "Osculum non solum communionis, sed et omnium Ecclesiasticarum functionum signaculum et sigilobus" (*Her. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. xvi. § 7). Even to lack something essential to its true character Tertullian calls it "signaculum orationis," "the seal of prayer," and asks "what prayer is complete from which the holy kiss is divorced? what of sacrifice is that from which men depart without the peace?" (*Tert. de Orat.* c. 14).

(a.) *Kiss of Peace at the Holy Communion.*—The Holy Eucharist is the Christian rite with which the Kiss of Peace was most essentially connected, and in which it was preserved the longest. It is found in all primitive liturgies, and is mentioned or referred to by the earliest writers who describe the administration of the Lord's Supper. The primitive place of the holy kiss is that which it still maintains in the Oriental Church, between the dismissal of the non-communicants and the Oblation. The earliest author who mentions it, Justin Martyr, thus salutes one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president bread and a cup of wine," &c. (*Apology*, i. c. 65.). St. Cyril of Jerusalem places it between the washing of the deacon's hands and the *Sorsum corda*. "Then and let us kiss one another." "This kiss is the sign that our souls are mingled together, and have banished all remembrance of wrongs" (cf. Matt. v. 23), (*Cit. Lect.* xxiii. *Myst.* v. § 3). In the same way the 19th canon of the Council of Laodicea, already referred to, places "the Peace" before the holy oblation; and St. Chrysostom, "when the gift is about to be offered" (*de Compunct. Cordis*, lib. i. c. 3); and the Pseudo-Dionysius, at the time of the oblation of the bread and wine (*de Eccl. Hierarch.* c. 3). St. Chrysostom, in another passage, after describing the exclusion from the holy precincts of those who were unable to partake of the holy table, writes: "When it behoveth to give and receive peace, we all alike salute each other," and then proceeds to speak of the celebration of the "most awful mysteries" (*Hom.* xviii. in 2 Cor. viii. 24, § 3).

The Apostolical Constitutions also introduce the Holy Kiss after the two prayers for the faithful before the Oblation (lib. viii. c. 11). The

primitive liturgies are likewise unanimous in assigning to the kiss the same position in the Eucharistic ritual. In that of St. James it comes just before the *Sursum cordi* and the *Tere dignum*, &c. (Renanot, vol. ii. p. 30); in that of St. Mark it follows the Great Entrance, and immediately precedes the creed and the oblation of the people (*ib.* vol. i. p. 143); in those of St. Basil and St. Cyril it also occurs before the *Anaphora* (*ib.* pp. 12, 39), and occupies the same place in that of St. Chrysostom (*ib.* vol. ii. p. 243). In all it is introduced by a prayer asking for the gift of peace and unfeigned love, unfeigned by hypocrisy or deceit (*Collectio ad Pacem*, *Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰρήνης*). The rite is also found in all Oriental (as distinguished from Greek) liturgies, and always follows the departure of the non-communicants, and precedes the *Anaphora* and Preface (Renanot, vol. ii. pp. 30, 76, 134, &c.). It is introduced by three prayers (cf. *Concil. Laod.* can. 19), those of the Veil, that of the Kiss, and another of Preparation, but in uncertain order (Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* p. 435).

When we turn from the Eastern to the Western church we find the Kiss of Peace generally occupying a different position in the Eucharistic rite. It is not at all probable that in primitive times the usage of the Occidental was different from that of the Oriental church on this point. Indeed, in the earliest liturgies of the Spanish and Gallican churches, as well as in the most ancient forms of the Ambrosian rite, the Holy Kiss occupies its primitive position between the dismissal of the catechumens and the Preface. In the Mozarabic liturgy the collect of peace follows the prayer and commemoration of the living and the dead. The priest then says, "Make the peace as ye stand," and proceeds to give the kiss to the deacon, or acolyte, who gives it to the people while the choir chant "My peace I give unto you" &c. (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. 4, art. 12; *Ord.* 2, vol. i. p. 461; Isidor. *Hispal. de Eccl. Off.* lib. i. c. 15). The Gallican use was similar. A Gothic missal printed by Muratori (*Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. ii. col. 517, s. q.) gives the *Collectio ad Pacem*, with petitions referring to the Kiss, immediately before the Preface, after the recitation of the diptychs and the collect *post nomina* (cf. Martene, u. s. *Ord.* i. p. 454). Its position is the same in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Muratori, u. s. col. 698, s. q.), and the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (*ib.* col. 776 ff.), (cf. Bona, *Rever. Liturg.* lib. i. c. 12, p. 369 ff.). The position of the kiss is also indicated by the mention of it by Germanus (bishop of Paris in the 6th century), immediately before the Preface (*Leposit. de Miss.*, apud Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.* vol. v. p. 95). But in the churches of Africa and Rome from the 5th century, when the earliest notices of it occur, onwards to the time of its virtual abrogation, it stands at a later period in the service, after the consecration, and immediately before the communion. Thus in a sermon included among those of St. Augustine, but more truly ascribed to Caesarius of Arles, we read: "When the consecration is completed, we say the Lord's Prayer. After that, *Pax vobiscum* is said, and Christians kiss one another with the Kiss which is the sign of peace." (Aug. *Homil. de Diversis*, lxxxiii.)

The reference to the kiss in the undisputed

works of St. Augustine (e. g. *Contra Iherosol. Felicitati*, lib. ii. c. 23; *Homil. VI. in Joann.* § 4) do not define its place in the ritual. From the letter to Decentius, bishop of Engubium, ascribed to pope Innocent I., A. D. 416, "but certainly at later date" (Scudamore, *Not. Euch.* p. 437), we find that the Peace was given in some of the Latin churches previously to the consecration. Whether in the injunction that it should be given after the completion of the mysteries, that the laity might thus signify their assent to all that had been done, the writer was introducing a novelty, or reasserting the primitive Latin use, is warmly contested between Bossage (*Annal. Eccl. Polit.* anno 56) and Sala (*ib.* 592). Bona refutes the groundless assertion that the use of the Holy Kiss was first introduced into the Roman liturgy by Innocent I., "Non enim instituit, sed absum emendavit" (*Rever. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. xvi. § 6). The impugned custom must probably have been the remnant of an earlier rite. Whatever may have been the date of the change of the position of the Kiss, in which respect they differed from all the other liturgies of the East and West, it is certain that in the liturgies of Milan, Rome, and Africa, the Salutation of Peace followed instead of preceding the consecration. On the conclusion of the canon, the bread being broken, and divided for distribution, and the Lord's Prayer recited, the clergy and people interchanged the Kiss of Peace, and all communicated. In the sacramentary of Gregory, the salutation follows the Lord's Prayer and precedes the *Agnus Dei* (Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vetus*, vol. ii. p. 6). The *Ordo Romanus*, earlier than the ninth century, given by Muratori (*ib.* col. 74, § 18), places it at the end of the canon when the host is being put into the chalice. "The archdeacon gives the peace to the bishop first, then to the rest" [of the ministers] "in order, and to the people" (§ 18). In the second *Ordo*, not much later, there is a slight variation in the rubric: "the rest [give the peace] in order; and the people, men and women, separately" (*ib.* col. 1027, § 12). In the liturgy of Milan, the Peace is bidden by the deacon before the priest communicates, in the words, "Offer the Peace to one another," to which the people respond, "Thanks be to God." The priest then says a secret prayer for the peace of the church, based on John xiv. 27, or, as an alternative, utters aloud, "Peace in heaven, peace on earth, peace among all people, peace to the priests of the church of God. The peace of Christ and the Church remain with us for ever." Then, according to the MS. printed in the revision of St. Charles Borromeo, A. D. 1560, he gives the peace with the formula, "Hold the bond of love and peace [habete vinculum instead of the more usual *osculum*], that ye may be meet for the most sanct mysteries of God" (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* vol. i. p. 478; lib. i. c. iv. art. 15, § 5; Bona, *Rever. Liturg.* lib. ii. c. xvi. § 5). This formula occurs also in the liturgies of the East and Bangor, and may have been adopted by Augustine from the older Gallican liturgies. The mention of the Kiss in the account of the Eucharist celebrated during a temporary fast by Maximian, bishop of Syracuse—"they gave one another the kiss; they received the body and the Blood of the Redeemer" (Gregory, *Mag. Dial.* lib. iii. c. 36)—also shows that in the

(e. g. *Contra Iheros Felicit. VI. in Journ.* § 4) is not a ritual. From the letter of Eusebius, ascribed to p. 418, "but certainly at the time, *Nov. Euvh.* p. 437) was given in some of the only to the consecration, action that it should be plation of the mysteries, thus signify their assent there, *Nov. Euvh.* p. 437) was given in some of the only to the consecration, action that it should be plation of the mysteries, thus signify their assent there, the writer was in- r asserting the primitive contested between Basnage (no 56) and Sala (p. 452). undess assertion that the as first introduced into the cent l., "N-n enim insti- endavit" (*Rev. Liturg.* lib. nupugned custom must pro- ment of an earlier rite. en the date of the change s Kiss, in which respect they other liturgies of the East in that in the liturgies of ica, the Salutation of Peace preceding the consecration. the canon, the bread being for distribution, and the clergy and people in of Peace, and all communi- tary of Gregory, and the Lord's Prayer and pre- (Muratori, *Liturg. Rom.* *The Ordo Romanus*, earlier rite, given by Muratori (*de it at the end of the canon put into the chalice. "The eace to the bishop first, f the ministers" "in order, § 18). In the second Ordo, re is a slight variation in t [give the peace] in order; a and women, separately." In the liturgy of Milan, by the deacon before the in the words, "Offer the e," to which the people re- to God." The priest then or the peace of the church, 27, or, as an alternative, e in heaven, peace on earth, ple, peace to the priests of The peace of Christ and the us for ever." Then, accord- in the revision of St. D. 1560, he gives the peace Hold the bond of love and m instead of the more usual ay be met for the pe- od" (Martene, *de Ant.* lib. l. c. iv. art. 19, p. 5; . II. c. xv. p. 5). This in the liturgy of Milan and re been borrowed by August- Gallican liturgies. The in the account of the En-uring a temple, at sea by Syracuse—"they gave me ey received the God, and Redeemer" (Gregory Magn. —also shews that the*

time it came immediately before communion. In the modern Roman liturgy the *Pax vobis* un- stands in the same place, between the Lord's Prayer and the *Agnus Dei*.

At the conclusion of the eucharistic rite it was customary for the bishop to give the Kiss to the laity who had received it from him. On this custom see the notes of Valesius (*in Cornet. Epist. LX. ad Fab.*), in which he refers to Jerome (*Epist. lxiii.*) and Paulus Diaconus (*de Vit. Patr. Emeritens. c. vii.*)

Before leaving this part of the subject, it may be mentioned that Tertullian informs us (*de Crat. c. 18*) that certain persons in his day objected to giving or receiving the Holy Kiss in public on a fast-day, "subtrahunt osculum pœis." This custom he strongly reprehends, not only because the kiss was the "seal of prayer," which was incomplete without it, but because such an omission of the accustomed rite proclaimed the act of fasting in violation of our Lord's injunction (*Matt. vi. 17, 18*). The same objection did not hold against the received custom of omitting the kiss on Good Friday, "die Pasche . . . merito deponimus osculum," because that was an universally acknow- ledged fast-day. An illustration of this omis- sion may be derived from the remark of Procopius (*Hist. Arcan. c. 9*), that Justinian and Theodora began their reign with an evil omen, commencing it on Good Friday, a day when it was unlawful to give the salutation. The kiss was also omitted on Easter Eve, but was given on all other stated fasts (Muratori, in *Tertull. loc. cit.*) (Augusti, *Handbuch der christ. Arch.* vol. ii. p. 718, s. q.; Bona, *Rev. Liturg.* lib. II. c. xvi. § 6-7; Bingham, *Orig. Eccl.* bk. xv. c. iii. § 3; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv. part iii. p. 485, s. q.; Goar, *Eucholog.* p. 134; Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. i. c. iii. § 4, 5; Muratori, *Liturg. Rom. Vt. passim*; Palmer, *Anti. of English Ritual*, vol. ii. pp. 100-103; Renanot, *Liturg. Oriental. Collect.* vol. i. p. 222, ff.; vol. ii. p. 76, ff.; Scudamore, *Notit. Eucharist.* c. ii. § 2, pp. 434-442.)

(b) *The Kiss of Peace at Baptism.*—After the administration of the sacrament of baptism, the newly-baptized person, whether infant or adult, received the Holy Kiss as a token of brotherly love, and a sign of admission into the family of Christ. The kiss was first given by the baptizer and then by the other members of the congregation. There is a reference to this custom in a letter of Cyprian (*ad Fidum Episcopum*, Ep. lxiv. (viii.) § 4), where the language is so beautiful that it deserves to be given at length. Cyprian is correcting the erroneous idea that an infant, as still impure, should not be baptized before the eighth day after its birth, asserting that as soon as it was born it was meet for baptism. He writes: "No one ought to shudder at that which God hath condescended to make. For although the infant is still fresh from its birth, yet it is not just that any one should shudder at kissing it, in giving grace, and making peace; since in kissing an infant every one of us ought, for his very religion's sake, to bethink him of the hands of God themselves, still fresh, which in some sort we are kissing in the man lately formed and freshly born, when we are embracing that which God hath made." This custom of giving the Kiss of

Peace to infants at baptism Martene erroneously confines to the African church. But it is referred to not only by Augustine (*Cont. Epist. Pelag.* lib. iv. c. 8), but also by Chrysostom, (*Homil. 50 de Utilitat. legend. Script.*): "Because before his baptism he was an enemy, but after baptism is made a friend of our common Lord; we therefore all rejoice with him. And upon this account the kiss is called 'peace' (τὸ φίλημα εἰρήνη καλεῖται), that we may learn thereby that God has ended the war, and brought us into friendship with Himself." A relic of this rite still survives in the *Pax tecum* found in many baptismal rituals (Augusti, *Hand- buch*, vol. ii. p. 451; Bingham, bk. xii. c. iv. § 6; Binterim, vol. i. c. i. § 2, p. 163; Rhein- wald, *Kirchlich. Archäolog.* II. iii. § 108).

(c) *The Kiss at Ordination.*—The imparting of the brotherly kiss to the newly ordained formed an essential element of the service for the ordination of presbyters and bishops in all churches. It is enjoined in the Apostolical Con- stitutions in the ordination of bishops: "Let him [the newly consecrated bishop] be placed in his throne, in a place set apart for him among the rest of the bishops, they all giving him the kiss in the Lord" (*ap. Const. lib. viii. c. 5*), and is mentioned by the Pseudo-Dionysius (*de Eccl. Hierarch.* c. v. p. 2, § 6), who states that the newly ordained presbyter was kissed by the bishop and the rest of the clergy. So also in the Sacramentary of Gregory, in the consecra- tion of a bishop, we find the direction, at the conclusion of the rite, after the delivery of the ring, staff, and gospels: "then the elect gives the kiss to the pope, and to all the deacons. The archdeacon holding him conveys him into the presbytery, and he gives the kiss to the bishop and the presbyters." He is again kissed by the pope on the reception of the host (Muratori, *u. s.* vol. ii. col. 442). At the ordination of presbyters they are similarly enjoined to give the kiss of peace to the ordaining bishop, and then to the bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other ministers who are present, and they receive it themselves from the ordaining bishop at the holy communion, and are thence kissed by him at the conclusion of the rite with the words, *pax Domini sui roboremus* (*Ibid.* col. 429, 430). In the Greek church the order is the same, both with bishops and presbyters. In the ordination of the patriarch of Alexandria the kiss is given in the same place, and in the same order (Renanot, vol. i. p. 481); while in that of a presbyter, after the imposition of hands, the stole is brought over the right shoulder of the new presbyter, the *casula* is put on, and he then takes his stand among them, reading his mass. (Goar, *Eucholog.* p. 298, 6; Bingham, bk. ii. c. xi. § 10; c. xix. § 17; bk. iv. c. vi. § 15; Binterim, vol. i. part i. p. 492; Augusti, *Hdbch.* vol. iii. p. 242.)

(d) *At Espousals.*—On the espousal of two Christians, the contract was solemnly ratified by a kiss given by the man to his future wife. This was an innocent custom dictated by nature, adopted by the members of the church from their heathen ancestors, among whom the marriage rite was ratified by the kiss, "uxorem aut maritum tantum osculo putari" (Quintil. *De laudat.* 276). It is mentioned by Tertullian as an old heathen

custom (*de Velant. Virgin.* c. 11). So much stress is laid on the kiss as the ratification of espousals, that Constantine made the inheritance of half the espousal donations, on the death of one party before the consummation of the marriage, to depend on the kiss having been given or not. (*Col. Theodos.* lib. lii. tit. 5; *de Sponsalibus*, leg. 5; *Cod. Justin.* lib. v. tit. 3; *de Donat. ante Nupt.* leg. 16); (Bingham, bk. xxiii. ch. iii. § 6; Binterim, vol. vi. part 2, p. 164.)

(e) *To the Dying.*—The kiss dictated by natural affection to dying friends was not forbidden by the church of Christ. We find it mentioned by the Pseudo-Amphilochius in his life of St. Basil (c. 129). It is prescribed in several early monastic rituals in the case of a sick monk; e. g. in the ritual of the abbey of St. Giles of Noyon, *ante ann.* 500. After receiving extreme unction, the mouth of the sick man is washed, he then first kisses the cross, and afterwards all who are present; and in that of St. Ouen of Rouen, c. A. D. 400, where, after communion, the sick man kisses the cross, and is then kissed by the priest, and afterwards by all the monks present in succession, each asking pardon of him both before and after the kiss. (Martene, u. s. lib. ii. c. 11; lib. iii. c. 15; *Ordo viii.*, xii.)

(f) *To the Dead.*—At the funerals the voice of nature was again listened to, and a final kiss was given to the corpse before the actual interment. This tribute of natural affection is mentioned by Ambrose on the occasion of the funeral of his brother Satyrus: "Procedamus ad tumulum, sed prius ultimum coram populo valedico, pacem prædico, osculum solve" (Ambros. *de Excessu Satyri*, c. 17). The Pseudo-Dionysius describes how, after the prayer made by the priest over the dead body, it is kissed by him, and then by all who are present (*de Eccl. Hierarch.* c. vii. § 8). We learn also from Goar that it was given to the dead (*Eucholog.* p. 542), and the custom is punctually observed in the Greek church to the present day. The prohibition of the kiss by the Council of Auxerre, A. D. 578 (*Concil. Autissiodor.* can. 12) had reference to the superstitious practice of administering the eucharist, with which, as we have seen, the *Osculum pacis* was inseparably connected, to the dead: "Non licet mortuis nec Eucharistiam, nec osculum tradi" (Augusti, *Hæsch.* vol. iii. p. 306; Bingham, bk. xxiii. ch. iii. § 14).

(g) *As a Mark of Reverence and Respect.*—As a token of reverence it was the habit to kiss not only the hands, feet, and vestments of bishops and other ecclesiastics, but also the walls, doors, thresholds, and altars of the sacred buildings. The references to this custom are very frequent. Paulinus, the biographer of St. Ambrose, says this token of respect was commonly paid to priests in his day (*Vit. Ambros.* p. 2). St. Ambrose himself refers to the hands of priests being kissed by kings and princes when requesting their prayers (*de Dignitat. Sacerd.* c. ii.), and St. Chrysostom relates how, on the first arrival of Meletius at Antioch, the people eagerly touched his feet and kissed his hands (*Hon. de Melet.* § 2, p. 521). But no more need be remarked on a custom so common in all countries.

The custom of kissing the pope's feet is of considerable antiquity. In the ordinals included

in the sacramentary of Gregory the newly ordained presbyter is enjoined to kiss the feet of the ordainer, and the newly consecrated bishop of the consecrating pontiff. In the latter case, if the pope be not the consecrator, the mouth is to be kissed instead of the feet (Muratori, u. s. cols. 429, 443). In the *Ordo Romanus* of a pontifical mass, the deacon is directed to kiss the pope's feet before reading the Gospels (*ib.* col. 1022, § 8). The earliest mention of this mark of homage in Anastasius (*Vitæ Pontif. Roman.*) is in the case of Constantine, A. D. 708-714, before whom Justinian the younger prostrated himself, on meeting him in Bithynia, wearing his crown, and kissed his feet (Anastasus, cc. § 17.).

The reverent affection of the early Christians for the house of God and everything belonging to it was indicated by embracing and kissing the doors, threshold, pillars, and pavement of the church, and above all, the holy altar. We have a striking example of this last in an account given by St. Ambrose of the eagerness manifested by the soldiers who brought the welcome intelligence of the revocation of the young Valentinian's decree for surrendering the Porcian basilica to the Arians, to rush to the altar and kiss it [Ambros. *Epist.* xxxiii. (xiv.)]. So Athanasius speaks of those who "approach the holy altar, and with fear and joy salute it" (*Homil. adv. eos qui in Homine spem fiunt*, tom. ii. p. 304), and the Pseudo-Dionysius, of "saluting the holy table" (*Eccl. Hierarch.* c. ii. § 4). The custom of kissing the doors is vividly depicted in Chrysostom's words: "See ye not how many kiss the porch (*επιθύρα*) of this temple, some stooping down, others grasping it with their hand, and putting their hand to their mouth" (*Homil.* xxx. l.; 2 Cor. xiii. 12). Prudentius also speaks of those who

"Apostolorum et martyrum
Exosculantur limina."

Peristeph. *Hymn* II. vv. 519, 520.

And again—

"Oscula persæptæ figunt impressa metallo."

Peristeph. *Hymn* xi. v. 193.

And Paulinus describes a rustic who, having lost his oxen, and appealing to St. Felix for their restoration—

"Sternitur ante fores et postibus oscula figit."

Natal. *vi. Felicia*, v. 250.

These prostrations and kisses must be regarded as nothing more than natural tokens of reverence and affection. The kisses of the altar, the Book of the Gospels, the sacred vessels, &c., which occur so abundantly in the early rituals, have a distinctly liturgical character (see Martene, u. s. lib. i. c. iv. art. 3, § 2, and art. 5, § 6; Goar, *Euchol.* p. 298, d). [E. V.]

KNEELERS. [PENITENTS.]

KNEELING. [GENUFLEXION, I. 723.]

KNOP (*Nodus, pomellum*), the bulbous ornament on the stem of a chalice. It is found in some of the earliest known chalices, though it could not be said that every chalice had a knop amongst the earliest Christians. The cups on all the so-called Jewish coins represented in Migne, *Dict.naire d'Archéologie Sacrée*, all have a knop. It will be enough, he says, to consult these in order to get an idea of the form of the chalice actually used by our blessed Lord at the

of Gregory the newly oris enjoined to kiss the feet of the newly consecrated bishop during pontif. In the latter case, the consecrator, the mouth is seal of the feet (Muratori, u. s. in the *Ordo Romanus* of a pontifex is directed to kiss the reading the Gospels (*ib. col.* earliest mention of this mark stasius (*Vitus Pontif. Roman.*) of Constantine, A.D. 708-714, inian the younger prostrated at his feet in Bithynia, wearing at his feet (Anastas. xc. § 17), section of the early Christians God and everything belonging by embracing and kissing the pillars, and pavement of the all, the holy altar. We have of this last in an account prose of the eagerness manifers who brought the welcome revocation of the young Va-for surrendering the Porcian rians, to rush to the altar *Epist.* xxxiii. (xiv.). So of those who "approach the with fear and joy salute it" *in Homine spem futuram*, tom. pseudo-Dionysius, of "saluting *loci Hierarch.* c. ii. § 4). The feet is vividly depicted in : "See ye not how many kis (*πύθρα*) of this temple, some hers grasping it with their their hand to their mouth" Cor. xiii. 12). Prudentius who

martyrum
mina." Peristeph. *Hymn* li. vv. 519, 520.

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res et postibus ocula figit." Natal. vi. *Felicis*, v. 250. kisses must be re- more than natural tokens of ion. The kisses of the altar, spels, the sacred vessels, &c., adantly in the early ritua- surgical character (see Mar- v. art. 3, § 2, and art. 5, § 6; 3, d). [E. V.]

[PENITENTS.]
[GENUFLEXION, I. 723.]

comellum), the bulbous orna- of a chalice. It is found in t known chalices, though it at every chalice had a knob for Christians. The cups on all coins represented in Migne, *Iconologie Sacrée*, all have a enough, he says, to consult at an idea of the form of the l by our blessed Lord at the

Institution of the Eucharist. It may be observed that all the chalices figured on Jewish coins of the time of Simon the Maccabee (B.C. 143—B.C. 135) seem to be uniformly provided with a knob (Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, p. 43, ed. 1864). Hence it appears that the knob in the sacred cup was pre-Christian. The chalices that have survived to us from the period traversed in this work are extremely rare; and the examples of the knob within the same period are therefore rare also. (See Mr. Albertances of Sacred Use,' *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 131). The knob, however, occurs in what Dr. Lubke describes as "the oldest* of the chalices known in Germany," which was given to the Monastery of Kroms-münster by the Duke Tassilo, who founded the monastery in the year 777 (*Ecclesiastical Art in Germany*, p. 140, ed. 1876, Engl. transl.). Amongst the decorations of this chalice is a figure of our Lord, in the act of benediction. From the position of His hand the chalice seems to be of Eastern origin. The Gourdon Chalice, which Labarte (*Histoire des Arts industriels*, vol. i. p. 495, ed. 1864) shews to have been buried between A.D. 518 and A.D. 527, stands upon a conical stem, and has a knob, the germ of the knob, at the junction. This is the earliest example known. [CHALICE, I. 338.]

It is a mistake to suppose that the knob was invented for the purpose of adding strength to the chalice-stem,—a result which it could not effect, for the strength of a knopped stem would still be only the strength of its weakest or thinnest part. It may have been introduced first for the purpose of decoration, though afterwards it was expressly adopted to assist the priest in holding the chalice between his fingers in the act of consecration. He joins his finger and thumb, and then holds the chalice with the remaining fingers. In the Latin rite the priest while holding the sacred host in his right hand over the chalice is directed to hold the chalice itself in his left hand, "per nodum infra cupam." The dates given above shew that the knob existed before the doctrine of Transubstantiation was formulated.

Authorities.—The writer is not aware of any monograph on the subject in any language. The knob is not even mentioned in the *Hærolexicon* by the brothers Maeri. Fol. Romæ, 1677. But besides the works quoted above, the reader may consult *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xxi. p. 336 and vol. xxii. p. 21; the Arundel Society's publication on Ecclesiastical Metal Work of the Middle Ages, and *Diversarum Artium Schedula*, by Theophilus. [H. T. A.]

KOINONIKON (Κοινωνικόν). [Compare COMMENTATORY LETTERS, I. 407.] I. A letter of communion given to travellers, enabling them to communicate with the Church in the place to which they journeyed. The Nomoconon of the Greeks (c. 454; Cotel. *Mon-m. Gr.* i. 142) orders that "no stranger be received (to communion) without a koinonikon." Such letters were also called *ἐπιστάλια* or *εἰρηνικά*, as by the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Can. 11): "We have decreed that all the poor and those needing help shall, after investigation, travel with letters (epi-

* It is figured on p. 339, vol. i. of this work.

stolla), that is to say, with ecclesiastical eirenica only, and not with letters of commendation" (*κοινωνικαῖς*; comp. 2 Cor. iii. 1). The former word, epistolium, we find used in the West, as by the 2nd Council of Tours, A.D. 566, which decreed "that no one of the clergy or laity, except the bishop, presume to give epistolium" (Can. 6). The other name, eirenica, is used by the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341: "No stranger is to be received without letters of peace" (Can. 7); Sim. in the West, Conc. Elib., as below.

It appears that the issue of such letters of communion had to be watched and regulated in every part of the Church. Thus the Council of Antioch (Can. 8) allowed chorepiscopi to grant them, but forbade presbyters. From the Council of Eliberis, A.D. 305 (Can. 25), we learn that intending travellers sometimes obtained them from confessors, as the lapsid did their libelli: "To every one who has brought confessors' letters are to be given letters communicatory; the confessor's name being cancelled, forasmuch as, under the glory of this name, they everywhere astonish the simple." The same Council (Can. 31) forbade women (supposed to be the wives of bishops and presbyters) to write litteræ pacificæ for the laity, or to receive them. The Council of Arles, in 314 (Can. 9):—"Concerning these who present letters of confessors, it is decreed that such letters be taken from them, and that they receive others communicatory." The Council of Carthage, A.D. 348 (Can. 17): "Let no clerk or layman communicate in a strange congregation (in alienâ plebe) without his bishop's letters." The Council of Agathæ, in 505 (Can. 52), and that of Epone in 517 (can. 6): "Let no one grant communion to a presbyter, or deacon, or clerk, travelling without his bishop's letters."

In the Capitularies of the French kings we find these documents called litteræ peregrinorum, travellers' letters (cap. v. an. 806, tom. i. col. 456), and formatæ (1225). The last name is given to them by the Council of Milevi, A.D. 416 (Can. 20): "It is decreed that any clerk who desires to go to court, wherever it be, on his own business, shall receive a formatâ from his bishop. But if he shall choose to go without a [FORMATIA, I. 682.]

II. The same names were given to those letters which bishops, on their ordination, sent to other bishops as an offer and claim of communion, and to letters which passed between bishops at any time as a token of adherence to the same faith. Thus Cyril of Alexandria, "If John, the most religious bishop of Antioch, subscribe it (a confession of faith), . . . then give to him τὰ κοινωνικά" (Inter *Acti Conc. Eph.* Labbe, iii.); that is, as the ancient translation of the West renders it,—the letters communicatory" (*Nov. Coll. Conc. col.* 910; Baluz. *Synodicon*, c. 204). A more common expression was *κοινωνικά γράμματα*. This is used by the Council of Antioch, A.D. 289, when announcing to the popes of Alexandria and Rome the election of Domnus to the see of Antioch. It requested them to send him letters of communion, that they might receive the like from him in return (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 30). Using the same term, St. Basil challenges those who accused him of being in communion with Apollinarius to

produce any letters of communion that had passed between them (Epist. 347, *cont. li. p. 1122*). The same expression used by Cyrus of Alexandria (*Ep. ad Maximian. inter Acta Conc. Eph. c. 81*) is rendered in the ancient Latin version of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus by the unusual phrase of *litterae communicativae* (Saluz. *Nova Collect. Concil. vol. 597*). In the version of his epistle to Theognostus (*Synod. c. 85*) we have the more common *litterae communicativae* (col. 793). St. Augustine, writing in 397, says: "We wrote to some of the chiefs of the Donatists, not letters of communion (*communicatorias litteras*), which now for a long time, owing to their perversion from the Catholic unity throughout the world, they do not receive, but such private letters as it is lawful for us to address even to pagans" (*Ep. xliii. § 1*). He repeats this in his work *Contra Litteras Peticionii* (l. 1). The same father declares the bishop of Carthage to be "united per *communicatorias litteras* to the Church at Rome, . . . and to other lands, whence the gospel had come to Africa" (*Ep. xliii. § 7*). He again and again speaks of such letters as a sign and proof of the inter-communication of churches (*ibid. §§ 8, 16, 19*). These letters, like those granted to travellers, came under the general head of *formatae*. Thus Augustine, speaking of a schismatical bishop, says, "We asked whether he could give letters communicatory, which we call *formatae*, where I wished" (*Ep. xlv. § 5*).

III. A troparion in the Greek liturgy, which is varied for "the day or the sabbat" (Goar, *Lit. Chrys. p. 81*; *Typicon Sabae, 7*). It is now sung after the response to the *Sancta Sanctis*, and before the hot infusion and fraction. Originally, however, it was sung, as its name implies, during the communion of the people. This is evident from the following statement in the *Chronicon Paschale* of Alexandria (tom. i. p. 714; ed. Niebuhr). "This year, in the month Artemisins, the Roman May, 12th Indiction, under Sergius the Patriarch of Constantinople, was first introduced the custom that after all have received the holy Mysteries, while the clerks are removing the precious fans, patens, and cups, and other sacred utensils, also after the distribution of the Eulogiae from the side-tables, and the singing of the last verse of the *koinonikon*, this antiphon should be sung, Let our mouth be filled with praise," &c. This was in the year 624 of our era. In the Liturgy of St. James, from which the Greek is derived, the words, "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is" (from *Ps. 34*), are both said by the priest and sung by the choir (*Cod. Liturg. Assen. v. 57*) before the communion of the former; but probably the Greek anthem rather took the place of four psalms (23, 34, 145, 117), which were said at the fraction in St. James. A shorter form would be sufficient, when the communicants became fewer. The words, "O taste," &c., were sung at Jerusalem in the 4th century, after the response to the *Sancta Sanctis*, and therefore also before the communion. St. Cyril, addressing the newly baptized, says (*Catech. Myst. v. 17*). "After this ye hear him who sings with divine melody, exhorting you and saying, 'O taste,'" &c. In St. Mark's Liturgy, the celebrant says a certain prayer, "or else, Like as the martyr," &c., i. e. Psalm 42 (*Liturg. Orient. Renaud. i. 162*); but

there is no proper *koinonikon*. In the Clementine the 33rd Psalm (34th) is to be said while all the rest are communicating" (Cotelier. l. 405). The Armenian Liturgy provides proper hymns to be sung by the choir, "while they who are worthy are communicating" (Le Brun, *Miss. x. art. 21*). In the Coptic rite "they sing from the psalm" during the fraction, which is followed immediately by the communion of the celebrant (Renaud. i. 21). In the Greek Liturgy of St. Basil "the people say the 50th (51st) Psalm and the *koinonikon* for the day" between the fraction and the communion (Renaud. i. 84, 345). In that of St. Gregory, only the 105th Psalm is then said (*ibid. 124*). In the Syrian St. James, used both by Melchites and Jacobites, and therefore earlier than the schism, the *koinonikon* is represented by an invitory, sung by the deacon and subdeacons while the people are communicating (Renaud. li. 42): "The Church cries, My brethren, receive the body of the Son; drink His blood with faith, and sing His glory," &c. A similar form occurs in the vestorian Liturgy (*ibid. 596*; *Lit. Mab. Raulin, 326*). According to the Abyssinian, which comes from St. Mark, "skilled persons chant some verses, while the sacrament is ministered to the people, . . . which the people repeat singing" (*Biblioth. Max. PP. xxvii. 663*).

The Greek *koinonikon* corresponds to a hymn, which they began to sing at Carthage in St. Augustine's time, "when that which had been offered was being distributed to the people" (*Retract. li. 11*); and to the Antiphona ad Communionem of Rome, said to have been introduced by Gregory I. (Honorius, *Genava Animae, l. 90*); and to the Antiphona ad Accedentes of the Mozarabic Missal (Leslie, p. 7). In the last, we may observe, the anthem from Whitsun Eve to Lent, and on All Saints' day is, "O taste and see," &c., so familiar to the East. It cannot now be ascertained whether anything was sung during the communion in the original liturgy of Gaul (*Liturgia Gallicana, Mabill. 33*). [W. E. S.]

KYRIE ELEISON. [LITANY.]

L

LABARUM. In Christian antiquity the military standard bearing the sacred monogram ✠ D, adopted by the emperor Constantine as an imperial ensign subsequently to his celebrated vision and the victory over Maxentius, is described by Eusebius (*Vit. Const. lib. ii. c. 28-31*), and in later times the device itself, or the cross alone. The labarum has often been spoken of as if it were something altogether novel both in form and use (Gretser, *de Cruce Chr. vol. i. p. 493*). But the thing, and probably also the name, were already familiar in the Roman army. The labarum of Constantine was, in fact, nothing more than the ordinary cavalry-standard (*vexillum*), from which it differed only in the Christian character of its symbols and decorations. Like that it preserved the primitive type of a cloth fastened to the shaft of a spear, and consisted of a square piece of some textile material elevated on a gilt pole, and sus-

er kolonionem. In the Clementine (34th) is to be said while all announcing" (Coteler, k. 405). Liturgy provides proper hymns to "sing," while they who are worthy "sing" (Le Brun, *Miss.* x. art. 21). In the "they sing from the psalm" which is followed immediately by the celebration of the Greek Alexandrian of people say the 50th (51st) Psalm for the day" between the communion (Renaud, l. 84, of St. Gregory, only the 105th old (*ibid.* 124). In the Syrian both by Melchites and Jacobites, earlier than the schism, the presented by an invitatory, sung and subleucous while the people sing (Renaud, ll. 42): "The brethren, receive the body of His blood with faith, and sing A similar form occurs in the (ibid. 596; *Lit. Mab.* According to the Abyssinian, in St. Mark, "skilled persons, while the sacrament is ministered, . . . which the people repeat H. Max. PP. xvii. 663). monicon corresponds to a hymn to sing at Carthage in St. "when that which had been g distributed to the people" to the Antiphona ad Communionis, *Gemma Animae*, i. 90; Antiphona ad Accedentes of the (Leslie, p. 7). In the last, we anthem from Whitson Eve to Saints' day is, "O taste and ear to the East. It cannot now either anything was sung during the original liturgy of Gaul (Mabill. 33). [W. E. S.]

ISON. [LITANY.]

L

In Christian antiquity the bearing the sacred monogram by the emperor Constantine ensign subsequently to his and the victory over Maxentius by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* and in later times the device alone. The labarum was often if it were something altogether firm and use (Gretser, *de Cruce*). But the thing, and probably were already familiar in the the labarum of Constantine was more than the ordinary cavalry-*m*, from which it differed only character of its symbols and e that it preserved the primitive fastened to the shaft of a ed of a square piece of some levated on a gilt pole, and sus-

ended from a cross bar, by which it was kept expanded. The eagle of victory surmounting the shaft was replaced by the sacred monogram confined within a chaplet. The emblems brodered on the banner were also Christian. They were usually wrought in gold on a purple ground. To the eyes of the early Christians, accustomed to discern the emblem of salvation in everything around them, the cruciform framework of the Roman standard had already marked it out as an appropriate symbol of the true faith. "In your trophies," writes Tertullian (*Ap. log.* c. 18), "the cross is the heart of the trophy . . . those hangings of the standards and banners (*contabrorum aliter labarorum*) are the clothings of crosses"; and Minucius Felix (c. 29), "the very standards, and your camps, what are they but gilded crosses, imitating not only the appearance of the cross there one of the Roman ensigns the consecration of which to the honour of Christ would have so powerful an influence, especially on the army. For, as Sozomen informs us, "it was valued beyond all others, being always carried before the emperor, and worshipped by the soldiery as the most honourable symbol of the Roman power" (*Soz. H. E.* lib. l. c. 4). When therefore Constantine adopted it, consecrated by the symbols of his newly adopted faith, as "the saving sign of the Roman empire" (*σάβηρον σημεῖον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς*), he took the surest method of uniting both divisions of his troops, pagans and Christians, in a common worship, and to a prerer faith, since, to quote Tertullian again (c. 3), "the camp religion of the Romans was all through a worship of the standards." Neither was the word *labarum* a newly-coined one. Even if the various reading, *labarum* for *contabrum*, in Tertullian and Minucius Felix is rejected, Sozomen, when describing the result of Constantine's vision, speaks of it as a word already in use—"he commanded the artists to remodel the standard called by the Romans *labarum*"—τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων καλοῦμενον *λάβαρρον* (*H. E.* lib. i. c. 4). According to Suicer (*sub voce*) the word came into use in the reign of Hadrian, and was probably adopted from one of the nations conquered by the Romans. The orthography varies in different writers, as is usual with a half-naturalised foreign word. It is written *λάβαρρον* by Sozomen and Nicophorus (*H. E.* vii. 37), and *λάβουρον* by Chrysostom (*Homil.* iii. in 1 Tim.), who speaks of it as "the royal standard in way usually called *labarum*." Its derivation is still uncertain, "in spite," writes Gibbon, "of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c., in search of an etymology." We find *λαβάρων*, "to seize;" *εὐλάβεια*, "piety;" *λάβουρα*, "spoils;" *λαίφος*, a "cloak;" and even the Latin *labor*, with other still more *h*-tretched "ivations enumerated by Gothofred (*Col. Theod.* vol. ii. p. 142). Ducauge's derivation from a supposed Celtic root, *lab hair* = *panniculus exercitus*, is repudiated by Celtic scholars. The word is most probably of Basque origin, in which language, according to Baillet (*Dictionnaire Celtique*, s. v.) *labarra* signifies a standard. According to

Larramendi (*Dictionario Trilingue*), the word is of Cantabrian origin, and is derived from *labarra*, signifying anything with four heads or limbs, such as the cruciform framework of a military standard. *Contabrum*, used as a synonym for *labarum*, indicates the country from which it was derived. The form of the *labarum* is very minutely described by Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* lib. l. c. 31): "A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of a cross by means of a transverse bar at the top. At the summit of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones, within which the symbol of the title of salvation was indicated by means of its first two letters, the letter P being intersected by X in the centre (*χρυσούμενον τῶν π κατά τὸ μεσάτωρ*) . . . From the cross bar of the spear was suspended a square cloth of purple stuff, was suspended a brodered with gold and precious stones. Beneath the crown of the cross, immediately above the embrodered banner, the shaft bore golden medallions of the emperor and his children." This original standard formed the pattern of others which Constantine ordered to be made to be carried at the head of all his armies. Fifty *δρακίνοισι*, were selected by him as the perpetual guard of the labarum, which was to be borne by them singly by tarns. Eusebius relates a story he had heard from the emperor himself of a fierce engagement in which the soldier whose duty it was to carry it, panic struck, transferred the labarum to another and fled, paying for his cowardice with his life, while the soldier who boldly carried the sacred symbol escaped unhurt (Euseb. u. s. lib. ii. c. 8). Not content with having it represented on his standards, Constantine commanded that the monogram should also be engraver on the shields of his soldiers (*ib.* lib. iv. c. 21). Lactantius (*de Mort. Persec.* c. 44) is silent as to the shields—"transversa X litera, summo cune circumflexa (*i.e.* with a line drawn through the middle and letter E) into a loop at the top, forming the letter E) Christum in scutis notat." Prudentius describes the monogram as decorating both the standards (*the labarum proper*) and the shields of Constantine's army on his triumphal entrance into Rome after the defeat of Maxentius. "Christus purpureum gemmantibus textus in auro Signabat labarum; clypeorum insignia Christus Scripserat; ardebat summis crux addita cricis." *Contr. Symmach.* l. 487-489. and again: "Agnoasce Regina (Roma) illic mens signa necesse est, In quibus effigies crucis aut gemmata reficit, Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hisis." *Id.* 464-466. and speaks of its acceptance by the senate as an object of adoration: "Tunc ille senatus Militiæ utriculæ titulum, Christiano verendum Nomen adoravit quod collocabat in armis." *Id.* 494-496. Paulinus furnishes us with a singularly detailed description of the monogram, forming a golden cross, depending from a "corona levis,"

in the basilica of St. Felix at Nola, explaining how all the characters of **XPICTOC** are contained in it:

"Nam nota, qua his quinque notat numerante Latino
Cedulus, hæc Græcicè chi significatur, et medium rho
Cypus apex et sigma tenet quod rursus ad ipsam
Curvatus virgam facit, a velut orbe petacto.
Nam rigor obliquus facit, a quasi in Heliale loto est;
Tau idem stylus ipse brevis retro acuminis ductus
Efficit," &c.—*Poem*, six. (*Circa*, xi. in St. Felicein).

The notes of Muratori on this curious, and not very easily intelligible, passage, should by all means be consulted.

Once adopted by Constantine as the imperial ensign, it was continued by his successors. Ambrose, begging the emperor Theodosius to take forcible possession of a Jewish synagogue, exhorts him to order his troops to carry in "his victorious ensign," *i. e.* the labarum consecrated with the name of Christ (*Epist. lib. vi. Ep. 29*); and in another passage utters the following prayer for the success of Gratian's arms against the Goths: "Turn, O Lord, and raise the standard of Thy faith. Here it is not the eagles, nor the flight of birds that lead the army, but Thy Name, O Lord Jesus, and Thy worship" (*Ambros. de Fide*, lib. ii. ad fin.). The sacred symbols were naturally removed from the standards by Julian (*Solz. H. E. lib. v. c. 17*; *Greg. Naz. cent. Julian I. tom. i. p. 75*), but were restored by Jovian and his Christian successors, and continued to be borne by the later Byzantine emperors.



No. 1. Coin of Constantine II.

Examples of the *labarum*, both as a standard and as borne on the shield, in different forms, are abundantly furnished by the series of imperial medals given by Ducange in his *Familie Augustae Byzantinae*, which usually forms part of the same volume with the *Constantinopolis Christiana*, from which the subsequent illustrations are chiefly drawn.



No. 2. Coin of Constantine II and Constans.

Fig. 1 is from a tiny coin of Constantine II., "a third brass of the smallest size." The engravings are much larger than the coins they

represent. This "most important of the numismatic memorials of the triumph of Christianity," "of a rarity commensurate with its interest," (C. W. King, *Early Christian Numismatics*, p. 25), represents the labarum as described by Eusebius. The spiked end of the shaft of the banner transfixes a serpent (cf. Euseb. *vit. Const.* lib. 3). On the banner are embazoned three roundels (interpreted by Mr. King's engraver, but without sufficient warrant, as **DEO**), above is the sacred monogram; on the exergue **CONS**. The obverse bears "the boyish, not to be mistaken, features of Constantine II." (*Ibid.*) Examples of Constantine I. with the same reverse type are in existence [**NUMISMATICS**].

Fig. 2, of Constantine II. (tab. v. p. 21), represents him in military dress, standing on a galley, steered by Victory. He bears a phoenix on a globe in his right hand, and in his left the labarum in the form of a banner, with the sacred monogram; the motto is *Fel[icium] Temp[or]um Reparatio*. This was a favourite device with Constantine II. and Constans (King, u. s. p. 68). Fig. 3, a coin of Constans (tab. xi. p. 33),



No. 3. Coin of Constans. From Ducange.

shows the emperor holding a labarum of the same form in his right hand, with the motto *Triumphator Gentium barbararum*. This design is frequently repeated, *e.g.* tab. xii, xiii, pp. 35, 37; tab. ii. p. 56. The emperor is sometimes represented holding the labarum in one hand and seizing a captive in the other, *e.g.* a coin of Gratian (fig. 4, tab. ii. p. 56); at other times trampling a captive under foot (tab. xiii. p. 37). A not unfrequent design represents the labarum planted in the ground with fettered captives seated beside it, *e.g.* tab. vi. p. 23; vii. p. 25; viii. p. 27, &c. Sometimes we find the sacred monogram on a shield, as in fig. 5, a coin of Aelia Flaccilla, wife



No. 4. Coin of Gratian. From Ducange.

of Theodosius (pl. i. p. 61), where the shield is borne by a seated Victory. As examples of the monogram alone, we give a coin of

• Or perhaps *Fel[icium] Temp[or]um Reparatio*.

LABARUM

"most important of the numismatic triumph of Christianity," mnesurate with its interest," *Early Christian Numismatics*, as the labarum as described by spiked end of the shaft of the aserpent (cf. Enseb. *Vit. Const.*

banner are emblazoned three reted by Mr. King's engraver, ent warrant, as DEO), above is gram) on the exergue CONS. rs "the boyish, not to be mis- of Constantine II." (*Ibid.*) onstantine I, with the same in existence [NUMISMATICS]. antantino II. (tab. v. p. 21), a military dress, standing on a y Victory. He bears a phoenix right hand, and in his left the orin of a banner, with the sacred motto is *Fel(iciam) Temp(or)is* was a favourite device with and Constans (King, u. s., p. coin of Constans (tab. xi. p. 35),



of Constans. From Durange.

or holding a labarum of the s right hand, with the motto *feliciam barbararum*. This design is depicted, e.g. tab. xii, xiii, pp. 56. The emperor is sometimes holding the labarum in one hand, as a captive in the other, e.g. a (fig. 4, tab. ii. p. 56); or holding a captive under foot (A). A not unfrequent design of the labarum planted in the ground with vines seated beside it, e.g. tab. xxi, p. 25; xviii, p. 27, &c. A sacred monogram on a shield, coin of Aelia Flaccilla, wife



of Gratian. From Durange.

. i. p. 61), where the shield is decorated with the Victory. As exemplified alone, we give a coin of

fel(iciam) Temp(or)is Reparatio.

LABARUM

Decentius, fig. 6 (pl. xiii. p. 37), and one of Justinian, fig. 7 (pl. ii. p. 90), as well as a remarkable gem (fig. 8), figured by Lipsius de



No. 5. Coin of Aelia Flaccilla. From Durange.

Cruce (p. 74), bearing on the obverse Victory bearing a palm and a chaplet, with the legend *V. I. A. V. G.* In several of these we notice the



No. 6. Coin of Decentius. From Durange.

Greek characters Λ , Ω , on either side of the monogram. The meaning of this addition is elaborately explained by Paulinus, *l. c.* A very



No. 7. Coin of Justinian.

beautiful representation of the labarum is found on a lamp engraved by Mamachi. It is in the usual form of a standard supported on a spear,



No. 8. From a Gem.

with the sacred monogram encircled with a wreath above, and *ΕΝΤΕΛΕΙΩΝΙΚΑ* (*sic*) embroidered on the banner itself. A soldier fully armed stands on either side guarding the standard. [LAMP.]

(Augusti, *Hdbch. der Christ Arch.* vol. iii. pp.

LACUNARY WORK

571 ff.; Ducange, *Glossar.* sub voc.; Enseb. *Vit. Const.* lib. i. c. 31; lib. ii. c. 81 [lib. iv. c. 21]; Gothofred in *Theod. Cot.* vol. ii. pp. 143 ff.; Greiser de *Cruce*, lib. ii.; King, *Early Christian Numismatics*; Lipsius de *Cruce*, c. 13, 16; Meursius, *Glossar.*; Milman, *Hist. of Christi inty.* vol. ii. p. 287; Munter, *Symboldr.* pl. iii. Nos. 70, 71; Suicer, *Theaurus*, sub voc.; Vossius, *L'hyndol.* sub voc. [E. V.]

LAHIS. [SPOON.]

LABORANTES. [COPIATAE; FOSSARII.]

LABRA (*Ἀδῶρα*), a form of the Egyptian word *Adra*, a lane or narrow street (Epiphani. *Haeres.* 69), has been misunderstood (Acheri, *Hierol.* s. v. *Labra*) as equivalent to "parish" or "district." See LATRA. [C.]

LACERNA. [BIRRU; PAENULA.]

LACRYMATORY. A name given by some modern antiquaries to certain small vessels not unfrequently found in tombs, once supposed to be intended to contain tears. They are in fact *Vasa unguentaria*, vessels intended to contain perfumes, like the *ἄδδραρον* of the Gospels. (Matt. xxvi. 7, etc.) See *Lovon Antiquities found at Rouphim*, described by the late Prof. Henslow; edited by Prof. Churchill Babington; Beccles [1872]. Prof. Babington refers to Millin, *Dict. des Beau-Arts*, s. v. *Lacrymatoire*. [C.]

LACTANTIUS, Bole; LETATIUS, Usuard, one of the Scyllitan martyrs, July 17, appears as Lactatus, July 18 (*Mart. Hieron. D'Ach.*). [E. B. B.]

LACTICINIA, dishes prepared from milk and eggs (*ἀδγάλα*), the use of which was permitted, according to some authorities, in Lent and other times of fasting [FASTING; LENT]. [C.]

LACTINUS, Lactennus, Lactocus or Molactocus, founder of the abbey of Freshford (Aghadhur) and abbat of Cluier (died 622), commemorated March 19. There was a spring sacred to him in Cassel and a convent (Lis-lechtin) in Ardier diocese (v. *Acta SS. Mart.* iii. 32). [E. B. B.]

LACTIS DEGUSTATIO. [BAPTISM, § 66, I. 164; HONEY AND MILK, I. 783.]

LACTISSIMA, *lc.* LAETISSIMA, martyr, April 27 (*Mart. Hieron. D'Achery. Spic. iv.*). [E. B. B.]

LACULATA, *sc. vestis*, a kind of dress, in which were square spaces (*lacus*), containing pictures, added in various ways: "Laculata est quae lacus quadrates quosdam cum pictura habet intextos, aut additos acu." (*Isid. Etym.* xix. 22.) For this sense of *lacus*, cf. Columella (l. 6), where the word is used for square spaces, with which granaries are divided for the storing of different kinds of grain separately. (See Ducange, *Glossary*, s. v.) [R. S.]

LACUNARY WORK. (*Lambris*, Fr.) The *lacunari* or *laquearii* were hollow spaces or panels originally formed by the planks arranged at regular intervals, to compose the ceiling of a room. During the Romano-Byzantine period

these were gilded and inlaid with ivory (Hornae, *Od.* ii. 18); sometimes they were adorned with paintings (Suet. *Vit. Ner.* 31). The vaulted or wagon-roofed variety was called CAMARA or CAMERA. [DICT. OF GR. AND ROM. ANTIQ. s. v.] The panelling was applied also to the soffit or under surface of an arch; but this practice is apparently not earlier than the Renaissance, and was an innovation on the original custom, since earlier arches had no soffits properly so-called. The ancient basilicas had the ground of these recesses enriched with *Caissons* square, trefoil, hexagonal, in much variety; often again with roses, masques of animals, and such like; but these in later examples. The lacunary work was employed both in public and private buildings; "Laquearia, quae aunc et in privatis domibus auro teguntur," says Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 18), and especially in Italy the ceilings of all the rooms of a house would be of this kind; some being more richly ornamented than others. It is to be distinguished from mosaic work (*musivum opus*); see *MOSAIC*.

When in the third and fourth centuries A.D. the Christians began to erect large and costly churches, the ceilings were often ornamented with this work. Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* lib. iii. capp. 31-40) tells us that the church which Constantine built at Jerusalem had a vaulted roof (*καυδοσαν λακωνιστων*), of which the whole was divided into panels, carved and gilded.

Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Campania (A.D. 409-431), has described in one of his letters (*Ep. 12, ad Severin.*) a new church there, upon which the highest decorative art of the period appears to have been exercised. Of this roof of the nave and galleries were panelled (lacunato). The term is frequently used by St. Jerome (A.D. 340-420), who did not altogether sympathise with the prevailing habit of lavishing ornament on churches. He says (*Ep. 2 ad Neptilian.*), "Marmora nitent auro, splendent laquearia, gemmis altare distinguitur," &c.

Patien, bishop of Lyons, is recorded to have built a cathedral church in that city, of which we have a contemporary description from the pen of Sidenius Apollinaris (A.D. 431-482). He says:

"In tus lux micat, atque bracteatum
Solsic sollicitatur ad lacunar
Fulvo at concolor erect in metallo."

That is, the golden sunshine played over the golden plates of the panels in the church.

But yet the lacunary hardly appears to have been the prevailing style of ornamentation in these early centuries, at all events for churches. It was revived and much extended under the Renaissance.

LADICUS. [LADICEUS.] [E. B. B.]

LAELIUS, Spanish martyr, June 27 (*Mart. Hieron. D'Ach.*) [E. B. B.]

LAETANIA. [LITANY.]

LAETANTIUS [P. LACIANTIUS].

LAETUS. (1) Bishop of Leptis in Africa, martyred by Hunneric, Sept. 6. Ado. (C. Baronius and *Acta SS.* Sept. ii. 677).

(2) Presbyter at Orleans, † Nov. 5 (Usuard.) [E. B. B.]

LAIIDGEN, Jan. 11, Colgan, *Acta SS. Hib.* p. 57 = Laidgend, Jan. 12, in the *Felire* of Aengus the Culdee. He was of Clonfert, A.D. 660 (*Mart. Donegal*). (2) May 20. (3) Oct. 23. (4) of Achadh-raithen, Nov. 28 (*Ibid.*) [E. B. B.]

LAIITY. I. In the Old Testament, when the Israelites in general are distinguished from the priests, they are spoken of as "the people." In the Greek of the Septuagint this is *δ λαός*. See examples in Lev. iv. 3; Deut. xviii. 3; Ezra vii. 14; Is. xxiv. 2; Jer. i. 18, v. 31; Hosea iv. 9. Hence the use of *λαϊκός* to denote one not of the priesthood. Thus Clemens Alex. says that the hounding at the door of the tabernacle (*Exod. xvi. 36*) was a "protection against lay unbelief" (*Strom.* v. 5, 33). The author of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, ascribed to Justin Martyr, observes that while the law "destroys by fire a priest's daughter guilty of fornication, it slays by stoning the daughter of the layman" (*τοῦ λαϊκοῦ ἀνδρός*) (*Resp. ad Qu.* 97). Philo calls the layman of his nation *ἰδιώτης*, a private person. Thus he says that at the passover "the *ἰδιώται* do not bring the victims to the altar, but the priests sacrifice; but the whole nation, by the ordinance of the law, assumes the priestly office" for the occasion (*de Vit. Mos.* iii.). Less restrained by revelation, the first Christians, being educated as Jews, would naturally draw a somewhat similar line between their own office-bearers and the mass of believers. How far they were encouraged to do so by their inspired teachers may be gathered to a great extent from Scripture itself. Not to dwell on the relation of the whole body to the Apostles, whose commission was in some respects extraordinary, we find each local church or congregation subject to other rulers (*ἡγουμένους*, Heb. xiii. 17), who were "over them in the Lord" (1 Thess. v. 12; comp. 1 Tim. iii. 5, v. 17), under the name of overseers (*ἐπίσκοποι*), bishops) and elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*, whence *priest*), to whose teaching, exhortation, and rebuke, and to whose judgment in some things, they were required to submit (1 Tim. iv. 6, 11, vi. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 2, iv. 2; Tit. i. 9, 13, ii. 15, iii. 10). To their care and oversight the "laity" were committed, as a flock to the shepherd (Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2). The distinction was observed everywhere; elders being ordained in every church (Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5; comp. Acts xi. 30), and provision was made for the perpetuity of the system (2 Tim. ii. 2). Sometimes the laity were distinguished as "the church" or "the brethren." E.g. "when Paul and Barnabas were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders" (Acts xv. 4); and when "the apostles and elders, with the whole church" send a letter to "the brethren which were of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia," it begins thus, "The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren" (*δ.* 22, 23). This epistle was accordingly delivered, not to the rulers of the church at Antioch, but to "the multitude" (30). Compare Acts xii. 17: "Show these things unto James (the ruler) and to the brethren;" and 1 Tim. iv. 6: "If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ." The distinction visible in these passages is preserved in the earliest extra-Scriptural records

1. 11, Colgan, *Acta SS. Ill.* p. 12, in the *Felice* of Aengus of Clonfert, A.D. 660 (*Mart.* y. 20. (3) Oct. 23. (4) of Nov. 28 (*ibid.*). [E. B.-B.]

the Old Testament, when the laity are distinguished from the clergy as "the people." In the Septuagint this is *δ λαός*. See *Exod.* xix. 10; *Deut.* xviii. 3; *Exra* vii. 16; *18*, v. 31; *Hosea* iv. 9. Hence to denote one not of the priests—the tabernacle (Exod. xvi. 36) "against lay unbelief" (*Strom.* author of the *Questions and Answers*, ascribed to Justin Chrysolostomus) while the law "destroys the daughter guilty of fornication," the daughter of the layman (*ὁ δὲ λαός*) (*Resp.* ad Qu. 97). Philo of his nation *Ἰουδαῖος*, a private says that at the passover "the king the victims to the altar, sacrifice; but the whole nation, of the law, assumes the priestly position (*de Vit. Mos.* iii.). Un-revelation, the first Christians, Jews, would naturally draw a line between their own officiousness of believers. How far they went to do so by their inspired gathered to a great extent from the Apostles, whose common respects extraordinary, whose church or congregation subject *ἰσχυροῦς*, Heb. xiii. 17), who in the Lord" (1 Thess. v. 12; 5, v. 17), under the name of *ἐπίσκοποι*, bishops) and elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*, presbyters), to whose teaching, rebuke, and to whose judgment they were required to submit (1 Tim. ii. 2, iv. 2; 5, iii. 10). To their care and discipline were committed, as a shepherd (Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2) was observed everywhere; elders in every church (Acts xiv. 23; Acts xi. 30), and provision was made of the system (2 Tim. ii. 2) the laity were distinguished from "the brethren." *Eg.* Barnabas were come to Jerusalem received of the church, and of elders" (Acts xv. 4); and when elders, with the whole church "the brethren which were of Antioch and Syria and Cilicia." "The apostles and elders and meeting unto the brethren" (*ὁ λαός*) was accordingly delivered, of the church at Antioch, but *de* (30). Compare Acts xiii. 17; and 1 Tim. iv. 6: "If thou in remembrance of these things, good minister of Jesus Christ," desirable in these passages is earliest extra-Scriptural record

of the church. Thus Clement, himself bishop of Rome, in an epistle by which he sought to allay dissensions at Corinth, addressing "the brethren" there, says, "Ye did all things without respect of persons, and walked by the laws of God, being subject to those who had the rule over you, and yielding due honour to the presbyters among you" (*Ep.* i. c. 1). He illustrates the relative position of the laity and clergy by the parallel of the Jewish priesthood and people: "To the high-priest his proper ministries have been assigned, and to the priests their proper place appointed, and on the Levites their service: have been imposed. The layman (*δ λαϊκός*) is bound by the precepts that affect laymen. "Let each of you, brethren, give thanks unto God in his own station (*ἀγῶνας*), keeping a good conscience, and not overstepping the appointed rule of his ministry" (cc. 40, 41). This state of things was to continue; for the apostles, he tells us, not only appointed the first rulers in each church, but also "gave direction how, at their decease, other approved men should succeed to their ministry" (c. 44). In the *Visions of Hermas*, which many critics assign to the age of Clement, the laity, under the name of "the elect," are spoken of as being taught and ministered to by the apostles and bishops and doctors (i.e. presbyters; see Pearson, *Vind. Ignat.* ii. 13, 3) and ministers" (i.e. deacons) (*Past.* i. Vis. iii. 5). The following sentence from Ignatius is common to all the recensions: "My soul be surety for them who are subject to the bishops, presbyters, deacons" (*Ep. ad Polycarp.* c. vi.; Cureton, *Corp. Ignat.* p. 12). In the epistles known to Eusebius, A.D. 324 (*Hi. Eccl.* iii. 30) such expressions are frequent. In Tertullian, A.D. 192, the word "laicus" occurs often, *E.g.* "The chief-priest, which is the bishop, has the right of giving (baptism). Then presbyters and deacons, not, however, without the authority of the bishop, for the honour of the church, which being saved, peace is saved. From another point of view even laymen have the right" (*de Baptismo*, xvii.). The same writer says of certain heretics that among them, "one man is to-day a bishop, to-morrow will be a reader; to-day one is a presbyter, who to-morrow will be a layman; for they enjoy priestly (sacerdotalia) duties on laymen" (*de Præscr. Hæret.* c. 41). In the so-called apostolical canons, the first fifty of which, at least, are supposed to have been collected about the end of the 2nd century, the word layman is of very frequent occurrence. Thus, "If any clerk or layman who is segregated, and not received, goes to another city, and is there received (to communion) without letters commendatory, let both receiver and received be segregated" (can. 12). By can. 31, a presbyter who, in contempt of his bishop, gathers a separate congregation, and all the clerks who adhere to him are to be deposed, "but the laymen to be segregated." See also canons 15, 24, 43, 48, 57, 62-66, 69, 70, 71, 84, 85. Cyprian, A.D. 250, speaks of a "conference held with bishops, presbyters, deacons, confessors, and also with the laymen who stood firm" (in a persecution) (*Epist.* 34, *ad Rom.*). Elsewhere he says, "The faith of the militant people (of God) is disarmed, while its vigour and the fear of Christ is taken

away. Let the laity see how they provide for this. On the priest falls greater labour in asserting and defending the majesty of God" (*Ep.* 59, *ad Cornel.*). The more frequent name for the laity with this writer is *plebs*, *e.g.* "The clergy and people (plebs) and the whole brotherhood received with joy" certain schismatics who had returned to the church (*Ep.* 51, *ad Corn.*). He warned some unruly persons that "when a bishop was once made and approved by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and the people (plebs), no other could in anywise be appointed" (*Ep.* 44, *ad Corn.*).

11. Laymen duly qualified might give religious instruction among the Jews. In the synagogues it was usual for the elder to ask anyone of repute to comment on the lesson for the day (Luke iv. 17; Acts xvii. 2), or to deliver a "word of exhortation" (Acts xiii. 15). This liberty was continued under the Gospel in the case of those who had the gift of "prophecy" (Rom. xii. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, xiv. 1-6, 31, &c.). Among unbelievers all Christians were expected to teach the gospel as opportunity was given. "They that were scattered abroad" by the persecution on the death of Stephen "went everywhere preaching the word" (Acts viii. 4). The majority of these would be laymen. Thus St. Paul, before he received the laying on of hands (Acts xiii. 3), "preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus" (Acts ix. 27); Aquila and Priscilla "expounded unto Apollus the way of God more perfectly" (*ib.* xviii. 26); and Apollus himself "mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, shewing by the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ" (23). "At first all taught and baptized on whatever days and seasons occasion required. . . . That the people might grow and multiply, it was at the beginning permitted to all to preach the gospel, and to baptize, and to explain the Scriptures in church, but when the church embraced all places, houses of assembly were constituted, and rulers (rectores) and the other offices in the church were instituted. . . . Hence it is that now neither do deacons preach in the congregation, nor clerks nor laymen baptize" (Hilar. *Diac. Comm.* in *Ep. ad Eph.* iv. 11, 12). When Demetrius of Alexandria complained that Origen, who was not a priest, had been asked by the bishops of the district to "discourse and to interpret holy Scripture publicly in church" at Caesarea, the bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea denied the truth of one ground taken by Demetrius, viz. that laymen had never been known to preach before bishops. "If," said they, "any persons are anywhere found capable of benefiting the brethren, they are encouraged by the holy bishops to preach to the people. Thus at Larnudi, Eulapius was asked by Neon; and at Iconium, Paulinus by Celsus; and at Smyrna, Theodorus by Atticus;—our brethren now in bliss. And it is probable that this has been done in other places without our knowing it" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 19). Frumentius and Aedesius, while laymen, laid the foundation of the church in Abyssinia (Soer. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 19). The same service was rendered to Iberia (Georgia) by a female captive, who having healed by her prayers the king and his wife and son, exhorted them to believe in Christ, through whose name their cure had been effected (*ib.* c. 20).

A law of Valentinian and Theodosius, published in 394, "touching laymen who presume to dispute about religion," forbids the opportunity being permitted to any one of "coming into public and discussing or handling matters of religion" (*Cod. Theodos. 2 in Capit. Car. Mag. vii. 195*). Four years later a council held at Carthage decreed that "a layman should not dare to teach in the presence of clerics, unless they themselves ask him;" and absolutely, that "no woman, however learned or holy, should presume to teach men in a meeting" (*cann. 98, 99*). Leo I., A.D. 453, writing to Maximus the patriarch of Antioch, in view of danger from the growth of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, entreats him to take order "that beside those who are priests of the Lord, no one presume to claim for himself the right to teach or to preach, whether he be monk or layman" (*Epist. 92, c. 6*). He repeats this in a letter to Theodoret of Cyrus (*Ep. 93, c. 6*), and expresses a hope that his letter to Maximus would be dispersed by him and "come to the knowledge of all." The council in *Trullo* at Constantinople, A.D. 691, declares "that a layman ought not to dispute or teach publicly, thence arrogating to himself the right to teach, but that he should be obedient to the order handed down from the Lord." Those who should violate the canon were to be segregated for forty days (*cann. 64*). There is, we think, no evidence that laymen were at any time permitted to read the eucharistic lessons, either in the East or West. A law of Charlemagne entirely forbids it: "A layman ought not to recite a lesson in church, nor to say the alleluia, but only the psalm or responsories without alleluia" (*Capit. v. 112*). [LITURGY.]

III. Hilary, the deacon, as above quoted, appears to say that laymen could not confer baptism even in the first post-apostolic age. This was probably the general opinion; for the Greek compiler of the Clementine Constitutions ascribes the following prohibition to the apostles themselves: "We do not permit laymen to perform any of the sacerdotal functions, as sacrifice or baptism, or laying on of hands, or the lesser or greater benediction" (iii. 10). This would make them absolutely incapable; and the opinion of their incapacity was probably widely spread in the East to the end of the first four centuries after Christ. St. Basil, A.D. 370, implies that he held it, when he speaks with approbation of an argument against baptism by schismatical priests, which he attributes to Firmilian, one of his predecessors at Caesarea, and to St. Cyprian. It was to the effect that schismatical priests being cut off from the body of Christ, and thus losing their orders, having now "become laymen, have no power either to baptize or to ordain, being no longer able to impart to others the gift of the Holy Ghost, from which they have fallen themselves. On which account they commanded that those who came to the church from them (i.e. from any schismatical body) should be cleansed by the true baptism of the church" (*Epist. ad Amphil. i. can. 1*). An ancient Greek scholium, found in one MS. of this epistle (*Cod. Amberg. b. c.*), enlarging on this point, says, "He falls from the sacerdotal grace, which he received from Him to whom he was united, and becomes for the future

a layman," not able to impart to others that which he no longer has, nor able to obtain a new supply of it from the body which he has joined (*Bever. Pand. ii. annot. 221*). We must observe, however, that St. Basil, though with evident reluctance, admitted the baptisms of priests in schism, feeling himself overruled by numbers: "But since it has seemed good to some of those in Asia, out of consideration for the multitude, that their baptism should be received, let it be received" (*Ep. u. s.*). May we not suppose that he would also have confessed, if the question had come before him, that the church had power to authorise or accept, under special circumstances, the baptisms of laymen in full communion with her?

Tertullian, on the other hand, whom St. Cyprian used to call his master, teaches that, abstractedly, laymen have power to baptize, but that they can only exercise it by permission, expressed or understood. He argues that "what is received equally (by all) can be imparted equally" (by all); but he adds, "How much more is the discipline of reverence and modesty incumbent on the laity, seeing that it is the part of those greater than themselves (i.e. the priests and deacons) not to take on them the office of the episcopate, which is assigned to the bishops. Emulation is the mother of schisms" (*de Bapt. 17*). The principle laid down by Tertullian receives a curious illustration from the well-known story told by Rufinus, A.D. 390 (*Hist. Eccl. i. 14*), of some boys baptized in play by Athanasius when himself "quite a child" (*Socr. A.D. 439, Hist. Eccl. i. 15*). The bishop of Alexandria, who happened to see what was done from a distance, finding on inquiry that water had been duly used and the right form of words said, decided, after conference with his clergy, that the children should not be rebaptized, but he supplemented their irregular baptism by confirming them himself. There is a difficulty in the story from the great youth which it assigns to Athanasius about the year 312; but it would not have been related by Rufinus, or repeated at length by Sozomen, A.D. 460 (*Hist. Eccl. ii. 17*), without some protest, if the ground on which the bishop was said to have acted had not been widely accepted in the church at that time.

From the council of Elvira, about A.D. 300, we first learn under what circumstances it was held lawful for a layman to baptize. Its 38th canon decrees that "during foreign travel, at sea, or if there be no church near, one of the faithful, who has his own baptism entire (not clinic, duly confirmed, and probably also not impaired by lapse in persecution), and is not a bigamist, may baptize a catechumen in extremity of sickness, on condition that if he recover, he take him to the bishop that he may receive the benefit of the laying on of hands." St. Jerome, writing in 378, says that "without chrism and the command of the bishop, neither presbyter nor deacon have the right to baptize; which nevertheless we know to be often permitted to laymen, if necessity compel. For as one receives, so can he also give" (*Contra Lucifer. 9*). The reader will observe here the reasoning of Tertullian very similarly expressed. St. Augustine, about 400: "If any layman, compelled by necessity, shall have given to a dying man that which, when he received it himself, he learnt the manner of

le to impart to others that has, nor able to obtain a new body which he has joined (not. 221). We must observe, Basil, though with evident and the baptisms of priests in itself overruled by numbers; seemed good to some of those consideration for the multitude, should be received, let it be confessed, if the question had that the church had power to, under special circumstances, men in full communion with the other hand, whom St. Cyprian his master, teaches that, men have power to baptize, only exercise it by permission, understood. He argues that "what (by all) can be imparted"; but he adds, "How much line of reverence and modesty laity, seeing that it is the part man themselves (i.e. the priests to take on them the office of which is assigned to the bishops, another of schisms" (*de Bapt.* can. 1). The example laid down by Tertullian's illustration from the well-known boys baptized in play by himself "quite a child" (*Socr. Hist. Eccl. i. 15*). The bishop of Alexandria to see what was done from inquiry that water had the right form of words said, reference with his clergy, that he should not be rebaptized, but he irregular baptism by himself. There is a difficulty in a great youth which it assigns about the year 312; but it would be repeated by Rufinus, or repeated at the ground on which he had acted had not been in the church at that time. The council of Elvira, about A.D. 300, under what circumstances it was a layman to baptize. Its 38th canon "during foreign travel, at the no church near, one of the his own baptism entire (not affirmed, and probably also not in persecution), and is not a baptize a catechumen in extremity addition that if he recover, he take up that he may receive the benefit of hands." St. Jerome, writing in without christ and the command either presbyter nor deacon have baptize; which nevertheless we permitted to laymen, if necessary, as one receives, so can he also (Lact. 9). The reader will be reasoning of Tertullian very St. Augustine, about 400; and, compelled by necessity, shall dying man that which, when he himself, he learnt the manner of

giving, I know not if any one could piously say that it ought to be repeated. For to do it without necessity is to usurp the office of another; but to do it under pressure of necessity is either no fault or a venial" (*Contra Epist. Parmen. ii. xvii. 29*). In a work written shortly after this he shows a disposition to go further, and to recognise the outward act under whatever circumstances performed. He is speaking of several questions that might be raised,—"whether that baptism is to be owned which is received from one who has not himself received it;" whether it is valid, whatever the faith, or motive, or position (as a catholic or schismatic) of the giver or receiver, or of both, &c. He even includes the case of baptism conferred on the stage where the actors are heathens, and here he clearly leans to the affirmative, if the person baptized has had a sudden access of faith at the time; but when God has not thus interposed (*neque ille qui ibi acceperet, ita crederet, sed totum ludere et mimicæ et joculariter ageretur*), he thinks that only an express revelation could decide. He would in all such questions defer to a "plenary council"; but as an answer to the last must be sought by united and most earnest prayer (*de Bapt. c. Donat. vii. 53*). He says also that at all events he would at such a council "not hesitate to maintain that they have baptism who have received it consecrated by the words of the gospel anywhere and from any one whomsoever without deceit on their own part and with some faith" (*ib. § 102*). In Gratian (*P. iii. de Consecr. iv. 21*) we have an extract from a letter ascribed to Augustine:—"We are wont to hear that even laymen are accustomed to give the sacrament which they have received in a case of necessity, when neither bishops, presbyters, nor any of the ministers are found, and the danger of him who seeks it, lest he die without that sacrament, is pressing." In another passage from the same epistle we find a story (which the writer confesses to be uncertain) of a catechumen and a penitent in danger of being shipwrecked together. As they were the only Christians in the ship the penitent baptized the catechumen and was in turn reconciled by him. What they did was approved by all (*ib. c. 30*). The question raised by St. Augustine, as to the effect of a mock baptism on the stage, probably suggested a tale of wonder which we find, with differences of detail, both in the East and West. An actor who personated a catechumen receiving baptism was said to have been suddenly and miraculously converted. One version lays the scene at Rome in the presence of Diocletian, about 285, and gives the name of Gnesiolus to the comedian. The other calls him Gelasius, and makes the place Heliopolis in Phœnicia, and the year 297. In both cases the neophyte is said to have been led forth to martyrdom (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl. in St. Genés*). The authorities are, for Gelasius, the Paschal Chronicle of Alexandria, compiled in 630 (p. 642); and for Genesius, some Acta of uncertain date which were copied by Ado in his *Martyrologium* (A.D. 858) at Aug. 25. Gelasius, bishop of Rome, A.D. 494, speaking of deacons:—"Let them not presume to baptize without (the authority of) the bishops or presbyters, unless extreme necessity compel them,—those officers being purchase settled a long way

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off,—to do which is for the most part permitted even to lay Christians" (*Epist. ad Episc. Lu an. jo. § 7*). Isidore of Seville, A.D. 610, cites our Lord's words to the apostles (John xx. 22, 23; Matt. xxviii. 19) to shew that it is "not lawful for laymen (*privatis = ιδιωταις*) nor for clerks out of the higher orders (*sine gradu*; see *1stly*, 1 Tim. iii. 13), to baptize, but for priests only" (*sacerdotibus = bishops and presbyters*). Therefore, he concludes, it is not lawful even for deacons to do so "without (the authority of) the bishops and presbyters, except when they are far absent and the last necessity of illness compel,—which is for the most part permitted even to the lay faithful, lest any one should be called out of this world without the saving remedy" (*de Eccl. Of. ii. 24*).

IV. There is evidence to shew that during the earlier part of our period the laity came up to the holy table to make their offerings and to communicate. Dionysius, the pope of Alexandria, A.D. 254, speaks of a layman as "going up to the table," and "standing at the table" (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl. vii. 9*). Even women (*nisi in abscessu*) were, according to him, then permitted to "approach the holy of holies" and to "draw near to the holy table" (*Ep. ad Basilid. can. 2*). St. Chrysostom:—"Let no Judas, no Simon, come up to the table" (*Hom. 50, in St. Matt. § 3*). By the 19th canon of the council of Laodicea, about 365, it was "permitted to those only who were in holy orders to enter the place of the altar and to communicate there." This probably only sanctions a custom already becoming general. Theodosius the Great, at Milan in 390, took his offering up to the altar, but was not allowed to remain in the chancel for the communion (Theodorct, *Hist. Eccl. v. 18*). In the East, however, he had been accustomed to stay and to communicate within the *homon* (*ib. comp. Sozom. Hist. Eccl. vii. 43*). His grandson Theodosius says of himself in 431, "We draw near the most holy altar only to offer the gifts, and having gone into the enclosed tabernacle of the sacred circles, at once leave it" (*Concil. Labbe, iii. 1237*). For the East the rule was finally settled by the council in *Trullo*, A.D. 691. It forbade any of the laity to "enter within the sacred altar-place," except the emperor, "when he wished to offer gifts to the Creator" (can. 69). Turning to the West we find the Council of Tours, A.D. 566, permitting "the holy of holies to be open to laymen and women for prayer and communion, as the custom is," but forbidding laymen to "stand by the altar, at which the sacred mysteries are celebrated, either on vigils or at masses" (can. 4). This prohibition was confirmed by a council held at some uncertain place in France, about the year 744; but the permission is not also repeated (can. 6; *Cypri. Reg. Franc. i. 153*). The whole of the canon of Tours, however, appears in the Capitularies of Charlemagne (vii. 279). In the earliest editions of the *Ordo Romanus*, the bishop is represented as "going down" to receive the gifts of the people, and being "conducted back to the altar" after receiving them (*Man. Hist. ii. 13, 74*). This exhibits the custom at Rome in the 8th century. At that time the men and women were on different sides of the church, and the clergy went to their several places to communicate them (*ib. 10, 50*). In an epistle of Theo-

dosius and Valentinian (*Codex Theodos.* ix. 45) the *navē* (ὁ ναός) of the church is called *ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ λαοῦ*, "the praying-place of the laity." In a law of Justinian, A.D. 528 (*Codex* l. iii. xlii. 10), the clergy are exhorted to a punctual observance of their hours of prayer by an appeal to the example of "many of the laity, who for the good of their souls constantly frequent the most holy churches, and shew themselves diligent in the practice of psalmody." From this we may infer, as probable, that at that time laymen often met together in church to sing psalms out of the hours of public worship, and when the clergy were not present.

LAMB, THE HOLY. In the Orthodox Greek Church the oblation of bread for the Liturgy (ἡ προσφορά, *oblata*) is prepared of leavened bread, baked with special care, in the form of a moderate-sized, round, flat loaf or cake. In the centre is a square projecting portion, impressed with a stamp called the *seal* (σφραγίς), consisting of a cross, in the angles of which are stamped the words $\Gamma \bar{\Gamma} \text{ NI KA}$, i. e. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ. This square projection is called the *Holy Lamb*, or in the rubrics the *Holy Bread* (ὁ ἅγιος ἄρτος). The circular (στρογγυλοειδής) shape, as of a coin, is considered by Durandus (iv. c. 41) to symbolise the price of man's redemption. The form, however, seems to have varied. Gabriel of Philadelphia (*Apol. pro Eccl. Orient.*) states that the bread for the oblation was made either round or square; and adds that the round shape is symbolical of our Lord's Divinity, the square of the universality of redemption. Allatius, too (*de Eccl. Occ. et Orient. Conc.*, lib. iii. c. 15, s. 18), writes: "The Greeks when they make the bread for the sacrifice, for the most part do not make it round (ut plurimum non rotundant), but draw it out into four arms in the form of a cross: they then impress the seal (sigillum), just explained,^a in the centre of the cross and at the extremities of each arm. The priest who is about to celebrate takes the bread, in the Prothesis, and divides it in such a manner that each portion has a complete seal, and these parts are called *seals* (σφραγίδες, *signacula*)." [FRACTION.]

According to this description each portion would be approximately square; but whether the whole oblation be round or square, the Holy Lamb itself is square.



In the "office of the Prothesis," called *διδραχίς τῆς θείας καὶ ἁγίας λειτουργίας*, which is performed in the chapel of the Prothesis, on the north side of the bema, as introductory to the liturgy, and in which the priest assumes the eucharistic vestments, and selects and prepares the elements for consecration; he separates the

^a v. Neale, *Introd.* p. 242.

^b This word is sometimes used for the impression;

sometimes for the bread itself, as bearing the impression.

^c Martene, vol. i. p. 117.

^d This is identical with that described as impressed on the Holy Lamb.

"lamb" from the rest of the oblation, cutting it away squarewise with the "spear" (ἡ ἄγρια λόγχη), which is a knife in the form of an elongated spear-head, with a short handle, ending in a cross, and symbolical of the spear which pierced our Lord's side; and lays it on the paten or disc (ὁ ἅγιος δίσκος), arranging afterwards in a specified order particles (μερίδες) cut in a pyramidal form from the oblation.

Five loaves or oblations are usually prepared in the Prothesis; in the Russian Church invariably so, according to King (p. 144), but in Greece one only is often prepared, and of old the number varied. The oblation thus prepared is covered with the "asteriscus" [p. 149], a sort of frame, consisting of two bars crossing each other and joined by a hinge at the centre, and bent into such a shape as to form, when they are at right angles, a support for the "veils," of which there are three; the innermost being called *δισκοκάλυμμα*, and the outer *ἄψυ*. It then remains in the Prothesis till the "great entrance," i. e. of the Elements in the liturgy.

At the "fraction" in the liturgy the priest breaks the Holy Lamb, there called "the Holy Bread" (τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον), into four parts, and arranges them crosswise in the disc, thus—



He makes the sign of the cross over the chalice

with the part $\Gamma \bar{\Gamma}$, which he then puts into

the chalice; he communicates himself and assistants with the part $\text{X} \bar{\text{C}}$, and the re-

maining two parts are divided among the lay communicants (Neale, *Introd.* 518).

For details of the office of the Prothesis, and their symbolical significance, see *διδραχίς τῆς θείας καὶ ἁγίας λειτουργίας*, as given in the *Eschologion mega*; also Goar, *Rit. Græc.* (note in S. Joan. Chrysost. Missam); Neale, *Introduction*, pp. 341, &c.; Martene, *de Antiq. Eccl. Rit.* vol. i. p. 117; and Allatius (*ut supra*).

[II. J. II.]

LAMB, THE. [IN ART.] It appears best to treat early representations of the lamb as symbolical of our Lord (whether in the act of suffering or of triumph), apart from those of the sheep, which represent human members of the church of Christ. They are frequently brought together on the sarcophagi, and especially in the later mosaics within our period, as at SS. Cosmas and Damianus, and at St. Praxedis, in Rome; and

^e In the Roman Liturgy the Host (*oblata*) is divided into three parts: in the Mozarabic into nine, with special symbolism.

Ciampini (V.M. tab. xv. vol. ii. : also tab. xlvii.), perhaps with reference to the Paschal Feast.

Two or more sheep of the church frequently accompany the Good Shepherd, besides the one which He bears on His shoulders. They are often made to look to Him with an expression of awe and affection, and His hand is sometimes extended to bless them (Arioghi, i. 531, 532, 573, 587, from catacomb paintings; on sarcophagi, i. 295, 303, 307).

The Church is supposed to be symbolised by the curious painting of a lamb between two wolves [vol. i. p. 389]. The original is rude in execution. As an emblem of innocence, the lamb is found in Boldetti, p. 365, and with an Orange, Bosio, p. 445. [R. St. J. T.]

LAMB, OFFERING OF. The general rule as to oblations upon the altar was that nothing should be offered there but the first fruits of corn and grapes in their season (*Can. Apost.* 3, *Conc. Africam.* can. 4), and bread and wine for the eucharist were constantly offered. In some churches, as, e.g. the Gallican, the rule was not so strict, so that money and other things were permitted to be offered (*Conc. Aurel.* i. can. 16); and it appears from a passage in Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) (*de Re us Eccles.* c. 18), that a custom even existed in some places of consecrating a lamb, or offering it upon the altar, on Easter Day. This accusation is repeated by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 866, in his letter against the doctrines and practices of the West (*Ep.* 2, *ad Patr.*). The writers who replied to Photius in defence of the Western church, Katramnas and Eneas, bishop of Paris, do not apparently deny the existence of such a custom. Du Pin (*Cent.* ix. p. 113) notices that an example of this usage is to be found in the life of St. Udalric, and that a form was provided in the old *Ordo Romanus* for consecrating the lamb to be sacrificed. Cardinal Bona, too (*Her. Liturg.* ii. 8, n. 5), may be cited as a witness to the truth of the statement.

At first sight the practice looks very like a continuation of the Jewish passover. The strong repulsion, however, of the church from Jewish practices in those ages seems to render this unlikely; and we must probably regard it as being a singular and extremely crude way of indicating a mystical reference to the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God.

It can only have been an infrequent and obscure practice, and after the period mentioned we hear no more of it. [S. J. E.]

LAMBERT (1) Bishop of Maestricht † 709 (al. A.D. 696), comm. Jun. 5, *Mart. Metr.* Bede:

"Junius in Nonsi mundo mitratu ad(m)ptum
Et Sancti Lauterli nobisiam trans sidera verti,"

but Sept. 17 (as a Martyr) *Mart.*, Bed., Hieron., Gell., Ado., Rab., Us., Notk., *Cal. Angl.*, Stab., Autis. :

"Lambertus quintum denum (xv. Kal. Oct.) virtute coronat
Facto quem caenam semper tremibunda pavisset."—
Wandelbert.

A church with shrine was erected on the site of the martyrdom, and Grimoald, son of Pepin, was killed there while praying for his sick father, A.D. 714. Thither, in A.D. 727, the relics of

Lambert were translated from St. Peter's church, Maestricht, and see also, and the saint became patron of the city of Liège, that grew up round his cathedral. The shrine was unhurt when the church was burnt by the Normans, A.D. 882 (*Acta SS.* Sept. v. 556). Dec. 24 was the local anniversary of the translation (e. Reiner, *ib.* p. 552). There were also churches to him, before A.D. 776, at Nyvels and Hermael, near Maestricht, where the blind and lame were cured on occasion of the aforesaid translation (v. Godescalcus, *ib.* p. 580). Liège appears to have been a favourite pilgrimage. Sept. 17 is noted as a feast, in *Cl. Verd.*, and a 9th cent. calendar discovered by Biatirim (*Denkskriftj-keiten.* v. i. 460).

LAMBERT (2) Bishop of Lyons, 7th century, † Apr. 14, church at Fontenelle dedicated to him. Oct. 1. (*Mart. Hieron.* Florentini; *Acta SS. Bull.* Apr. ii. 215.)

(3) Martyr at Saragossa, commemorated Apr. 16 (*ib.* p. 419). [E. B. B.]

LAMBESE, COUNCIL OF (*Lambesitanum Concilium*), said to have been held (A.D. 249) at Lambese in Algeria, when ninety bishops condemned Privatus for heresy, as we learn from St. Cyprian (*Ep.* 55 : comp. Mausl, i. 787). [E. S. FE.]

LAMBESES, martyrs of, in Africa, Feb. 23 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.), namely, Luciana, Felix, and 36 others. [E. B. B.]

LAMMAS, a name applied in England to August 1, the festival of St. Peter in the Fetters (ad Vincula) [PETER, ST., FESTIVALS OF]. Somner's account of it (*Diet. Sar. Lat. Angl.* s. v.) is, that Lammas is a corruption of Hlafmaesse, or loaf-mass, because it was an ancient custom to offer on that day loaves made of the new corn [FRUITS, OFFERING OF; LOAVES, BENEDECTION OF]. A fanciful hypothesis is, that St. Peter became patron of lambs, from the Lord's words to him, "Feed my lambs" (John xxi. 15). [C.]

LAMPADARY (λαμπάδριος). 1. An official of the Greek church, whose business it was to set the wax-tapers in their places before they were kindled. (Heineccius, *Abbildung der Griechischen Kirche*, ii. 299; iii. 48, 58.)

2. An officer of the Imperial Court at Constantinople, whose duties are but imperfectly known. (Ducange, s. v.) [C.]

LAMPADIUS, martyr at Antioch, July 19 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach., Eptern.). [E. B. B.]

LAMPADUS, "our father the worker," hermit of Irenopolis, commemorated July 4 (*Men. Basil.*) He has a special office July 5 in the present Byzantine liturgy. From this it appears that "the cave, where his precious and holy relic" lay, was at one time a favourite pilgrimage (Arcudius, *Anthol.*) [E. B. B.]

LAMPASUS, martyr at Africa, Feb. 19 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach., Gellou.). [E. B. B.]

LAMPRA. Easter Day is sometimes called λαμπρά (sc. ἡμέρα or κυριακή) simply. Thus the *Leucostarion* (quoted by Sulzer, *Tesaurus*

ed from St. Peter's church, see also, and the saint to city of Liège, that grew real. The shrine was un- ch was burnt by the Nor- SS. Sept. v. 556). Dec. 24 rary of the translation (c. here were also churches to), at Nyvels and Hermael, re the blind and lame were of the aforsail translation p. 580). Liège appears to a pilgrimage. Sept. 17 is *Cat. Verd.*, and a 9th cent. by Binterim (*Denkwürdig-*

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, martyr at Africa, Feb. 19 'Ach., Gellou.). [E. B. B.]

Easter Day is sometimes called *phra* or *κυριακή* simply. Thus on (quoted by Suicer, *Thesaurus*

s. v.) speaks of *κανόνες τῆς λαμπρῆς μετὰ τῶν εἰρημῶν*, the canons [of odes] for Easter Day, with the hymn. [U.]

LAMPROPHORIA (*λαμπροφορία*), the wearing of white clothing (*εὐθὺς λαμπρὰ*), especially by the baptized in the week following their BAPTISM [§ 60, l. 163]. (Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. vv. *λαμπροφορέω*, *λαμπροφορία*, *λαμπροφύ-* [C.]

LAMPS. The lamps of the early Christians have been found in many places in great abundance, more especially in the catacombs of Rome and other cemeteries. For the early Christians were accustomed, in common with Jews and pagans, to place lamps in the company of the dead* (Raoul Rochette in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* t. xiii, pp. 758-764 (1838); Birch, *Inscr. Pott.* part iv. c. ii.; Martigny, *Dict. s. v. Lampes Chrétiennes*, and the references). Lamps of clay were found upon sarcophagi, at Vulci, in 1834, with Christian symbols, in company with coins of Constantine and his successors (Raoul-Rochette, u. s. p. 783); and have been met with either outside or inside Christian tombs and chambers in Rome, Naples, Corneto, Syracuse, Arles, Lyons, Carthage, and Alexandria. Others, of bronze, with chains attached for suspension, have been exhumed from the subterranean galleries and crypts of Rome, and in some rare cases hanging from the roof or vault; also clay lamps and candlesticks have been discovered in niches in the same situations, to give light to guide the wanderer through the gloom (Martigny, u. s. and references). A few (of clay) have been found in churches in Egypt, and were probably used for evening service (see Duange, s. v. *Lucernarium*). Clay lamps, with Christian symbols, have also been met with among the ruins of the Palatine in Rome, and of houses in Geneva (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, pp. 23-28), and in the recent excavations in and about Jerusalem, in other places beside tombs. Indeed clay lamps have been found in very many parts of the ancient Christian world; but not always bearing Christian symbols. Many from the Roman

* Many of them shew signs of having been much used, and there is little doubt that from about the 4th century lamps and candles were often kept alight before the tombs of the saints. This excited the indignation of Vigilantius (A.D. 404), who thought it heathenish and idolatrous; St. Jerome (*adv. Vigil.* c. 7), who is inclined to censure it as being "pro honore martyrum," notwithstanding it is "in perpetua et sempiterna secularium baniumi- ve centi religiosum monumentum." Not very long afterwards, however, Perpetuus, bishop of Tours, left provision for his will (A.D. 474), "ut oleum pareret pro Domini Martini sepulchro indieshenter illustrando" (*D'Aclery, Spirit.* t. iii, p. 304, ed. 1723). At an earlier period more dislike was felt to keep lights burning during the day in cemeteries. The council of Elvira in Spain (A.D. 324) says in its 34th canon: "Cereæ per diem placuit in coemeterio non incedi. Inquietant enim sanctorum spiritus nos sumi," where, however, we have a curious superstition. See Bingham, *Antiq. lib. viii c. 6, § 21*. The practice of placing lamps with in sepulchres was easily explained in a pious sense, "ad significandum lumine fieri illustratos sanctos decessisse, et modo in superna patria lumine gloriæ splendere" (St. Jerome, quoted by Martigny, *Dict.* p. 381), but both the references (*adv. Vigil.* et *Vit. Paulæ*, tacitly taken from Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 825) are erroneous.

catacombs, for example, have only seallops and ornamental patterns of various kinds (Verret, *Cat. de Rome*, t. iv. pl. xix.); and the same remark may be made of some of the lamps from Jerusalem in the museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund, reasonably presumed to be Christian (Rev. G. J. Chester in *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 481-486, with figures)^b as well as of others from Egypt and various other countries contained in the British Museum. In our own country early Christian lamps, like all other Christian works of the Roman period, are of the rarest possible occurrence. Hubner (*Inscr. Brit. Lat.* p. 240, n. 27) mentions one in the museum at Newcastle, with the chrismata (☩), and there is another, of red clay, in the collection of the Rev. S. S. Lewis, with the same device in the centre and palm branches at the sides, found in Cannon Street, London (very like that figured by Bartoli, *Ant. Luc.* part iii. c. 22). A third was found at Colchester, of pale terra-cotta, having the chrismata slightly raised and coloured black (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1855, p. 91, and H. Syer Cuming, in *lit.*). Lamps were also, though rarely, made of silver. In an inventory of church plate delivered by Paul of Ciria to the persecutors in the time of Diocletian, occurs the item, "lucernæ argenteæ septem" (*Ad calc. Optati*, p. 266 in Bingham, u. s.); and it appears that a silver lamp has been found in Rome (R. Rochette, u. s. p. 759); a single example of an amber lamp, without any ornament, has also been met with in the same city, in the cemetery of St. Callixtus (Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 297, t. i. 7). The forms and symbols which the terra-cotta and bronze lamps present are sufficiently different to make it desirable to describe them separately.

(A) *Terra-cotta lamps*.—They are of various forms, but one of the most common is that which much resembles a modern teapot. It has a round body, with one or two apertures for oil; an ascending handle, often looped or perforated for suspension; and a horizontal spout opposite the handle for the wick. But the handle, body, and spout, are all liable to modifications of form, and the first and last (often nearly obsolete) are sometimes wholly wanting. The lamp may thus approach the form of a boat or of a shoe, to both which it has been some-

^b Among these is an Arabesque pattern, which may be intended for vine branches, where Mr. Chester supposes a reference to the Enchiræ to be intended. The vine branch with grapes is realistically represented on a lamp of yellow unglazed clay of the common type from Melos, in the writer's possession, where many Christian lamps, nearly all bearing the cross, have been found; it may possibly be Christian. A not very legible potter's mark (☩), perhaps ΕΦ: MH, is cut on the under side. Pottery marks have not been found on any Christian lamps at Jerusalem, and they would seem from the silence of authors to be very rare on Christian lamps generally. De Rossi mentions a lamp with the Good Shepherd and vine-branches, recently found in the Palatine excavations, having on the under side "the name of the potter or proprietor of the works stamped in beautiful letters, as on the pagan lamps, reading ANNI SEI:" probably, as he suggests, for *anni sereiani*. The letters, he thinks, are of the 2nd or 3rd century; so that this will be amongst the earliest Christian lamps in existence (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, p. 16, and 1874, p. 79, pl. vi figs. 1, 2). Mr. H. Syer Cuming has a similar specimen.

times compared; indeed, it was sometimes made in direct imitation of these objects either in clay or in bronze.^c Occasionally the handle is of a whimsical form, as a female holding palm-branches (Perret, *Cat. vol. iv. pl. xv. fig. 3*), or, it may have a crescent outline (Sévroux d'Agincourt, *Recueil*, pl. xxiv. n. 4). Pagan lamps are not rarely made in imitation of altars and other objects (see Birch, *passim*); and we have an example of a Christian lamp in the form of an altar (Perret, u. s. pl. xix. fig. 4).

The great mass of the terra-cotta lamps found in the catacombs of Rome, "lesquelles sont au premier rang des objets d'antiquité chrétienne qu'on en retire" (Raoul Rochette, *Cat. de Rome*, p. 49), appear to be of the 4th and 5th centuries; some are considered to be older (Sévroux d'Agincourt, *Recueil*, *passim*), while a few seem to be later. Martigny (*Dict.* p. 152) thinks that a great many (*un grand nombre*) may be referred to the 2nd or to the 3rd century; but this is perhaps too much to say. Those of Gaul may be, like the sepulchral inscriptions, mostly of the 5th and 6th centuries; but it would be interesting to investigate the dates of Christian lamps more accurately than appears to have been done at present. Several recently found in the Palatine in Rome, bearing the fish, lamb, palm, chrisma, and cross, are considered by De Rossi to be of the 4th and 5th centuries; but others with the two last types (ornamented with gems) he inclines to place in the 6th century. Two of the three lamps from Geneva figured by him (one with the Apostles' heads, the other with a palm-tree), he places in the 4th century; the other bearing a chrisma, beautifully inlaid with crosses, squares, &c., about the beginning of the 6th. (See his *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, pp. 11, 24, 25.) Those from Egypt in the British Museum are probably of the 4th and 5th centuries. The principal^d types are as follows:—

(1) *Christ as the Good Shepherd*. Bearing a sheep on his shoulders, probably from Rome* (Bartoli, *Ant. Luc. Sep.* pars iii. t. 28, Rome, 1691). The same type, with other sheep at his feet, sun and moon above, accompanied by ark and dove, scenes from Jonah's life, &c., catacombs of Rome. (*Id.* 29, and Perret, *Cat. de*

^c Without referring to pagan examples, we have a notable instance of the boat of St. Peter and St. Paul (see below); a bronze lamp, on whose handle a dove is perched, and which may therefore not improbably be Christian, the body of which is a foot in the soldier's shoe (enliga), is figured by Licetus (*Luc. Ant.* p. 170); another, in the form of a boat, with palm branches on the sides, of terra cotta, probably Christian, is figured by Boldetti, *Cimit.* p. 64.

^d It is probable that among the lamps found in Africa more especially, of which the museums of Turin and Algiers possess large collections, there may be types not here enumerated. See Martigny's remarks on the rarity of their emblems (*Dict.* p. 353). The figures of lamps in the older books of Licetus, &c., are but rarely quoted, being of rude execution. Some of these and various others are repeated in Matranga's edition (Rom. 1841) of Mamachi's *Origines et Antiq. Christianae*, especially in tom. iii., while some would seem to have been originally excluded from Matranga's work. The subjects are (with the exception of the alabrum, see below) of the same general character as those which are here mentioned independently.

^e When the locality of the lamps figured in this book is expressly mentioned, it is always Rome; where indeed the title-page professes that they were all found.

Rome, vol. iv. pl. xvii. fig. 2; De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1870, pp. 85–88.) The same type of the shepherd, vine branches at the sides, Rome. (Perret, u. s. pl. xlii. fig. 1; see also a previous note.) Others in De Rossi, *Bull. Arch.* 1870, pl. 1 (from Ostia), and Sacken and Kenner, *Die Sammlungen des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes*, p. 256 (Wien, 1866), who, as well as other writers, observe the similarity of the style of the figure to that of Hermes Kriophoros. Some of these may probably be earlier than the 4th century.



Clay Lamp, with Pastor Bonus, and other subjects. (Bartoli)



Clay Lamp, with Christ accompanied by angels, &c. (De Rossi)

(2) *Christ accompanied by angels*. Christ standing, having a cruciform nimbus in the

fig. 2; De Rossi, *Bull. di*
85-88.) The same type of
lamps at the sides, Rome.
fig. 1; see also a previous
De Rossi, *Bull. Arch.* 1870, pl. 1
en and Kenner, *Die Samm-*
und Antiken-Cabinets, p.
9, as well as other writers,
of the style of the figure
of the figure.
Some of these
than the 4th century.



and other subjects. (Bartoli.)



accompanied by angels, &c. (De Rossi.)
accompanied by angels. Christ
a cruciform nimbus in the

Byzantine style, bearing a long cross, between
two flying angels, trampling on a lion and
adder (cf. Ps. xci. 13). The Palatine, Rome;
of the florid style, probably later than the 5th
century. (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1867,
p. 12, fig. 1. Another and more perfect example
in the Castellani collection, exhibited (1876) in
the British Museum.) Christ seated, front
view, between two flying angels, each holding a
crown. Found in a subterranean chamber at
Corneto, full of Christian lamps, given to R.
Rochette by Melch. Fossati, who regarded it as
a Transfiguration, but this is doubtful. (R. Ro-
chette, *u. s.*, p. 762, note; Martigny, *u. s.* p. 352.)

(3) *Fish, a symbol of Christ.* Rome, Catacombs,
and Palatine. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12, fig. 5;
Perret, *u. s.* pl. vii. fig. 1, and pl. ix. fig. 3.)
Carthage (British Museum.) Fish surrounded
by six dolphins; very fine work in red clay,
Algeria. (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 353.) See also below,
under *Inscriptions*, and *Fish* (vol. i. p. 673).

(4) *Lamb, a symbol of Christ.* Rome, Cata-
combs, and Palatine. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12,
fig. 2; Perret, *u. s.* pl. ix. fig. 2.)

(5) *Christina or monogram of Christ.* As X com-
bined with P (✠), having a circle in centre;
palm-branches at the sides of the lamp (Bartoli,
u. s. t. 22). With loop of P to left; beautiful
gemmed work; probably about the 6th century;



Clay Lamp, with gemmed christina. (De Rossi.)

Rome. (De Rossi *u. s.* p. 12, fig. 8. For similar
work compare Birch, *Anc. Pot.* vol. ii. fig. 192.)
Others in Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv.
fig. vii.; De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12, figs. 3 and 4;
Perret, *passim*, &c. With loop of P to left,
formed like a crook; Rome. (Séroux d'Agin-
court, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. ix.) The christina,

besides being found on Roman lamps in various
forms, occurs also commonly in Gaul (Martigny,
u. s.), and has been met with in Britain (see
above), and in the catacombs of Syracuse (British
Museum) and in Carthage (British Museum),
and doubtless in many other places.

(6) *Alpha and Omega* (a monogram between
them); Rome. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* t.
xxiv. fig. vi.) Christa between them, the let-
ters inverted (Rev. S. S. Lewis).

(7) *The Cross.* Latin cross, with circle in
centre (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 12, fig. 6); Greek cross
(Perret, *u. s.* pl. xiii. fig. 4). Including five
circles, and various pellets, a representation of
a pendant (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 13, fig. 11; Séroux
d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. viii.). All the
above are from Rome. With the extremities
forked, accompanied by an inscription (see be-
low); also the Maltese cross; Jerusalem (Chester,
u. s. pp. 484-5, both figured.) The cross is com-
mon on Gaulish lamps, and found on several
vases from Milo (Melos) (Martigny, *u. s.*). Car-
thage (gemmed work); Calymna (one curiously
formed of lozenges, with open centre); Egypt.
(All in the British Museum.)

(8) *Apostles.* Figure seated on a throne sur-
rounded by twelve heads; De Rossi thinks a
prince or other illustrious convert is represented
in the midst of the Apostles; Geneva, in the
ruins of a house. Probably of the 5th century.
(De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 25, fig. 1.) Heads of the
twelve Apostles surrounding a gemmed christina;
Roman catacombs. (*Mus. Corton.* t. 84; Perret,
u. s. pl. xiii. fig. 2.) [Two heads, suggested to be
Peter and Paul, in caps surmounted by cruciform
stars, are really those of the Discipuli; same
locality. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv.
fig. 5.)]

(9) *Fisherman, as symbol of an Apostle.*
Holding net and staff in his right hand, a fish
in his left; on reverse of lamp a gemmed cross.
(*Mus. Corton.* t. 85.)

(10) *Female saint between angels.* Carthage.
(British Museum.)

(11) *Cock, symbol of vigilance* (Martigny, *u. s.*
p. 177), by some presumed to refer to St. Peter
(Chester, *u. s.* p. 483); Rome. (Perret, *u. s.*
pl. ix. fig. 4. Compare one in Brit. Mus.)

(12) *Dove, symbol of innocence.* Rome. (Perret,
u. s. pl. xv. fig. 4.) Common on lamps of Gaul.
(Martigny, *u. s.*) Carthage; on one lamp two
doves facing; on another, one only. (British
Museum.) See also Sacken and Kenner, *u. s.*

(13) *Pheasant, with tail spread out, and*
ornamented with three nimbi; emblematic of
the Trinity. In Mr. H. Syer Cuming's collec-
tion. (Cuming, *in lit.* See also *Journ. Brit.*
Arch. Assoc. 1855, p. 91.)

(14) *Horse, symbol of the end of life's course;*
Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xix. fig. 2.)

(15) *Stag.* (Cf. Ps. xli. 1.) Rome? (Licet,
de Lucern. Antiq. recond. p. 927, with fig.)
Algeria (Münter, *Symb.* p. 112, referred to by
Martigny, *u. s.* p. 353).

(16) *Urn,* supposed to be symbol of the
swiftness of life, Lyons; on a vase of red clay,
in the possession of the abbé Martigny. (Mar-
tigny, *u. s.* p. 353. See also p. 368, s. v. *Lièvre*.)

(17) *Frog, as a symbol of the resurrection.*
Egypt, in the catacombs of Alexandria among
other places, in conjunction with the cross.
(Birch, *Anc. Pot.* vol. i. p. 52; Chester, *u. s.* p.

483. See also below under *Inscriptions*.) Several examples in the British Museum. Many lately found bear a late Greek A (Α), impressed on the bottom, probably for Alexandria, where they were made. Chester, in *Academy*, Feb. 5, 1876, p. 123, who has some valuable remarks on the varied forms of these lamps.

The symbolic interpretation of the frog may be regarded as determined by the inscription given below; but it is not so certain that some of the animals mentioned above were meant to have any symbolical interpretation whatever. Some of them occur on Pagan lamps (Birch, *u. s.* vol. ii. p. 289), as does also the lion, which likewise is found on a lamp, of Christian fabric apparently, in the British Museum. This animal was sometimes taken as a Christian symbol of watchful power. (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 369. See also the articles in this Dictionary under the titles of the animals named above.)

(18) *Chalice*, Western Christendom. (Chester, *u. s.* p. 483.) One with two handles, a tree springing from it, Calymna (British Museum). Cf. *Chalcion*, vol. i. p. 337.

(19) *Palm-tree*, Rome. (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 13, fig. 9.) Geneva. (*Id.* p. 25, fig. 2.)

(20) *Palm branches*, Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xiii. fig. 4, and pl. xix. fig. 4.) Jerusalem, much conventionalised. (Chester, *u. s.* pp. 483-4, one figured.) Egypt. (British Museum.)

(21) *Star*, inscription around; see below; Egypt. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xvii. fig. 14.)

The following subjects, to say nothing of doubtful types, are from the Old Testament:—

(22) *Noah's ark and dove*. See above, under No. 1.

(23) *Scenes from life of Jonah*. See above, No. 1. Jonah beneath gourd. (Mansueti, *u. s.* tom. i. p. 254, tab. lv. fig. 3.) Jonah and the whale (a sea-dragon). (British Museum.)

(24) *Spies bearing grapes*, Carthage. (British Museum.)

(25) *Jewish candlestick*, under various forms. With seven branches, six being bent in the middle at right angles; palm branch (?) on either side. Catacombs and Palatine, Rome. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. iii.; De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 7, fig. 12.) No palms, and branches of candlestick curved (Birch, *Anc. Pot.* vol. ii. fig. 192; Bartoli, *u. s.* t. 32; perhaps a Jewish work; probably from Rome). Quite conventionalised Rome (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xviii. fig. 5); sometimes with a Christian inscription; Jerusalem. (Chester, *u. s.* pp. 484, 485, one figured.) Algeria. (Martigny, *u. s.* p. 353.) Carthage. (British Museum.)

Of Pagan types, Christianised, we have the following:

(26) *Venus holding apple*, transformed into an Eve, as Séroux d'Agincourt suggests, but? Catacombs of Rome; good work, and probably of a very early period. (Séroux d'Agincourt, *u. s.* pl. xxiv. fig. 2.)

(27) *Orpheus*, who is made as a kind of symbol of Christ. Catacombs of Rome. (Perret, *u. s.* pl. xvii. n. 1.)

There are also some other lamp-types of the Christian period, but which can hardly be intended to bear any Christian significance. The most curious is a fish swallowing an aquatic bird (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 18. O. tav. iv. n. 9, seemingly about the 6th century): another

is a man killing a lion with a sword (British Museum). Some lamps appear to bear Christian portraits, either full-length (De Rossi, *u. s.* p. 7, p. 25), or the bust only; one in the British Museum has apparently the head of an emperor, perhaps of Justinian.

Passeri (*Lucern. Fict.* vol. iii. pp. 126-7, t. xli.) publishes a lamp of the usual type bearing the Graces, at the bottom of which is a cross, in dotted lines, which leads him to suspect that it is made by a Christian artist; and adds, "nam et aliae plures apud me asservantur, quae omnino Christianae sunt, et tamen ethnicorum symbolis atque imaginibus adornantur, praesertim Victoriae, Herculis, Palladis et Apollinis citharoedi sive Orphei, suae omnes, cum per otium licebit, sua in sede collocatas publicabimus." This promise does not appear to have been fulfilled; and the Christianity of such lamps (the Orpheus-type excepted) may be questioned. De Rossi cannot accept the cross on the bottom of a lamp "per segno certo di Christianesimo" (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1870, p. 80).

The same types, as was to be expected, are not found in all places where Christian lamps have been discovered in considerable numbers. The Rev. G. J. Chester observes of those of Jerusalem: "Many lamp-types of more Western Christendom, from the catacombs of Rome, Syracuse, and Carthage, such as the Good Shepherd, the Sacred Monogram, the Dove, the Cuck of St. Peter, and the Chalice, are entirely absent; and the same may be said of the disgusting and probably Gnostic device of the toad" [rather frog] "associated with the cross, so often found in the catacombs of Alexandria and elsewhere, in Egypt. The earthenware bottles, with the effigy of St. Menas, an Egyptian saint, who flourished in the 4th century . . . so commonly found with Christian lamps in Egypt, are also absent. [See Böckh, *C. I. G.* p. 8978 and *Academy*, *u. s.*] The usual symbols of the Jerusalem lamps, which are all of a rude and cheap description . . . are the cross . . . ; the seven-branched candlestick . . . and the palm branch . . . These emblems, which the Christians of the mother of churches used and rejoiced in, in common with their brethren in more western lands, are all more or less conventionalised, and are represented in a distinctive and different manner." (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 483-4.)

The types commonly occupy the disc or centre of the body of the lamp, while the sides are either plain or more usually decorated with floral or geometrical ornaments, or with subordinate types, as a wreath of palm-branches, or medallions enclosing the chrisma, &c.; or, more rarely, they bear inscriptions. In the lamps of Palestine, however, the emblems are placed along the edge, and not in the body of the lamps, which are in most cases not round but pear-shaped (*Recover. of Jerus.* p. 484).

Inscriptions on terra-cotta lamps.—These are rare, only three being contained in Böckh's Greek-Christian inscriptions, though a few others are now known. The following are the most important:—

(1) Séroux d'Agincourt, *Recueil*, p. 59, pl. xvii. fig. 14; Böckh, *C. I. G.* n. 8980:

ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΥΚΤΟΚΟΣ (sic),

i. e. τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυέκτου (the Holy Polyektus)

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with a sword (British appear to bear Christ in length (De Rossi, u. s. 1877; one in the British Museum the head of an emperor,

z. vol. III. pp. 126-7, f. of the usual type bearing om of which is a cross, leads him to suspect that an artist; and adds, "nam me asservantur, quae ut, et tamen ethiœcorum mibus adornantur, praemis, Palladis et Apollinis, quas omnes, cum per collocatas publicabimus." appear to have been ful- nity of such lamps (the may be questioned. De e cross on the bottom of erto di Christianesimo" 70, p. 80).

was to be expected, are s where Christian lamps in considerable numbers. observes of those of Jeru- types of more Western catacombs of Rome, sym- ch as the Good Shepherd, the Dove, the Cuck of St. are entirely absent; and f the disgusting and prof- of the toad" [rather frog] cross, so often found in the a and elsewhere, in Egypt, es, with the effigy of St. aut, who flourished in the commonly found with pt, are also absent. [See s and *Actedony*, u. s.] The Jerusalem lamps, which are description . . . are the -branched candlestick . . . ch . . . These emblems, f the mother of churches n common with their bre- lands, are all more or less are represented in a dis- manner." (*Recovery of*

occupy the disc or centre while the sides are either decorated with floral or with subordinate types, branches, or medallions en- cke; or, more rarely, they ne lamps of Palestine, how- placed along the edge, and lamps, which are in most ear-shaped (*Recov. of Jerus.*

a-cotta lamps.—These are contained in Böckh's Greek- though a few others are lowing are the most im-

court, *Recueil*, p. 59, pl. C. I. G. n. 8980:

ΠΟΛΥΟΚΤΟΣ (sic),

αγκυρω (the Holy Polyoctus)

written near the edge of a lamp, with a star in the centre, found in a church at Coptos in Upper Egypt, probably dedicated to that saint. Others of the same character, bearing the names of St. Sergius, abbat, and St. Christina, abbess (ἀγία), and St. Cyriacs, may be seen in Böckh, nos. 8979, 8981, and Birch, *Anc. Pott.* vol. I. p. 52. The lamp in the Roman College, on which is written in ink Ο ΑΥΘΟC ΚΑΚΕΡΔΑΟC, may have been destined for the priests' use. (See Martigny, u. s.)



Clay Lamp, with star and Greek inscription. (Schronx d'Agincourt.)

(2) G. J. Chester, *Recov. of Jerusalem*, p. 485, with figure;

ΦΩC ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑCΙΝ, i. e. φῶς Χριστοῦ φάειν πάντων (the light of Christ shines to all; adapted from I John ii. 8). Another, similar, accompanied by a cross; both are from Jerusalem. The same inscription variously blandered occurs on several lamps found in the same neighbourhood, on more than one of which the Jewish candlestick occupies the same position as the cross in the lamp here figured. The



Clay Lamp, with cross and Greek inscription. (G. J. Chester.)

museum at Leylen has a lamp (from Egypt?) inscribed ΦΩC ΕΞ ΦΩΤΟC (*Light of Light*); and Dr. Birch mentions the same legend, and also ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΥ ΧΑΡΙC (*Theology is the grace of God*), as occurring on Christian lamps from

Egypt (u. s.). Of other lamps from Jerusalem one bears the same candlestick with seven lights, and reads in letters partly inverted, Αὐχράδια καλὰ (*beautiful lights*). In allusion to the type. Another appears to have ΙΧΘ for ΙΧΘΥC (*the Fish*). See Chester, as above (where more information may be found), and the Egyptian lamps in the British Museum.

(3) Chabouillet, *Catal. des Cunees, &c. de la Bibl. Impér.* p. 607. (A drawing sent to him by M. Muret.) A lamp doubtless found in Egypt, formerly in the collection of the Abbé Greppo, has upon it the representation of a frog, with a cross and the inscription—

ΕΤΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΑΝΑΚΤΑCΙC.

The transformations of the frog seem to the designer symbolical of the Resurrection; there seems no necessity to suppose any Gnostic feeling. The words are an adaptation from Joeh. xi. 25.

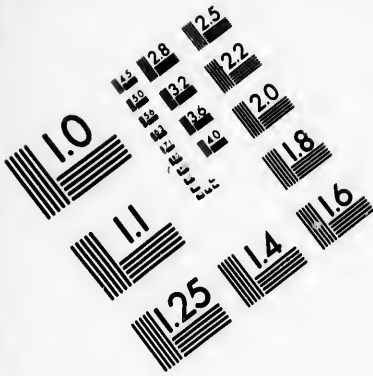
(4) A lamp is figured by Matranga in Manna- chi, *Orig. et Antiq. Christ.* tom. iii. p. 37, tab. vi. fig. 2, on which a labarum of considerable size stands between two soldiers; on the tablet below the wreathed chrisma is written in two lines, ΕΝ ΤΑΥΤΩ (sic) ΝΙΚΑ. The margin is finely decorated with leaves, wreaths, and medallions. Apparently from the catacombs of Rome (in coemeteriis repertum). This is termed *vetustissimum monumentum*; it may be of about the 5th or 6th century, to judge from the figure.



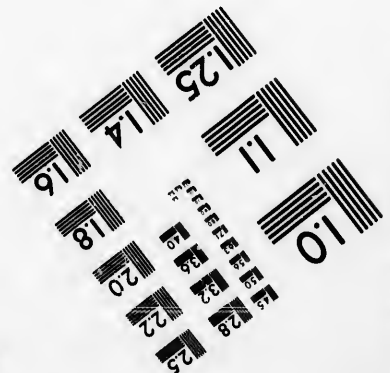
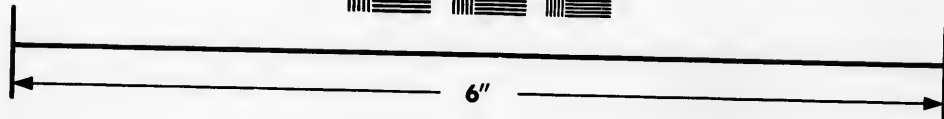
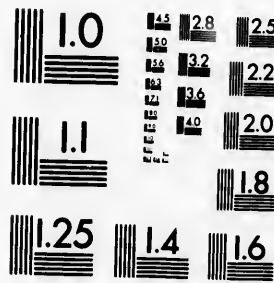
Clay Lamp, with labarum between soldiers, reading εν ταυτω (misceit) νικα. (Matranga.)

(5) Raoul Rochette (u. s. p. 763) mentions that lamps of the 4th century were found in 1834 in a little Christian cemetery at Vulci, bearing the type of heads surrounded by a nimbus, with in-





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scriptions terminating with PAX CUM SANTIS (*sic*) or CUM ANGELIS. The early part probably mentioned the name of the person buried.

With regard to the paste, glaze, and style of art, it varies a good deal. The greater part appear to be of the bright red unglazed ware, called false Samian, which have been found in Egypt, among other places, where, however, the art of making lamps "seems to have been in a very low condition, and certainly inferior to its state in Rome and the provinces of Greece and Asia Minor." (Birch, *u. s. i.* 52, ii. 291.) The lamps of Palestine are of unequal merit, none being very high; while among the Roman lamps, of various ages, some are of very good work.

The number of Christian lamps, of terra-cotta, which enrich the museums of Europe, to say nothing of those in private hands, is very large; Martigny calls them almost infinite (*u. s.*). In this country the museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains the largest collection of Christian lamps of that region: in the British Museum there is a considerable number (between one and two hundred) of others from various localities.

(b) *Bronze lamps.*—With regard to the lamps of bronze, which have been found in the catacombs and elsewhere, they are generally thought to be for the most part of a later age than those of clay; and some of those which are preserved in museums lie under a suspicion of being forgeries (Martigny, *Dict.* p. 352). They have sometimes one spout, sometimes two, and are generally pierced for suspension by chains, some of which still exist. The chains sometimes met in an inscribed tablet, which was itself suspended. The curved pin for trimming the wick is occasionally found attached (Baldetti, *u. s. p.* 64). The earlier symbols, as the fish, hardly ever occur; the chrisma is frequent, and also the cross. Several of these lamps are figured by Bartoli, p. iii.; Perret, tom. v. u. s. tabb. 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31; Bottari, *Roma Sotterr.* t. iii. tav. cxxi.-cxxiii.; and the British Museum has about twenty others.[†]

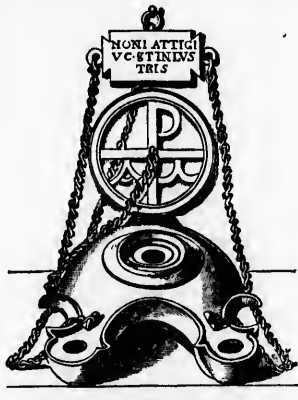
The following notice of the Christian types which occur on bronze lamps must suffice:—

(1) *Chrisma.*—The handle formed by the chrisma in a circle, surrounded by vine leaves (Bartoli, t. 23). The same, surrounded by Jonah and his gourd (*ib.* t. 30). The same, plain, with transverse bar, accompanied by a

[†] There are also some figured in the older work of Licetus, partly taken from Cassalius, which seem to be of metal. See a very curious one, if it be genuine, with two spouts, a star on the body of the lamp, and a horse-man standing on the side attached to the handle, which is a circle enclosing a chrisma, p. 782; also another, p. 870 (not made for suspension), having the Good Shepherd bearing a sheep, his head radiated, a suspicious peculiarity. For others more like those mentioned in the text, see pp. 951, 954, 994, which last gives a female called a Venus, under a gourd, otherwise much resembling Bartoli, t. 30. If indeed the two figures represent the same specimen, the drawing of Licetus is very bad; yet this seems to be the case: see Bellori's remarks.

The writer desires to express his special obligation to Mr. Percy Gardner for drawing up descriptions of the more important bronze lamps contained in the British Museum, as well as to the other officers of the museum for affording him every facility to inspect the objects mentioned both in this and in his other articles.

and ω ; an inscribed tablet above (see figure, *id.* t. 24). The same form of chrisma, on which a dove perches (*id.* t. 26).



Bronze Lamp, with handle formed by the chrisma, and ω and bearing the name of Nonius Atticus vir clarissimus of Illici-a (Bartoli).

(2) *Cross.*—Handle formed by a cross, above which dove (Perret, *u. s. t. v.* fig. 5). Other handles are formed by crosses of various forms (British Museum). By a cross, on the top of a gryphon's head, a chrisma on the body of the lamp (Bartoli, t. 25). Same type, but lamp has two spouts, and no chrisma (British Museum; same type, but done above cross; Syracuse, recently found; Rev. S. S. Lewis). By a cross placed between and overshadowed by wings (British Museum). A cross placed in the middle of an ornamented handle, with three central discs (British Museum). A few of the above lamps are somewhat boat-shaped.

(3) *Bird.*—Body of lamp in the shape of a phoenix (British Museum, two specimens). Cf. Licetus, p. 871 (with figure). Others in British Museum in form of a peacock or a duck, probably Christian.

(4) *Palm branches.*—Placed near the nozzles (Bottari, *u. s. t.* cxxviii).

(5) *Boat, as a symbol of the Church* (see Martigny *Dict.* s. v. 'Navire').—(a) A bronze lamp in the form of a boat, is now in the cabinet of the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Bartoli, *u. s. t.* 31; Cahier et Martin, *Mémoires Archéol.* vol. iii. p. 15; Perret, *u. s. t.* 1). Two figures (Peter steering and Paul preaching) are at the ends of the boat, which bears an inscription on a label at the top of the mast in three lines:

DOMINVS LEGEM
DAT VALERIO SEVERO
EVTRUPI VIVAS.

This inscription has long been a puzzle for the learned. (See Bellori at the end of Bartoli, p. 11; also Martigny, *Dict.* p. 352.) De Rossi (*Mon. di Arch. Crist.* 1867, p. 28) seems to have hit on the true explanation, by suggesting that Eutropius is the praenomen of Valerius Severus; and that the acclamation congratulates him on

ed tablet above (see figure, *id.*, the form of chrisma, on which a t. 28).



Handle formed by the chrisma, and a cross of Nontus Asiaticus vir christianus of Illyria

Handle formed by a cross, above ret. u. s. t. v. fig. 5). Other ed by crosses of various forms). By a cross, on the top of a chrisma on the body of the (25). Same type, but lamp has no chrisma (British Museum; done above cross; Syracuse, Rev. S. S. Lewis). By a cross and overshadowed by wings). A cross placed in the middle of handle, with three central (base). A few of the above hat boat-shaped.

ly of lamp) in the shape of a Museum, two specimens). Cf. with figure). Others in British of a peacock or a duck, pro-

ches.—Placed near the nozzles (revillii).

symbol of the Church (see Mars-Navire').—(a) A bronze lamp pont, is now in the cabinet of the Tuscany (Bartoli, u. s. t. 31; *Mélanges Archéol.* vol. iii. p. 13;

Two figures (Peter steering bag) are at the ends of the boat, inscription on a label at the top rea lines:

OMINVS LEGEM
VALERIO SEVERO
VTROPI VIVAS.

has long been a puzzle for the lort at the end of Bartoli, p. 11; *id.*, p. 352.). De Rossi (*Bull. di*, p. 28) seems to have hit on Entrom, by suggesting that Entromen of Valerius Severus; and nation congratulates him on

having accepted the law of the Gospel, he having been previously a pagan.



Bronze Lamp, in form of a boat, in which are St. Peter and St. Paul. (Giniez in Cahier and Martin, *vueuse Ferret*.)

This most interesting lamp was discovered during excavations of the Mons Coelius at Rome, in the 17th century, and appears to have been first published by De la Chausse in his *Museum Romanum*, Rom, 1690, and has since been repeatedly noticed, but only recently correctly drawn by M. Giniez. It is probably one of the earliest Christian bronze lamps known, being found along with other antiquities "of a good period of the empire" (Bellori).



Bronze Lamp (boat?), bearing chrisma, gryphon, and dolphin. (De Rossi.)

(6) Bronze lamp, perhaps intended for a boat, of very fine work, terminating at the poop in a gryphon's head, an apple in his mouth; the chrisma, on which a dove is perched, is between its ears; on the body of the lamp is another chrisma; at the other end (the prow) is a dolphin, with a loaf (?) in his mouth.

The dolphin, though no true fish, is here, as elsewhere, taken to be the symbol of Christ (as a fish). The apple in the dragon's mouth is interpreted by Monsignor Baillet to be the apple of Eve; while the loaf in the dolphin's mouth is regarded by him as the living bread of the Eucharist. [See DOLPHIN, FISU, GEMS.]

Probably (see De Rossi) of the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century. Found in the excavations of Porto. (De Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1868, p. 77, tav. I, fig. 1, and for 1870, pp. 72-76.)

It should be added that lamps as well as candles were, from the 4th century onwards, placed in churches on candelabra suspended from the roof. These were of metal, bronze, silver, or even gold. Allusion is repeatedly made to them in the *Liber pontificalis*, and elsewhere; they were often of large size and elaborate ornamentation. They were commonly known by the name of *Pharos* (watch-tower) or *Coroni*, indicative of their general shape. (See Duncange, *Gloss.* under each word; and Martigny, *Dict.* p. 153.) They were of various forms as respects details. (See Papius, quoted by Duncange, u. s. Pharos.) A representation of one which approaches our period is given in a MS. of about the 9th century by Spallart, *Tribl. Hist. des Cost. et Meurs*, pl. xx. n. 4, referred to by Guenebault (see below). It is in the form of an architectural composition surrounded by towers. See

CORONA LUCIS. (For copious references to the earlier and later literature of Christian lamps, see Fabricius, *Bibl. Antiq.* pp. 1035, 1036; Guenebault, *Dict. Iconogr. des Monum. Chrét.* p. 105, Paris, 1843. In M. Cahier's paper on the *Coronne de lumieres d'Aix-la-Chapelle* is much information about early Christian lamps and chandeliers (Cahier et Martin, *Mé. d'Archéol.* vol. iii. pp. 1-61). There are also treatises by Fanciulli, *De Lampadibus et Lucernis pensilibus in sacris aedibus Christianorum*, 4to. (with plates); and Greppo, *Sur l'usage des Cierges et des Lampes dans les premiers siècles de l'Eglise*, Lyon, 8vo, 1842, which the writer has not seen.* [C. B.]

* Since the above was written the Rev. S. S. Lewis has called the writer's attention to an able paper by M. de Villefosse in the *Musée Archéologique* for 1875, entitled "Lampes Chrétiennes inédites" (3), to which is added an enumeration of the Christian lamps (15) in the Museum of the Louvre. Most of them have the same general types as those named in this article; but the following from Algeria and Tunis are additional:—(1) The Three Children in the furnace, in Phrygian caps, accompanied by the Guardian Angel; (2) The Magi (in Phrygian caps) and the Star (imperfect); both these are figured; (3) Christ of St. Paul (?); (4) Daniel (?). All are of clay. Mr. W. R. Cooper, in a paper on the *Horus Myth in hel tion to Christianity*, read before the Victoria Institute (March 6, 1876), mentions two terra-cotta lamps, showing the influence of the Horus myth on Christian works of art. One in the Boston Museum, of which he gives a figure, bears "a large Grek cross, which completely divides it into four sections, in the two lower of which is placed the *crux ansata*, or the mystical cross of life, which was

LAMPS, LIGHTING OF. Lamps in churches were in early Christian times lighted just before the beginning of vespers, which were originally appointed to be said at the twelfth hour, i. e. the last hour before sunset, whence the office itself is sometimes called *duodecima*. "Prima sic dici debet, pungentibus jam radiis solis, et vespera adhuc declinantibus radiis ejus." "In aestivo vero tempore adhuc altius stante sole *Lucernarii* inchoantur propter breves noctes" (*Reg. S. Bened.* cc. e. 34). The Benedictine practice in the last century is said to have been to say vespers in the winter at 3 P.M., in the summer at 3½ P.M. (*Graucolas. Com. in Brev. cap. xxxviii.*)

The lighting of the lamps was accompanied by certain prayers and psalms. These were known as *psalmi* and *preces lucernales* (St. Basil, *ad Amphil.*; St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Lactam*, &c.), and the office of vespers as *lucernarium* or *lucernalis** v. *lucernari hora* (St. Aug. *Sermo i. ad fratres in Er.*). "Hora nona [i. e. as the context shews, after the ninth hour] *lucernarium* facimus," and the hours of prayer are thus enumerated: "hora tertia, sexta, nona, *lucernarium*, medio noctis, gallicantio, mane primo." [St. Jerome in *Ps.* 119 (120).] The apostolic constitutions also bid the faithful come together at eventide to sing psalms and offer prayers, and they call *Ps.* 140 (141) *ἐπιλόχιον* (i. 59 and viii. 35).

These psalms and prayers were originally said separately from, and as introductory to, vespers properly so called; later they were incorporated into the office, the first part of which was known as *lucernarium*, or in Greek τὸ λυχνικόν, and the whole office of vespers was sometimes, though less accurately, called by the same name. The directions for the "lychnic" in the Greek *Lu-hology*, for a solemn vigil (*ἀγρυπνία*), are as follows: The officer who put the lamps or candles in their places was called *λαμπάδριος*; he who lighted them, *καταγοιδίτης* (al. *κατηγοιδίτης*, *Goar*, 272).

The priest, having vested in the sacristy (*ἐπαρτέον*), comes out and censes the whole church and the icons, and, entering into the bema, censes the holy table, saying with a loud voice—"Glory be to the holy, and consubstantial, and life-giving and indivisible Trinity, in all places now and ever, and to ages of ages. R. Amen." Then the superior, or the appointed monk (δ) *προεστὴς ἢ ὁ ταχθεὶς μοναχὸς*^b, sings the proemic psalm, i. e. *Ps.* 103 (104), the priest remaining within the bema, with the holy doors closed. At the verse, "When Thou openest Thy hand they are filled with good," he comes out with the canonarch (or precentor—*μετὰ τοῦ*

always held in the hands of the Egyptian gods and goddesses, and which the good spirit applied to the lips of the mummy to bring it again to life." (*Catacombs of Alexandria*.) He considers the adaptation of Egyptian sacred emblems to Christian purposes to be clear enough in these figures. Another from Denderah, which he figures after Denon, has the *crux ansata* for the principal cross, the looper postern of which surrounds the mouth of the lamp, and the central stem is extended upwards, so as to resemble a Greek cross also. No inscription on either lamp.

* By this term, however, Cassian appears to mean *Nocturns*.

^b St. Basil, *Ep.* 37, *ad Neocæsarienses*.

Κανονάρχου), and, after a prescribed reverence, goes to his place: the canonarch remains standing in the centre, and recites the stichi, or versicles for the day. At the verse of the psalm, "In wisdom hast Thou made them all,"^a the priest removes, and, standing bare-headed, says the "prayers of the lychnic" before the holy doors. These prayers are seven prayers for pardon and protection during the night, each ending in the usual manner with the ascription of praise. After their conclusion the priest says the great "synapte" (*τὴν μεγάλην συναπτήν*). The appointed section (or Cathism—*κάθισμα*) of the Psalms is then said, and after that the deacon says the little "synapte."^c The office of vespers proper is then continued.

When there is no vigil, the rite is simple. The holy doors are not opened, but the priest, standing before them bare-headed and vested in a stole, says with a loud voice—"Blessed be our God in all places now and ever, and to ages of ages." Then the superior or the appointed monk recites the proemic psalm without modulation (*χόμα*, i. e. "fusa voce sine cantu," &c., *Goar*), and the rest of the office is gone through as before.

In the Ambrosian office, the antiphon at the opening of vespers is still called "*Lucernarium*," and contains an obvious allusion to the name.

That for ordinary Saturdays and Sunday is:

"For Thou, O Lord, shalt light my candle; O Lord my God, make my darkness to be light.

"V. For in thee I shall discomfit a host of men [Lat. eripiar a tentatione]; O Lord my God make my darkness to be light.

Iterum. For Thou, O Lord," &c.

and that for other week days:

"The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom then shall I fear?

"V. The Lord is the strength of my life: of whom then shall I be afraid?

Iterum. "The Lord is my light," &c.

The Mozarabic vespers also begin with the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Pateroster*, said secretly with the salutation by the priest, "In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi lumen eum pace. R. Deo Gratia," and the "Lauda" which, with its prayer, immediately follows, has reference to the old rite, and is of precisely the same character as the Ambrosian "*lucernarium*."

The well-known hymn attributed by some to St. Ambrose, "Deus qui certis legibus noctem discernis ac diem," said in the Mozarabic

^a This word is interpreted by *Goar* (p. 29), "*Canonum dux et inceptor*," and may be sufficiently neatly represented by *Precentor*.

^b There is a difficulty in understanding these directions, as the verse, "In wisdom," &c., occurs earlier in the psalm than "When thou openest," &c.

^c The word *synapte* (*συναπτή*) is explained by *Goar* as "prayers compiled (compositae) for various persons and objects, and collected into one; whence the Greeks call it *συναπτή*, we (i. e. the Latins) *collected*." Its form is that of a *Litany*, with *Kyrie Eleison* repeated after each clause. Of the two forms, here called *great* and *small*, one is fuller than the other. Prayers of this character are also called *terevy*, from their length, sometimes also *εὐχημα*, because the first petition they contain is for peace, or *εὐχαιρέα*, because said by the deacon. They are of varied form and contents, and occur very frequently in the Greek offices. The earliest form of a *synapte* is given in the *Apostolic Constitution*, viii. 9.

after a prescribed reverence, the canonarch remains standing and recites the stich, or
 At the verse of the psalm, "Thou made them all," the standing ware-headed, says "psychic" before the holy verses are seven prayers for them during the night, each in a manner with the ascription of the canonarch. The priest says " (την μεγάλην συναπήν). (or Cathism—κἀθισμα) of a psalm, and after that the "synapte." The office of the canonarch continues.

On vigils, the rite is simple, not opened, but the priest, in bare-headed and vested in loud voice—"Blessed be our God ever, and to ages of superior or the appointed proemiac psalm without i.e. "fusa voce sine cantu," the rest of the office is gone

On the office, the antiphon at the stich is called "Lucernarium," an allusion to the name.

Saturdays and Sunday is :
 O Lord light my candle; O Lord my light to be light.

On Lord's day, the priest says "O Lord my God make my darkness

O Lord," &c.

On week days :

On the strength of my life: of whom then is my light," &c.

On the responses also begins the "Paternoster," said secretly by the priest, "In nomine Christi lumen cum pace. R. he "Lauda" which, with its follows, has reference to of precisely the same character "lucernarium."

On the hymn attributed by some to is qui certis legibus noctem " said in the Mozarabic

On the word by Goar (p. 29). "Canonum may be sufficiently nearly repre-

On the sity in understanding these direc- "wisdom," &c., occurs earlier in than openest," &c.

On the συναπτῆ) is explained by Goar as (synapostas) for various persons and to one; whence the Greeks call it (synapte) collecta." Its form is that of a leaf, repeated after each clause called great and small, one is Prayers of this character are also of length, sometimes also circumplex, on they contain six or seven, or eight by the deacon. They are of and occur very frequently in the earliest form of a synapte is given in the edition, viii. v.

breviary on the second Sunday in Lent, is headed in a hymnary printed by Thomasius, vol. ii., "recedente sole, ac die cessante, hora incensum Lucernae;" and the hymn of Prudentius, "Inventor rutili Dux bove fulminis," is called "Hymnus ad incensum Lucernae." This is the ordinary opinion. Lesley, however, in the preface to the Mozarabic Missal, gives reasons derived from the composition of the hymn in favour of its having been composed, not for daily use, but for the lighting of the Paschal candle on Easter Eve. The hymn is said in the Mozarabic breviary on the Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany, and, according to the Sarum and York rites, on Easter Eves at the benediction of the Paschal candle.

See also Martene, *De Ant. Rit.* iv. 42, &c.; Granello, *Commen. in Brev. Rom.* i. c. 38, &c.; Casali, *de Veler. Sacr. Christ. Ritib.* c. 44; Gavanti, *sec. iv.* c. 6.

Reference to the *Lucernarium* may be seen in the following collects, which are the first collects (orations) at vespers in the Ambrosian rite on an ordinary Wednesday and Friday.

On Wednesday.—*Vespertinum incensum nostrum quaesumus Domine, clementer intende, ut ignitum eloquium tuum credentium corda purificet.* Per Domianum.

On Friday.—*Gratias tibi agimus, omnipotens Deus, quod declinante jam die, nos vespertini luminis claritate circumdas: petimus immensam clementiam tuam: ut, sicut nos hujus luminis claritate circumvallas, ita Sancti Spiritus tui lues corda nostra illuminare digneris.* Per Domianum. [H. J. H.]

LAMPASACUS, COUNCIL OF (*Lampsacon concilium*), held at Lampskaki on the Hellespont, A.D. 364, as Agri shews. Orthodox bishops were invited to it; and it is described as a council of Homousians by Sozomen (vi. 7) if the reading is correct. But those who directed it must have been really Semi-Arians; for they professed to be partisans of the Homousian formula, and of the creed published at Antioch, besides siding with Macedonius by whom the godhead of the Holy Ghost was denied. What made Sozomen think well of them probably was that they were treated with marked favour by Valentinian; while they condemned the extreme party which Valens espoused, and which he ordered them into exile for dissenting from. On this too they seem to have despatched a still more orthodox account of themselves to Rome, which contained Liberius (Soc. iv. 12; comp. Mansi, iii. 378, and *Roman Councils*, 16). [E. S. FF.]

LANCE, HOLY (ἀγία λόγχη, *cuttellus*); a liturgical instrument of the Greek Church, in the shape of a small knife formed like a spear. The annexed representation from Goar gives its form. It is used in the common Greek rite in the preparatory office of prothesis to divide the Host from the holy loaf previous to consecration. This earlier fraction, the primitive antiquity of which is doubtful, is distinctly symbolical, and has no reference to the subsequent distribution, for which another fraction has always been made. The typical allusion to the circumstances of our Lord's Passion receives greater force and vividness in the Greek Church, from the use of the "holy spear" for the division of the loaf, as

commemorative of the piercing of our Lord's body by the Roman soldier. The priest makes four cuts to separate the host from the oblation, and also stabs it more than once, accompanying



Λ Ο Ψ Χ Η
 The Holy Lance. (From Goar.)

every cut or stab with appropriate texts of Scripture, e.g. "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter;" "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side," &c.

The use of the holy spear is not found in the purely Oriental liturgies, e.g. those of the Syrians and Egyptians, a fact which leads Renaudot to question whether the rite is of primitive antiquity, since these churches borrowed their discipline from the Greek Church in the earliest ages. It is entirely unknown in the Western Church.

(Augusti, *Handbuch*, vol. ii. p. 751; Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* lib. i. c. xxv. § 6; Goar, *Enchol.* p. 116; Neale, *Eastern Church*, p. 342; Seudamore, *Act. Euch.* p. 539.) [E. V.]

LANCIANA, martyr at Amecia in Pontus, Aug. 18 (*Mart. Hieron. D'Ach.*). [E. B. B.]

LANDAFF COUNCILS OF (*Landavensia concilia*). Three such are given in Mansi (ix. 763 sqq.) dated A.D. 560; but, even if genuine, they were simply meetings of the bishop, his three abbats, and his clergy, for excommunicating or absolving great offenders: in the 1st see Mauric, in the 2nd Morgan, kings of Glamorgan; in the 3rd Gwaednerth, king of Gwent; all of them under Oudoceo third bishop of Landaff, and therefore scarcely before the 7th century. "The book, however, in which these records occur is a compilation of the 12th century" (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Documents*, i., notes to pp. 125 and 147). [E. S. FF.]

LANDEBERT. [v. LAMBERT (1).]

LANDELIN, founder of the abbey of Lobbes, and of St. Crispin at Valenciennes, † June 15, A.D. 687 (v. *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. iii. 538). [E. B. B.]

LANDERIC, bishop and founder of the Maison Dieu at Paris (7th cent.), † June 10 (v. *Acta Sanctorum*, Jun. ii. 280). [E. B. B.]

LANDOALD, apostle of Ghent, commemorated March 19 (v. *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar. iii. 35), also June 10 (*MS. Kal. Belg.*). [E. B. B.]

LANDRADA, abbess of Bilsen under Lambert, † July 8 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jul. ii. 619). [E. B. B.]

LANDRIC, bishop of Metz, c. 700, † Apr. 17 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Apr. ii. 483). [E. B. B.]

LANDS OF THE CHURCH. [PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH.]

LANDULF, bishop of Erreux, Aug. 13 (7th century) (*Mart. Hieron. D'Ach.*), called Landulf, *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. iii. 96. [E. B. B.]

LANDUS. [v. LANNUS.]

LANIPENDIA. In the Rule of Caesarius for Virgins (c. 27 in *Acta SS.* Jan. i. p. 732) the care of the wool from which the sisters' habits were to be made is committed to the care of the superior (præpositæ) or the *lanipendia*, the sister appointed to take charge of the woollen manufacture. The word is used in a similar sense by Paulus, *Digest.* 24, 1, 38. [C.]

LANISTA. (1) A trainer of gladiators, who frequently contracted for the supply of swordsmen for Roman spectacles. The horror which the Christians felt for GLADIATORS [see the word] was of course intensified in the case of one who was regarded as a trader in man's flesh, and as necessary to murder. Thus Tertullian (*de Idol.* c. 11) says that if homicides are excluded from the church, lanistæ are of course excluded. What they had done by the hands of others, they must be reputed to have done themselves.

Prudentius (c. *Symonach.* ii. 1093), speaking of the inhumanity of the vestals in going to the gladiatorial shows, seems to use lanista in the sense of a gladiator simply:

"sedet illa verendis

Vittarum insignis phaleris fruiturque lanista."

(2) The word lanista was sometimes used contemptuously by Christian writers to designate a priest who actually slew victims with his hands. Thus Ennodius of Ticino († 521), in his sermon on the dedication of a church of the Apostles on the site of an idol's temple (*Dict.* ii.; in Migne, *Patrol.* 63, p. 268 C), speaks of the multitude of victims slain by the butcher-priests (ver lanistas). He even speaks of the priest under the Mosaic law as "lanista Judaicus." (*Lend. Cerei, Opusc.* ix. 260 B.)

(Bingham's *Antiq.* XVI. x. 13; Macri *Hierozet.* s. v. *Lanista.*) [C.]

LANITANUS or **LAMTANUS**, martyr at Thessalonica, June 25 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.).

[E. B. B.]

LANNUS, martyr at Horta in Italy, May 5 (c. *A.A. SS.* May, ii. 49; compare p. 9*).

[E. B. B.]

LANTA, martyr, May 31 or June 1 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.).

[E. B. B.]

LANTERN. [IN ARCHITECTURE.] The elevated portion of the fabric covering the intersections of the nave and transepts of a church. In the earlier churches of the domical or basilican plan the cruciform arrangement is not of frequent occurrence; where it is met with it is sometimes merely indicated by the position of the columns, no corresponding alteration being made in the roof. Sometimes the transept takes the form of another nave with its own continuous roof placed at right angles to the true nave, from which it is separated by the "arch of triumph." Neither of these arrangements allows of the introduction of a lantern. The earliest examples of this feature are met with in the Lombard churches, especially those of Pavia, in which a combination was attempted of the long nave and aisles of the old basilicas, and the dome of the Byzantine churches. The section of St. Michael's, at Pavia [GALLERY, I. 706], affords

a very good example of this combination. We there see the centre of the cross elevated into a low octagonal tower, covered with a tiled roof containing a hemispherical cupola, supported on arched pendentives. We have a similar arrangement in the churches of San Pietro in cielo d'oro, built by king Luitprand, after A.D. 712, and San Teodoro, c. 750, in the same city. This novel feature speedily found general favour, and by the influence of the Carolingian kings of Italy, the Lombard style having passed into the Rhenish provinces and into France, the lantern was universally adopted in later churches. [E. V.]

LAODICEA, COUNCILS OF (*Laodivena Concilia*).

(1) Held at Laodicea, in Phrygia, whither St. Paul, according to the inference drawn from Col. iv. 16, addressed a letter now lost (Westcott, *Canon.* p. 408, and App. E.): and St. John a remonstrance, as one of the churches named in the Apocalypse. Its date has been much canvassed. It was once thought contemporary with the council of Neo-Cæsarea, and prior to that of Nicea. Beveridge says the mention of the Photinians in the 7th canon negatives this, as there was no such sect then. But Ferrandus the deacon, in quoting this canon, omits the Photinians. The Isidorian version does the same. Besides, the classing of Photinians, who were fell heretics, between the Novntians and Quartodecimans, who were merely schismatics, in a canon where no others are named, seems more the act of a scribe than a council. Dionysius, however, bears out the Greek. On other grounds it may be said that these canons, having been from the earliest times placed after the canons of Antioch in the code of the church, we can hardly date them earlier than A.D. 341; and if their connexion with a council of Illyria, suggested by Beveridge (*Annot.* p. 193), and with the semi-Arian bishop Theodosius, suggested by Godfrey (*ad Philostorg.* viii. 3-4), be allowed, probably not earlier than A.D. 375 [ILLYRIAN COUNCIL, I. 813]. It would be thus a semi-Arian council, like that of Antioch, whose canons were received ultimately by the church for their intrinsic worth. We will consider the form in which they have come down to us further on. They were 59 in number, all on discipline: but the 59th, when given in full, is sometimes divided, so as to form a 60th.

By the 1st second marriages may be condoned after a time. By the 11th the appointment of female presbyters (*επισβύριδες*) is forbidden. Fourteen canons, beginning with the 14th, relate to services in church, and should all be studied, particularly the 19th, which is a *locus classicus* on the ordering of the liturgy. The 35th seems directed against the errors which St. Paul condemns (Col. ii. 18). The 45th forbids baptizing after the second week in Lent. The 46th appoints Maundy Thursday for the *redditio symboli*. The 50th forbids the breaking of the Lenten fast on that day. By the 52nd weddings and birthdays are not to be celebrated in Lent. By the 57th bishops are not to be ordained in future to villages and country places: and all who have been are to do nothing without leave from the city bishop. The presbyters destined to be their substitutes are to be similarly bound.

And now comes the 59th canon, of which there is a shorter and a longer form: the longer con-

its longer or its shorter form, it was certainly not confirmed to the exclusion of the Apocalypse from the church catalogue.

2. A.D. 481-2, at which Stephen junior, who had been elected to the see of Antioch, but thrust out on false charges, was restored (Mansi, vii. 1021). [E. S. Fr.]

LAOSYNACTES (λαοσυνάκτης), an official of the patriarchal church of Constantinople, whose business it was to assemble the deacons and take care that they attended to their duties. (Suicer, *Theaurus*, s. v.) [C.]

LAPETA, COUNCIL OF (*Lapetense Concilium*), one of three synods held A.D. 495, or thereabouts, under Barsumas, Nestorian archbishop of Nisibis, at Lapeta, near Bagdad. Three canons are given to it; but a thirteenth has been cited. By the third of them all the clergy, as well as the laity, are permitted to marry at their discretion (Mansi, viii. 143, et seq.) [E. S. Fr.]

LAPIDES SACRI. I. Bounds or landmarks, so called because originally consecrated to Jupiter by Numa Pompilius (Festus, s. v. *Terminus*).

They must be distinguished from the milestones or *milliaria*, which were also known as *lapides*. (Dict. of GR. AND ROM. ANT. art. *Milliare*; *Terminalia*.)

The reverence for boundaries was, however, of far older growth. The Mosaic law forbade the removal of a landmark (Deut. xxvii. 17). Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* lib. i. c. 2) attributes the first use of boundaries to Cain.

Among the Greeks landmarks were commonly put under the protection of some divinity (Plato, *de Leg.* viii.; Ulpian, *Collat. Leg. Mosaic.* xii.; Paulus, *Sentent.* i. 16, and v. 22, 2).

Caius Caesar (A.D. 37-41), in his agrarian law, imposed a fine on those who should remove landmarks, *dolo malo*, of fifty aurei, to go to the state (*Digests*, lib. xvii.; tit. *de Termino Moto*, 22, n. 3).

Nero (A.D. 54-68) ordered the slave who should commit this offence to be put to death, unless his master would pay the penalty (*ib.* and see Callistratus, *de Cognitionibus*, lib. 3, 5).

Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) promulgated a law punishing the offence with various periods of imprisonment, with forced labour or with stripes, according to the position and age of the offender (*ib.* n. 2).

In the *Corpus Juris Civilis* a great mass of references has been collected by way of commentary on these laws, which may be consulted with advantage.

Later codes are much less distinct than the foregoing in their provisions, and less severe. In the code of Theodosius, A.D. 438 (lib. ix. tit. 1; *de Accusatione*, lib. 1), we have merely, "qui fines aliquos invaserit, publicis legibus subjugetur."

Similarly in that of Justinian, A.D. 529 (lib. ix. tit. 2, *de Accusationibus et Inscriptionibus*), "eos qui terminos effuderunt, extraordinaria animadversione coerceri debent, praesens provincia non ignorabit."

II. This phrase is also employed to censure the effacing of the ancient boundaries of dioceses, by bishops desirous of extending their jurisdic-

tion. Pope Innocent (A.D. 402-417), in one of his letters (*Ep.* 8, *ad Florentinum*), reminds the bishop to whom he wrote that the Scriptures forbade the removing of boundaries, and that therefore he should abstain from endeavouring to reduce others under his rule. In this sense we find pope Leo I. (A.D. 440-461) also writing to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica (*Ep.* l. c. 8): "Suis igitur terminis contentus sit quisque, nec supra mensuram juris sui aliequet augeri."

Among the False Decretals are to be found many instances of the employment of the phrase in this symbolic sense, which is so far an evidence of usage at the time when they were concocted.

III. In the record of the proceedings of the second Nicene Council, A.D. 787, we find sacred images or statues referred to under this phraseology. [S. J. E.]

LAPSI. The term applied to Christians who in time of persecution denied their faith. In the early persecution under Domitian, A.D. 95-6, when it may be presumed that all who had been converted to Christianity had counted the cost of their profession, the name does not occur. But the severe onslaught on Christianity which was made a century later, in the reign of Severus, found the Christians less prepared to resist unto blood in behalf of their religion. Some bribed the soldiers and accusers to overlook them, others paid a sort of periodical tax to secure toleration. The exemption thus purchased, though stopping short of a positive lapse, was at best a compromise; and although the usage was permitted by some bishops, it, like flight in time of persecution, was abhorrent to the rigid Montanism of Tertullian (*Tertull. de Fugâ in Persecutione*, ec. 12, 13). The next persecution was that under the emperor Decius, A.D. 249-51. It was a systematic attempt to eradicate Christianity, not so much by putting its adherents to death, as by compelling them to recant. Participation in a heathen sacrifice was the test ordinarily applied. And the shameful eagerness with which Christians rushed to purge themselves by this test, and even carried their infants with them, is disclosed by Cyprrian (*de Lapsis*, ec. 8, 7). Multitudes also only avoided the actual sacrifice by bringing certificates [LIBELLI] from the magistrates to the effect that they had offered. During the troubles of the church under Valerian, A.D. 258-60, instances of recantation were far more rare. But in the final persecution, which began under Diocletian, A.D. 303, and raged with intense severity until the edict of Constantine establishing religious equality, A.D. 313, the Christians were exposed to a new trial, to which numbers succumbed. An attempt was made to extirpate the sacred scriptures, and the *lapsi* who delivered up their books were branded with the name of TRANSTORES.

The treatment of the lapsed who had polluted themselves with Paganism in the Decian persecution occupies a considerable part of the Epistles of Cyprrian. His treatise *de Lapsis*, written immediately after the termination of the persecution, is an appeal to them to seek readmission into the church by penitence. The terms however on which they should be admitted were not easily decided. Cyprrian him-

accents (A.D. 402-417), in one of his sermons, *de Flowentium*, reminds the congregation that the Scriptures are not to be moved of boundaries, and that he would abstain from endeavouring to alter under his rule. In this sense also I (A.D. 440-461) also writing to the bishop of Thessalonica (*Ep. l. c. 8*): "I am firmius contentus sit quisque, nec quicquam iuris an affectet augeri." False Decretals are to be found in the collection of the employment of the phrase "lapsed," which is so far an evident error at the time when they were

record of the proceedings of the council, A.D. 787, we find several references referred to under this phrase—
[S. J. E.]

The term applied to Christians who had renounced their faith. In the time of the emperor Domitian, A.D. 95-6, it was presumed that all who had returned to Christianity had counted the price of their profession, and the name does not occur. In the reign of the Christians less prepared to defend in behalf of their religion, soldiers and accusers to the emperor were paid a sort of periodical tax to exempt them from the punishment of stepping short of a positive confession, and although sometimes permitted by some bishops, it was in the time of persecution, was abbreviated and contemptuous of Tertullian (*Tertullianus de Spectatione*, cc. 12, 13). The next year that under the emperor Domitian, it was a systematic attempt to purge the Church, and even carried to the death, as by compelling them to offer a heathen sacrifice was applied. And the shameful punishment which Christians rushed to die, and even carried to purge their names, is disclosed by Cyprian (*de Multitudine*) also only avoided the punishment by bringing certificates from the magistrates to the effect that they were not persecuted. During the troubles of Valerian, A.D. 258-60, instances were rare for more rare. But in the reign which began under Diocletian, persecuted with intense severity until Constantine establishing religious freedom, the Christians were exposed to which numbers succumbed. It was made to extricate the sacred name the *lapsi* who delivered up their names with the name of TRADI-

tion of the lapsed who had polluted their names by Paganism in the Decian persecution a considerable part of the Church. His treatise *de Lapsis*, written after the termination of the persecution, an appeal to them to seek restoration to the church by penitence. The manner on which they should be admitted was easily decided. Cyprian him-

self had gone into concealment while the persecution was hottest, a course which somewhat compromised him in the eyes of the Roman clergy (*Ep. viii.*), but which he defended on the ground that he had received a divine direction (*Ep. xvi. 3*), and that his presence only exasperated the fury of the populace (*Ep. xx. 1, de Lapsis*, c. 8). From his concealment he had to determine how the lapsed should be treated. The matter was complicated by a practice which appears to have originated in the African church during the Severan persecution (*Tertullianus ad Martyr. c. 1*), of confessors and martyrs giving letters of recommendation to penitents, requesting the bishops to shorten their penance. The practice was kept in some order by deacons checking them in the distribution of their favours (*Ep. xv. 1*). On the cessation of the Decian persecution the privilege was greatly abused; for not only were letters given to any penitent (albeit indiscriminately), but given in the names of martyrs who were dead (*Ep. xvii. 1, 2*), and given in such a form as to include the friends of the petitioner (*Ep. xv. 3*). The custom afterwards led to such disorders as to call for the interference of councils (*Conc. Eborac. c. 25, 1 Conc. Arelat. c. 9*). The holders of these letters demanded immediate communion, which some bishops, yielding to the popular clamour, granted (*Ep. xxvii. 3*). The decision of Cyprian was that the holders of letters of martyrs who were pressed by sickness, might be at once restored after confession, even before a deacon if death was imminent (*Ep. xviii.*) and after imposition of hands (*Ep. xix.*); but that the rest must wait till tranquillity was restored and "the bishops meeting with the clergy and in the presence of the laity who stood fast," could grant them the public peace of the church. If any meanwhile received the lapsed into communion, they should themselves be excommunicated (*Ep. xxiv. lv. 3*). This decision was announced to the Roman clergy (*Ep. xxvii.*) and to the confessors at Rome (*Ep. xxviii.*) and met with the approval of the Roman church (*Ep. xxx.*). In the spring of 251 Cyprian returned to Carthage, and in a council with his bishops (*Ep. lv. 4*), made a formal investigation into the case of the lapsed. The conclusion announced was that libellatics were to be received at once (*Ep. lv. 14*); that some who had once sacrificed, but when put to the trial a second time, rather endured banishment and confiscation of goods, were likewise to be restored (*Ep. xxiv. xxv.*); that others who had at first confessed Christ, and when afterwards exposed to torture denied Him, and had been doing penance for three years, should no longer be excluded (*Ep. lvi.*); and that those who were sick should receive penance early at the point of death (*Ep. lvii. 1*). Of the remainder, the penance should be long protracted, but the hope of ultimate communion not denied (*Ep. lv. 4*). These decisions were also submitted to Rome, and accepted by Cornelius in a largely-attended synod (*Ep. lv. 5*). So matters remained till the following year, when Cyprian receiving, as he intimated, a divine warning of the renewal of the persecution, announced to Cornelius that a Carthaginian synod had resolved to receive into communion all the lapsed who desired to return (*Ep. lvii.*).

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It was on the solution of these questions that Novatian broke away from the church. At the beginning of the difficulty two letters attributed to him (*Ep. xxx. xxxvi. apud Cyp.*) requested that the lapsed who were sick might be restored to communion. But afterwards, when his notions had become more rigid, he took up the position that the church had no power to restore them on any terms; he did not deny repentance could ever lead to a re-admission to church communion. A lapsus by a unanimous decree of the Western church was debarred from ordination (*Ep. lxvii. 6*). And a priest who lapsed was restored only to lay communion. Cyprian indignantly repudiates the libel that the lapsing priest Trophimus was allowed after due penitence to resume his sacerdotal functions (*Ep. lv. 8*). But in troubled times these rules could not always be enforced (Bingham, *Antiq. VI. il. 4*). [Compare LIBELLATI.] [G. M.]

LARGIO, martyr at Augsburg, Aug. 12, Usuard (from Acts of St. Africa). He may be the same as the martyr, and Augsburg a mistake for August. [E. B. B.]

LARGUS, martyr on Salarian Way, translated to Ostian Way by pope Marcellus; commemorated March 16 (*Mart. Rom. Gell., Bede, Ado, Usuard, Wandl.*); and Aug. 8 (*Kal. Bucher, Mart. Hieron. D'Ach., Gell., Mart. Ado, Usuard.*) (others do not name him this day); and (2) martyr in the East, Aug. 9 (*Mart. Hieron.*); and (3) at Aquileia, Mart. 16 (Usuard), 17 (*Hieron. D'Ach.*) are probably the same. Is the name Aquileia introduced from the martyrdom of Hilary? [E. B. B.]

LARNAX (*Λάρναξ*) is sometimes used for a coffin. Thus the author of the life of St. Martina of Rome (*Acta SS. Jan. i. p. 18*) says that her body was placed in a coffin or shrine of oxyc (onychinum larnacem). Compare Torrigi *de Cryptis Vaticanois*, p. 551, 2nd ed. (*Mart. Hieron. s. v. Larnax*). [C.]

LASCO, martyr in Asia, Feb. 23 (cod. Usuard. Marchian.). D'Achery's edition of the *Mart. Hieron.* has Cosco. It may be the name of a place, or a confusion with Grisco. [E. B. B.]

LASREN, Lasrian, Laisrenn, Molaisi, Dolaisi, are forms of a name under which are distinguished or confounded—(1) son of Nadfrach, abbat of Devenesh, on Lough Erne, d. Sept. 12, 563, commemorated at Belach Ui Michen, Sept. 15. (2) or Lazarinus, abbat of Durrow, 3rd abbat of Iona, d. Sept. 16, A.D. 605. (3) at Men (in Queen's Co.?), Sept. 16. (4) on Lough Laogh in Ulster, Oct. 25. (5), (6), (7), (8), Dec. 26, Jan. 17 and 19, March 8. (9) son of Caire, hermit at Lamhush, on coast of Arran, abbat of Rathkill and Leighlin, consecrated bishop at Rome † 639, commemorated April 18 (*Mart. Donegal*, p. 105, Bp. Forbes, *Kalendaris of Scotch Saints*, p. 407 (who names him Molio, because a cave at Lamhush is called St. Molio's cave); *Acta SS. Holland.* Apr. ii. 540). (10) abbat of Innis Murray, † Aug. 12, v. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 287. [E. B. B.]

LASREN, ORDER OF, or Molaisi, one of the eight orders of Irish monks. This Lasren was either (1) celebrated for love of a stone

prison and of hospitality, or (2) "a flame of fire with his comely choristers." (*Martyrology of Donegal*, Dublin, 1864, pp. 245-247.) [E. B. B.]

LASSARA, virgin, Jan. 29 (Colgan, *AA. SS. Hibern.*). Thirteen others are commemorated in the *Mart. Donegal*, q. v. [E. B. B.]

LATERAN, COUNCIL OF (*Lateranense Concilium*), held A.D. 649, soon after the accession of pope Martin, in the church called Constantine's, at his palace on the Lateran, and chronologically the first of that name. Its deliberations were purely doctrinal and antimonotheistic. Its acts have come down to us in Greek as well as in Latin, though Latin was, of course, the language employed. The Greek documents are said to have been translated into Latin in each case by one of the Roman notaries, before they were read out; letters from the African church, being in Latin, were read out as they stood. The number of bishops subscribing to it was 106, almost all Italians, including the pope; and of its sessions, or secretaries—so called from being held in the sacristy—five. The first was opened by a speech from the pope, followed by a letter to him from Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, to the same effect, which was read and approved. At the second, other orthodox documents addressed to himself or his predecessor were recited. At the third, writings of a contrary description, by Theodore, bishop of Pharan, and the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, Cyrus and Sergius, together with the Ecthesis of the emperor Heraclius, inspired by the latter, were pronounced and reflected upon. At the fourth, after some further comments on what had been read at the third, two more documents of the same kind were rehearsed:—1, a letter of Paul, actual patriarch of Constantinople, to the late pope Theodore; and 2, the Type of Constans, the reigning emperor. Both having been pronounced unsound, *codices* of the dogmatic rulings of each of the previous five general councils were produced from the papal archives and read out in answer to them all. Among these was the celebrated ordinance at the end of the definition of the fourth council, on the unalterableness of the creed. Attention was again directed in the last session to that subject, by reciting what the fifth council had said of its entire agreement with the other four, and with all the great fathers and doctors of the church; extracts from whom were then read, to show their harmony with each other. Similarly, passages were produced afterwards from the works of earlier heretics, to expose their agreement with the errors that were now broached. Twenty canons followed in condemnation of Monothelism and its patrons in the East, who are several times mentioned by name; complete reserve being maintained about pope Honorius throughout. Letters to announce this result, or in connexion with this subject, were despatched by the pope to the emperor Constans, the metropolitans of Carthage and Philadelphia, and other churches of the East; besides an encyclic to the faithful in general. In all of them he styles himself "servus servorum Dei." Maurus, bishop of Ravenna, it should be added, in writing to him, arrogates the same style. (*Mansi*, x. 789-1188.) [E. S. Ff.]

LATERCULUS. A tile or earthenware tablet on which the times of the moveable festivals, or at least of Easter, were inscribed, with the view of giving public notice of them. Thus the 4th council of Orleans (A.D. 541) enacted (c. 1) that Easter should be celebrated according to the *laterculus* or cycle of bishop Victorius. That confusion arose in Spain at a somewhat later date from the difference of the Paschal-cycles in use (*diversa observantia laterculorum*) is evident from the 5th canon of the 4th council of Toledo (A.D. 633), which enjoins the several metropolitans, three months before Epiphany, to consult each other, and when they have ascertained the proper day for the celebration of Easter to signify it to their provincial metropolitans. [C.]

(*Maeri Hierolex. n. v. Laterculus.*) [C.]
LATIN, USE OF [LITURGICAL LANGUAGE.]

LATINA, martyr, June 2 (*Mart. Hieron. D'Ach.*). [E. B. B.]

LATINUS, bishop of Brescia (2d century), March 24 (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, iii. 473). [E. B. B.]

LATOPOLIS, COUNCIL OF (*Latopolitana Concilium*), A.D. 317, at Latopolis, in Upper Egypt, at which St. Pachomius was put on his defence. (*Mansi*, iii. 141.) [E. S. Ff.]

LATROCINALIS is a name given to the avoal which met at Ephesus A.D. 449 [EPHESUS, COUNCIL OF (6), I. 615]. It was also applied by pope Nicolas to the "conciliumbulum" assembled by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 863. [C.]

LATUNUS, first bishop of Seix in Normandy, † June 20 (*Acta SS. Jun. v. 10*). The name is almost certainly Teutonic. [E. B. B.]

LAUDA. (1) A short antiphon which occurs after the gospel in the Mozarabic mass. In the *Regula* prefixed to the breviary, a *Lauda* is thus distinguished from an *antiphona*—"Antiphona est, quae dicitur sine Alleluia; et *Lauda* quae cum Alleluia dicitur." But a *lauda* retains its name when Alleluia is omitted at the proper season. The Gospel is concluded with "Amen," and then after the salutation "The Lord be with you," R. "And with thy spirit," follows the *Lauda*. The normal form is a verse, usually, though not always, taken from the Psalms, preceded and followed by Alleluia. Thus the *Lauda* for Ascension Day is "Alleluia, V. God is gone up with a merry noise, and the Lord with the sound of the trump. Alleluia." After the first Sunday in Lent *Alleluia* is omitted till Easter Eve, when it is resumed; an additional *lauda* without Alleluia being said on that day after the Epistle. On the Thursday before Easter the *Lauda* is longer than usual, and consists of seven verses (not consecutive) of Ps. cviii. (cix. Eng. Ver.); and on Good Friday there is no *Lauda*, but *Proces* instead.

In the Ambrosian mass the corresponding antiphon is called *Antiphona post Evangelium*. In the Roman there is nothing which corresponds, and the Creed follows the Gospel immediately.

(2) An antiphon of the same character as the foregoing, but longer, and broken up into verse

US. A tile or earthenware of the movable feasts of Easter, were inscribed, with public notice of them. Thus Orleans (A.D. 541) enacted should be celebrated according to the cycle of bishop Victorius, as in Spain at a somewhat later period of the Paschal-cycles in (Evantia Intercolonaria) is evident canon of the 4th council of (383), which enjoins the several months before Epiphany, and when they have proper day for the celebration to be to their provincial

z. s. v. *Laterculus.* [C.]
OF [LITURGICAL LANGUAGE].

artyr, June 2 (*Mart. Hieron.* [E. B. B.]
bishop of Brescia (2nd century), *Sancorum*, March, iii. 473). [E. B. B.]

COUNCIL OF (Latopoli-), A.D. 347, at Latopolis, in which St. Pachomius was put (Mansi, iii. 141.) [E. S. FF.]

ALIS is a name given to the at Ephesus A.D. 449 (EPIPHANES, I. 615). It was also applied to the "conciliabulum" otius, patriarch of Constantinople. [C.]

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an mass the corresponding *antiphona post Evangelium*. In is nothing which corresponds, lows the Gospel immediately, n of the same character as the ger, and broken up into vers

and response, several of which occur in the day-hours of the Mozarabic breviary. They vary with the office of the day. They are thus said:—

At *Vespers*, two; one at the beginning of the office, short, and usually with a reference to the time of day; the other before the hymn, somewhat longer, and with "Glory and honour," &c. (q), introduced before the last clause. Also at the close of the office after the benediction, additional *lauda* are found. Most frequently one, though often two or more (for instance, on the third Sunday in Lent there are as many as six), each followed by a short prayer (oratio), generally a reproduction of the sentiment of the *lauda*. These correspond in some measure to the *Commemorations* of the Roman breviary.

At *lauda* two are said in the course of the office, and one, or sometimes more, each with its prayer at the end, as at *vespers*.

At each of the *lessor hours*, except *compline*, when there is none, a *lauda* is said before the hymn. This is the general arrangement, but there are of course exceptions. There is also a short "commemoration" (of the time of day) after *vespers* and *lauda* daily, which consists of a short *lauda* and a prayer.

As specimens of the ordinary form of *lauda*, those for the first *verses* of the first Sunday in Advent may be given:—

Lauda at the beginning of the Office.—"From the rising up of the Sun, unto the going down of the same. P. The Lord's name be praised. V. Blessed be the name of the Lord, from this time forth for evermore."

[This *lauda* never has "Alleluia."] Before the *Hymn*.—"Alleluia. Send us help from the sanctuary; and strengthen us out of Sion, O Lord." P. When we call upon thee, Alleluia, Alleluia. V. We will rejoice in thy salvation, and triumph in the name of the Lord our God. P. And strengthen us out of Sion, O Lord. V. Glory and honour, &c. P. When we call upon thee." [H. J. H.]

LAUDACIA (*Mart. Gell.*); *Laudaia* (*Hieron.* D'Ach.); martyr, July 26. Probably a copyist's error for the place *Laudicea*. [E. B. B.]

LAUDACUS. [LAUDICEUS.]

LAUDANA or LAUDUNA. In Anastasius *Vitas Pontiff.* (s. v. *Adrian*, § 325, Migne), we read that pope Adrian made two "laudans" of silver, weighing eight pounds each, which he placed over the *RUOAE* [probably doors or curtains] of the presbytery, where the silver arch is. *Calepinus* supposes these *laudnae* to have been rods or cornices of silver; but in fact their nature and use appear to be altogether matter of conjecture.

(*Macri Hierolex.*; *Ducange, Gloss.* s. v.) [C.]

* The Mozarabic form of the *Gloria Patri* is "Gloria et Honor Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum." The word *Honor* was added at the fourth council of Toledo, the addition being justified by the words of Ps. 29 [E. V. 29] v. 2, "Afferte Dominio gloriam et honorem," &c., and by the description of praise in *Apoc.* v. 12, "Hicurus est Agnus... accipere honorem et gloriam et benedictionem" (*Brevia Musae Musae abum Explicatio*, A. Lorenzana).

* Title "P" is explained by *Arevalus* as *Psalmus*. It has also been taken to stand for *Presbyter*.

LAUDENIUM (also written *Laudinium*). The name which is given to the price which a farmer or a vassal paid to the owner or feudal lord of the land on being invested with the possession of a copyhold tenure (*EMPHYTEUSIS*), or on a renewal of the investiture; or for the right of alienating the fief to another. "Concessimus quod de feodis et retrofeodis: in emphiteosis . . . datis . . . nulla financia debeatur, nisi seu fuerint castra, ville, seu loca alia . . . quo a nobis in feulium vel homagium, seu ad servitium aliud teneantur, de quibus alienationem fieri volumus sine nostro Laudemio, aut nostra gratia speciall." (*Præcep. Lud.*: x. *F. Reg.*, quoted by *Ducange*.) The amount of the *Laudemium* of the estimated value of the property at the time of entering or renewal: and in *Bavaria*, amount to 5 per cent. of that value. The law and introduced into ecclesiastical law with but slight modification of the civil procedure. The object of *emphyteusis* was always real property, usually land, but it might be a building. The owner of the property was called *dominus emphyteusis*; and the tenant, *emphyteusarius*, or *emphyteuta*.

The word *laudes* is used in a similar sense for the price paid by a vassal to his feudal lord for the power of alienating his fief to another; and *laudus* in the sense of receiving such *laudes*. The words *laudimium* and *laudes* both imply the consent and approbation which the feudal lord gives to the translation. (v. *Ducange in loco*, *Pichler, Jus Can.* lib. ii. lit. xvii. 24, &c.)

[H. J. H.]

LAUDICEUS, bishop, buried in the cemetery of Callistus, and perhaps after the time of Sixtus III. commemorated, with the other popes and bishops there buried, on Aug. 9 (*De Rossi, Roma Sott.* li. 33-46, 228, 229).

[E. B. B.]

LAUDOMAR [v. LAUNOMARUS].

LAUDS (1), see *HOURS*; OFFICE, THE DIVINE.

(2) Under the Lower Empire when public honour was done to a great personage; the acclamations of the people, which took a conventional shape, were called *Laudes* (Gr. *πολυχόδιον*). The customary formula under the heathen emperors may be learnt from the cries of the Roman army on an occasion mentioned by *Lampridius* (*Vita Diocletian.*): "Jupiter Optime Maxime, *Macrinus* et *Antonino* vitam. Tu scis, Jupiter, *Macrinus* vinci non potest. Tu scis, Jupiter, *Antoninus* vinci non potest" (*Lindenberg*, in *Amman.* *Hist.* xvii. 13). After a speech of *Constantinus* to his soldiers (A.D. 358) the whole assemblage of them, "voebus festis in laudes imperatoris assurgens, Denique ex usu testata non posse *Constantium* vinci, tentoria læta repetit" (*Amman.* u. s.). Whether they gave a Christian turn to the *laudes* or retained the old cry does not appear. The historian uses the word *Deum* in the case of *Julian* (363), whose soldiers would certainly appeal to Jupiter: "Principein superari non posse Deum usitato more testati" (xvii. 1); and it is worthy of note that the soldiers of *Valens*, when deserting to *Procopius* at *Mlygdos* in 365, called *Jupiter* to witness: "Teatati Jovem invictum *Procopium*"

fore" (*ibid.*, xxvi. 6). The custom, however, at length assumed a Christian character, and was observed even in churches. When St. Augustine, in a synod held in the church of the Peace at Hippo, A.D. 426, proposed Eraclius as his coadjutor with right of succession, "a populo acclamatum est. *Deo Gratias: Christo Laudes*, dictum est vicies terties. *Exaudi Christe, Augustino ius*, dictum est sexies decies. *Te patrem, te episcopum*, dictum est octies" (August, *Epist.*, 213, § 1). A similar instance occurs in the history of a synod held under Symmachus, who became pope in 498: "Exaudi, Christe. Symmacho papae vita sit," was repeated twelve times (Gratian, li. xvi. 57). About the year 520 we read of the legates of the bishop of Rome being met by Justin the emperor and Vitalian the consul, "cum gloria et laudibus" (Anast. Biblioth. *Vitae Pont.*, R. n. 53; comp. nn. 84, 105; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.*, vi. 11). The portraits of the usurper Phocas and his wife were received with acclamations at Rome on April 25, 602, "in the basilic of Julius by all the clergy and senate," the cry being, "Exaudi, Christe. Phocae Augusto et Leontiae Augustae vita" (Relatio inter Epp. Greg. M. xl. 1; Labbe, *Cono.*, v. 1509; comp. *Vita Greg.*, auct. Joan. Diacon. iv. 20). On one of Charlemagne's visits to Rome Hadrian, while "celebrating masses to Almighty God, caused lauds to be paid to the aforesaid Charles" (Anast. u. s. n. 97). When the same prince was crowned by Leo III. on St. Peter's Day, 800, the lauds were, "Carolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori" (*ibid.*, 98). After anointing him the pope said mass, or more probably proceeded with it—the account being thus continued: "Et peracta missa . . . obtulit hae," &c. From later authorities we learn that acclamations in a mass took place after the collect. See Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, i. lv. iii. 13; *Ordo Rom.* xli. 1, 2, xlii. 7, 10 (ante epistolam post orationem), xiv. 31; in *Mus. Ital.* ii. They were at length formed into litanies to Christ and the saints—e.g. the priest says thrice and the clerks respond, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. Then the priest says, Exaudi Christe. The clerks answer, Nicolao summo Pontifici et universali papae vita. The litany follows. Salvator mundi, Tu illum adjuva. S. Petre, S. Paule, S. Andrea, &c. And the response to each is, Tu illum adjuva. Then follows, Exaudi Christe. Ludovico a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico regi vita et victoria. Redemptor mundi, Tu illum adjuva. S. Michael, S. Gabriel, S. Raphael, S. Joannes, &c., with the response to each, Tu illum adjuva;" and similarly for any number of persons, fresh saints being invoked for each (Bona, *Res. Lit.*, ii. v. 8, from Goldastus, *Antiq. Alem.* ii. 2). Compare a form in Martene u.s. from a Solsons MS. Durandus (*Pontificale MS.* cited by Sala on Bona u. s.) speaks of lauds which began like the foregoing (Christus vincit, etc), as said after the collect, but "immediately after the Kyrie eleison." [W. E. S.]

LAUDULF [v. LANDULF].

LAUNOMARUS, abbat, † at Dreux, Jan. 19 (8th or 7th century), Usuard (Wandelbert ?), v. *Acta SS.*, Jan. ii. 593. [E. B. B.]

LAURA. The small monastic communities in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, called Lauras, are a connecting link in the history of the rise and progress of monachism, between the solitary asceticism of the hermitage and the more organized, less self-dependent asceticism of the monastery. A laura was an aggregation of separate cells, under the not very strongly defined control of a superior, the inmates meeting together only on the first and last days, the old and new Sabbaths, of each week for their common meal in the refectory, and for their common worship in the chapel attached to each of these lauras. On the other days of the week they dwelt apart from one another, each in the silence and solitude of his cell, subsisting on bread and water, the ordinary fare of the primitive founders of monasticism. The cells, though separate, were in close proximity to one another, like the wigwags of an Indian encampment, and all clustering round the chapel of the community. (Bened. Anian. *Concord. Regul. Menardi Comment.* lll. l.; Du Cange, *Glossar. Lat. s. v. Laura*; Joan. Hierosol., 3 *it. Joan. Damasc.* p. 693.) Usually each cell contained one inmate only; but under Pachomius, in Tabenna, three resided together in each cell (Sozom. *H. E.* li. 14).

The origin of the word "Laura" is uncertain. By one account it is Ionie (Du Cange, *Glossar. Gr.*, s. v.); by another, it is a contraction of the Greek for labyrinth (λαβύρινθος) and expressive of the narrow pathways winding in and out among the cells ("wynds"); more probably it is another form of "labra" (ἀδύρα), the popular term in Alexandria for an alley or small court. (Suicer, *Theas. Eccles.*, s. v.; Euphian. *Hieros.* xlix.) The worst explanation of the word is that which derives it from "of Aool ἰόσσει," as if it were a thoroughfare, along which a crowd streams.

One of the most celebrated lauras was one founded by Chariton, a hermit, at Pharan, near Jerusalem (Bulteau, *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Benoît*, l. l.). Others are recorded to have been founded in the 5th century by Sabas, a celebrated desert-saint, Gerasimus, Euthymius and the empress Eudocia.

As the coenobitic life became more prevalent, young and inexperienced monks were discouraged generally from venturing on the solitary life without previous training with other monks, under the authority and supervision of an abbat. Thus Euthymius advised the youthful Sabas to quit his separate cell in the laura, and to join a coenobium for a time (Cyril. Seythopol. *Vit. S. Sab.*). Gerasimus is said to have established a coenobium in the midst of his laura (Cyril. Seythopol. *Vit. S. Euthym.*).

Obviously life in a laura incurred a twofold danger, being exposed at the same time to the temptations peculiar to solitude, and to those which are incidental to a number of persons living together under no strict rule, without much restraint of any kind, and without the necessity of constant occupation. The denizens of a laura are sometimes termed "lauretae" (Mosch. *Prat.* cc. 3, 4); they have been compared to the "includi" of Western monachism, but there are many points of difference. [See INCLUSI.] [I. G. S.]

LAURENCE, ST. [IN ART]. St. Laurence usually carries a copy of the Gospels to denote

The small monastic communities of the East, and Syria, called Lauras, are taken in the history of the rise and development of monasticism, between the solitary ashermitage and the more organized and independent asceticism of the laura was an aggregation of under the not very strongly defined of a superior, the inmates meeting on the first and last days, the others, of each week for their common refectory, and for their common chapel attached to each of these on the other days of the week they met in his cell, subsisting on bread and wine, the primitive founders of the laura. The cells, though separate, were in proximity to one another, like the tents in an Italian encampment, and all were in the chapel of the community.

Concord. Regul. Menardi Comment. de Glosar. Lat. s. v. Laura; Joann. Joann. Damasc. p. 693.) Usually the inmates were one inmate only; but under the Emperor Theodosius, three resided together in the laura. *H. E. iii. 14.*

The word "Laura" is uncertain. It is from *lauros* (Du Cange, *Glossar. Gr.*), which is a contraction of the Greek *λαβρινθος* and expressive of the winding in and out among the rocks; or more probably it is another word (*λαβρα*), the popular term in an alley or small court. (Sulzer, *v. s. v.*; Euphan. *Heret. xlix.*) The etymology of the word is that which "of *λαβρα*," as if it were a place, along which a crowd streams.

The most celebrated laura was one of the desert, a hermit, at Pharos, near Antioch. *Hist. de l'Ordre de S. Basile.* Others are recorded to have existed in the 5th century by Sabas, a celebrated ascetic, Gerasimus, Euthymius and others.

The solitary life became more prevalent, and experienced monks were discouraged from venturing on the solitary life of the laura, and to those devoted to the solitary life of the laura, and to those devoted to a number of persons living under no strict rule, without much regard, and without the necessity of a superior. The denizens of lauras are termed "lauretae" (Moseh. *Prot.*), and they have been compared to the monks of the Western monachism, but there are many differences. [See INCLUSI.]

[I. G. S.]

LAURENCE, ST. [IN ART.] St. Laurence is represented as a copy of the Gospels to denote

his office of deacon. In the church of St. Laurence, in Agro Verano, at Rome, there is a mosaic of the 6th century, representing the martyr with an open book in his hand, on which may be read the words "dispersit, dedit pauperibus" (Clampit. *Vet. Mon. tab. lxxi. 2*), in allusion to his kindness to the poor.



St. Laurence. From Martigny.

Like other martyrs he bears a cross, frequently jewelled (Ariughi, *il. 354*). In the basilica of Gallia Placida, at Ravenna, there is a mosaic showing him standing before the heated gridiron, holding the cross and the Gospels (*Vet. Mon. i. lxxvii*). On the bottom of a glass cup the sacred monogram, with A on one side and ω on the other, is placed behind the head of the saint (Bottari, *tab. ccxviii*). Sometimes we find him seated between St. Peter and St. Paul, as though the Apostles having introduced him into the heavenly city were giving him an honourable place therein (Buonarroti, p. 104). Another glass cup has the figure of the saint, with the legend Victor Vivas, in nomine Lavretti (Buonarroti, *ix. 2*); this cup may very likely have been used at an AGAPE on the martyr's day, which was observed at Rome with much solemnity. Lapi (*Dissert. e Litt. i. 192-197*) describes two ancient representations of the martyrdom of St. Laurence; one, a cameo, shews the saint stretched upon a gridiron, while two executioners stir the fire beneath, and a third brings wood to replenish it; in the other, a leaden medallion, we see the martyr at the moment of death, his soul, personified by a female figure, ascending with clasped hands, receives a crown from the outstretched arm which symbolises the Almighty; the emperor, laurelled and sceptred, is seated in a curule chair, and seems by his attitude to be giving directions; a slave stands by his side. Arevallo (*in Prudent. p. 96*) gives a glass which represents the martyr face downwards on the gridiron, his name LAVRECV being written above.

(Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret. s. v.*) [C.] LAURENCE (Laurentius, Lorenzo, Laurent, Louverij), chief deacon of Rome, broiled to death Aug. 10, A.D. 258.

The fact is not mentioned by extant writers till the middle of the 4th century, and yet had

an immediate and wide-spread influence (which it will be the object of this article to trace) on the life of the church.

It may be taken as a typical instance of martyrdom, so that under this head it will be possible to gather specimens of all the honours that were paid to martyrs.

I. As administrator of the charities of the metropolitan church, Laurence is celebrated in ancient liturgies almost as much as for his sufferings. "He hath dispersed, he hath given to the poor," is quoted in the Greek cathisma, and is the introit in the Gregorian missal. The Mozarabic lessons, Eccles. xxxi. 5-12; 2 Cor. ix. 7-13; Matt. vi. 19-34, apply rather to the deacon than to the martyr, and there is the same epistle in the Ambrosian liturgy (*Patrol. lxxxv. 811*). Nor did he only administer temporal relief, but the reading of the Gospel and the cup of the Lord. Hence the late legend of his connexion with the Holy Grail. However he had died, all the Christians and all the poor of Rome would have felt his loss.

II. When such a man was stretched naked (*ἀναθετός*, lit. 'simplified', *Menology of Basil*) on an iron grating over a slow fire, and "his living limbs hissed over the coals" (the phrase is found also in the Roman Sacramentaries of Leo and of Gelasius, in the Mozarabic and the Gothic), the grief, the horror, the admiration, and the awe, would make it an anniversary never to be forgotten. The death by torture of a Roman citizen was not a common thing. It was a deed intended to strike terror far and wide.

III. His anniversary is fixed to Aug. 10 by the *Feriale of Liberius* (A.D. 354), and the *universal consent of Western and Byzantine calendars*, Aug. 11, if ever found, is merely a slip. In the metrical martyrology of Bede, for 'bissens,' read

"*Bis binis victor superat Laurentius hostem.*"

The lectionary of Luxeuil and sacramentary of Bobbio are said to stand alone in the West in omitting Laurence (*Patrol. lxxxv. 811*). But as the same sacramentary commemorates Laurence daily in the ordinary mass, it is manifest that the omission only shews that Columban's monks had no special service for the day, not that they omitted the commemoration. He is found in the *Feriale of Aengus the Culdee*.

There does not seem to be the same general consent about any other festival of the church whatsoever.

IV. Prudentius, in his hymn for the day, declares that from that day forward the worship of the foul gods grew cold, that his death was the death of the temples (*sept. aedificiorum*, iii. 497, 509). The canon in the Greek liturgy speaks of him (ode 8) as "finally plucking down the memorial of the impious conceit of the erring."

If this be so, it is important to fix the epoch of his death. Now this may be done with certainty, though from the close of the 5th century onwards there was a wide-spread error as to the date, which referred it to the persecution of Decius. We are, however, enabled to correct the error by the abundant evidence that Laurence suffered a few days after pope Xystus or Sixtus II. And we know, from the contemporary evidence of Cyprinus, that Sixtus was executed on the 8th of August in the opening of the persecution of

Valerian, A.D. 258 (Cypr. *Ep.* 82, ed. Migne). Cyprian himself suffered in the following month.

V. Now generally the Greek menologies, the Egyptian-Arabic menology (v. *Acti SS.* Aug. tom. ii. 125 b), the Spanish-Gothic calendar (Migne, *Patrol.* lxxxv. 1051), and the Mozarabic missal and breviary, transfer Xystus from the 6th to be subordinated to and celebrated along with Laurence on the 10th. This is the more remarkable, as Xystus is said to have been of Greek extraction, and as the Mozarabic lessons are concerned with the *divouate* of Laurence. The fact that while Ambrose has separate hymns (72, 73) for Sixtus and Laurence, Prudentius has only one for both, seems to shew that these were the primitive arrangements in Spain. They are quite peculiar to that country in the West. The Synaxarion in the menology of Basil makes Xystus say to Laurence, "To-morrow we are delivered up." But Prudentius (like Ambrose, *de Off.* i. 41) makes him predict the martyrdom of the latter after an interval of three days, c. 28.

VI. The canon in the Greek liturgy is addressed to Laurence alone, and consists of eight odes, 32 troparia on the ACROSTIC [see I. 14].

Λαυρέντιον κράτιστον ἡμῶν προφρόνως.

VII. In Ethiopia Laurence seems to be commemorated as Iavernius on Nahasse 15=Aug. 8 (v. Ludolf, *Comm. Hist. Ethiop.* p. 425). In the ancient Syrian martyrology, Sixtus is the only Roman martyr (see De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, ii. 376). Eusebius in his history seems ignorant of the martyrdom even of Sixtus. Cyprian does not mention Laurence. The calendar of Carthage, like the rest of the West, distinguishes the festivals of Xystus and Laurence.

VIII. There is another saint joined with Laurence in the Greek liturgy, his jailor and convert Hippolytus, whose name seems to have suggested that he should be dragged along the ground by wild horses till he died:

τὸν Ἰππόλυτον ἰσχυροτέρων λόγων
ἐπιόντων πασχόντα τῇ κλίσει πάθος.

His death is clearly mentioned as subsequent to those of Laurence and Xystus. The calendar of Polemeus Silvius at Rome in A.D. 448, including nine only of the most popular festivals, omits Xystus, but inserts both Laurence and Hippolytus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xiii. 676).

IX. These two festivals were the great harvest home of the Roman church. St. Laurence's day is still the signal for burning the stubble in the Campagna (Knight, *Latium*, 3). So the rustics would perhaps be better able to resort to the city for the second festival, which is graphically described by Prudentius.

X. The Sacramentary of Leo has only one mass distinctly for Hippolytus's festival, but seven for Sixtus, and fourteen for Laurence. The 1st, 10th, and 12th of these seem to be for his vigil, for they speak of 'preventing' his day. There is also a mass for the vigil in the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory.

XI. In the Sacramentary of Gregory, two masses are given on the day itself, an early and a public mass. The Capitulare given in Martene (*Thes.* v. 76), which is referred by De Rossi to the opening year of Benedict II., gives the gospel for the vigil Blatt. xvi. 24-28; for the early mass Matt. x. 37-42; for the public mass John xii. 24-26. One of Augustine's sermons for the festi-

tival (Sermon 305) is on the last-named gospel. Sermon 304 refers to Prov. xxiii. 1, 2 as the Old Testament lesson. Sermons 302 and 303 seem to refer to Matt. v. 12 and Luke xii. 19 as read in the gospel for the day, but the references may really be to Matt. x. 42 and Matt. xvi. 25, in which case the arrangements would be the same in Africa as at Rome, and Sermon 303, in which he complains of the small attendance and great heat, would be preached at the vigil. In the modern Roman missal the gospel is John xii. 24-26 still, and the epistle is abridged from that in the Mozarabic and Ambrosian liturgies. Chrysologus of Ravenna, in his 135th sermon, quotes Phil. i. 29 as part of the epistle for the day. This would be very applicable to the deacon in the absence of his bishop. To Maximus of Turin three homilies (74-76) and four sermons (70-73) on this feast are ascribed. The 3rd of these sermons (72) is word for word the same as is ascribed to Leo. Three times in the other sermons he quotes Luke xii. 49, which may have been one of the gospels read at the festival in Turin.

XII. The Sacramentary of Gelasius, though it does not give a second mass to the day, gives vesper collects such as this:—"May his blessing be with us in Thy glory whose confession in Thy virtue has to-day been made our plea." Cf. 2 Pet. i. 3.

XIII. The Sacramentary of Gregory does not give a special service for the octave. No more does the modern missal, though the day is still observed. This, and the octave of Peter and Paul, are the only two in Ueard. The permanence of his felicity is repeated in Leo and Gelasius the ground for a repeated memorial of it.

XIV. The Gothic missal has neither vigil nor octave. From the absence of a triple benediction the feast would seem to have been less important in France than those of Andrew, Stephen, John, the Holy Innocents, Cecilia and Clement. Neither Boniface nor Charlemagne prescribes it as a holiday (*sabbatizandum*), only Chrodegang names it among those on which there is to be full service (*Biaterim, Denkwürdigkeiten*, t. 5, pt. 1, p. 299). In this missal Sixtus and Hippolytus are not associated with Laurence on his day, but he is commemorated in the proper prefaces on theirs as well as on his own. The Sacramentary of Leo says much of Sixtus leading the way for his deacons, but it commemorates two others of them along with him. The Gothic missal applies the same thus: "He was an example to others, for Laurence followed." And on the 13th it says: "Whom Hippolytus was yet occupied in the tyrant's service of a sudden modest him the fellow of Laurence." So the *Mart. Hieron.*, which belongs to Auxerre, names both Laurence and Hippolytus on the 6th, as well as on their own days.

XV. In the Greek church the triple festival falls within the octave of the Transfiguration, which is therefore commemorated on it. Hence in one échos the martyrdoms are viewed as themselves a theophany.

XVI. In the litany used at compline throughout Lent, in the Greek church, Laurence is named next to the Apostles and Stephen. He is invoked in the Breton Litany (Huddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. 82). Also in the Coronation Litany (Muratori, *Lit. Rom.* ii. 463).

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any used at compline through- eek church, Laurence is omed stles and Stephen. He is in- on Litany (Haddan and Stubbs. Also in the Coronation Litany on. ii. 463).

XVII. He is commemorated in the ordinary canon of the mass, in the Gelasian, Frankish and Gregorian missals, and in that of Bobbio. He is put next to the early popes and Cyprian. (For the Western liturgies in the above article we have used Muratori *Liturgia Romana*, t. i. 389-401, 658-662; t. ii. 108-113, 625-629; also t. i. 696; il. 3, 693, 777. For the Eastern, Arcudius, *Anthologica*.)

CHURCHES OF ST. LAURENCE.

A. Rome, Foris Murum.

I. The Basilica di San Lorenzo fuori is said to have been founded by Constantine (Anastasius, *Vita Silvestri*).

II. Of Sixtus III. we are told, "Moreover he made a basilica to the blessed martyr Laurence, which Valentinianus Augustus (the 3rd) granted, where also he offered gifts" (Anast. *Vit. xvi*). This was a new basilica beside the old. Rededication of it to Laurence, Sixtus and Hippolytus is mentioned in the *Mart. Hieron.*, Nov. 2 (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* ii. 39). Hilary made beside the church of Laurence, monasteries and a bath and a praetorium of St. Stephen (Anast. *Vit. xviii*). Then after the one year's popelom of Anastasius, Symmachus in the days of Theodoric, "constructed beside the church of St. Laurence," as well as of St. Paul and St. Peter, "habitations for the poor" (Anast. *Vit. liii*). We read in the time of Belisarius (A.D. 537), that "the churches and bodies of the martyrs were exterminated by the Goths" (Anast. *Vit. lx. § 89*).

Anastasius tells us that Pelagius II. (A.D. 577-590), who was made pope at a time when the Lombards were devastating Italy, and when there were such rains as threatened a deluge (and would therefore endanger a church built on a hillside), "made over the body of the blessed martyr Laurence a basilica constructed from the foundation, and adorned his sepulchre with tablets of silver" (Anast. *Vit. lxx*). The mosaic inscription enables us to identify the presbytery or most ancient part of the present church as identical with this church of Pelagius. The old pavement, recently brought to light, dates from the 6th century.

For a discussion of this basilica De Rossi in the *Buletini* for 1864 may be consulted.

B. Rome, within the Walls.

I. In *Damaseo, parochia*.—We are told by Anastasius that Pope Damasus made two basilicas, one to St. Laurence near the theatre of Pompey, another outside the walls on the Aurelian Way, where he himself rests, †385.

II. In *Fonte*.—S. Lorenzo in Fonte is near the Forum of Trajan on the way to the Esquiline, and is said to contain the fountain that sprang up at his prayers to enable him to baptize Hippolytus. This church may also have been founded by Damasus; see an epigram in Migne (*Patrol.* xiii. 411 n.).

III. In *Lucinae*.—The church in Lucinae, which is on the site of the Horologium of Augustus, is said by Tillemont to be often mentioned in the time of Symmachus, A.D. 498-514 (Tillem. *Mém.* iv. 597).

IV. In *Miranula, monasterium*.—S. Lorenzo in Miranula is in the temple of Antoninus Pius, and Faustinae in the Forum, near the church of St.

Adriano, in the old temple of the Three Fates. There was a monastery that had long been in ruins and inhabited by seculars, that Adrian restored in the name of SS. Adriano and Lorenzo and richly endowed.

V. In *regione tertia, parochia*.—Simplicius (A.D. 468-483) constituted a hebdomada [OCTAVE] for the third region at St. Laurence, that presbyters should remain there for the sake of penitents and baptism. S. Loreazo a' Monti may represent the parish, but not the site of the church.

VI. In *Panis perna*.—The church in Panis perna is said to be where Laurence was put to death in the baths of Olymptas. There have been many conjectures as to the name, but it is simply explained by the fact that there was a temple of Silvanus or Pan at this place (see Venuti, *Antichità di Roma*, c. vi. p. 101).

VII. Ad *Taurellum*.—The roof of a church of Laurence ad Taurellum, "dum nimis vetustissimum iacerat," was repaired by Adrian. Of S. Lorenzo in piscina PP. delle scuole, close to St. Peter's, I find no trace unless it be this.

VIII. In *Formosa*.—The church in Formosa was close to the church of St. Cyriacus, probably therefore on the Pincian (Anastasius, *Vita Adriani Patr.* xvi. n. 95). This, and those in Lucina and in Damaseo, were the three important churches of Laurence in Rome in Charlemagne's time. Montfaucon (*Var. Ital.* c. 14, p. 205) gives no reason for identifying it with Panis perna.

IX. In *Palatinis, Monasterium*.—There was a monastery of St. Laurence "on the Palatine in the deserts" that Adrian restored and joined with a monastery of Stephen, called *Bijanda*. It is often mentioned later, as a limit of floods. Mr. Burn (*Rome*, p. 177, see plan at p. 155) thinks he has identified the basilica of Jove, where Laurence was tried, as on the Palatine.

XI. *Oratorium in the Lateran*.—There was a chapel of Laurence in the Lateran where Toto was ordained, A.D. 768.

XII.—*Stations in the Churches*.—There were stations in the churches and basilica on I.XXma. Sunday ad S. Laurentium; gospel, the labourers in the vineyard.

Foris Murum.

The Friday after the 1st Sunday in Lent.

The 3rd Sunday.

The Saturday before the 5th Sunday.

The Wednesday after Easter. John xxi.

In *Lucinae*; Friday after the 3rd Sunday in Lent.

In *Damaseum*; Tuesday after the 4th Sunday.

Those in italics are still observed.

C. Elsewhere.

I. In *Constantinople*.—The relics of ST. STEPHEN are said to have been brought by Eulocia, the wife of Theodosius II., to Constantinople in A.D. 439, and laid in the church of St. Laurence there, which her husband's sister Pulcheria had built near her own palace, in a place called Petron or Blacherne, on the left of the Ceratine Gulf, in front of a church of the Virgin. Marcellinus Comes (in *De la Bigne*, vi. 1, 365); Theodoros Lector (*ib.* 505); Procopius (*de Aedif.* Justin. i. 8, 17). The union of the relics of Stephen, Laurence, and Agnes in this church is said to be commemorated Sept. 29, but is not in the *Mecology* of Basil (Tillem. iv. 592).

II. *At Ravenna*.—There was in the beginning of the 5th century a church of St. Laurence at Ravenna.

III. *At Milan*.—The basilica of St. Lorenzo at Milan was originally the cathedral. There is an epigram on it by Ennodius, bishop of Ticino (A.D. 505), poem vii. (De la Bigne, *Bibl. Vet. Patr.* vi. l. 301).

IV. *At Tivoli and Porto*.—There was also a church of Laurence at Tivoli, restored by Leo III. And at Porto he had both a church and a monastery on the island, with vineyards attached.

V. *At Norcia* there was a church destroyed by the Lombards, and rebuilt by Sanctulus, as we are told by Gregory the Great (*Dial.* 3, 36).

VI. *In Switzerland*.—At Brionum Castra (probably Brione, in the Val Verzasca) there was a church of St. Laurence burnt down by the Lombards, in the rebuilding of which a celebrated miracle occurred. See Gregory of Tours (*Glor. Mart.* i. 42).

VII. *In Gaul*.—The churches of St. Laurence traceable in Gaul are—

a. At Vienne, built by St. Severus about A.D. 450, on a hill between four mountains above the town, with a treasure found on the spot (*Acta SS.* August, t. ii. p. 350).

b. To St. Laurence and St. Germain at Clermont, built by Eriacus, king of the Goths, where St. Gall was buried (Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ii.).

c. A monastery in Paris in the time of Clotaire, of which St. Domnolus was abbat before he was bishop of Le Mans. It is now a parish in the faubourgs (see Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vi. 9, 25).

d. On Mont Lois, near Tours, built by Perpetuus, sixth bishop of that city (*Ibid.* x. 6).

VIII. *In Africa*.—Relics of Laurence were deposited under an altar at Setif, in Africa, in A.D. 452 (De Rossi, *Roma Sott.* i. 220).

(2) An earlier martyr named Laurentius is mentioned by Cyprian (*Ep.* 34), commending Celerinus: "His grandmother, Celerina, was long ago crowned with martyrdom; also his uncle on the father's side, Laurence, and on the mother's side Egnatius. Sacrifices for them, as ye remember, we offer as often as we celebrate in common the passions and anniversary days of the martyrs." Yet the Calendar of Carthage knows no other Laurence but the saint of Aug. 10. The little Roman martyrology celebrates him along with Celerinus on Feb. 3, but it appears by the *Mart. Hieron.* that this day properly belongs to Celerina, and that the African Laurence belongs to Sept. 24 or 28.

(3) Another is mentioned April 12. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(4) Laurentinus and Pergentinus, boys, brothers, martyred at Arezzo under Decius, June 3. (*Mart. Rom.*) The *Mart. Hieron.* mentions Laurentius only.

(5) The martyrdom of Laurence and Hippolytus under Decius at Fossombrone (Forum Sempronianum), Feb. 2 (*Mart. Hieron.*) is very suspicious. St. Apronianus is commemorated the same day. The cathedral of Fossombrone is sacred to this St. Laurence. (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 286.)

(6) The illuminator, bishop of Spoleto, Feb. 3. Seemingly an apocryphal personage. (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 362.)

LAURENCE (7) On May 10, the Byzantine distich is,—

συναλλαγή τις πρὸς Θεὸν Δαυρεντίου
τόνος Ἐδέμ λαβοῦσα τὴν κορμωμένην.

(*Acta SS.* May, ii. 389.)

(8) Presbyter of Novari, and ecclesiastical, writer of the 4th century. Martyred, with the boys he taught, by the Arians on April 30. (*Acta SS.* April, iii. 763.)

(9) Archbishop of Milan, † July 19, A.D. 512.

(10) Bishop of Siponto in Apulia, † Feb. 7, A.D. 550. (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 57.)

(11) Archbishop of Canterbury. † Feb. 2, A.D. 619. Into Laurencekirk in Scotland no woman might enter. (*Acta SS.* Feb. i. 289.)

(12) Bishop of Naples, † July 19, A.D. 717. [E. B. B.]

LAURENTINUS. [LAURENCE (4).]

LAURIANUS, of Seville, killed July 4 (6th century). (*Mart. Hieron.*) [E. B. B.]

LAURINUS, martyr of Terni, April 14. (*Mart. Hieron.*) [E. B. B.]

LAURUS (1) and Florus, twins, sculptors, thrown into a well in Illyricum by Licinius. Their relics were revealed to Constantine, and brought by him to their native Byzantium, August 18. (*Menology of Basil.*)

(2) Of St. Malo, 7th century, † Sept. 30. (*Acta SS.* Sept. viii. 692.) [E. B. B.]

LAUSTRANUS, died 640, commemorated Apr. 11 (*Men. Scot.*), as well as LASREN, Apr. 18. [E. B. B.]

LAUTO, bishop of Coutances, † Sept. 22, A.D. 568. [E. B. B.]

LAVABO. The description of the Eucharistic rite by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. Myst.* v. 2, p. 325) begins with the deacon presenting water to the celebrant (τῷ ἱερεῖ), and the presbyters who encircle the altar, for the purpose of ablution. And this (Cyril continues) was not merely for the sake of personal cleanliness, it was a symbolic act, to which refer the words of David, "I will wash my hands in innocency, O Lord, and so will I go to thine altar" (Ps. xxv. [E. V. xvi.] 6). It does not appear from this whether the verse was actually chanted during the ablution, though its appositeness is recognised. (Compare Dionys. Areop. *Hierarch. Ecl.* c. 3.) According to some MSS. of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom (Daniel, *Codex Ld.* iv. 330), the priest and deacon after vesting for the liturgy wash their hands in the prothesis, saying, "Νίψουμαι ἐν ἁγίοις," and the rest of the psalm. In the Roman rite, the washing of the hands occurs after the oblation of the unconsecrated elements, and thus precedes the preface and the more solemn part of the office. After the censing of the altar and the priest, while the deacon is censing the other ministers, the priest washes his hands, saying, "Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas et circumdabo altare tuum, Domine," and the rest of the psalm. As Amalarius of Metz († 837) does not mention this custom, it was probably introduced in the Roman office after he wrote his treatises de *Ecclesiasticis Officiis* and *Elogus de Officio Missae*. [C.]

On May 10, the Byzantians

ἡ ἑξ ὁσῶν ἀσπερίτω
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[C.]

LAVACRUM. [BAPTISM; FONT.]

LAVATORY [MONASTIC]. Monasticism has
never been partial to frequent personal ablutions.
On the contrary, it has from the first discouraged
them, as a form of self-indulgence, and as incon-
sistent with bodily austerities. Probably this
inherent antipathy to bathings and washings was
in great measure a result of the reaction from
the luxury and licentiousness of the Roman baths
under the empire. Certainly the maxim which
places cleanliness next to godliness has no place
in the biographies of the saints and heroes of
monasticism, even in climates where bathing
would seem almost one of the necessities of life.
Jerome warns ascetics against warm baths as
morally enervating (Hieron. *Ep. ad Ru-tic.*);
and in a letter to one of his female disciples
denounces every sort of bathing for women (Id.
Ep. ad Laet.). Augustine allows a bath* once
a month only (Aug. *Ep.* 109). This aversion to
bathing is one of the many indications of the
tendency, which seems inseparable from monas-
ticism, to the Manichean notion of matter being
intrinsically evil.

The various monastic rules agree very closely
in discouraging the use of baths. Even the toler-
ant rule of the great Benedict only permits
them for those who are weak and delicate, for-
bidding them generally ("tardius concedatur")
for the young and healthy (Bened. *Reg.* c. 36).
Evidently he is speaking only of baths within
the walls of a monastery; bathing in a river or
lake, or in the sea, being of course out of the
question (cf. Martene *ad loc.*). Hildemarnus in-
terprets the expression "tardius" to mean only
before the three great festivals—Christmas,
Easter, Whitsuntide. Other commentators re-
strict the phrase to Christmas and Easter only;
others take it as a permission for the monks to
bathe after doing any very dirty work, &c.
(Martene *ad loc.*) Similarly, Isidorus Hispalensis
orders baths to be used very sparingly, only as a
remedy, never for gratification (Isid. *Reg.* c.
20). The rule of Caesarius of Arles permits
them only in cases where the doctor prescribes
them, and without any regard to the inclina-
tion of the patient (Caesar. *Reg.* c. 39). The
rule ascribed to Augustine is to the same effect
(*Reg. Au.* c. 29), and adds that no monk is to
go alone to the baths, nor to choose his com-
panions, but that two or three of the brethren
are to be told off by the prior for this purpose.
In the same way the council of Aachen in A.D.
817 enacts that the control and regulation of
the baths is to belong to the prior (*Conc.*
Aquisgr. c. 7). An anonymous rule, which has
been ascribed to Columbanus, called *Regula*
Cajusdium, orders delinquent monks, as a penance,
to make the necessary preparations for the
washing of their brethren's heads on Saturdays,
and for their baths just before the great festi-
vals, especially Christmas (*Reg. Cuj.* c. 12; cf.
Columban. *Poenit.*; ap. Menard, *Comment. ad*
loc.). Radegundis is said to have built baths for
the use of the nuns in the convent (of St. Croix)
which she founded at Poitiers; before long some

* In his *Confessions*, where he describes his grief for
the death of his mother, he speaks of bathing as recom-
mended to him for his depression of spirits, and mentions
an absurd derivation of the Greek word βαλαντιον as
meaning a relief to anxiety.

irregularities occurred, which the abbas was
accused of conniving at, in regard to the use of
these baths (Gregor. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* x. 16).
See further Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesie*
Ritibus. [I. G. S.]

LAW.

SYLLABUS.

- I. "Law" and "Law of Nature," and early Christian authorities upon.
- II. Positive Law of the State. Attitude of the earlier Christians to.
Law of the State as directly affecting the Christian Church before Constantine, and legislation of Constantine.
Legislation between time of Constantine and of Justinian.
Justinian's legislation.
Legislation of the Barbarian, Frank, and English kings.
Legislation of Charlemagne.
- III. Internal legislation of the Church.

The word *Law* has this in common with the Latin *jus*, the French *droit*, and the German *recht*, that it is at once abstract and concrete. It means both the idea of rules of conduct proceeding from a competent authority and also the rules themselves. The word and the various meanings conveyed by it have been submitted to searching criticism of late years in this country, especially by Bentham and writers more or less distinctly influenced by him. The only part of the controversies thus originating which is relevant here is that which relates to the use of the word *law*, in such expressions as "Law of Nature," "Natural Law," "Law of God," "Moral Law." It is not very satisfactory nor historically true to conclude, with Mr. Austin (*Lectures on Jurisprudence*), that the original use of the term *Law* is a political one, and that the ethical and theological uses are wholly metaphorical and derived. Sir H. S. Maine's review of the history of the expression "Law of Nature" (*Ancient Law*, chap. iv.), rather supports the doctrine that the expression was borrowed from quite another region than the political one, and that it was in the task of correcting and amending this one that it found its most worthy uses. There is no doubt that Hooker's opposition of "humane law," "that which men probably gathering it to be expedient they make it a law," to that other law which, "as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call eternal, receiveth according to the different kinds of things which are subject unto it different and sundry kinds of names," certainly expresses a logical distribution of law as old as the Christian Church itself, and somewhat older. The constant references in Cicero's writings to the distribution of *jus into natura and lex* (see particularly *De Leg.* i. 15, 16, and *Orat. partit.* 37), are especially interesting from the attention which Laetantius (vi. 8) calls to them, in the celebrated passage in which, citing Cicero's panegyric on the "vera lex recta ratio naturae congruens constans sempiterna," he speaks of "dei lex illa sancta illa celestis quam Marcus Tullius in libro de Republica tertio pœne divina voce dixit." The expressions of St. Paul in reference to a law written in the hearts of the Gentiles (Rom. ii. 15) are quite in accordance with the doctrines of the leading Roman jurists a century after his time, when

Roman law was at its climax; as for instance appears from the language of Paulus (47 Dig. iii. 1, § 3) about theft, "quod lege naturali prohibitum est admittere." The early Christian writers constantly allude to the law of nature, and often base elaborate arguments either on its existence or on its precepts. Thus Origen (*c. Celsus*, viii. 52) speaking of the persuasion he had of the salvation of the heathen whose lives had been good, and recalling noble practical maxims laid down even by the enemies of the faith, says, "you will find no men in whom the common notions of what is good and bad, just and unjust, have been wholly blotted out." So, again, Tertullian (*adv. Jul.*, cap. v.) says he contended that "before the law of Moses was written on tables of stone, there was an unwritten law which was naturally understood and held in trust by the patriarchs." St. Ambrose (*Epist. ad Rom.*, cap. v.) divides the "natural law" into three parts, one concerned with shewing honour to the Creator, another with leading a good life, and a third with making known God and the right way of life to others. St. Jerome (*Epist. ad Galat.*, chap. iii.) says that by this "legem naturalem" Cain acknowledged his offence, and Pharaoh, before the law was given by Moses, confessed his misdeeds. St. Chrysostom builds an elaborate argument on the existence and import of a law of nature (*Homil.* xii. ad Pop. Ant.), and says that "at the beginning God made the knowledge of good and evil self-taught; for we stand in no need of learning that indulgence is evil and self-restraint good, but we know it from the first;" and "when He said 'thou shalt do no murder,' He did not add, 'for murder is doing wrong;' but He simply said, 'thou shalt do no murder,' thereby merely forbidding what was sinful without teaching why it was so." The general subject of the attitude of the earlier writers, Christian, Jewish, and Heathen, towards the law of nature, will be found discussed in such works as Selden, 'De Jure Naturae et Gentium secundum disciplinam Hebraeorum,' Puffendorf, 'Jus Gentium et Naturae,' and the Prolegomena to Grotius, 'De Jure Belli et Pacis.' From the above extracts it will sufficiently appear from what sources a knowledge of the law of nature was to be extracted, and what was the import of the assertion of the later canonists that no dispensation from it was obtainable.

As contrasted with the "Law of Nature," what is sometimes called "Positive Law" may be considered under three heads:—I. Such part of the general laws of the state as happened to affect Christians because of conflicts of allegiance to which it casually gave rise. II. Such special laws of the state as were enacted in different countries and at successive epochs for the purpose of regulating the Christian society, and determining the organisation of the Church; and III. Such internal regulations as were made by the church itself, either in pursuance of what it held to be an inherent legislative authority, or in the character of a subordinate legislature, exercising permissive powers in dependence on the state.

1. The attitude of Christians towards the general law of the state in the territory of which they found themselves, was broadly de-

finied for them at the very opening of Christian history, in the words so much quoted in after times, "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's," and in the part of the twelfth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, in which the Apostle discusses the relation of the members of the Church to the "powers that be." It would seem that during the whole of the first century no questions of seriously conflicting allegiance presented themselves, the only aspect in which the early church found itself in opposition to the laws of the empire being that it was not formally incorporated among the recognised cults, that is, it was not, like Judaism, a "religio licita." Nevertheless Tertullian intimates that it had slipped in as such, and that Tiberius had even proposed, on receiving the report of Pontius Pilate, to give Christ a place among the gods (*Apol.* c. 5, and 26). Pliny's letter to Trajan (about A.D. 111) describes the Christians in Bithynia as a law-abiding people, "bound together by no unlawful sacrament, but only under mutual obligations not to commit theft, robbery, adultery, or fraud." It was, however, when he submitted them to the test of adoration before the statues of the gods and of the emperors, and the malediction of Christ, that they were recalcitrant. The amount of subservience to customs bearing the semblance of idolatry which was justifiable in a Christian became the subject of serious perplexity between the period at which the Christians had grown to be numerous and important enough to attract public attention, and that at which the church secured its political victory over paganism. The difficulty was encountered at two points; one, where, owing to general suspicion on other grounds, a Christian was subjected to the test of sacrificing or doing an overt act of worship to the emperor; the other, where the common functions of a civil or military life involved what seemed to be idolatrous usages. It is a matter of some doubt how far the Christians of the 2nd and 3rd centuries consented to serve in the imperial armies, though the expressions of Christian writers, and the arguments of Tertullian with respect to the extent to which Christians might go in receiving military rewards, leave no doubt as to the prevalent opinion that service was not sinful in itself, nor as to the actual practice (Tertull. *de Coronâ Milit.*, cap. xi.; see Milman's *History*, bk. ii. cap. vii. and Neander). Some of the Christian writers bestow great pains in solving the casuistical problems as to how far conformity might go. Thus Tertullian (*de Idololatriâ*, cap. xvii.) thinks a Christian might walk simply in a procession but must not sacrifice, nor give the word for another to sacrifice, nor place the victims, nor bind their temples, nor pronounce any solemn words, nor make any adjuration. Then again, he discusses the question as to what slaves and faithful freemen should do when their masters or patrons are officially engaged in sacrificing. He intimates, in another place (*Apol.* c. 34), that it might be allowable to call the emperor lord but not god.

With respect to the general duty of obeying the law of the state, the Christian writers are unanimous in upholding it. Indeed they habitually base their defence against imputations from without on their loyalty. Thus Justus Martyr

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(Apol. l. 17) says that "wherever we are
 pay the taxes and tribute imposed by you, as we
 worship God alone in all other matters, we
 cheerfully submit ourselves to you, confessing
 you to be the kings and rulers of men." Irenæus
 (v. 24), speaking even more strongly, and allud-
 ing to the perpetual "calumny of the devil"
 to the contrary, says, "we ought to obey powers
 and earthly authorities, inasmuch as they are
 constituted not by the devil but God;" and
 "that kings are the ministers of God, and are
 put in authority by the command of that same
 One to whose command men owe their very
 existence." Tertullian (Apol. c. 42) presents a
 vivid picture of the complete implication of the
 life of the Christians with that of the pagans,
 in a passage which leaves no doubt that it was
 the persuasion of the church that conformity
 was a general duty, and nonconformity only a
 particular exception from it. "Itaque non sine
 fore non sine macello non sine balneis tabernis
 officis tabulis nudinis vestris coeterisque com-
 mercis cohabitamus in hoc sæculo; navigamus
 et nos vobiscum in militemus et rusticamur et
 mercamur; proinde miscemus artes, opera nostra
 publicum usui vestro."

Later Christian history, however, brought
 forward a wholly new class of problems arising
 out of the active interference of the secular
 government with the internal affairs of the
 church. This led to the question being mooted
 which has never been theoretically answered as
 to how far the church and its members are
 morally entitled to resist a law which indirectly
 affects, as they think perniciously, the interests
 of the church. The letter of Gregory the
 Great, addressed to the emperor Maurice (A. D.
 582-602), who had interdicted all persons occu-
 pying civil functions from becoming clerks or
 entering a monastery, may be cited in order to
 shew what was probably a characteristic mode
 of solving such problems after the time that the
 church became an authority competing with the
 state. "As for me, submitting to thy order, I
 have sent this law to the various countries of
 the earth, and I have said to my serene lords in
 this paper whereon I have deposited my reflec-
 tions, that this law goes against that of the al-
 powerful God. I have therefore fulfilled my
 duty upon each side; I have rendered obedience
 to Caesar, and I have not been silent as to what
 appeared to me to be against God." (Greg. M.
Epist. lli. p. 65.)

11. The laws of the state specially affecting
 the Christian Church may affect it as a corpo-
 rate society, or assemblage of corporate societies;
 or may affect its officers individually; or its
 members individually. And among the laws
 that affect the members of the church indi-
 vidually will properly be included all those
 which confer privileges or impose disabilities on
 any persons whatever on the ground of their
 not being members of the church. Thus the
 general purposes of the church. Thus the
 he church may be arranged as those of (1)
 conferring privileges, or imposing disabilities on
 members of the church as such, or upon other
 persons not being such, as, e.g., Jews, pagans,
 heretics, and apostates; (2) prescribing and con-
 trolling the organisation of the church, per-
 sonal and material; and, with this view con-

fering privileges or imposing disabilities on
 church officials of all classes; (3) regulating the
 property of the church, of its officers, and of its
 members; (4) determining questions of dis-
 pable jurisdiction in respect of ecclesiastical,
 civil, and criminal suits and offences; and (5)
 giving effect to the internal legislation of the
 church itself. It might be expected that at
 some periods of church history some of the
 classes of laws owing their origin to these dif-
 ferent purposes would be found to be more promi-
 nent than the rest, and at other periods other
 classes of laws. Indeed, it is the case that for
 long periods together some of these classes of
 laws often seem to be wholly absent, either
 there being no materials recognisable by the
 state on which law could operate. For instance,
 in early days the whole of the civil law as
 affecting the church would be gathered up in
 the disabilities and penalties inflicted on its in-
 dividual members. But between the time of
 Pliny's letter and the persecution at the begin-
 ning of the 4th century, under Galerius and
 Diocletian, the organisation of the church was
 becoming recognised, if not formally protected,
 and even the property of the church secured to
 it by law.

Thus it seems that about the time of Alexander
 Severus (A. D. 222), "Christian bishops were
 admitted at court in a recognised official char-
 acter, and Christian churches began to rise in
 different parts of the empire, and to possess
 endowments in land" (Milman, ii. 231). "The
 Christians" (says Gibbon, writing of this period,
 c. xvi.) "were permitted to erect and consecrate
 convenient edifices for the purpose of religious
 worship; to purchase lands, even at Rome itself,
 for the use of the community; and to conduct
 the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in
 so public, but at the same time in so exemplary,
 a manner, as to deserve the respectful attention
 of the Gentiles." But the history of a few
 years later shews upon what a frail foundation
 these privileges rested; and it was not till after
 Constantine's victory over Maxentius in A. D. 312
 that the legal rights and duties of the Christian
 church, its officers, and its members, began to
 be ascertained with a constantly advancing pre-
 cision. It is not necessary to distinguish here
 the successive steps by which Constantine first
 supported by his legislation paganism and
 Christianity impartially; then co-operated with
 the organisation of the church; and finally (as
 in his dealings with Arius) overbore that organi-
 sation by the weight of his personal authority.
 There are scarcely enough materials in existence
 to decide the question as to how far, at any
 time, Constantine went in suppressing the use
 of pagan rites by the general law. After re-
 viewing all the authorities and the passages in
 Eusebius directly bearing on the point, Dean
 Milman is of opinion that Constantine only
 abolished two kinds of sacrifices, that is, private
 sacrifices connected with unlawful acts of the-
 tory or of magic; and the state sacrifices heretofore
 offered by the emperor himself, or by
 others in his name. The passage in the Theo-
 dosian Code (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 10, 2), from a law
 of Constantius in which he cites an edict of his
 father, is distinctly in favour of an universal
 prohibition. "Cesset superstitio, sacrificiorum

aboleatur insana. Nam quicumque contra legem divi Principis preautis nostri et hanc nostrae mansuetudinis jussionem census fuerit sacrificia celebrare competens in eum vindicta et praesentia sententia exeratur." We have in the Theodosian Code very clear indications of the legal measures by which Constantine (1) fenced round the Christian community, by inflicting disabilities on those outside, as in the law (*Cod. Th. v. 1*) to the effect that all privileges given in respect of religion attached only to "Catholicae legis observatoribus; haereticos autem atque sensuaticos non tantum ab his privilegiis alienos esse sed etiam diversis muneribus constringi et subici;" (2) recognised the organisation of the church by allowing slaves to be manumitted "in gremio Ecclesiae," provided it was done "sub aspectu antistitum" (*Cod. Th. iv. 71*), and supported its institutions by allowing to other business than emancipations and manumissions to be performed on Sunday (*Cod. Th. iii. 12, 1, 2, 3*). Constantine also exempted the clergy from the burdensome liability to serve on town councils (*Cod. Th. xvi. 2; 1, 2, 3*). A provision was, however, introduced which throws light on the notion of ordination prevailing at the time, to the effect that if any one should, subsequently to the making of the law, become ordained solely in order to evade his civil obligations, he must be restored to his civil character (*restitui et civilibus obsequiis inservire*). The whole of this law may be instructively contrasted with the legislation of Justinian (*Con. i. 4, 28*), by which he specially provides for bishops becoming an essentially constituent part of provincial town councils.

In the two hundred years which intervened between the time of Constantine and that of Justinian, legislation directly affecting the Christian church made rapid progress in all its departments. It was in the joint reign of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (A.D. 380) that the formal law was passed which figures in the codes both of Theodosius and of Justinian, by which Christianity was constituted the exclusive religion of the Roman empire, both in the East and in the West. "We command all who read this law to embrace the name of Catholic Christians, deciding that all other idiots and madmen should bear the infamy attaching to their heretical opinions, and as they will first meet with the penalty of divine vengeance, so they will afterwards receive that condemnation at our hands which the Heavenly Judge has empowered us to administer." (*Cod. Jus. I. i. 1.*)

From this period laws begin to appear for determining questions of disputable jurisdiction, such as the law of Arcadius and Honorius A.D. 399 (*Cod. Th. xvi. 11, 1*), giving the bishops exclusive jurisdiction in "religious" matters, but in these only; "quotiens de religione agatur episcopos convocet iudicare; ceteras vero causas quae ad ordinarios, cognitores vel ad usum publici foris pertinent legibus oportet audiri." At the very end of the Theodosian Code appears what is called an "extravagant" law of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius, "de episcopali iudicio," prescribing that bishops be not occupied in trying ordinary matters, but whenever a matter presented itself relating to Christian authority (quae pertinet ad Christianam facultatem), it should be decided by the highest priestly functionary in

the district (see *AUDIENTIA EPISCOPALIS*, I. 152). The special penalties imposed on immoral clergy belong also to the part of the law which regulates and supports the organisation of the church. Such were those imposed by the law of Valens and Valentinian (A.D. 370, *Cod. Th. xvi. 11, 20*) on ecclesiastics, or "ex ecclesiasticis vel qui continentium se volent nomine nunciari viduarum ac pupillarum domos adeant;" they were "publicis exterminari iudicibus," and were held incapable to take any benefit under a will of a woman to whom they had attached themselves under pretext of religion. The practice of requiring such laws as directly affect the church to be publicly read in the church, is an interesting token of the public recognition of these Christian buildings. The law just cited is said to have been read in the churches, "lecta in ecclesiis;" and Theodosius the younger had his law against the Nestorians, and Constantine his letter to the church of Alexandria, in absolution of Athanasius, read in the churches; and the practice was in use under the Visigoths at the close of the laws of which people we read, "Suprascriptas leges omnes lectas in ecclesia S. Mariae Toleti sub die xi. Kalend. Feb."

The laws affecting the Christians which were enacted between the time of Constantine and the publication of the Theodosian Code in A.D. 438, are mostly contained in the 16th book of that code, the code itself having been promulgated in the same year, both in the Eastern and Western empires. The next important legislative events occurred in the middle of the sixth century, in the reign of Justinian. The product of Justinian's legislative exertions in respect of the church appears in the first book of his code (the revised edition of which—the only one which has come down to us,—was published in A.D. 534), and his Novells which cover a period of legislation extending from A.D. 535 to A.D. 565. The first book of the code also contains the laws which had been passed by successive emperors since the publication of the Theodosian Code. Of this intermediate period between A.D. 438 and A.D. 534, there appear in Justinian's Code (Book 2) several important laws regulating the rights and liabilities of the clergy, confirming the claims of the church to have property transferred to it in life and on death (*Cod. i. 2, 14*), directing the clergy as to the administration of property left by will for the redemption of captives, and for the use of the poor (*l. 3, 28*), and determining the rights, duties, and general functions of those betaking themselves to a conventual and monastic life. The right of sanctuary as available in all parts of the empire is explicitly vindicated and defined by a law of Leo I. in A.D. 466. (*Cod. i. 12, 6.*)

The comprehensive legislation of Justinian, especially that which took place between A.D. 535 and A.D. 565, and is recorded in his Novells, extends to all the branches of law in which, according to the above classification, it is possible for the civil law directly to affect the Christian community. It will be convenient to review the general character of the laws passed in Justinian's reign in conformity with that classification.

(1.) Of laws conferring privileges or imposing disabilities on individual members of the church, or on other persons because they are not such members, the fifty-second constitution

DIENTIA EPISCOPALIS, I. 152).
 imposed on immoral clergy
 part of the law which regu-
 the organisation of the
 those imposed by the law of
 alian (A.D. 370, *Cod. Th. xvi*
 vices, or "ex ecclesiasticis vel
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 of which people we read,
 s, omnes lectas in ecclesia S.
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 A.D. 486. (*Cod. i. 12, 4*).
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 ily to affect the Christian
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 the laws passed in Justini-
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transferring privileges or im-
 individual members of the
 persons because they are
 the fifty-second constitution

(*Novell. Auth.*) is an instance, the effect of which
 was to exclude Jews, Samaritans, Montanists,
 and other heretics (aliter respondens homines
 quos nodum hæcenus reeta et immaculata
 fides illucet sed et in tenebris sedent animis ver-
 non sentientes sacramenta) from the beneficial
 exemptions enjoyed by the orthodox in respect of
 service on town councils, and to allow their testi-
 mony in courts of law only in cases in which
 the interest of an orthodox suitor, or that of the
 state seemed to call for it. Another instance is
 supplied by the limitation of the newly conceded
 rights of intestate succession in accordance with
 natural, instead of the older civil relationship to
 those who belonged to the "Catholic Faith."
 (*Nov. Auth.*, 114.) Yet a further instance is the
 law forbidding marriages between god-potent
 and god-child (*Cod. v. 4, 26*) on the ground that
 "nothing else could so surely introduce an affec-
 tionate paternal relationship, and thereby justify
 fornil marriage, as a tie of this sort by which
 souls are bound together through the mediation
 of God."

(2.) With laws regulating and protecting the
 organisation of the church Justinian's legisla-
 tion is replete, and the 134th Novell is a small
 code in itself. Bishops and monks were abso-
 lutely forbidden to act as guardians, and priests
 and deacons were allowed to act only on their
 formal request, and they were all forbidden to
 undertake any civil function. The bishops were
 forbidden to move from place to place without
 the permission of the metropolitan or the em-
 peror. The bishops, patriarchs, and archbishops
 in each province were to assemble once or twice
 a year, and to examine into all causes and
 offences. By the 59th Novell it is forbidden to
 introduce the "sacred mysteries" into private
 houses, unless certain of the clergy were espe-
 cially invited with the approval of the bishop.
 The limitation of the number of the clergy, and
 of the expenses attending on ordination, were
 carefully provided for (*Nov. Auth.* 3, 5, 16).

(3.) Of laws regulating the property of the
 church the seventh constitution is an important
 specimen. It lays down the general principle
 that no church or church officer is entitled to
 lease, any immovable property of the church, or
 the sacred vessels of the church, save only (in
 this last case) for the redemption of prisoners,
 the right of the Government to force a sale at
 a fair price being reserved. A later law (*Nov.*
Auth. 43) permits the alienation of immovables
 in the case of inability to pay state dues, and if
 the income of the immovables does not suffice;
 and a still later law (*Nov. Auth.* 67) provides
 that lands and other immovables left to the
 church by will for the redemption of captives,
 or for the support of the poor, may be sold for
 the purpose should it appear that no certain in-
 come from the property can be relied upon other-
 wise [ALIENATION, I. 50]. To the same class of
 topics belong the legal restrictions upon building
 churches, monasteries, and houses of prayer with-
 out first making a preliminary grant of the
 property to provide for the services (*Nov. Auth.*
69, 2).

(4.) Laws regulating jurisdiction, of course,
 became increasingly precise at this period, and
 the final Novell, already cited, contains nume-
 rous provisions on the subject. By the 80th

Novell, persons having any cause of action
 against monks, ascetics, or nuns, must bring the
 case before the bishop; or nuns, must bring the
 bishop might, in case a judge deferred giving
 sentence, either press the judge to proceed or
 sentence, and report the neglect to the emperor.
 Provision was also made for parties trying their
 case before a friendly tribunal composed of the
 judge and the bishop, so as to avoid the necessity
 of referring the case to the tribunal at the capital.
 Bishops administering justice with partiality were
 to be punished. In the 134th Novell important
 provisions are contained, by which all causes of
 complaint against a member of the clerical body
 are to be laid, in the first instance, before the
 bishop, and the sentence, if accepted by both
 parties within ten days, is to be carried out by the
 civil judge; if the sentence is not accepted the
 civil judge is to examine the case afresh, and if he
 differs from the bishop an appeal is allowed (see
 APPEAL, I. 126). In criminal cases, if the bishop
 condemns, the convicted clerk is first to be shorn
 of his "honour and grade" according to eccle-
 siastical rules, and is then tried by the civil
 judge. If the civil judge is approached first,
 and the prisoner is found to be a clerk, the case
 must go before the bishop, who, if he finds the
 clerk guilty, is to deprive him of his office and
 hand him back for sentence to the civil judge.
 If the bishop does not find him guilty he is to
 defer the deprivation, while security is taken and
 the case referred to the emperor for his decision.

(5.) As to laws enforcing the internal legis-
 lation of the church, the 120th Novell is im-
 portant, the first chapter of it solemnly giving
 the force of law to the sacred ecclesiastical rules
 expounded or established by the four Councils of
 Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.
 Subsequently to the time of Justinian, the
 iconoclastic controversy in the East (commencing
 A.D. 726) is interesting, in reference to the pre-
 sent subject as exhibiting the firm legislative
 control that the Eastern emperors either re-
 tained or assumed to themselves over the ritual
 of the church. The conquests of Justinian in
 Italy led to his complete body of laws being
 applied *en masse* to the subjects of his recon-
 quered provinces, for whose use the Novells, or
 such of them as originally appeared in the Greek
 language, were translated into Latin. But before
 the victories of Justinian in Italy the Theodosian
 Code had already been introduced in an almost
 complete shape into the code of the Visigoths
 issued in A.D. 506 by Alaric II. He was suc-
 ceeded by Theodoric, his father-in-law, who
 united thereby the kingdoms of the Ostrogoths
 and the Visigoths. In this way it appears that
 in the early part of the sixth century the laws
 affecting the church, as they were embodied in
 the Theodosian Code and in the code and Novells
 of Justinian, were introduced into Italy almost
 simultaneously from the East and the West; and
 it may be conjectured that, in this way, the
 legislation of Justinian, as well as of his pre-
 decessors, became the basis of the legislation of
 the barbarian kings. There is reason, however,
 to suppose that the barbarian kings were less
 disposed to interfere with the internal order of
 the church than the Eastern emperors. They
 were mostly Arians, they were not gifted with
 the theological subtlety which seems to have

distinguished some of the rulers in the East, and some of the most eminent of them are conspicuous either for toleration or for religious intolerance (see Guizot's *Civilisation in France*, Lect. xii.). In an edict of Clothaire II. (A.D. 615) we have a distinct recognition of the principle that the clergy are, in the first instance, to be tried by an ecclesiastical and not by a civil court; and, for the case of suits between the clergy and other persons, a court is established composed of chiefs of the church sitting together with the ordinary secular judge. The law of the Riparian Franks (*Lex Rip.* cxxi. § 3, lviii. § 1) provides for the clergy being tried by the Roman law. The Salic law, in its oldest form, bears few marks of ecclesiastical legislation, and is almost exclusively occupied with defining the pecuniary penalties for civil and criminal offences. In its reformed shape it wears the impress of the mature ecclesiastical legislation of Charlemagne.

The laws of the Saxon kings in various English kingdoms afford instruction as to contemporaneous legislation in all the German kingdoms under the influence of the Roman church. The code of Ethelbert, who seems to have begun to reign about A.D. 561, contains a number of precise regulations on general matters, of which only the first touches the church, robbery from which is to be punished by a fine of twelve times the value stolen; robbery from the bishop, by a fine of eleven times the value; from a priest, of nine times; a deacon, of six times; and so on. In the code of Wihtraed, who seems to have begun to reign in A.D. 691, there is a fair amount of ecclesiastical legislation, including the principle that the church shall enjoy immunity from taxes, and sundry minute rules in respect of compensation for offences by and against the clergy. The celebrated laws of Ina, who came to the throne about A.D. 688, mark a distinct stage in social and political advance. While dealing largely with the common criminal offences, against which the previous codes were mainly directed, they also contain numerous specific laws directly affecting the church; as that, "the ministers of God shall observe their own proper laws"; that "children shall be brought to be baptized within thirty days, under a penalty of thirty solidi"; that "a slave doing work at his master's bidding on the Lord's day shall thereby become free"; and that "the right of sanctuary availed to save the life of a criminal, but he must make compensation" (Wilkins's *Leges Anglo-Saxonice Ecclesiasticæ et Civiles*). Some curious instances of the active co-operation of the church and the state in respect of punishing the offences of the clergy against the ordinary civil and criminal law in the earlier part of the seventh century in Britain appear in some very early works cited by Mr. Haddan and Professor Stubbs (*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 1869). The *Liber Landavensis* (a compilation of the twelfth century) records the excommunication by Oudaens, bishop of Llandaff, at the beginning of the seventh century, of Mensig and of Morgan, kings of Glamorgan, for murder, after swearing amity upon relics in the bishop's presence. In each case lands being given to the see of Llandaff by the culprit when reconciled. The same work records similar proceedings in the case of a fratricide committed by Gwoednerth, king of Gwent; and in other cases

Eddlus, in his life of Wilfrid (A.D. 709), mentions that the holy bishop, Wilfrid, on one occasion, standing before the altar, and turning to the people, "enumerated before the kings the lands which previous kings had granted and the sacred sites which the British clergy had deserted in flying before the enemy." This seems to imply a re-endowment by the Saxon kings with lands previously held by the British church.

The legislation of Charlemagne, which continued through his entire reign, that is, from A.D. 768 to A.D. 814, and which was reproduced over and over again in closely resembling forms in the different countries successively reduced under his rule, recalls that of Justinian by its comprehensiveness and its particularity. Nevertheless, the capitularies of Charlemagne not only mark the progress which the church had made during the past 200 years in internal organisation, but they also seem to bespeak the spontaneous energy of the church in legislating for itself, rather than the mere weight of imperial authority, to which so many of the earlier laws were due. Much of Charlemagne's legislation in respect of the church is identical with that of Justinian, and with that of the earlier Saxon codes, and this affords evidence that legislation of this sort was largely controlled by ecclesiastical usage and tradition, and by the direct influence exercised by the authorities of the church on the civil lawgiver.

It will be convenient to exemplify Charlemagne's legislation by reference to such of the main department of possible legislation in reference to the church as were above distinguished for the purpose of convent arrangement, and are alone prominent at this date. They concern (1) the organisation and ritual of the church, (2) the property of the church, of its officials, and of its members, and (3) jurisdiction.

(1.) In respect of the organisation and ritual of the church, the laws of Charlemagne are extremely numerous and precise. Thus (Cap. A.D. 769) priests are to be subject to their bishops, and to give an exact account on the first day of Lent of their ministry, and of the rites they have performed; and to entertain the bishop on his visitations. No priest is to undertake the care of a church without the bishop's assent, nor to pass from one church to another. Priests are not to celebrate mass except in places dedicated to God, or, if upon a journey, in a tent and at a table consecrated by the bishop. The bishops and clergy were specially interdicted from engaging in battle or accompanying the armies, excepting a few bishops with their attending priests selected to perform sacred duties; also from hunting with dogs and keeping hawks and falcons. Every bishop was to visit his diocese (parochia) once a year, and put a step to pagan rites and ceremonies (auguria, phylacteria, incantationes vel omnes superstitias gentium). Bishops were to have due authority over priests and other clerics within their diocese (Cap. A.D. 779), and to be themselves subject to the metropolitans. A bishop was not to receive a cleric attached to another diocese, nor to ordain him to a higher function. The faith and good life of candidates for ordination was to be investigated by the bishop, and fugitive clerics and strangers were not to be received or ordained without "litteræ commendatiæ" and the licence of

Wilfrid (A. D. 709), mentions, on one occasion, an altar, and turning to the king before the kings the lands had granted and the sacerdotal clergy had deserted in my." This seems to imply the Saxon kings with lands the British church.

of Charlemagne, which concentrate reign, that is, from which was reproduced in closely resembling forms countries successively reduced to the condition of Justinian by its and its particularly. Nevertheless Charlemagne not only which the church had made years in internal organisation seem to bespeak the spontaneous reference to such of the possible legislation in reference were above distinguished convenient arrangement, and at this date. They concern the ritual of the church, the church, of its officials, and (3) jurisdiction.

The organisation and rituals of Charlemagne are extremely precise. Thus (Cap. A. D. 779) the king is subject to their bishops, and account on the first day of the year, and of the rites they to entertain the bishop on the priest is to undertake the out the bishop's assent, nor except to another. Priests are chosen in places dedicated to the journey, in a tent and at the bishop. The bishops are generally interdicted from accompanying the armies, except with their attending priests and sacred duties; also from and keeping hawks and dogs, and was to visit his diocese, and put a stop to pagan practices (auguria, phylacteria, magus spurcitas gentium), and authority over priests in their diocese (Cap. A. D. 779) and to receive a cleric unless, nor to ordain him to the faith and good life of the church, and was to be investigated and convicted, or ordained without the assent of the bishop, and the licence of

their own bishop (Cap. A. D. 789). Bishops were precisely directed as to the subjects of their preaching, such as belief in the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, and of the Resurrection, sins for which eternal punishment was due, love of God and one's neighbour, faith, hope, humility, patience, alms, confession, and the like. A number of general directions were given to the clergy as to conduct, such as in respect of swearing in the course of conversation (sed simpliciter cum puritate et veritate omnia decet), entering taverns, getting drunk, or making others so, and preaching the gospel to the people on festival and the Lord's days. Precise regulations are given as to the observance of the Lord's day. No servile work was to be done, or journeys undertaken, except for purposes of warfare, fetching food, and burying the dead. Everyone was to attend church, and the celebration of the mass, and praise God for all the good things He had done on that day. Official public meetings and the public administration of justice were not to take place on that day, except in circumstances of urgent necessity (Cap. A. D. 789, de partibus Saxoniae). The bodies of Christian Saxons were to be buried in the cemeteries of the church, and not in the "tumuli" of the pagans. Children were to be baptized within a year, or a fine was imposed on the person responsible for the neglect. The right of sanctuary was defined very much in the same language as in earlier laws. Homicides and other persons accused of committing crimes punishable with death would not be excused by taking refuge in a church, and no food must be given them there (Cap. A. D. 779). By a later capitulary of A. D. 789 none were to be violently expelled from a sanctuary, but they were to remain till a formal judicial inquiry could take place (dum plectum praesentetur); see also Cap. A. D. 803, 3. Breaking into a church was an offence punishable with death. A synod was to meet twice a year (Cap. A. D. 806). A province was never to be divided between two metropolitans. Lastly (Cap. A. D. 803), reading in church was to be distinct (lectiones in ecclesia distincte legantur).

(2.) As to the property of the church, a considerable part of Charlemagne's laws is concerned with regulating the right to tithes. The general principle of paying tithes is laid down in the capitulary of A. D. 789 ("De partibus Saxoniae"), that every one, noble as well as free born, should give the tenth part of his substance and his labour to the church and the priests." The principle is affirmed over and over again, and applied in detail to various kinds of property. The history of this part of Charlemagne's legislation is passed succinctly in review by Professor Brewer in an Appendix to his *Endowment and Establishment of the Church of England*, Part I., to which it is sufficient for the present purpose to refer. Bishops and abbots were cautioned as to bestowing a diligent custody on the treasures of the churches, lest by treachery or negligence any gems, vases, or other treasures be lost (Cap. A. D. 806, 3). It was specially provided (Cap. A. D. 804, 3) that if any one wishes to build a church on his own property, he must first have the bishop's assent and licence, and that the ancient tithes payable to the older churches must not be diverted to the new one.

(3.) With respect to jurisdiction no judge was

to punish a priest, deacon, or cleric, "without the consenting knowledge of the pontifex," under pain of separation from the church till he confesses and amends. Bishops were to administer justice to the clergy in their dioceses; and obey an abbot, priest, deacon, sub-deacon, does not if they the bishop, the metropolitan must interpose, and if he cannot settle the matter, the parties must come to the king. "cum literis metropolitani" (Cap. A. D. 794). Priests accused of crimes were to be tried at a synod in accordance with a capitulary of pope Innocent's; if they were convicted, they were to be removed from the sacerdotal office. By Cap. A. D. 812, if bishops and abbots could not settle their disputes they must come before the king himself. All other officials were warned against presuming to try such high matters without special authorisation from the king. The decrees of the councils of Nicaea, Chalcedon, Antioch, and Sardica were incorporated in the capitulation. From the preface to some of the capitularies, it seems that the laws were in fact passed as much by the authority of the church as by that of the state. Thus the capitulary of A. D. 779 opens "Anno feliciter undecimo, &c. qualiter congregatis in unum synodaliter concilio facto capitulare episcopis abbatibus virisque iustitribus comitibus una cum Domino nostro se," &c. [See CAPITULARY.]

III. The laws made by the church itself, whether in pursuance of an inherent legislative faculty it holds itself to possess, or as a subordinate legislature dependent on the state, must be considered under the heads of (1) the modes by which the law has at different periods been made, and (2) the modes by which it has been enforced. (1.) It will have been seen from the preceding review to what an extent at different periods and from opposite causes, such as the complete preponderance of the state over the church at one period and the intimate implication of the state with the church at another, the same authority which enacted laws for the state also prescribed the most minute regulations for the internal order of the church, and often at the same moment and in the same document. So true is this, that in the case of some of the capitularies of Charlemagne, and of the legislative acts of the early Saxon kings in England, it is hard to say whether the law-making authority was a church synod or the king surrounded by his ordinary councillors, the bishops, abbots, and chief secular officials in the kingdom. Nevertheless, the church claimed from the earliest times the right of independent legislation, though the limits of this right became soon contested in practice through the interposition of the Eastern emperors, and in theory also as soon as the church of Rome assumed for itself the claim of being the chief, or even the exclusive organ of church legislation (see COUNCIL, I. 473; CANON LAW, I. 265; DECRETAL, I. 539), and thereby precipitated the inevitable controversy with the secular authority in different countries.

(2.) The modes by which the church has been enabled, or has attempted, to make her laws effective by applying suitable penalties for their infraction have always been in fact largely subject to the explicit or implied control of the state, and the more so as the church and the state became co-extensive. Nevertheless, the church has also succeeded in herself punish-

ing her own members and officers for breaches of her laws, and, in the times of her greatest strength, has done so even when the offender, as in the case of Theodosius the Great, was a crowned head. Apart from excommunication, partial or total, temporary or permanent, and public reproof or degradation of office, the most common forms that ecclesiastical penalties gradually took was the enforcement of some painful austerity or discipline [PENITENCE], subsequently commuted for, or admitting of, a regular substitute in a fine. [FINES, I. 671.] It is well-known by what gradual but certain steps this notion of accepting pecuniary compensation for some of the lighter offences gradually led to the principle of admitting for all but a very few "mortal" sins a like satisfaction; and then to the whole system of INDULGENCES [I. 834] by which ecclesiastical penalties were mitigated. An examination of the older Saxon law and the Riparian law, already alluded to, will go far to explain how the notion of pecuniary compensation for sins so easily took root in the Western church. It was, in fact, the common form of all the civic legislation in the German kingdoms which was not directly borrowed from Rome. It has, however, been observed that Tertullian's education as a lawyer led him in his treatise *De Poenitentia* (c. 19), to regard the ecclesiastical fine exacted for "homicidium, idololatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia et fornicatio," rather as a "satisfactio" or temporary security for future good conduct than as a penalty for past transgressions. Probably both ideas coalesced in the late church law relative to penance.

The question naturally suggests itself how far, before the death of Charlemagne, the church was in a position to rely upon the co-operation of the state in enforcing her own laws and the procedure of her own courts; for instance, by imparting to a sentence of deprivation its appropriate civil consequences. The truth was that, from the times of the earlier Christian emperors, the jurisdiction of the bishops, in respect of certain matters and persons, was placed upon exactly the same level as the jurisdiction of a civil court (see especially the law of Honorius and Theodosius II., A.D. 408, giving the force of a civil judgment to the sentence of a bishop on a voluntary reference to his arbitration—a law often imputed to Constantine,—and Justinian's 134th Novell already cited). Again, under the municipal government of the empire, in all the later stages of its history, the bishop was intimately concerned in civic administration of the most secular kind in all the chief towns and especially at Rome (see 1 *Cod. Jus. iv.*, and Guizot's *Civilisation in Europe*, Lect. ii. and Gibbon in reference to Gregory I. chap. xlv.). Lastly, Charlemagne, in constituting his itinerant magistracies, combined in one commission a Comes and a bishop, "ut uterque pleniter suum ministerium peragere possint" (Cap. A.D. 803, chap. iv.). It thus resulted that all the machinery was constantly at hand for enforcing the judgment of the bishop in strictly ecclesiastical matters in the same way as the judgment of a secular court.

But, furthermore, it is to be borne in mind that the canons by which ecclesiastical penalties were imposed were, up to the death of Charle-

magne, scarcely distinguishable from the ordinary laws of the empire. The legislative body was, as often as not, constituted in exactly the same way whether engaged in secular or religious legislation, and frequently discharged both classes of business at the same sitting. Both Justinian and Charlemagne expressly incorporated among the published laws of the realm the canons of four general councils (not the same ones); an incessant control and supervision is exercised by the civil ruler over the sitting of councils, and provision is made for the time being fairly distributed between secular and religious business. Thus king Sigibert, in addressing Desiderius, the bishop of Cahors (A.D. 650), directs that no "synodale concilium" be held in his kingdom without his knowledge. The seventeenth council of Toledo in A.D. 694 decreed that in the first three days of every such assembly ecclesiastical affairs should be debated, and then—but not till then—the affairs of the state; and Charlemagne (Cap. A.D. 811, chap. iv.) directs that the abbats, bishops, and counts are to be distributed into different chambers with a view to laymen not interfering with ecclesiastical affairs. Again, while it is probable enough that during the period here concerned excommunication was felt to be a heavier punishment than any ordinary punishment known to the secular laws, and therefore needed no supplement from these, there are signal instances on record of specific legislation for the purpose of moderating or increasing the effect of an ecclesiastical sentence. Thus, in A.D. 595, Childebert makes a decree against those who were excommunicated for murder, still continue rosinate. Pepin (Cap. A.D. 755) makes a similar decree: "Si aliquis ista omnia contemserit et episcopus emendare minime poterit regis judicio exilio condemnetur;" and, lastly, Charlemagne, in redressing a curious abuse which followed from persons excommunicated for murder wandering about the country and presenting scandalous exhibitions of distress, decrees (A.D. 789) "nec isti nudi cum ferro sinantur vagari qui dicunt se data sibi poenitentia ire vagantes. Mellius videtur ut si aliquid inconsumetum et capitale crimen commiserint in loco permanent laborantes et servientes et poenitentiam agentes secundum quod sibi canonice impositum est."

It may be said, generally, that up to the epoch at which the legal organisation of the church was distinct and complete enough to enable the pope to contend on equal terms with the emperor, either the necessities for secular aid in support of ecclesiastical discipline were too rare to attract general attention, or such general harmony of spirit and such a use of common judicial machinery prevailed, as to disguise the real character and amount of the secular interference, or the extreme ecclesiastical penalties were in practice more potent than any civil ones, and therefore stood in no need of support from these.

(See Phillips, *Kirchenrecht*; Walter, *Kirchenrecht*; Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechtes*; Hebenstreit, *Historia Jurisdictionis Ecclesiastice*; Biener, *de Collectionibus Canonum Ecclesie Græcæ*; Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*; Gengler, *Germanische Denkmäler*; Hadan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical*

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Codex Theodosianus; *Corpus Juris Civilis*.)

LAWSUITS. [LITIGATION.]

LAWYEES. The attitude of the church
towards lawyers, as towards all persons holding
anything like official positions, was, during the
era of persecutions, that of suspicion and almost
dislike. In some churches they could not be
ordained; for we find in a letter of pope In-
nocent I. (A.D. 402-417) (*Ep.* 23, *ad Cono.*
Thet. c. 2) that he complained of the custom
existing in the Spanish church of admitting
such to ordination, and proposed "that no
one should be admitted to the clerical order
who had pleaded causes after he was baptiz-
ed." That this represents the practice of the
Roman church there can be little doubt, nor
that the rule was soon extended over the
French and Spanish churches. And he orders
that for the future such persons, if ordained,
should be deposed, together with those who
ordained them: "ut quicunque tales ordinati
fuerint, cum ordinatoribus suis deponantur." We
find the council of Sardica (A.D. 347) enacting in
its thirteenth canon that a lawyer (*σχολαστικὸς*
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς) might proceed through the
grades of reader, deacon, and priest, even to the
episcopate, if he were a suitable man. But as
Du Pin observes (*Cont.* iv. p. 261), the Sardican
canons were never received by the whole church,
nor embodied in the collection authorized by the
council of Chalcedon.

We find that such legal assistance as was
required by a church or diocese was in the East
often, perhaps usually, rendered by a clergyman.
The record of the council of Ephesus shews us
Asphalius, a presbyter of Antioch, managing
the law business (*τὰ πράγματα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκ-*
κλησίας) of that church. Similarly John, who
appears in the account of the Constantinopolitan
council held under Flavian A.D. 448), and eccle-
siastical history affords many other instances.

And in the course of another hundred years,
this state of things had so far developed that it
was necessary for Justinian to prohibit (*Novell.*
cxviii. c. 6) the clergy from practising in the
courts, or discharging the official function of
bail or surety: "Sed neque procuratorem litis,
aut fidejussorem pro talibus causis episcopum,
aut alium clericum, cujuslibet gradus, aut mon-
asterii sinium;" and the reason assigned is
that they would be thereby hindered in their
sacred ministry. In earlier time, the apostolic
canon (can. 6) had briefly forbidden bishop,
priest, or deacon, to undertake any secular cares,
on pain of deposition. The Theodosian code has
many provisions against the oppressions practised
by those holding legal offices; excessive and
illegal exactions, maintenance for themselves
while on their circuits, and such like, which do
not immediately concern us here.

The quotation given above from the *Novellæ*
of Justinian shews that a need was actually ex-
perienced by churches and religious houses for
the aid of men learned in the law in the manage-
ment of their property and the defence of suits
at law. The need grew with the growth of

ecclesiastical possessions; and a tendency shewed
itself among the clergy and monasteries even
in the West, to find the men required out of the
members of their own body, in spite of the
canonical prohibitions, which seem to have been
in a great degree arbitrary from the first, or
which at best rested on a tradition descending
from the period of the persecutions. Pope Ge-
lasius (492-496) admitted these officers to the
minor orders: "Continuo Lector, aut Notarius,
aut certe Defensor ecclesie, post tres menses
existat Acolythus." The formula with which
the defensores were admitted is curious: "Si nulli
clericiens alterius civitatis, nec in nullo canonum
obviat statuta, officium Ecclesie Defensorum
recipias," &c. We may, perhaps, conclude from
a letter of pope Gregory the Great (590-604)
that the notaries of the church of Rome were
usually subdeacons (*lib.* vii. *Ep.* 17).

But by the time we come to the latter part
of the 7th century, we find that these legal
offices were for the most part in the hands of
laymen, at all events in Gaul. The second
bidding lawyers to prosecute suits on the Lord's
Day, under pain of being disbursed (*can.* 1).
And we find among the Decretals of pope Euge-
nius II. (A.D. 824) one forbidding "advocati,"
evidently laymen, to usurp or seize by force any
recompense beyond what they were entitled to
by ancient right and custom. [S. J. E.]

LAY BAPTISM. [BAPTISM, § 80, I. 167;
LITURGY, § 3.]

LAY COMMUNION. Offences which in
a layman were punished by ἀφορισμός, segrega-
tion or suspension of the right to communicate,
were in the clergy punished by reduction to
"lay communion." That is to say, they were
reduced to the condition of laymen, deprived of
office, and forbidden to exercise their clerical
functions. When a clerk was said to be denied
lay communion, it meant that he was excommuni-
cated as well as deprived. As two erroneous
opinions have been maintained respecting lay
communion, one that it meant communion in
one kind, the other that it meant communion in
the sacrament with the laity, i.e. without the bema
or the chancel, it is desirable to illustrate the
subject by an ample chain of testimony. The
15th Apostolical canon orders that any clergy-
man staying in another diocese against the will
of his own bishop, shall not be allowed to cele-
brate, "but may nevertheless communicate there
as a layman." By the 62nd, a clerk who had
denied Christ, or his own office, in a time of per-
secution, was "after penance to be received as a
layman." Cornelius of Rome writing to Fabius
of Antioch, about 251, says of one of the bishops
who had consecrated Novatian, but afterwards
confessed his fault, "All the people present en-
treatng for him, we communicated with him as
a layman" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* v. 43). When
says, "He was received into lay communion,"
that phrase having sprung up in the interval,
Cyprian, writing in 252, says of Trophimus, who
is supposed to be the bishop mentioned by Cor-
nelius, "He was so admitted that he communi-
cates as a layman" (*Epist.* 55 *ad Anton.*). Two
years later the same father says that Basilides,

another offending bishop, on his repentance, "thought himself sufficiently happy, if it were granted him to communicate even as a layman" (*Ep. ad Felicem, &c.*). Again, in a letter to Stephen of Rome, A.D. 256, St. Cyprion declares that it had long been settled at Carthage "by consent and common authority" that presbyters and deacons, who had fallen into heresy or schism, should "on their return be received on this condition, that they should communicate as laymen" (*Epist. 72 ad Steph.*). There is extant an account of a council held in that city in the same year, at which a bishop delivered it as his opinion, that "all schismatics and heretics who had turned to the church should be rebaptized, but that those who seemed to have been ordained should also be received among the laity" (sent. 4). The council of Elvira, A.D. 305, orders that a deacon who had committed a great crime before ordination, and did not come forward as his own accuser, should be five years in penance, and then "receive lay communion" (can. 76). This is the earliest instance of the use of that expression. At the council convened at Cologne to consider the case of the Arian bishop of that city, one of the bishops present expressed himself thus: "Because Euphrates denies that Christ is God, I agree that he cannot be a bishop, who ought not to receive even lay communion" (*Synod. Agripp.* sent. 2). This council is assigned with some doubt to the year 346. We may observe that in the last two instances there is a probable reference to the Eucharist, the reception of which was the chief privilege and sign of communion in the other sense. In 347 the council of Sardica decreed that if two bishops whom it deposed "asked for lay communion, it should not be denied them" (can. 19). St. Athanasius, writing in 349 or the year following, says that it was "notorious, and a thing beyond doubt with every one, that Colluthus (who had affected the title and performed the acts of a bishop) had died a presbyter, and that every ordination by him had been annulled, and all ordained by him in the schism had been made laymen, and so came to synaxis" (*Apol. contra Arianos*). St. Basil A.D. 370: "Those clerks who sin a sin unto death are deposed from their order, but not kept from the communion of laymen. For thou shalt not punish the same offence twice" (*ad Amphilocho*, c. 32). Siricius of Rome, A.D. 385: "Let any clerk who shall have married either a widow, or at all events a second wife, be at once stripped of every privilege of ecclesiastical dignity, lay communion only being conceded to him" (*Epist. ad Himer.* c. 11). At a general African council assembled at Hippo in 393, it was decreed that the Donatist clergy should on their return to the church be "received into the number of the laity" (can. 41). The council of Toledo, A.D. 400 (can. 4) decreed that a subdeacon who was deposed for the third time should, after suffering penance, communicate for two years, "being excluded by penance, communicate among laymen." A Roman council under Felix, A.D. 487, decreed that those who had been rebaptized among heretics "shall be proper that they lie under penance (should they repent) to the last day of their life; and that they be not on any account present at the prayers, not of the faithful only, but even of the catechumens, to whom lay communion only is to be restored at

their death" (can. 2). The council of Agde, in France, A.D. 506, of clergymen guilty of crime: "deposed from the honour of office let such an one be thrust into a monastery, and there let him receive lay communion only as long as he lives" (can. 50). The council of Lerida, in Spain, A.D. 524, of clergymen who, after professing repentance, had fallen again into gross sin: "Let them not only be deprived of the dignity of office, but not even receive the holy communion, except when dying" (can. 5). Here the sacrament is distinctly meant, by the reception of which they might have been consigned to "lay communion" in its true and proper sense. The council of Orleans, A.D. 538, orders that any clerk, from a subdeacon upwards, who shall cohabit with his wife, be "deposed from office according to the decrees of former canons, and be content with lay communion" (can. 2). By two other canons of this council, the offenders are to be reduced to lay communion, but that phrase is not employed. In one case, "deposed from office, communion being granted to him, he is to be thrust into a monastery for the whole period of his life" (can. 7); in the other, "communion being granted to him, he is to be degraded from his order" (can. 26). That "lay communion" was used as a punishment to the end of our period and later appears from the following chapter out of the 6th book of the *Captivities of the French Kings* collected by Benedict the deacon, A.D. 845: "If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or subdeacon shall go to the war, and put on warlike arms for fighting, let him be deposed from every office, so that he have not even lay communion" (c. xl. Comp. *Cronozes*, Isaac Episc. Lingon. tit. xl. c. x.).

From the foregoing extracts it will be inferred that the expression "lay communion" had generally no immediate reference to the reception of the Eucharist. It merely denoted the whole position of a layman in full communion with the church. But as that sacrament was only given to persons in full communion with the church, it came to the same thing whether a deposed clerk were said to be allowed lay communion, or to receive the sacrament of the holy communion. One who passed out of penance into lay communion would of course be formally absolved by the bishop, before he could receive the sacrament; but there is no reason to believe that any form of admission was generally employed when a disqualified clerk passed, without performing penance, into the position of a lay communicant. There appears, however, to have been one exception in the church of Rome, if we may trust to an Epistle ascribed to Innocent I., about 404, but believed on good grounds to be spurious: "It is the law of our church to grant lay communion only to those who come over from the heretics (who however have been baptized among them) by the imposition of hands" (*Ep. ad Epist. Maced.* c. 4).

A criminous clerk fell into lay communion by the application of a principle laid down by many councils and writers; viz. that one who had been under public penance was incapable of orders. Thus St. Augustine: "It hath been most strictly decreed that after penance performed for crime liable to condemnation no one should be a clergyman" (*Epist.* 185, *ad Bonif.* c. x. § 45). [See PENITENCE; ORDERS, HOLY.]

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LAY COMMUNION

Heresies returning to the church were always sub- jected to this discipline. St. Augustine represents the Donatists who thus: "If, say they, it of the church, and against the church, that we may be capable of salvation, how is it that we remain clerics or even bishops after that pen- nce?" (*Ord.* § 44). Replying to this, St. Augus- good in itself for the church, but was permitted in order to end a worse evil, the continuance of the schism. When the Nicene council, A.D. 325, admitted the Novatian clergy to communion, it imposed no penance, and even allowed them to retain their rank and exercise their functions, if they live in places where there was room for it (can. 8). When Cornelius was restored, he received the Novatian presbyter Maximus to com- munion, he also permitted him to continue in his office (*Epist.* 49, *inter Epp. Cyp.*).

II. There was another punishment for offend- ing clerks, of which we read in a few canons under the name of *communio peregrina*, the communion of travellers, or, as it has been less properly rendered, of strangers. The 3rd canon of Nice, A.D. 325, directs that a schismatical bishop shall on his return to the church either be "encouraged by the title of chorepiscopus, as the 8th canon of Nicea speaks, or by peregrine communion, as they say." The council of Agde orders that contumacious and neglectful clerks shall have "peregrine communion assigned to them, but so that when penance shall have corrected them, they may be again enrolled and reassume their order and dignity" (can. 2). Here we observe in passing that the penitential of which this canon speaks must be repentance or private penance; because, as we have seen, no one could exercise any clerical function who had ever been subject to public penance. The same council says: "If any clerk shall have stolen from a church, let peregrine communion be assigned to him" (can. 5). The 16th canon of Lerida directs that a clerk who, on the death of his bishop, had stolen anything from his house, or fraudulently concealed anything, shall be condemned with the longer anathema, as guilty of sacrilege, and that the communion of trav- ellers be hardly granted to him." The 2nd and 5th canons of Agde appear in the code of Charlemagne and his successors compiled by Angustinus and Benedict in the 8th century (*Cypt. Rep. Franc.* i. 1075, 1094, 1225).

Peregrine communion has been supposed by several writers to be identical with lay commu- nion. That they differed, and how, will appear from the following considerations. (1) There travellers having no more to do with lay com- munion than residents. (2) The council of Agde in one canon (50) imposes lay communion on clerks guilty of capital offences, forgery, and false witness; while others inflict peregrine communion on contumacy (c. 2) and theft from a church (c. 5). From this we infer that the latter penalty was something less severe than the former. (3) Again, the 2nd canon of Agde shows that a clerk refused to peregrine commu- nion might be restored; whereas we have seen that lay communion was for life. (4) The same suggests the nature of the punishment. It appears to intimate that the clerk on whom it

LAZARUS

was inflicted was placed in the position of a traveller who came to a strange church without bringing letters of communion. [See KOISKO- STRON.] Such a visitor was admissible to the less sacred offices of religion, but not permitted to receive the Eucharist until a letter, vouching for him, arrived from his own bishop, vouching we see that peregrine communion involved absten- tion from the sacrament for a time, which lay communion did not. [W. E. S.]

LAY ELDERS. [Eldena.]

LAZARUS (1). In Ethiopia his first death is commemorated March 14, his resurrection March 16, his second rest, in Cyprus, of which he was bishop, May 22. From Citium in Cyprus his relics were brought to Constantinople, Oct. 17, A.D. 890, by Leo the Wise (Tillem. ii. 36). Before that time he had no fixed day among the Greeks, unless he be meant by Lycarion, Feb. 8 (*Menol. Lucil.*), but was celebrated on the vigil of Palm Sunday (Tillem. ii. 37). At Rome in the 7th century he was commemorated with Martha only, Dec. 17—a custom seemingly taken from their convent near Bethany (*Mart. Rom.*; Usuard).

(2) Bishop of Milan, † Feb. 11, A.D. 449, (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 521).

(3) The name occurs in the *Mart. Hieron.* April 12.

(4) Oct. 18. (*Cal. Ethiop.*)

(5) With Thalassius, Dec. 6. (*Cal. Ethiop.*) [E. B. B.]

LAZARUS (IN ART). The Resurrection of Lazarus is naturally a subject very frequently represented in Christian Art. We find it in catacombs, churches, and cemeteries, in paintings, sculptures, and mosaics, on simple slabs, and on sarcophagi! (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. tab. 97). In some cases, where no such painting, mosaic, and sculpture exists, either outside or inside the tomb we find small statues of Lazarus, in metal or ivory, affixed to the exterior. In early representations of this great event, Lazarus appears as a small manmy-like figure swathed in bandages, the head is bound with a napkin, which surrounds the face, leaving it uncovered (Buonarrotti, *Vet.* tab. vii. 1). The Lord stands before this figure, which is placed upright at the entrance to a small temple, and in most instances He touches it with a rod. Sometimes He extends His right hand, whilst in the left He holds a half-opened volume (Bottari, tab. xxviii.-xlii. etc.). In some examples the right hand is free, and raised in the act of benediction according to the Latin form (Arianghi, ii. 121), sometimes His hand is laid upon the head of Lazarus (*ib.* ii. 181). An example in the cem- etery of Callixtus (*id.* i. 565) shows us an exact representation of a chrysis instead of the swathed figure; possibly allusion to the resur- rection may be here intended. On some Gal- lican sarcophagi, Lazarus appears extended on the ground, no tomb being visible, as in an example in the "Musée Lapidaire" of Lyons (No. 764; Millin, *Midi de la France*, Atlas, pl. lxxv.). On glass cups, where the greater portion of the design is, as usual, in gold, the graveclothes are in silver (Buonarrotti, vii. 2; Perret, iv. pl. xxxii. 97). Disregarding the sacred text, we find some artists giving fold- ing-doors to the tomb of Lazarus (Buonarrotti, vii.

3), though it was in fact closed with a stone. Sometimes it is hewn out of the natural rock, without any attempt at architecture (Ariughi, ii. 331), and shrubs are placed upon the two steps at the entrance.

Some artists, who probably had but a slight acquaintance with Jewish customs, have placed the body of Lazarus in a sarcophagus (Bottari, tab. lxxix.), adorned with lions' heads, and even supported by sphinxes, subjects of very rare occurrence in early Christian Art (*ib.* tab. cxcviii.). The diminutive, even infantine, proportions of the body of Lazarus, as represented by ancient artists, cannot fail to excite attention. It may be that the beginning of a new life is thus symbolized; but more probably this is only an instance of a custom frequent in other representations of the Lord's miracles, of making the object of the miracle small in comparison with the Lord Himself [BLIND, HEALING OF, I. 241]. A curious fresco in the cemetery of Rennes (Ariughi, ii. 329), shows the swathed figure standing on the flat without any support, and without the usual temple. In paintings and on glass [GLASS, I. 730], the two essential figures—the Lord and Lazarus—are alone represented. A fragment of a mosaic given by Marchi (*Monum.* tab. xlvii.) furnishes perhaps the only exception to this rule. In this, a female figure, presumably one of the sisters of Lazarus, kneels at the feet of the Lord, and extends her hands towards him.



LAZARUS. From Martigny.

This is of much more frequent occurrence in the bas-reliefs of sarcophagi. These are of more recent date, and always complete the scene with the figures of Martha and Mary (Ariughi, i. 335), or at least the latter, prostrate or kneeling, at the feet of the Saviour (*ib.* i. 323, etc.), or sometimes devoutly kissing his hand (*ib.* i. 423). A curious sepulchral stone, unfortunately broken, shows two hands behind the Lord, all that remains of a figure, probably that of Mary, which formerly stood there (Perret, iv. 13). Sometimes the scene is completed and enlarged by the figures of two or more disciples, towards whom the Lord turns as if to draw their attention to the miracle (Ariughi, i. 427).

The Christian artists of these early times frequently connect Old and New Testament subjects, between which any real or fancied analogy is traceable. Thus, in many instances, particularly on sarcophagi, we have Moses striking the rock, introduced as a pendant to the resurrection of Lazarus. We even find the two subjects united, as in the fresco of an arcossolium given by Ariughi (ii. 123). In another fresco in the cemetery of Rennes, the figures of the Lord and Moses are nearly identical in dress, in attitude, and even in countenance (*ib.* 329). Even on simple sepulchral slabs we find the two subjects associated in a similar manner (Perret, v. pl. lxiii. 29).

The tomb of Lazarus was guarded with religious care by the faithful, and visited by them with the other sacred and memorable places in Palestine (Jerome, *Eyrist.* ii.). We learn from Jerome also (*De Loc. Heb.* s. v. *Bethania*) that a church was built upon the site. This is also mentioned by Bede, but it seems certain that there was no church there in the time of Constantine, as the itinerary of Jerusalem made in that emperor's reign contains no allusion to it. (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* s. r.) [C.]

LEA (1) Widow, friend of Jerome † at Bethlehem, March '2 (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 381).

(2) Martyr in Africa, Sept. 28 (*Mart. H. r.* Florentini). [E. B. B.]

LEACUS, martyr at Nicomedia, Jan. 27 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.), in Africa, *Mart. Gallon.* [E. B. B.]

LEANDER. Bishop of Seville, and converter of Goths from Arianism under Recared, commemorated Feb. 27, Ado (Usuard). His name is added, without specification, in the *Hieronymus Mart.* Also on Feb. 28 (D'Ach. *Spicileg.* iv. 630). [E. B. B.]

LECERUS, deacon at Antioch, Jan. 15 (*Mart. Hieron.* D'Ach.). [E. B. B.]

LECTERN (*lectorium, lectoria*). A standing desk in a church, from which certain portions of service were read. It appears to have been of later introduction than the Ambo [AMBO], and to have differed from that by being placed in the centre of the choir instead of at the side. *Lectoria* are very frequently mentioned in the "litter pontificalis" of Anastasius among the gifts made by the popes to the basilicns. They are described as being of large size, often made of, or coated with, the precious metals, and richly moulded and embossed. They were usually provided with candelabra (*cerostati*) standing on either side, lighted on Sundays and festivals (Anastas. pp. 397, 419, 546). Leo III. (A.D. 795, 816) gave a lectern "of purest silver of wondrous size" with candelabra to St. Peter's (Anastas. p. 399). Leo IV. (A.D. 847-855) also gave to the same basilica one of silver, chased, standing on four feet, surmounted by a lion's head, with four candelabra plated with silver (*ib.* 552). St. Eligius is stated to have plated a lectern with gold (Audoenus, *Vit. S. Elig.* apud Duange). Hierulphus (*apud Duange*) speaks also of lectoria constructed of marble, silver and gold.

The cloth that covered a lectern was termed *lectorinus*. (*Ann. l. Medivan.* apud Muratori, tom. xvi. col. 810.) [E. V.]

artists of these early times from Old and New Testament subjects, any real or fancied analogy is, in many instances, participating. We have Moses striking the rock as a pendant to the resurrection. We even find the two subjects in a fresco of an arcosolium given (123). In another fresco in the pines, the figures of the Lord and his disciples are, in dress, in attitude, and in countenance (*ib.* 329). Even on the slabs we find the two subjects in similar manner (Perret, v. p.

Lazarus was guarded with religious faithfulness, and visited by them in sacred and memorable places in the time, *Epist. ii.*). We learn from *De Loc. Heb.* s. 7. (*Beniano*) was built upon the site. This is by Bele, but it seems certain no church there in the time of the itinerary of Jerusalem made in the reign contains no allusion to the *Dict. des Antiq. Chret.* s. v.)

[C.]

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[E. B. B.]

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[E. B. B.]

(*lectorium, lectoria*). A standing lectern, from which certain portions of the Scriptures are read. It appears to have been of wood, and from that by being placed in the choir instead of at the side. *Lectionarium* mentioned in the "liber Anastasius among the gifts made to the basilicas. They are described of various size, often made of, or coated with, various metals, and richly moulded. They were usually provided with a *tabula* standing on either side.

Leo III. (A.D. 795, 816) gave a silver lectern of wondrous size to St. Peter's (Anastas. p. 399). Leo IV. (817-855) also gave to the same silver, chased, standing on four feet by a lion's head, with four lions on silver (*ib.* 552). St. Basil is said to have plated a lectern with silver, *Vid. S. Elij. apud* Ducauge, *ib.* 17-855) also speaks of a lectern of marble, silver and gold. A lectern covered in leather was termed *lecternum*. *Mediolan. apud* Muratori, (0.)

[E. V.]

LECTICARIUS. The name given in Justinian's *Novella* 43 (Pref.) to the members of a guild for interring the dead, from their carrying the *lectica* or bier. See *COMIATAE, DECANUS* (1.)

[C.]

LECTION (*lectio; ἀνάγνωσις; Lectio; Eng. Lesson*). The words *ἀνάγνωσις* and *Lectio* may be taken in a wider sense to include all readings which formed part of Divine Service. [EPISTOLAE; GOSPEL; PROPHECY.] The word *Lectio* is here however taken in a narrower sense, to denote the readings of selected passages during the ordinary daily office. Such readings were of three kinds.

1. Passages of Holy Scripture.
2. Passages from comments or homilies of the Fathers.

3. Acts of Martyrs or other saints. The readings from Holy Scripture, of which Justin Martyr speaks, were connected with the administration of the Eucharist, and are therefore to be regarded rather as corresponding to the Epistle, Gospel, and Prophecy of later times, than to the lectures with which we are now concerned. It is not until a later date that we find distinct indications of the mingling of lectures with Psalms, as in the Hour-Offices of the present day.

There are in the Eastern Daily Offices no lectures from Scripture. The scheme of service given in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 57-62) contains none, and even to this day the ordinary Greek offices are entirely devoid of them. In the morning office on Sundays and Festivals the Gospel is read. That lectures from Scripture were in use in the province or district represented at the council of Laodicea, in the fourth century, we have distinct evidence in the canon quoted below, though ultimately another system prevailed in the East generally. This system was that of the intermixture of Orders with psalms; and Archdeacon Freeman regards these as the equivalents of the Western lectures, which, with their long responsories, came to be in fact, "a long and elaborate piece of music interrupted at intervals by a very brief recitative out of Holy Scripture" (*De iure Sacrificii*, i. 70, 125, 345). We may perhaps regard this absence of lectures from the Eastern offices as an indication of their connection with the synagogue, where Moses appears to have been read "every Sabbath day" only.

The council of Laodicea, about A.D. 360, enjoined (c. 17) that in the assemblies for worship (*συναγωγαι*) the psalms should not be said in continuous series, but that between each psalm there should be a lecture (*ἀνάγνωσις*); and this only from Canonical Scripture [CANONICAL BOOKS, i. 279]. At a somewhat later date, John Cassian tells us (*De Coenob. Inst.* ii. 4) that throughout all Egypt the custom was to divide the psalms into groups of twelve; after the saying of each twelve there followed two lectures, of the Old and the New Testament. This very ancient custom is observed (he says) the more religiously in all the monasteries of that district, because it was reputed to be no invention of man, but to have been brought from heaven by an angel. The third council of Carthage (c. 47) forbade anything but canonical Scripture to be read in churches. St. Augustine also (*Epist.* 64. c. 3) speaks of the danger of

reading in the church other writings than those contained in the canon received by the church. Isidore of Seville (*Lequit.* c. 7) says that in the office the lectures were taken generally from the Old and New Testament, but on Saturdays and Sundays from the New only.

The Rule of Caesarius *ad Monachos* (c. 20) prescribes that in vigils from the month of October to Easter there should be two Nocturns and three "Missae" [i.e. lectures, whether from the Bible or from Passions]; also (c. 25) that on every Sabbath, every Lord's day, and every Festival, there should be twelve psalms, and every Festival, and three lectures; one from the Prophets, one from the Apostle, and a third from the Gospel. The Rule of Aurelian (Migne, *Patrol.* vol. 68, p. 304) orders in the nocturns on ordinary days two lectures of the Apostle or the Prophets, and Capitulum in Paschal nocturns three, from the Acts, the Apocalypse, and the Gospels. It also (c. 14) enjoins that the ordinary course of the lectures be interrupted and proper lectures substituted, on festivals.

St. Benedict's Rule (c. 9) prescribes that in the winter half of the year, when the long nights permitted prolonged nocturns, after the saying of six psalms and the abbat's benediction, while all sat on benches there should be read in turns by the brothers from the book on the lectern three lectures, with a responsory at the end of each, the last responsory followed by a *Gloria*. These lectures are to be not only from the Old and New Testament, but also from the explications of Scripture by orthodox doctors and Catholic Fathers of the highest repute (*nominatissimis*). After these three lectures come the remaining six psalms, with *Alleluia*; then the lecture of the Apostle (i.e. the Capitulum) said by heart, the verse and the *Kyrie Eleison*. Who are to be reckoned "nominatissimi doctores" is a matter of some doubt; some only reckon Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory to belong to this class; others add such writers as Basil, Hilary, John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Bede. See the note on c. 9 in the *Regula Commentata* (Migne, *Patrol.* vol. 66, p. 272).

We learn from the *Miracu* a *S. Stephanii* (ii. 2; in Martene, iv. v. 2) that a letter of bishop Severus was read after the canonical lectures. And it appears from a letter of Gregory the Great (*Epist.* x. 22) that in some cases at least the comments of distinguished doctors were read in his time; for he disapproved the conduct of Marinianus, bishop of Ravenna, who had ordered his (Gregory's) comments on the Book of Job to be read at vigils; "bid him," he writes to John the sub-deacon, "cause comments on the Psalms to be read at vigils, as being especially adapted to promote good dispositions among the seculars; for while I am yet in the flesh, I will not have anything which I may chance to have written published at once to all men." From which it appears that there was no objection to the reading of comments on Scripture in the offices—which, indeed, seems to have been a recognised practice—but only to reading comments of the then living pope.

In the life of St. Stephen the younger, A.D. 767 (Migne, *Patrol. Ser. Grec.* vol. 100, p. 410), we read that the saint while yet a boy, instead of sitting down, as was the custom during the reading of the lectures, stood close to

the chancel rails and listened to the reader, and so learned to repeat what was read, whether a martyrdom, or a life, or a sermon of some pious Father, especially St. John Chrysostom.

The council of Clovesho, A.D. 747 (c. 15, Hadan and Stubbs, iii. 367), forbids the clergy to sing or read in their offices anything not sanctioned by common usage; that is, they are to use only what is sanctioned by Holy Scripture and what the practice of the Roman church permits (tantum quod ex S. Scripturarum auctoritate descendit et quod Romanae Ecclesiae usus permittit). This canon shows that lections were taken not only from Holy Scripture, but from other books sanctioned by the Roman church.

In the lections used in the daily office, which were not wholly scriptural, many defects and errors had been introduced before the eighth century, especially in the Gallican lectionaries. This led Charlemagne, in a *Constitutio de Emendatione Librorum et Officiorum Ecclesiasticorum* of the year 788 (Baluze, *Capitul.* i. 203), to make the following provision for their amendment: "Whereas we have found many of the lections compiled, with however good intent, for use in the nocturnal office, unfit for their purpose, as having no name of an author appended and being full of innumerable blunders; we do not allow in our days inharmonious solecisms to be heard in divine lections in the sacred offices, and have given our mind to bring the same lections into a better way. And we laid the perfecting of that work upon Paul the deacon, one of our household, namely, that carefully going through the sayings of the Catholic Fathers, he might (as it were) gather certain flowers out of their exquisite meads, and weave those which are most profitable into one garland. Who, desiring to yield devoted obedience to our Highness, after reading through the tracts and sermons of divers of the Catholic Fathers and choosing the best, has presented to us in two volumes a series of lections, cleared of errors, suitable for each festival throughout the circle of the year. Of all which pondering the text with our sagacity, we sanction the same volumes with our authority, and deliver over to you, religious readers, to read in the churches of Christ."

That the practice of reading Acts of Martyrs on their festivals had begun before the time of St. Augustine is evident from a sermon of his on St. Stephen (*Sermo* 315, c. 1), in which he lays stress on the fact that the passion of the first martyr was contained in a canonical book, while acts of other martyrs to be recited at their commemorations could scarcely be found at all. And again he says (*Sermo* 273, c. 2), "You heard the questions of the persecutors and the answers of the confessors when the passion of the saints was read." Nor was this a custom peculiar to Africa. Various old monastic rules (e.g. Aurelian *de Ordine Psallendi*, Migne's *Patrol.* tom. 68, p. 396) prove that the reading of lives of the saints or acts of martyrs in the offices was also a custom of the Gallican church. A lectionary of Luxeuil, which Martene believed to be of the seventh or eighth century, contains lections from the acts of SS. Juliana and Basilica. Avitus of Vienne († 523) in a fragment of a homily (*Fr.* vi.; Migne, *Patrol.* 59, p. 297) mentions that the passion of the martyrs of Agaune

was read "according to custom"; and Caesarius of Arles (*Sermo* 300 in Augustine's *Works*, v. v. p. 2319, Migne) speaks of the long readings from passions (passiones proluxae) in the church. Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 286) states that the Passion of Polycarp was publicly read.

In the church of Lyons it seems that none but Scripture lessons were anciently read, even on the vigil of a saint. The bishops who were present at the Collatio Episcoporum before king Gundebald in the year 499 (*D'Achery, Spicilegium*, iii. 304 ff. Paris, 1723), unanimously determined to hold vigil at the tomb of St. Justus, whose festival happened to occur at that time. In this office we find that the lections were wholly from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; no acts of St. Justus were read even in the vigil of his own festival. Nor was the church of Rome by any means ready to admit Acts of Martyrs into the public offices. The decretal of Gelasius I. (*Gratiani Decret.* Dist. xv. c. 3, § 17) states that such acts are, in accordance with ancient custom, not read in the Roman church, out of caution, for in many cases the names of the writers are unknown, and they are sometimes written by infidels or unskillful persons in a manner altogether unworthy of the subject. And even at a comparatively late date Acts of Martyrs seem to have been excluded from the offices in some districts, for Martene (iv. v. 4) states that in many MS. lectionaries of the Cistercian order in Maine, about five hundred years old in his time (i.e. so late as the twelfth century), no lections are found, but passages of Scripture and homilies of the Fathers.

And the same distrust of the numerous acts of martyrs which were current in the church, appears in the sixty-third canon of the Trullan Council, at the end of the seventh century. "We decree," runs the canon, "that Martyrologies falsely composed by enemies of the truth, with the view of dishonouring the martyrs of Christ, and bringing those who hear them into unbelief, should not be published in the churches, but delivered to the fire; and we anathematize those who receive them or give heed to them as true." In the same spirit pope Hadrian writes (*Epist. ad Car. Magn.*): "Lives of the Fathers not resting on authority (sive probabilibus auctoribus) are not read in the church. Those which bear the names of orthodox writers are both received and read. For the canons of the church sanction the reading of the Passions of the Martyrs in the church when their anniversaries are celebrated."

In the time of St. Augustine, if not earlier, the practice had established itself of assigning certain lections to certain days; these, says the saint in the opening of his exposition of the first epistle of St. John, were so fixed in their courses that no others could be read. To the same effect, the first (Mansi's second) council of Braga (circ. A.D. 563), decreed (c. 2) that in the vigils or "missae"^b of festivals, all [the clergy of the province] should read the same and not different lections.

^a The copies of this document vary greatly, and it is difficult to say how much is interpolated.

^b It must be borne in mind that this word was not limited to altar-offices. [MISSA.]

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[Missal.]

It does not appear however, even when certain
lections were assigned to certain days, that their
extent was limited in the same exact manner as
in modern Breviaries; the reader continued to
read the passage of Scripture, or of a Father, or the
Passion, as the case might be, until the chief person
in the choir signed to him to stop. A common
practice in monastic churches was for the pre-
siding brother to clap his hands; in the church of
St. Martin, at Tours, he called out "fac faciem,"
the words which Martene (iv. v. 6) found written at
the end of the lections in an old lectionary.
Charles the Great, when he was present at the
office, used to stop the reader by some kind of
cough or grunt (*sono gutturis*); and in a church
where the emperor was present it was useless to
"get up" a portion beforehand; every one in the
choir had to be prepared to read, if called upon,
any portion of the lections of the day (*De Eccl.*
Curia Car. Mag., quoted by Martene, iv. v.
6). In the Roman church it was an ancient
custom for the deacons to sing the first words of
Tu autem Domine at the end of lections (*Ordo*
Rom. pp. 193 and 174). It was not uncommon
for the end of the lections to be marked before-
hand in the book with a piece of wax, such as
Martene (*u.s.*) says that he has often seen in
ancient lectionaries still adhering to the spot.

As to the extent of each lection it is ordered in
the rule of Aurelian that three or four pages be
read, according as the copy used was written in
larger or smaller characters.

The practice of reading a certain series of
passages in the offices having once grown up, it
was natural that books should be formed contain-
ing the requisite extracts. This took place in
fact at a comparatively early period. Sidonius
Apollinaris (*Epist.* iv. 2) mentions among the
good deeds of Claudian († 470), brother of Ma-
mertas of Vienne, that he drew up a lectionary:

"Hic solemnibus annis paravit
Quae quo tempore lecta convenirent."

Gennadius (*De Scriptis. Eccl.* c. 79) says of
Musaeus, a Gallican writer contemporary with
Claudian, that he extracted from Holy Scripture
the lections for the festivals of the whole year,
with responsories and capitula adapted to the
lections and the season.

The *Liber Pontificalis* (c. 218, p. 1055, Migne)
relates of pope Zacharias († 752) that he placed
in charge of the armarius or librarian of St. Peter's
church at Rome all the codices belonging to his
own house, which are read throughout the year
at matins (qui in circulo anni leguntur ad matu-
tinum). It is, however, not quite clear in this
case whether the books in question were lection-
aries, or whether they were not rather the works
from which lections were taken. The work de-
scribed under INSTRUCTION (l. 862) was a lec-
tionary, though of limited extent.

LECTIONS were generally said not by persons in
major orders, but by sub-deacons or persons in
minor orders. Gregory the Great (*Epist.* iv. 44;
App. n. 5, p. 1334; Migne) laid down on this point
that the saying of Psalms and other lections was to
be performed by sub-deacons, or, in case of neces-
sity, by yet lower orders; a decree which seems to
exclude mere laymen from this office altogether.
To the same effect the second [third] council of
Braga (c. 45) decreed that no one should act as
singer or reader in the choir without regular

ordination to such office (non liceat in pulpito
psallere aut legere nisi qui a presbytero [al.
episcopo] lectores sunt ordinati; compare *Conc.*
Laod. c. 15). The second Council of Nicaea also
(c. 14) censures the practice of young persons,
who had received no imposition of hands from
the bishop, reading on the ambo, whether in
monastic or other churches. The first [second]
Council of Braga (c. 11) ordered that readers
should not perform their office in the church in
their secular dress. [LAITY, II, 914.]

Silence was proclaimed before a lection.
"What trouble is there," says St. Ambrose
(*Enerr. in Ps.* i. c. 9, p. 741), "to obtain
silence in the church when I read?"
And it was usual for the bishop or the principal
person present in choir to give his benediction
and sign to the reader to begin. The reader
coming in with his book, says Gregory of Tours
(*De Mirac. S. Martini*, i. 5), was not allowed to
begin to read until the saint [Ambrose] gave him
permission by a nod. This, however, relates to
an altar-lection.

It is evident from several passages quoted
above that the lections were read on the ambo or
pulpitum, by which we are to understand in
many cases not merely a pulpit or lectern, but
the whole of the raised stage or foot-piece in a
church on which the choir was stationed. The
church of the monastery of Bee had, in Mar-
tee's time (IV. v. 11), at the top of the steps of
the ambo a pulpit for lections.

For the congregation to sit during the reading
of lections was regarded in early times as a con-
cession to infirmity; "when long Passions or
other lessons are read," says Caesarius of Arles
(*Serm.* 300, u.s.), "let those who are unable to
stand, humbly sit in silence, and with attentive
ears listen to what is read." Sitting afterwards
became the usual posture. St. Benedict in his
rule (c. 9) expressly permitted the brothers to
sit during lections; and at a later period (about
1060) Peter Damian (*Opusc.* 39) speaks of sitting
during lections as a universal custom of his
time.

With the reading of lections was connected
from ancient times the use of RESPONSORIES (see
the article).

(Martene, *de Ritibus Antiquis*; Granelas,
Traité de l'Office Divin; Freeman, *Principles of
Divine Service*, vol. i.) [C.]

LECTIONARY.—I. *Proofs of early Use.*—

Those who refer the use of a formal table of
stated lessons taken from Holy Scripture to the
Church of the 3rd century [Vol. I. p. 622] can
plead in favour of their opinion that, before the
close of the 4th century, such a practice was
both universal and regarded as already ancient.
Chrysostom devotes a whole homily to explain
the reason why the Acts of the Apostles are
publicly read throughout the festival season be-
tween Easter-day and Whitsun-day, and else-
where states that the rule of the fathers (*των
πατερων b rduos*) directs that book to be laid
aside after Pentecost. Even such a purely arbi-
trary arrangement as the reading of the book of
Genesis in Lent had become so in venerate in his
time (*ταυτα γαρ ηντι ανεγνωσθη σήμερον*), that
after having gone through the first part of that
book in his discourses at Constantinople in the
Lent of A.D. 400, he defers the remainder until

the season came round again the following year: the offering up of Isaac alone, as Augustine tells us, "ideo in ordine suo, diebus quadragesimae, non recitatur," as being reserved for the services of Holy Week. Chrysostom also advises his hearers to read at home during the week-days such Saturday and Sunday lessons as they knew would be expounded in course on the next Lord's day, and Bingham (*Antiquities*, book xiv. ch. iii. s. 3) adds to these well-known passages others to the same purport gathered from Origen, Augustine, and Ambrose, vouching for the custom (*de more*) of reading Job and Jonah during the Holy Week. Cyril of Jerusalem also (A.D. 348), having to speak of the Ascension, remarks that on the previous day, being a Sunday (*τῆ χθις ἡμέρα κατα τὴν κυριακῆν*), that event had formed the subject of the appointed lesson (*ἐν τῇ συνάξει τῆς τῶν ἀναγασμάτων ἀκολουθίας*). Since in all these scattered notices we meet with nothing to contradict, but everything to correspond with the established order of later times, Dean Burgon is fully justified in his conclusion that, "although there happens to be extant neither *Synaxarium* (i. e. Table of proper lessons of the Greek Church), nor *Evangelistarium* (i. e. Book containing the ecclesiastical lections in *extenso*), of higher antiquity than the 8th century,—yet that the scheme itself, as exhibited by those monuments—certainly in every essential particular—is older than any known Greek manuscript which contains it by at least four, in fact by full five hundred years" (*Last Twelve Verses of St. M. r⁴*, p. 195). Yet even the oldest Greek manuscripts (for to the Greek calendar of lessons we are for the present confining ourselves) bear distinct traces of having been used for liturgical purposes. Without insisting upon more doubtful instances, it is thus that we can best explain the omission of the confessedly genuine verses (Luke xxii. 43, 44) from four of our chief uncial MSS. (A, B, R, T) of the 4th and 5th centuries; the sacred words not having been publicly read in their proper place, but after Matth. xxvi. 40, as a part of the service for the vigil of Good Friday, where they occur in every extant lectionary, and even in one cursive copy of the Gospels (Cod. 69), which, though itself as late as the 14th century, is known to follow a very ancient text. The double insertion of the noble doxology, Rom. xvi. 25-27, after ch. xiv., as well as in its proper place at the end of the epistle, by the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the 5th century, is best accounted for by its being so set in lectionaries as part of the proper lesson for the Saturday before Quinquagesima. *Codex Bezae* (D), again, of about the 5th century, prefixes to Luke xvi. 19 the formula *εἶπεν δὲ καὶ ἔτερον παραβολῆν*, which is the liturgical introduction to the Gospel for the 5th Sunday of St. Luke. Another of Cod. D's prefixes, *καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ*, John xiv. 1, is almost identical with that in the English Prayer Book for St. Philip and St. James's Day. But the strongest case of all is perhaps Mark xiv. 41, where after *ἀπείχει* is read in Cod. D and a few of later date (e.g. Cod. 69), the senseless interpolation *τὸ τέλος* or *τῆλος*, "the end," which manifestly came into the text from the margin of ver. 42, where it is in like manner in the usual manner the close of the Gospel for the third day of the carnival week. Since in this last case the patent transcriptional

error is met with also in the Peshito Syriac, and in some forms of the Old Latin version, which together will probably carry us back to the 2nd century, it is hard to resist the inference "that the lessons of the Eastern church were settled at a period long anterior to the date of the oldest manuscript of the Gospels extant" (Burgon, p. 226).

II. *Greek Liturgical Books*.—The earliest known *Synaxaria*, or tables of ecclesiastical lessons throughout the year, are found in two copies of the Gospels now at Paris, *C. d. Cyprus* (K) and *Campianus* (M). These, together with fragments of *Menologia*, or tables of saints'-day lessons, annexed to them, were published by Schulz at the end of the first volume of his Greek Testament, in 1830. The margins of both these manuscripts, and of their contemporary, Cod. I., also at Paris, all three being of the 8th or 9th century, are covered with liturgical notes either by the original scribe or by a hand of the same period, which indicate, mostly in red ink, the beginnings and ends of the lessons (APXH, TEAOZ), the days on which they are to be used, and often the initial words whereby they are to be introduced. After this date quite a majority of manuscripts of the Gospels proper are furnished with marginal notes of this kind, and very many with *synaxaria* and *menologia*, full of crabbéd abbreviations and sometimes added in a later age. Perhaps no known *evangelistarium*, or book containing the ecclesiastical lessons in full, like those English church lectionaries which have recently come into use, can be ascribed with confidence to an earlier period than the 9th century. A fragment at St. Petersburg, described by Tischendorf, contains some Arabic writing decidedly more modern, yet dated A.D. 1011. A noble and complete copy at Parham (No. 18), written at Ciscisai in Cappadocia, bears the date of A.D. 980, and Harl. 5598 in the British Museum is only fifteen years later. A few others, e.g. *Cod. Vaticanus* 171, in the Grand Ducal Library at Venice, and Arundel 547 in the British Museum, are probably anterior to the dated copies just mentioned, which, however, we are safest in taking as the groundwork of our conjectural estimates in regard to others which are not dated. *Evangelistaria* of the 10th and 11th centuries are almost always large folios, written (as was convenient for the purpose they were intended to serve) in bold characters of the uncial form, a fashion which in other books had almost entirely given place to the cursive or running hand. Their material is a coarse thick parchment, quite inferior to the fine vellum employed a few centuries before, though the leaves of a few, such as Parham 18, are still thin, white, and delicate. The lectionaries are almost always written with two columns on a page, and the headings and initial letters are often illuminated in gold and colours. Musical tones, in red ink, above and below the text, must have been designed to guide the reader's voice. Uncial codices of lessons from the Gospels number about seventy, those of the Acts and Epistles are less than ten; but indeed copies of the latter (commonly called the *Apostolos* or *Praxipostolos*) of any age scarcely amount to eighty, while of those of the Gospels about three hundred survive in various libraries, public and private. Some of the cursive or more recent lectionaries are

also in the Peshito Syriac, and of the Old Latin version, which probably carry us back to the 2nd century to resist the inference that the Eastern church were settled long anterior to the date of the text of the Gospels extant"

Surgical Books.—The earliest, or tables of ecclesiastical for the year, are found in two volumes now at Paris, *C. dd. Cyprianus* (M). These, together with *menologia*, or tables of saints'-day to them, were published by of the first volume of his Greek 160. The margins of both these of their contemporary, Col. L, three being of the 8th or 9th read with liturgical notes either scribe or by a hand of the same kind, mostly in red ink, the ends of the lessons (APXH, on which they are to be used, special words whereby they are to after this date quite a majority of the Gospels proper are furgical notes of this kind, and *synaxaria* and *menologia*, full of lessons and sometimes added in sions no known *evangelistarium*, g the ecclesiastical lessons in glish church lectionaries which e into use, can be ascribed to an earlier period than the fragment at St. Petersburg, hendorf, contains some Arabic more modern, yet dated A.D. and complete copy at Parham at Cissicia in Cappadocia, bears 980, and Harl. 5598 in the only fifteen years later. A *Cod. Vatican*, 171, in the Grand Venice, and Arundel 547 in the are probably anterior to the mentioned, which, however, we regard as the groundwork of our dates in regard to others which *evangelistaria* of the 10th and are almost always large folios, convenient for the purpose they serve) in bold characters of the tion which in other books had given place to the cursive or heir material is a coarse thick inferior to the fine vellum eaders before, though the leaves s Parham 18, are still thin. e. The lectionaries are almost d and two columns on a page, and initial letters are often d and colours. Musical tones e and below the text, must d to guide the reader's voice. Lessons from the Gospels num- those of the Acts and Epistles but indeed copies of the latter the *Apostolos* or *Praxipostolos*) ally amount to eighty, while of als about three hundred survive es, public and private. Some more recent lectionaries are

sumptuously bound, the covers being adorned with enamel and silver gilt ornaments, in rare cases forming single figures or groups, of much artistic merit. Tables of the Greek church lessons were printed at Venice in 1615-24 in two volumes which do not range together (*Cantabrigie Univ. Library*, il. 288), and again, at the same place, in 1851. The following lists, however, are derived from manuscripts which in the *venetola* differ widely from each other. While the great church festivals are common to them all, different generations and provinces, and even dioceses, had their favourite worthies whose memory they specially cherished; so that the character of the menology (which sometimes formed a considerable, sometimes but a small, part of a whole lectionary) will help to direct us to discover the district in which the volume itself was written. The lectionaries were chiefly used for our present purpose, are, in the Gospels, Arundel 547, Parham 18, Harl. 5598 (all described above), Christ's College, Cambridge, F. 1, 8, of the 11th century; Burney 22, in the British Museum, presenting a very remarkable text, with a subscription dated A.D. 1319; Dean Gale's O. iv. 22, of the 12th century, now at Trinity College, Cambridge; but this last contains the full lessons from Easter to Pentecost, with those of the Saturdays and Sundays only (*σαββατοκυριακαί*) for the rest of the year. Wake 12, of the 11th century, at Christ Church, is not an evangelistarium, but replete with notes. For the Apostoles we have used but one copy, unfortunately imperfect, the week-day lessons of which are unusually full, viz. MS. No. iii. 24 (of about the 12th century) in the library of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. In some service-books will be found a few (in B-C. iii. 42 they are many) lessons taken from either division of the New Testament, which were read in connection with the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom.

III. The Greek Ecclesiastical Year.—The Greek church seasonably begins its ecclesiastical year with the highest of our festivals, being Easter Day (*ἡ ἅγια καὶ μεγάλη κυριακὴ τοῦ πάσχα*), reckoning the seven weeks onward from Easter week (*ἡ διακινήσματος*) and Low Sunday (*ἀντίπασχα*) to Whitsun-day (*ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς*). The Gospels from St. John (except a few proper lessons) and the Epistles from the Acts run on successively throughout these seven weeks, and evidently form one continuous scheme for every day in each week. Beyond this season, for the rest of the year, the Saturday and Sunday lessons stand apart from those of the five ordinary week days, which indeed seem to have been selected at a later period than the rest. On the morrow of the Pentecost (*ἡ ἐπέτειον τῆς πεντηκοστῆς*), St. John's Gospel having been exhausted, that of St. Matthew begins, and is read for eleven weeks without interruption, and is Sunday after Whitsuntide not being kept as Trinity Sunday, as it has been in the Western church since the 12th century, but as the Greek All Saints' Day. The Greeks commemorate the Council of Nice on the Sunday before Pentecost. On the second day of the eleventh week after Whitsun-day St. Mark's Gospel is taken up, and read from the Monday to the Friday (*παρασκευὴ*) inclusive, for seven or at least for five weeks, the Saturday and Sunday lessons being still derived from St. Matthew. At this point

comes in the difficulty, arising from the yearly variation of Easter Day in the calendar, which the Western church provides against by varying the number of its Sundays after Trinity. By the time that fifteen Sundays have elapsed after Pentecost, the Greek civil new year may have begun (Sept. 1) and with it the new in fiction, when the Gospel of St. Luke was opened (*ἀρχὴ θεολογιστοῦ Λουκᾶ*, Arundel 547, Parham, 18). The Mark, however, from the 7th century downward, would seem to have gone on until after the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, Sept. 14 (which is still used in England to fix our autumnal to a festival recently instituted. (*Δεῖον γινώσκον ὅτι ἀρχεται ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀναγινώσκεισθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κυριακῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑψησὼν τὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἰσχυρία γίνετται ὁ καλεῖται νέον ἔτος. Ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κγ' τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀναγινώσκειται*, Burney 22, p. 191.) From whichever proceeded without any break for eleven weeks, and varied with the lessons from St. Mark for the five middle days of the week, for five or at least for three weeks more, when, if the Easter of the new year was early, the fast of Lent would be approaching. After reading as many of the lessons from St. Luke as were necessary, that for the seventeenth Sunday of St. Matthew (ct. xv. 21-28), called from its subject the *Cana-nitess*, was in all ways resumed (whether it had been read in that or proper place or not), for the Sunday preceding Septuagesima, called by the Greeks the *Prodromia* (from the subject of its Gospel (Luke xv. 11-32). Then follow the Sunday of the carnival (*τῆς ἀποκρίεα*), our Sexagesima, and that of the *Quinquagesima*, corresponding to our Quinquagesima. Next come the vigil of the fast of Lent, its six Sundays (the last being services of the Holy Week), and the very full year ending of course on Easter Even. Since the whole number of Sundays thus enumerated (even when the *Cana-nitess* is reckoned twice) would amount to but fifty-three, a number which might easily of itself be insufficient to fill up the interval between two consecutive Easter Days, we must bear in mind that the menology supplies lessons for the Sundays before and after Christmas and Sept. 14, and for a Sunday after Epiphany, which could either be added to or subtracted from the ordinary Gospels, as occasion required. The system of lessons from the Acts and Epistles is much simpler than that of the Gospels. Except between Easter and Pentecost they are not found at all for common week days, except in a very few lectionaries. The book of Genesis, it will be remembered, was read on such week days during Lent.

IV. Table of Gospels and Epistles daily read throughout the Year in the Greek Church.

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην (7 weeks or 8 sundays).

Easter Day (τῆ ἅγια καὶ μεγάλη κυριακὴ τοῦ πάσχα)	John 1. 1-17	Acts 1. 1-8
2nd day τῆς διακινήσματος	"	"
3rd	1. 18-29	" 1. 12-26
4th	Luke xxiv. 12-35	" 11. 14-21
	John 1. 35-52	" 11. 38-48

5th day	John	iii. 1-15	Acts	iii. 1-8	3rd day of 1st week	Math.	iv. 25-v. 11	
4th	"	ii. 12-22	"	ii. 22-26	4th	"	v. 20-30	(Mat B-C III.
7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	iii. 22-33	"	iii. 11-16	5th	"	v. 31-41	24).
Ἀρτίσταχο, or Low	"	xx. 19-31	"	v. 12-20	6th (παρασκευῆ)	"	vii. 9-18	
Sunday	"	"	"	"	7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	v. 42-46	Rom. i. 7-12
2nd day of 2nd week	"	ii. 1-11	"	ii. 19-26	Κυριακῆ α', All Saints	"	x. 32, 33; Heb. xi. 33	
3rd	"	iii. 16-21	"	iv. 1-10	(ἵνα ἁγίων πάντων)	"	xix. 27-30	" xii. 2
4th	"	v. 17-24	"	iv. 13-22	2nd day of 2nd week	"	vi. 31-34	Rom. ii. 1-8
5th	"	v. 24-30	"	iv. 23-31	3rd	"	vii. 15-21	" ii. 13, 17-27
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	v. 30-vi. 2	"	v. 1-11	4th	"	viii. 21-23	" ii. 28-iii. 4
7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	vi. 14-27	"	v. 21-32	5th	"	viii. 23-27	" iii. 4-9
Κυριακῆ γ', or 2nd	Mark	xv. 43-47	"	vi. 1-7	6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	ix. 14-17	" iii. 8-19
after Easter	"	xvi. 8	"	vi. 8-vii. 60	7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	vii. 1-8	" iii. 19-28
2nd day of 2nd week	John	iv. 48-54	"	viii. 5-17	Κυριακῆ δ'	"	iv. 18-23	" ii. 10-16
3rd	"	vi. 27-33	"	viii. 18-25	2nd day of 3rd week	"	ix. 38-x. 8	" iv. 4-8
4th (6th day of Gals; O. 4.22)	"	vi. 48-54	"	viii. 26-39	3rd	"	x. 9-15	" iv. 8-12
5th	"	vi. 40-44	"	viii. 46-ix. 19	4th	"	x. 16-22	" iv. 13-17
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	vi. 35-39	"	ix. 18-31	5th	"	x. 32-38; xi. 1	" v. 12-14
7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	xv. 17-xvi. 1	"	ix. 33-42	6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	vii. 24-viii. 4	" iii. 28-iv. 3
Κυριακῆ ε', or 3rd	"	v. 1-15	"	x. 1-16	Κυριακῆ γ'	"	vi. 22, 23	" v. 1-10
2nd day of 4th week	"	vi. 56-69	"	x. 21-33	2nd day of 4th week	"	xi. 2-15	" v. 15-17
3rd	"	vii. 1-13	"	xiv. 8-19	3rd	"	xi. 16-20	" v. 17-21
4th	"	vii. 14-30	"	x. 34-43	4th	"	xii. 20-26	" vii. 1, ...
5th	"	viii. 12-20	"	x. 44-xi. 10	5th	"	xi. 27-30	(Mat B-C iii.
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	viii. 21-30	"	xii. 1-11	6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	xii. 1-8	24).
7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	viii. 31-42	"	xi. 19-30	7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	viii. 14-23	Rom. vi. 11-17
Κυριακῆ ε', or 4th after	Mark	iv. 6-42	"	xii. 12-17	Κυριακῆ δ'	"	viii. 5-13	" vi. 18-23
Easter (of the Samaritan woman)	"	iv. 42-51	"	xii. 25-xiii. 12	2nd day of 5th week	"	xii. 9-13	" vii. 19-viii. 13
2nd day of 5th week	"	viii. 51-58	"	xiii. 13-24	3rd	"	xii. 14-16; 22-30	" viii. 2-9
3rd	"	vi. 5-14	"	xiv. 20-27	4th	"	xii. 38-45	" viii. 8-14
4th	"	ix. 39-x. 9	"	xv. 6-12	5th	"	xiii. 3-12	" viii. 22-27
5th	"	x. 17-28	"	xv. 36-41	6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	ix. 8-13	" ix. 6-13
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	x. 27-38	"	xvi. 1-9	7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	xv. 31-38	" viii. 14-21
7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	ix. 1-39	"	xvii. 1-9	Κυριακῆ ε'	"	viii. 28-ix. 1	" x. 1-10
Κυριακῆ ς', or 5th after	"	xi. 47-54	"	xviii. 19-27	2nd day of 6th week	"	xiii. 10-23	" ix. 13-19
after Easter	"	xii. 19-38	"	iii. 24).	3rd	"	xiii. 24-31	" ix. 17-28
2nd day of 6th week	"	xii. 38-47	"	xviii. 22-28	4th	"	xiii. 31-38	" ix. 23-33
3rd	"	xii. 36-47	"	xviii. 22-28	5th	"	xiii. 44-54	" ix. 33; x. 15-21
4th	"	xii. 36-47	"	xviii. 22-28	6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	xiii. 44-54	" ix. 15
5th Ἀναλήψεως, Ascension Day	πρωτὶ (Matins)	Mark	xvi. 9-20	Κυριακῆ ς'	"	ix. 1-8	" xii. 6-14	
For the Liturgy	Luke	xxiv. 36-53	Acts	i. (or 9)-12	2nd day of 7th week	"	xiii. 54-58	" xi. 2-8
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	John	xiv. 1-10	"	xix. 1-8	3rd	"	xiv. 1-13	" xi. 7-12
7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	xiv. 10-21	"	xx. 7-12	4th	"	xiv. 35-xv. 11	" xi. 13-20
Κυριακῆ ζ', or 6th after	John	xvii. 1-13	"	xx. 16-38	5th	"	xv. 12-21	" xi. 19-24
Easter (ἵνα ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ)	"	xvi. 2-13	"	xxi. 28-32	6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	xv. 29-31	" xi. 25-28
2nd day of 7th week	"	xvi. 15-23	"	xxiii. 1-11	7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	x. 37-xl. 1	" xii. 1-3
3rd	"	xvi. 23-33	"	xxvii. 1-xviii. 1	Κυριακῆ ζ'	"	ix. 27-35	" xv. 1-7
4th	"	xvi. 23-33	"	xxviii. 1-31	2nd day of 8th week	"	xvi. 1-8	" xi. 29-38
5th	"	xvi. 23-33	"	xxviii. 1-31	3rd	"	xvi. 6-12	" xii. 14-21
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	xvii. 10-26	"	xxviii. 1-31	4th	"	xvi. 20-24	" xiv. 16-18
7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	xxii. 14-25	"	xxviii. 1-31	5th	"	xvi. 24-28	" xv. 8-12
Κυριακῆ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, πρωτὶ (Matins)	"	xx. 18-23	"	xxviii. 1-31	6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	"	xvii. 10-13	" xv. 13-16
For the Liturgy	"	vii. 37-viii. 12	"	ii. 1-11	7th (σαββάτω) ..	"	xii. 30-37	" xiii. 1-10

N.B.—John vii. 53-viii. 11 is not included in the lesson for the Pentecost, but is appointed in menologies to be read at the feasts of certain penitent women (p. 65).

Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαίου.
 2nd day of 1st week (τῆ ἑορταίου τῆς πεντηκοστῆς) Math. xviii. 10-20 Eph. v. 8-19

LECTIONARY

Table of lectionary readings for the left page, including dates like '7th day of 10th week' and references to 'Math. iv. 23-v. 11'.

LECTIONARY

Table of lectionary readings for the middle page, including dates like '7th day of 10th week' and references to 'Math. xvii. 24-1'.

LECTIONARY

then the omitted Epistles are used when St. Luke commences, and the Epistle for each succeeding Saturday and Sunday must be looked for, out of its place, one or two weeks back. But if it be actually the 18th Sunday after Pentecost, all the following Epistles will be given correctly.

Table of lectionary readings for the right page, including dates like '2nd day of 1st week' and references to 'Luke v. 1-11'.

Then follow, if read in this place—
N.B.—If this week was required before the new year or new indictment began, some of the lessons from St. Mark which follow the 12th week so far as needed, and after them (the Epistles for the week being 2 Cor. iii. 4-12; iv. 1-6; 11-18; v. 10-15; 15-21).

2nd day of 1st week of new year
N.B.—If the 16th or 17th Saturdays of St. Matthew be not read at the end of the old year,

2nd day of 1st week of new year
N.B.—If the 16th or 17th Saturdays of St. Matthew be not read at the end of the old year,

Κυριακὴ θ' (Apost. κς')	Luke xii. 16-21	Eph. v. 5-19
2nd day of 10th week	.. xvii. 20-25	
3rd .. .. .	.. xvii. 26-37;	
	.. xviii. 18	
4th .. .. .	.. xviii. 15-17;	
	.. 26-30	
5th .. .. .	.. xviii. 31-34	
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. xix. 12-24	
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. x. 19-21	Gal. v. 22-vi. 2
Κυριακὴ ι' (Apost. κς')	.. xiii. 10-17	Eph. vi. 10-17
2nd day of 11th week	.. xix. 37-44	
3rd .. .. .	.. xix. 45-48	
4th .. .. .	.. xx. 1-8	
5th .. .. .	.. xx. 9-18	
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. xx. 19-28	
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. xii. 32-40	Col. 1. 9-13
Κυριακὴ ια' (Apost. κη)	.. xiv. 16-24	2 Cor. ii. 14-iii. 3
2nd day of 12th week	.. xx. 27-44	
3rd .. .. .	.. xxi. 12-19	
4th .. .. .	.. xxi. 5-8; 10, 11; 20-24	
5th .. .. .	.. xxi. 24-33	
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. xxi. 37-xxii. 8	
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. xiii. 19-29	Eph. ii. 11-13
Κυριακὴ ιβ' (Apost. κς')	.. xvii. 12-19	Col. iii. 4-11
2nd day of 13th week	Mark vii. 11-21	
3rd .. .. .	.. viii. 22-26	
4th .. .. .	.. viii. 30-34	
5th .. .. .	.. ix. 10-16	
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. ix. 33-41	
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. Luke xiv. 1-11	Eph. v. 1-8
Κυριακὴ ιγ' (Apost. λ')	.. xvii. 18-27	Col. iii. 12-16
2nd day of 14th week	Mark ix. 42-x. 1	1 Thess. i. 6-10
3rd .. .. .	.. x. 2-11	.. 1. 9-ii. 4
4th .. .. .	.. x. 11-18	.. ii. 4-8
5th .. .. .	.. x. 17-27	.. ii. 9-14
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. x. 24-32	.. ii. 14-20
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. Luke xvi. 10-15	Col. 1. 2-8
Κυριακὴ ιδ' (Apost. λα)	.. xviii. 35-43	{ 2 Tim. i. 3-9 (1 Tim. i. 15-17, 19-C iii. 24).
2nd day of 15th week	Mark x. 46-52	1 Thess. iii. 1-8
3rd .. .. .	.. xi. 11-23	.. iii. 6-11
4th .. .. .	.. xi. 22-26	.. iii. 11-iv. 6
5th .. .. .	.. xi. 27-33	.. iv. 7-11
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. xii. 1-13	.. iv. 17-v. 3
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. Luke xvii. 3-10	Col. ii. 6-12
Κυριακὴ ιε' (Apost. λβ')	.. xix. 1-10	1 Tim. vi. 11-16
2nd day of 16th week	Mark xii. 13-17	1 Thess. v. 4-11
3rd .. .. .	.. xii. 18-27	.. v. 11-15
4th .. .. .	.. xii. 28-34	.. v. 15-23
5th .. .. .	.. xii. 34-44	2 Thess. i. 1-5
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. xiii. 1-9	.. 1. 11-ii. 5
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. Luke xviii. 1-8	1 Tim. ii. 1-7
Κυριακὴ ις' (the Pulpit, Apost. λγ')	.. xviii. 9-14	{ 2 Tim. iii. 10-15 (1-C iii. 42).
2nd day of 17th week	Mark xiii. 9-13	{ 2 Thess. ii. 12-iii. 5
3rd .. .. .	.. xiii. 14-23	.. iii. 3-9
4th .. .. .	.. xiii. 24-31	.. iii. 10-18
5th .. .. .	.. xiii. 31-xiv. 2	1 Tim. i. 1-8
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. xiv. 3-9	.. 1. 8-14
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. Luke xx. 48-xxi. 4	.. iii. 13-iv. 5

N.B.—The Gospel for the Sunday preceding that which the Western church calls Septuagesima is always that of the *Cananites* (Matth. xv. 21-28), which would sometimes displace one or two of those immediately preceding, as in the

case of our Sunday next before Advent. Two weeks' lessons from the Epistles are also kept in reserve, to be used here if necessary. They are numbered from the weeks after Pentecost, as indeed are all the Epistles in the Greek lectionaries, viz.—

Κυριακὴ λδ'	.. .. .	2 Tim. iii. 10-15
(2) .. .. .	.. .. .	1 Tim. ii. 5-15
(3) .. .. .	.. .. .	.. iii. 1-13
(4) .. .. .	.. .. .	.. iv. 4-9
(5) .. .. .	.. .. .	.. iv. 11-v. 10
(6) .. .. .	.. .. .	.. v. 17-vi. 2
σαββάτω λε'	.. .. .	.. iv. 9-15
Κυριακὴ λε'	.. .. .	2 Tim. ii. 1-10
(2) .. .. .	.. .. .	1 Tim. vi. 2-11
(3) .. .. .	.. .. .	.. v. 17-21
(4) .. .. .	.. .. .	2 Tim. i. 8-14
(5) .. .. .	.. .. .	.. 1. 11-ii. 2
(6) .. .. .	.. .. .	.. ii. 22-26
σαββάτω λς'	.. .. .	.. ii. 11-19

The day before Septuagesima Sunday is—

σαββάτω πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρίου (before Canival)	.. .. .	Luke xv. 1-10
Κυριακὴ πρὸ τῆς ἀποκρίου (the Pro-diyal)	.. .. .	xv. 11-32 1 Thess. v. 14-23
2nd day of Canival week	.. .. .	Mark xi. 1-11 2 Tim. iii. 1-10
3rd .. .. .	.. .. .	.. xiv. 10-42 .. iii. 11-iv. 5
4th .. .. .	.. .. .	.. xiv. 43, xv. 1 .. iv. 9, 14
5th .. .. .	.. .. .	.. xv. 1-15 Titus i. 5-12
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. .. .	.. xv. 20, 22; 25, 31-41 .. 1. 15-ii. 10
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. .. .	Luke xxi. 8, 9, 25-27, 33-38 } 1 Cor. vi. 12-20
Κυριακὴ τῆς ἀποκρίου (Canival, our Sexagesima)	.. .. .	Matth. xxv. 31-46 } 1 Cor. viii. 8-ix. 12 (1 Cor. vi. 13-20, ii. 21)
2nd day of the week of the Cheese-eater (τροφοῦδου; a lighter fast)	.. .. .	Luke xix. 28-10; xxii. 7, 8, 9 } Heb. iv. 1-13
3rd .. .. .	.. .. .	.. xxiii. 39-xxiii. 1 } .. v. 12-vi. 8
4th .. .. .	.. .. .	.. deest.
5th .. .. .	.. .. .	.. xxiii. 1-43; 44-58 } .. xli. 11-27
6th (παρασκευῆ) ..	.. .. .	.. deest.
7th (σαββάτω) ..	.. .. .	Matth. vi. 1-13 } Rom. xlv. 19-27; xvi. 2-27 (p. 50)

Κυριακὴ τῆς τροφοῦδου (the Cheese-eater, our Quinquagesima)

Genesis was read on the five middle weekdays of Lent (p. 50). The special lessons from the New Testament were—

Ἰαννουῖς τῆς ἁγίας ἑγρησίας (Vigil of Lent)	.. .. .	Matth. vii. 7-11.
τῶν ἑγρησίων (Lent), σαββάτω α'	.. .. .	Mark ii. 23-iii. 5 Heb. 1. 1-12
Κυριακὴ α'	.. .. .	John i. 44-52 .. xi. 24-40
σαββάτω β'	.. .. .	Mark i. 35-44 .. iii. 12-11
Κυριακὴ β'	.. .. .	.. ii. 1-12 .. 1. 10-ii. 3
σαββάτω γ'	.. .. .	.. ii. 14-17 .. x. 32-36
Κυριακὴ γ'	.. .. .	.. viii. 34-ix. 1 .. iv. 11-v. 2
σαββάτω δ'	.. .. .	.. vii. 31-37 .. vi. 9-12
Κυριακὴ δ'	.. .. .	.. ix. 17-31 .. vi. 13-21
σαββάτω ε'	.. .. .	.. viii. 27-31 .. ix. 2-29
Κυριακὴ ε'	.. .. .	.. x. 32-45 .. ix. 11-14
σαββάτω ς' (St Lazarus)	.. .. .	John xi. 1-45 .. xii. 2-23
Κυριακὴ ς' τῶν βατῶν (Palm Sunday)—πρωί (Matins)	.. .. .	Matth. xxi. 1-11 | 15-17

day next before Advent, Two from the Epistles are also kept in order here if necessary. They are the weeks after Pentecost, as the Epistles in the Greek Lec-

Table of lectionary readings for the weeks after Pentecost, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for various days.

Septuagesima Sunday is —

Table of lectionary readings for Septuagesima Sunday, including Luke xv. 1-10 and other Gospel and Epistle readings.

end on the five middle week- (50). The special lessons from ant were—

Table of lectionary readings for the Lenten season, including Heb. 1: 1-12 and other Gospel and Epistle readings.

on (Palm Sunday)— Math. xxi. 1-11; 15-17

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Κυριακή ἑῆς τῆς Ἀσπῆς Mark x. 46-xi. 11 For the Liturgy—John xii. 1-18 Phil. iv. 1-9

The services of the Holy Week (ἡ ἄγία ἡ μεγάλη) are given at full length in nearly all the lectionaries, viz.—

Table of lectionary readings for the Holy Week, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th days.

At this season were read the twelve Gospels of the Holy Passion (τῶν ἁγίων παθῶν), viz.—

Table of the twelve Gospels of the Holy Passion, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for each day.

Gospels for the hours of the vigil of Good Friday (τῆς ἁγίας παραμονῆς)—

Table of Gospels for the hours of the vigil of Good Friday, listing Gospel and Epistle readings.

Good Friday (τῆ ἁγίας παρασκευῆ) for the Liturgy—

Table of Gospels for Good Friday, listing Gospel and Epistle readings.

Easter Even (τῆ ἁγίας καὶ μεγάλης σαββάτου)—

Table of Gospels for Easter Even, listing Gospel and Epistle readings.

To these lessons from the New Testament for the whole ecclesiastical year from Easter Day to Easter Even nearly all the lectionaries annex eleven morning Gospels of the Resurrection (ἐπαγγελία ἀναστασιμῶ ἐθωρῶν), which were read in turn, one every Sunday at matins, viz.—

Table of morning Gospels of the Resurrection, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for each day.

V. Syriac Lectionaries.—A valuable evangelarium, written in a peculiar dialect of the Syriac language, called for the sake of distinction the Jerusalem Syriac, was first used by Adler in the Vatican (MS. Syr. 19), and has lately been published in full by Count F. Miniscalchi Trezza (Verona, 1861-64). This book enables us to see that the ordinary lessons of the Syriac church at the period that it bears date (A.D. 1030), and probably long before, were identical with those of the Greek church as described above. In fact the Jerusalem Lectionary differs from the Greek for the portions which it contains little more than the various Greek copies do from each other. It does not supply the ordinary week-day lessons except from Easter to Pentecost and those of the Holy Week; the Menology also, as might have been expected (p. 51), is widely different in the two churches. Modern Syriac manuscripts and editions, however (such as that published by Professor Lee in 1819), are constructed on other principles; and

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agree with the Greek only on the occasion of such high festivals as hardly admitted a choice in their selection.

VI. The Coptic Lectionary.—For the Coptic, the other great branch of ancient Christianity in the East, we depend for the present mainly on a Coptic and Arabic manuscript, translated by Prelate Malan in his Original Documents of the Coptic Church, No. IV. (1874), which he believes to agree very well with what is known elsewhere of the whole year. It contains only the Sunday and feast-day Gospels throughout the year, with the appropriate versicles and greetings annexed to each at full length; although we have the express testimony of Cassian (Inst. iii. 2) for the 5th century, that the Egyptians read both Epistle and Gospel every Saturday as well as every Sunday in their public services. The Sundays are arranged according to the months of the Coptic ecclesiastical year, which began August 29. The vigil or eve was always regarded as the commencement of each day. The manuscript being defective, the lessons for the first three Sundays, and some few others, cannot be given.

Month of Tot (Aug. 29-Sept. 27)—

Table of lectionary readings for the Month of Tot, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for the 4th Sunday.

Month of Babeih (Sept. 28-Oct. 27)—

Table of lectionary readings for the Month of Babeih, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Sundays.

Month of Hator (Oct. 28-Nov. 26)—

Table of lectionary readings for the Month of Hator, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Sundays.

Month of Kihak (Nov. 27-Dec. 26)—

Table of lectionary readings for the Month of Kihak, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Sundays.

Month of Tubeh (Dec. 27-Jan. 25)—

Table of lectionary readings for the Month of Tubeh, listing Gospel and Epistle readings for the 1st Sunday.

2nd Sunday—Evensong ..	..	xiv. 22-37, or	Mark vi. 45-54 (<i>Hiat. M.</i>)
Matins ..	..	Mark	iii. 7-12
Liturgy ..	..	Luke	xi. 27-36
3rd Sunday—Evensong ..	..	John	v. 1-18
Matins ..	..	..	iii. 1-21
Liturgy ..	..	..	iii. 22-36
4th Sunday—Evensong ..	..	..	v. 31-47
Matins ..	..	..	vi. 47-58
Liturgy ..	..	..	ix. 1-38
Month of Amshir (Jan. 26—Feb. 24)—			
1st Sunday—Evensong ..	..	John	vi. 15-21
Matins ..	..	..	viii. 51-59
Liturgy ..	..	..	vi. 22-38
2nd Sunday—Evensong ..	..	..	iv. 46-54
Matins ..	..	..	iii. 17-21
Liturgy ..	..	..	vi. 5-14
3rd Sunday—Evensong ..	..	..	v. 39-51. 2
Matins ..	..	..	xii. 41-50
Liturgy ..	..	..	vi. 27-10
(in another copy v. 27-46)			
4th Sunday—Evensong ..	..	Luke	xvii. 1-10
Matins ..	..	..	(in another copy to var. 19)
Matina ..	..	John	v. 27-39
Liturgy ..	..	..	xix. 1-10

The four days which follow this Sunday comprise the fast days of Jonah.

2nd day of week ..	Matins ..	Math.	vii. 5-12
	Liturgy ..	..	xii. 35-39
3rd day ..	Matins ..	Luke	xiii. 6-9 ?
	Liturgy ..	..	xi. 29-36
4th day ..	Matins ..	Math.	xi. 27-30
	Liturgy ..	..	xv. 32-xvi. 4
5th day (Passover of Jonah)	Matins ..	Mark	viii. 17-21
	Liturgy ..	John	ii. 12-25

Great Sunday of the first gathering in of Crops—

Evensong ..	Mark	xi. 22-26
Matins ..	Luke	xxi. 34-38
Liturgy ..	Math.	vi. 1-4

For any 5th Sunday of the Month in the first six Months of the Year—

Evensong ..	Math.	xiv. 15-21
Matins ..	Mark	vi. 35-14
Liturgy ..	Luke	ix. 12-17

Gospel lessons for the seventh month, Barmahat (Feb. 25—March 26), and the eighth month, Barmulch (March 27—April 25) are not given, inasmuch as the proper lessons for the holy season, from the beginning of Lent to Pentecost, here intervene and extend to the second Sunday of the ninth month, Bashansh.

The Holy Fast—

1st Sunday—Evensong ..	Math.	vi. 34-vii. 12
Matins ..	..	vii. 22-29
Liturgy ..	..	vi. 19-33

(2nd, 3rd, and 4th Sunday wanting. *Hiat. M.*)

5th Sunday—Evensong ..	Luke	xviii. 1-8
Matins ..	Math.	xxiv. 3-36
(In another copy Luke xviii. 9-14)		
Liturgy ..	John	v. 1-18

6th Sunday—Evensong ..	Luke	xiii. 22-35
Matins ..	Math.	xxiii. 1-39
(In another copy Math. xx. 17-28)		
Liturgy ..	John	ix. 1-39

Saturday of Lazarus—			
Matins ..	Luke	xviii. 31-43 (in another copy Mark x. 46-52)	
Liturgy ..	John	xi. 1-45	

7th Sunday of Hosannas (Palm Sunday)—

Evensong ..	John	xii. 1-11
Matins ..	Luke	xix. 1-10
Liturgy (1)	Math.	xxi. 1-17
(2)	Mark	xi. 1-11
(3)	Luke	xix. 29-48
(4)	John	xii. 12-19

Great Thursday of the Covenant of the Hash—
Gospel .. John xiii. 1-17
Liturgy .. Matth. xxvi. 20-29

[Good Friday has no service now—]

Saturday of Lights (Easter Even)—
Matins .. Matth. xxvii. 62-66
Liturgy .. xxviii. 1-20

Feast of the Glorious Resurrection—
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-9
Liturgy .. John xx. 1-18

Feast of Terms, or of the Fifty Days—
1st Sunday—Evensong .. Luke v. 1-11
Matins .. John xxi. 1-11
Liturgy .. xx. 24-31

2nd Sunday—Evensong vi. 16-21
Matins vi. 21-34
Liturgy vi. 35-46

3rd Sunday—Evensong vii. 35-?
Matins viii. 21-30
Liturgy viii. 30-50

4th Sunday—Evensong vii. 54-69
Matins viii. 51-59
Liturgy xii. 3-50

5th Sunday—Evensong xiv. 21-25
Matins xv. 4-8
Liturgy xv. 9-16

Ascension Day—Evensong Luke ix. 51-62
Matins .. Mark xvi. 12-20
Liturgy .. Luke xxiv. 36-53

6th Sunday—Evensong .. Mark xii. 24-40
(in another copy John xiv. 1-7)
Matins xiv. 8-20
Liturgy xvi. 23-33

7th Sunday (Pentecost)—
Evensong vii. 37-44
Matins xiv. 26-xv. 4
Liturgy v. 26-xvi. 13

Month of Bashansh (April 26—May 25)—

3rd Sunday—Evensong .. Math. xxii. 34-40
Matins .. { From Luke: the Resurrection

Liturgy .. Luke x. 25-38
4th Sunday—Evensong .. Math. xii. 1-5
Matins .. John xxi. 1-13
Liturgy .. Luke iv. 1-13

Month of Bawanah (May 26—June 24)—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. Math. xvii. 1-13
Matins xxviii. 7-20
Liturgy .. Luke xi. 1-13

2nd Sunday—Evensong iv. 38-41
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-5
Liturgy .. Luke v. 17-26

3rd Sunday—Evensong .. Math. vii. 7-12
Matins .. Luke xxiv. 1-12
Liturgy .. Math. xii. 22-34

4th Sunday—Evensong v. 27-48
Matins .. John xx. 1-18
Liturgy .. Luke vi. 27-38

Month of Abib (June 25—July 24)—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. Luke ix. 1-8
Matins .. Math. xxviii. 7-20
Liturgy .. Luke x. 1-20

2nd Sunday—Evensong xvi. 1-13
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-5
Liturgy .. Math. xviii. 1-11

3rd Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xiv. 7-15
Matins xxiv. 1-12
Liturgy ix. 10-17

4th Sunday—Evensong vii. 1-10
Matins .. John xx. 1-18
Liturgy xi. 1-15

Month of Mesre (July 25—Aug. 23)—

1st Sunday—Evensong .. Mark vi. 45-56
Matins .. Math. xxviii. 7-20
Liturgy .. Luke xx. 9-19

2nd Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xviii. 9-17
Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-5
Liturgy .. Luke v. 27-39

of the Covenant of the House—
 Gospel .. John xlii. 1-17
 Liturgy .. Matth. xxvi. 20-29
 (as no service not d)
 Gospels (East-ry Evn)—
 Matins .. Matth. xxvii. 62-66
 Liturgy xxviii. 1-20
 Gospels Resurrection—
 Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-8
 Liturgy .. John xx. 1-18
 or of the Fifty Days—
 Evensong .. Luke v. 1-11
 Matins .. John xxi. 1-11
 Liturgy xx. 24-31
 Evensong vi. 16-21
 Matins vi. 21-34
 Liturgy vi. 35-46
 Evensong vii. 30-2
 Matins viii. 21-30
 Liturgy viii. 30-50
 Evensong vi. 54-69
 Matins viii. 51-59
 Liturgy xli. 3-50
 Evensong xiv. 21-25
 Matins xv. 4-8
 Liturgy xv. 9-16
 Evensong .. Luke ix. 51-62
 Matins .. Mark xvi. 12-20
 Liturgy .. Luke xxiv. 36-53
 Evensong .. Mark xii. 24-40
 Another copy John xiv. 1-7
 Matins xiv. 8-20
 Liturgy xvi. 23-33
 Pentecost—
 Evensong vii. 37-14
 Matins xiv. 29-xv. 4
 Liturgy x. 29-xvi. 15
 Wh (April 26-May 25)—
 Evensong .. Matth. xxii. 34-40
 Matins .. } From Luke: the
 Resurrection
 Liturgy .. Luke x. 27-28
 Evensong .. Matth. xii. 1-8
 Matins .. John xx. 1-18
 Liturgy .. Luke iv. 1-13
 Wh (May 26-June 24)—
 Evensong .. Matth. xvii. 1-13
 Matins xxviii. 7-20
 Liturgy .. Luke xi. 1-13
 Evensong iv. 38-41
 Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-5
 Liturgy .. Luke v. 17-26
 Evensong .. Matth. vii. 7-12
 Matins .. Luke xxiv. 1-12
 Liturgy .. Matth. xii. 22-34
 Evensong v. 27-18
 Matins .. John xx. 1-18
 Liturgy .. Luke vi. 27-38
 June 25-July 24)—
 Evensong .. Luke ix. 1-6
 Matins .. Matth. xxviii. 2-20
 Liturgy .. Luke x. 1-20
 Evensong xvi. 1-13
 Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-5
 Liturgy .. Matth. xviii. 1-11
 Evensong .. Luke xiv. 7-15
 Matins xxiv. 1-12
 Liturgy ix. 10-17
 Evensong vii. 1-10
 Matins .. John xx. 1-18
 Liturgy xi. 1-15
 July 25-Aug. 23)—
 Evensong .. Mark vi. 45-56
 Matins .. Matth. xxviii. 2-20
 Liturgy .. Luke xx. 9-19
 Evensong .. Luke xviii. 9-17
 Matins .. Mark xvi. 2-5
 Liturgy .. Luke v. 27-39

3rd Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xi. 27-36
 Matins xxiv. 1-12
 Liturgy .. Mark iii. 22-34
 4th Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xvii. 20-37
 Matins .. John xx. 1-18
 Liturgy .. Mark xiii. 3-31
 Short or Intercalary month Nissi (Aug. 24-28,
 with a sixth day in leap year)—
 Sunday—Evensong .. Luke xxi. 12-33
 Matins .. Mark xiii. 32-37
 Liturgy .. Matth. xxiv. 3-38
 For a fifth Sunday in any of the six summer
 months two sets are given, to be used as re-
 quired—
 Evensong .. Matth. xiv. 16-21 .. Luke xiv. 16-24
 Matins .. Mark vi. 35-44 .. Matth. xvi. 5-11
 Liturgy .. Luke ix. 12-17 .. Mark viii. 13-21
 VII. The National Lctionaries of the Eastern
 Churches compared.—This Coptic table of Sunday
 Gospels throughout the year is far ruder and
 less satisfactory in every way than that of the

	GREEK.	
Sunday before Christmas	Matth. i. 1-25	
Christmas Eve	Luke ii. 1-20	
Christmas Day	Matth. ii. 1-12	
Dec. 28— <i>is tin synafin tis theotokou</i> (Communion of the Mother of God)	" ii. 13-23	
Saturday <i>pro ton photon</i> (Feast of Light, or Epiphany)	" iii. 1-6	
Sunday <i>pro ton photon</i>	Mark i. 1-8	
Vigil of the Theophania	Luke ii. 1-18	
Theophania (Epiphany)—Matins	Mark i. 1-8	
Liturgy	Matth. iii. 13-17	

Thus the Coptic Christians agree with the
 Greeks in commemorating the Lord's baptism
 only on Jan. 6, and not the visit of the Magi,
 which was principally regarded in the Western
 church [EPIPHANY]. Yet the Gospels relating
 to the baptism (Matth. iii. 13-17, Luke iii. 23)
 appear in the old lectionary of the Gallican

	GREEK.	
Feb. 2.—Presentation in the Temple	Luke ii. 22-40	
Aug. 6.—Transfiguration—Matins	or Mark ix. 29-36	
Liturgy	Matth. xvii. 1-9	

In contrast with these resemblances it is well
 to note that in the services for the 7th century
 festival, that of the Elevation of the Cross, which
 has such influence on the later forms of the

	GREEK.	
Sunday before the Elevation	Gal. vi. 11-18	
Sept. 14.—Elevation of the Cross	John iii. 13-17	
Saturday after the Elevation	John xix. 6-35	
Sunday after the Elevation	1 Cor. i. 26-29	
	John viii. 21-30	
	Gal. ii. 16-20	
	Mark viii. 31-ix. 1	

In the Jerusalem Syriac, John xi. 53 precedes
 ch. xix. 6-35 as the Gospel for Sept. 14.

VIII. Lctionaries of the Western Church.—
 The tables of lessons we have hitherto examined
 have little in common with the Epistles and
 Gospels of the English church, and were evi-
 dently constructed on a different principle. The
 season of Advent, which is purely a Western

Greek church, to which, at first sight, it bears
 a little resemblance. On closer inspection it
 may be observed that the Gospels for the early
 morning service, several of which recur three or
 four times over, are often identical with the
 Gospels of the Resurrection used periodically
 by the Greeks at the same hour (p. 57). The
 Copts also agree with the Greeks in reading St.
 John's Gospel almost exclusively between Easter
 and Pentecost, while the appointed Gospels for
 the Holy Week (including the preceding Satur-
 day), as also for Ascension Day, accord to a
 degree which cannot be accidental. The same
 may be said in regard to the services of the
 great unmovable season of Christmas, which we
 here submit. The Jerusalem Syriac lessons are
 the same as the Greek. We infer, on the whole,
 from these partial resemblances in the midst of
 general diversity, that the lessons for the chief
 festivals, being in substance the same in all the
 lectionaries, were settled at an earlier date than
 those for ordinary occasions.

	GREEK.		COPTIC.
.. Evensong	Matth. i. 1-17		
.. Matins	" ii. 13-25		
.. Liturgy	" Luke ii. 1-29		
.. Evensong	" iii. 23-38		
.. Matins	" John i. 11-17		
.. Liturgy	" Matth. ii. 1-12		
.. Eve of the Glorious Baptism—			
.. Evensong	Matth. iv. 12—		
.. Matins	" John xii. 22-29		
.. Liturgy	" Luke iii. 1-18		
.. Glorious Baptism—			
.. Evensong	Matth. iii. 1-12		
.. Matins	" John i. 1-11		
.. Liturgy	" John i. 18-34		

church, which had early and close communion
 with the East (p. 60); and Luke iii. 15-23 is
 still the English second lesson for the morning
 service.

A comparison of the lessons for the other fes-
 tivals pertaining to our Lord suggests the same
 conclusions as those for the Christmas season.

In Greek lectionaries (p. 52), there is but a single
 passage in common between the two nations, and
 that one (John viii. 28-30) too obvious to be over-
 looked by either.

	GREEK.		COPTIC.
.. Sept. 14.—Evensong	John viii. 28-42		
.. Matins	" xli. 26—		
.. Liturgy	" xx. 2—		

institution, being regarded as a prelude to the
 high festival of Christmas, has appropriately
 opened the ecclesiastical year through western
 Christendom, at least from the 7th century
 downwards. The yearly changes rendered ne-
 cessary by the variation of the Easter season
 were henceforward made by fixing the proper
 positions for Advent and Septuagesima Sundays,

	COMES.	GALLICAN.	MOZARABIC.
Sunday after Ascension	1 Pet. iv. (7)-11 John xv. 26-xvi. 4	Acts xviii. 22-xix. 12. John xvii. 1-28	Apoc. vii. 9-12 Acts xiv. 7-16 Mark ix. 13-25 Num. xi. 16-29 Acts xix. 7-8 John iii. 1-18
Vigil of Pentecost	Gen. i. xlii.; Ex. xv.; Deut. xxxi.; Isai. iv.; Jer. iii.; Ps. xlii. Acts xix.; John xiv.	.. ..	.. ..
Day of Pentecost	Acts ii. 1-11 John xiv. 23-31	Joel ii. 21-32 Acts ii. 1-21 John xiv. 16-29	Apoc. xxii. 6-17 Acts ii. 1-21 John xiv. 15-27
Octave of Pentecost	Apoc. iv. 1-10 Acts v. 29-42? John iii. 1-15	Gal. vi. 8-14 Matth. xvi. 24-27	.. .. Lüke xix. 1-18
2nd Sunday after Pentecost	1 John iv. 8-21 Luke xvi. 1 or 19-31	.. ..	1 Cor. xiv. 28-40 Matth. iv. 18-25
3rd "	1 John iii. 13-18 Luke xiv. 16-24	.. ..	2 Cor. iii. 4-iv. 6 Matth. viii. 23-27
4th "	1 Pet. v. 6-11 Luke xv. 1-10	.. ..	Gal. iii. 13-26 Matth. xii. 30-50
5th "	Rom. viii. 18-23 Luke vi. 36-42	.. ..	Phil. ii. 6-18 Matth. viii. 28-ix. 9
6th "	1 Pet. iii. 8-15 Luke v. 1-11	.. ..	1 Cor. iii. 18-iv. 5 Matth. xiii. 3-23
7th "	Rom. vi. 3-11 Matth. v. 20-24	.. ..	1 Cor. i. 18-ii. 9 Matth. xiii. 24-43

For the rest of the ecclesiastical year we can use only the *Comes*, whose lessons are here almost identical with those of our *Book of Common Prayer*, only that they are sometimes rather shorter.

8th Sunday after Pentecost	Rom. vi. 19-23
9th "	Mark viii. 1-9 Rom. viii. 12-17 Matth. vii. 15-21
10th "	1 Cor. x. 6-13 Luke xvi. 1-9
11th "	1 Cor. xii. 2-11 Luke xix. 41-47
12th "	1 Cor. xv. 1-10 Luke xviii. 9-14
13th "	2 Cor. iii. 4-9 Mark vii. 31-37
14th "	Gal. iii. 16-22 Luke x. 23-37
15th "	Gal. v. 16-24 Luke xvii. 11-19
16th "	Gal. v. 26-7 Matth. vi. 24-33
17th "	Eph. iii. 13-21 Luke vii. 11-16
18th "	Eph. iv. 1-6 Luke xiv. 1-11
19th "	1 Cor. i. 4-8 Matth. xxii. 34-46
20th "	Eph. iv. 23-29 Matth. ix. 1-8
21st "	Eph. v. 15-21 Matth. xxii. 1-14
22nd "	Eph. vi. 10-17 John iv. 46-53
23rd "	Phil. i. 6-11 Matth. xviii. 23-35
24th "	Phil. iii. 17-21 Matth. xxii. 15-21
25th "	Col. i. 8-11 Matth. ix. 18-22
26th "	Rom. xi. 25-32? Mark xii. 28-34?
Sunday next before Advent	Jer. xxiii. 6-8 (for the Epistle) John vi. 5-14

The Roman service-books do not contain the lessons for the 26th Sunday after Pentecost, though, like the *Comes*, they appoint Jer. xxiii. 5-8 and John vi. 5-14 for the Sunday next before Advent. The Sarum missal adopts the modern method of reckoning by Sundays after Trinity, and even in the *Comes* the extra lesson

from the Apocalypse, and perhaps the Gospel also, bear upon the mystery now commemorated on the octave of Pentecost. Thus in the Roman use, as in our modern books, the Sundays of the year provided with Epistles and Gospels are fifty-four, in the *Comes* fifty-five, since the service for the octave of Epiphany could be taken for the first Sunday after Epiphany, if six Sundays should intervene between Jan. 6 and Septuagesima. It also deserves notice that in the Ambrosian Liturgy, which has not yet been displaced by the Roman in the province of Milan, as also in the Mozarabic use, there are six Sundays in Advent, which commences on the first Sunday after St. Martin's day (Nov. 11), not on the Sunday nearest to St. Andrew's day (Nov. 30), as in the rest.

X. *Menologies, or Calendars of Saints' Days, with their proper Lessons.*—The several schemes for ordering the Epistles and Gospels throughout the year, as adopted by the ancient church in its various branches, bear so little resemblance to each other that it seemed advisable to keep the Greek *Synaxaria* separate from the corresponding tables of the Coptic and Western communions. The menologies, on the other hand, wherein the lesser festivals and saints' day services are arranged according to their respective places in the ecclesiastical year, may very well be comprised in a single table. We select from the mass of such days those which have been widely celebrated or are in any other way characteristic or remarkable. The italic letters, *c, g, m, r, s*, will suffice to indicate what belongs to the Coptic, Gallican, Mozarabic, Roman (*Comes*), or Jerusalem Syriac books respectively. The lessons to which no such letter is annexed are of Greek origin, and we commence with the beginning of the Eastern ecclesiastical year, being Aug. 29 with the Copts, Sept. 1 with the Greeks. The variations noted (*e. g. Sept. 2 infra*) are those of Greek manuscripts adapted to church reading.

Aug. 29. The New Year (1st day of Tot)—

Evansong .. Matth. ix. 14-17

Matins .. Mark ii. 18-22.

Liturgy .. Luke iv. 14-22. &

The Copts kept the Beheading of John the Baptist a day later, *vide infra*.

Sept. 1. Simeon Stylites—

Col. iii. 12-16. Luke iv. 16-22. Also in s.

Table with 2 columns: Date and Reference. Includes entries for 22-xix. 12., 11. 1-26, etc., with references to Apoc., Acts, Mark, Num., etc.

ypse, and perhaps the Gospel the mystery how commemorated Pentecost. Thus in the Roman lection books, the Sundays of the first Epistles and Gospels are Comes fifty-five, since the service of Epiphany could be taken Sunday after Epiphany, if six intervene between Jan. 6 and Feb. 2 also deserves notice that in liturgy, which has not yet been common in the province of Milan, Mozarabic use, there are six Sundays which commences on the first of Martin's day (Nov. 11), not on that of St. Andrew's day (Nov. 30),

or Calendars of Saints's Days, Lessons.—The several schemes of Epistles and Gospels throughout by the ancient church in its bear so little resemblance to the present seemed advisable to keep the separate from the corresponding Eastern and Western communions. The other hand, wherein the lesser feast's day services are arranged in respective places in the ecclesial very well be comprised in a select from the mass of such days were widely celebrated or are characteristic or remarkable. c, g, m, r, s, will suffice to belong to the Coptic, Gallican, (Comes), or Jerusalem Syriac. The lessons to which no need more of Greek origin, and the beginning of the Eastern being Aug. 29 with the Copts, Greeks. The variations noted are those of Greek manuscripts reading.

Year (1st day of Tot)— song .. Matth. ix. 14-17; .. Mark ii. 18-22. .. Luke iv. 14-22, & kept the Beheading of John the later, vide infra. 2-16. Luke iv. 16-22. Also in z.

LECTIONARY

Table with 2 columns: Date and Reference. Includes entries for Sept. 2. John the Easter—, 1 Tim. ii. 1-7, etc., with references to Heb., Wake, Hari, Parham, etc.

LECTIONARY

Table with 2 columns: Date and Reference. Includes entries for The Greeks kept this festival on the Sunday after Pentecost, but on Nov. 1 (some place it July 1), The Holy Poor (Sancti Pauperum), Cosmas and Damianus—, 1 Cor. xii. 27-xiii. 7; Matth. x. 1, 5-8, etc.

Dec. 28. Holy Innocents, r—
Mosar. Jer. xxxi. 15-20; 2 Cor. i. 2-7;
 Matth. xviii. 1-11.

Jan. 1. Circumcision—1 Cor. xiii. 12-xiv. 5; Luke ii.
 20, 21; 40-52.
 For Western service, see p. 61.

.. 3. Saturday *πρὸ τῶν φώτων*—1 Tim. iii. 13-17; 5;
 Matth. iii. 1-6.

Sunday *πρὸ τῶν φώτων*—2 Tim. iv. 6-8 (B-C
 iii. 24); Mark i. 1-8.

.. 5. Vigil of *θεοφανία*—1 Cor. ix. 19-x. 4; Luke
 iii. 1-18.

.. 6. *θεοφανία* (Ephiphany)—
 Matins .. Mark i. 9-11.
 Liturgy .. Tit. ii. 11-14; iii. 4-7; Matth.
 iii. 13-17.

Saturday *μετὰ τὰ φώτα*—Eph. vi. 10-17;
 Matth. iv. 1-11.

Sunday *μετὰ τὰ φώτα*—Eph. iv. 7-13; Matth.
 iv. 12-17. Also in s.
 For the Coptic Ephiphany services see p. 60;
 for those of the West, p. 62.

.. 7. John the Kere-runner—1 John v. 1-8; John i.
 28-34. Also in s.

.. 8. Marriage at Cana, c—
 Evensong .. Matth. xix. 1-12.
 Matins .. John iv. 43-54.
 Liturgy .. John ii. 1-11.

.. 10. Gregory the Younger (Nysen)—Eph. iv. 7-13;
 Math. iv. 25-v. 12 (John x. 39-42, s).

.. 11. Theodosius the Coenobiarch—Luke vi. 17-23;
 x. 1-8, s.

.. 15. *Ἰωάννου τοῦ καλύβιτου* (Juhannas Tentoril)—
 Matth. iv. 25-v. 12, s.

.. 16. Mourning for our Lady, the Virgin, c—
 Evensong .. Luke x. 38-42.
 Matins .. Matth. xii. 35-50.
 Liturgy .. Luke i. 39-56.

.. 18. Chair of St. Peter, r—
Comes. Heb. v. 1-10; Matth. xvi. 13-18.
Gallic. Acts xii. 1-17; Matth. xvi. 13-19;
 John xxi. 16-19.
Mosar. 1 Pet. v. 1-5; Matth. xvi. 13-19.

.. 20. Euthymius—2 Cor. iv. 6-11; Matth. xl. 27-30.

.. 22. Timothy—2 Tim. i. 3-9; Matth. x. 32, 33, 37,
 38; xix. 27-30.

.. 23. Clement—Phil. ii. 9-7; Matth. xii. 1-8.

.. 28. Efreem patris nostri—Matth. v. 14-18.

Feb. 1. Vigil of Presentation—(*πρὸ ἑορτῆς*), Heb. vi.
 19, 20; vii. 1-7.

.. 2. Presentation of Christ in the Temple—
 Heb. vii. 7-17; Luke ii. 22-40. Also in s.
 For Coptic service see p. 60; for Western, p. 62.

.. 3. Simeon *ὁ θεοδόχος* and Anna—Heb. ix. 11-14;
 Luke ii. 25-38.

.. 15. Oneaimus the Apostle, bishop of Illyricum—
 Phileni. 1-3, 10-18, 23-25.

.. 23. Polycarp—Eph. iv. 7-13; John xii. 24-38.

.. 24. Finding of John Baptist's Head—
 Matina .. Luke vii. 18-29.
 Liturgy .. 2 Cor. iv. 6-11; Matth. xi.
 5-14 (2-15, s).

March 6. Hormas the Apostle, bishop of Dalmatia—
 Heb. xii. 1-10.

.. 9. The Forty Martyrs in Sebais—Heb. xii. 1-3?;
 Matth. xx. 1-16. Also in s.

.. 24. Vigil of the Annunciation—Luke i. 39-58 (Gale).

.. 25. Annunciation—Heb. ii. 11-18; Luke i. 24-38.
 Also in s.
Mosar. Phil. iv. 4-9; Matth. i. 1-23.
Sarum Ec. Luke i. 26-38.

April 1. Marian *Agryptiacae*—Luke vii. 36-50. See
 note on Sept. 18.

.. 23. St. George the Martyr, *ὁ τροπαιοφόρος*—
 Matins .. Mark xiii. 9-13 (B-C iii. 42).
 Liturgy .. Acts xii. 1-11 (Vod. Bezac), or
 1 Cor. iii. 9-17.

April 25. (Oct. 19, B-C iii. 24) Mark the Evangelist—
 Col. iv. 6, 10, 11, 18; Mark v. 1-7, 14, 15.

.. 30. James, son of Zebedee—Matth. x. 1-7, 14, 15.

May 2. Athanasius—Heb. iv. 14-v. 6; Matth. v. 14-19.

.. 21. Constantine and Helen—Acts xxx. 13-19 (xxvi.
 1, 12-20, B-C iii. 24); John x. 5-5, 27-30.

.. 26. Jude the Apostle—John xvi. 21-24.

June 11. Bartholomew and Barnabas the Apostles—
 Acts xi. 19-30; James v. 7-13.

.. 14. Elisha the Prophet—Mark v. 10-20; Luke iv.
 22-30. Also in s.

.. 19. Jude *ὁ ἀδελφός*—Mark vi. 1-13.

.. 23. Vigil of John the Baptist—
Comes. Jer. i. 5; Luke i. 5-17.
 Isai. xii. 27, &c.; Luke i. 18-25.

.. 24. Birth of John the Baptist—Rom. xiii. 11-xiv. 4;
 Luke i. 1-25, 57-80. Also in s.
Comes. Isai. xlix. 1-7; Luke i. 57-68.
Gallic. Isai. xl. 1-10; Acts xiii. 16-47;
 Luke i. 6-25, 56-67, 68, 80.
Mosar. Jer. i. 5-19; Gal. i. 11-24; Luke i.
 57-80.

.. 28. r. Vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul—Acts iii. 1, &c.;
 John xxi. 15-24.

.. 29. St. Peter and St. Paul—2 Cor. x. 21-xii. 9;
 Matth. xvi. 13-19. Also in s.
Gallic. Acts viii. 15-27; Matth. v. 1-16.
Mosar. Eph. i. 1-14; John xv. 1-16.
Sarum. Acts xii. 1-11; Matth. xvi. 13-19.

.. 30. The Twelve Apostles—Matth. x. 1-8 (ix. 36-
 x. 8, s).

July 8. Procopius—Luke vi. 17-19; ix. 1, 2; x. 16-21.

.. 22. Mary Magdalene, *ἡ κηροφόρος*—2 Tim. ii. 1-10;
 Mark xvi. 9-20 (Luke viii. 1-3, s).

Aug. 1. The Maccabees—Heb. xi. 24-40; Matth. x.
 16-22. Also in s.
Mosar. Wld. v. 1-5, 16, 17; Eph. i. 1, &c.;
 Luke ix. 1-6.

.. 6. Transfiguration—
 Matins .. Luke ix. 28 (28, s)-46, or
 Mark ix. 2-9.
 Liturgy .. 2 Pet. i. 10-19; Matth. xvii.
 1-8 (s adde 10-22).
 For the Coptic see p. 60; *Mosar.* as in octave
 of Pent-cost.

.. 7. Domestius the Martyr—Mark xi. 22-26; Matth.
 vii. 7, 8.

.. 15. Assumption of the Virgin—Phil. ii. 5-11;
 Luke x. 38-42.

.. 20. Thaddeus the Apostle—1 Cor. iv. 9-16; Matth.
 x. 16-22.

.. 25. Titus—2 Tim. ii. 1-10; Matth. v. 14-19.

.. 29 (30 of Copts, as 29 begins their new year). Be-
 heading of John the Baptist—
 Matina .. Matth. xiv. 1-13.
 Liturgy .. Acts xiii. 25-32 (30, B-C iii. 24).
 Mark vi. 14-30.

Also in s.
Comes. Heb. xi. 38, &c.; Mark vi. 17, &c.
Gallic. Heb. xi. 33-xii. 7; Matth. xiv. 1-14.
Mosar. 2 Cor. xii. 2-9; Matth. xiv. 1-14.

At the end of the Calendar are added in most
 lectionaries a few proper lessons for special occa-
 sions. Such are the following:—

Εἰς τὰ ἑγκαίνια, Dedication of a Church—2 Cor. v. 15-21,
 or Heb. ix. 1-7; John x. 22-28.

.. *Comes. Apoc.* xxii. 2, &c. *Gallic. Gen.* xxviii. 11-22.
 1 Cor. iii. 8, &c. 1 Cor. iii. 9-17.
 John x. 22-28. John x. 22-28.

.. 1 Kings viii. 22, &c. Luke xix. 1, &c. Luke xix. 1-10.

Εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας—James v. 10-16; Rom. vi. 16-23; xv.
 1-7; Matth. viii. 14-17; x. 1; John iv. 46-53.

Εἰς ἀνομβρία—James v. 17-20 (B-C iii. 24); Matth.
 xvi. 1-3; Luke iv. 21-26 (Hari. 5699).

Εἰς κοιμηθέντας—Acts ix. 32-42; Rom. xiv. 6-9; 1 Cor.
 xv. 20-58; 2 Cor. v. 1-10; 1 Thes. iv. 13-17;
 John v. 24-30. The last two lessons are included

nople, asserts that the people of Constantinople possessed a certain portion of himself, "quandam mei portione[m]." The council of Sardica (c. 7) desired the bishop of Rome, in case of need, to send "presbyters from his own side" (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου πλεούρου πρεσβυτέρους, de latere suo presbyteros) into the provinces in order to determine appeals from bishops who had been forced to abdicate by provincial councils [APPEAL, I. 127]. Legates of this kind were sent on various occasional missions. Thus Leo I. sent Julian of Cos to the emperor Marcian after the council of Chalcedon for the purpose of opposing the progress of the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies, and invested him for this particular duty with the full power of the papal see (Leo Mag. *Epist.* 113 [al. 59]), and in an epistle to Pulcheria states that he has constituted him his full representative that he might be a pledge and hostage of his own loyalty (Id. *Epist.* 112 [al. 58]). Sometimes the legates were to act in conjunction with the bishops of the province to which they were sent. So Leo I. sent Lucentius (a bishop) and Basilius (a priest) to Constantinople, joined in commission with Anastolius, then bishop, after the pseudo-synod of Ephesus, with power to receive into communion those who should repudiate their share in the council, the case of Dioscorus alone being reserved for the judgment of Rome (Leo I. *Epist.* 85 [al. 46]). Sometimes they were sent merely to inquire and report. So Leo I. sent Prudentius, a bishop, to Africa to ascertain the truth concerning certain alleged irregularities connected with the ordination of bishops. In this case he was to possess the authority of the papal see as far as inquiry went, but only to report to Rome the result of his inquiries (Leo I. *Epist.* 12 [al. 87]).

The great missionaries of early times, who have gone forth under the authority of the Roman see, are frequently spoken of as papal legates. Thus Augustine of Canterbury, who was sent by pope Gregory the Great, is sometimes spoken of as his legate, though it does not appear that when he became archbishop of the English greater powers were conferred on him than on other archbishops who received the pall from Rome (Thomassin, I. i. 31, 6). Or Boniface, the great apostle of Germany, Hincmar says (*Epist.* 30, c. 20, p. 201) that popes Gregory II. and Gregory III. constituted him "legatum Apostolicæ sedis," for the reformation of the Christian religion in the parts where he laboured. His commission, which was a peculiar one, empowered him to ordain presbyters and afterwards bishops, without assigning him any particular see. It was not until the year 751 that pope Zacharias, the successor of Gregory III., made him bishop of Mentz and metropolitan of Germany and part of Gaul (Thomassin, I. i. 31, 1-5).

The COUNCILS of the church have from the first afforded a field from the claims of papal legates. At Nicea the representatives of the Roman see were the two presbyters, Victor [or Vitus] and Vincentius, who would have accompanied the pope, if he had been able to make the long journey from Rome to Bithynia. Who were the presidents in this famous assembly has been matter of endless dispute. Eusebius (*Vita Const.* iii. 13) simply says that the emperor, after his opening speech, gave place to the presidents of

the assembly (παρεβίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς τῆς συνόδου πρεσβυτέροις); but who were these? Athanasius (*Apol. de Fuga*, c. 5, quoted by Theodoret, *E. II.* ii. 15) speaks of the venerable Hosius as a man who, from his weight of character, of course took a leading part in any synod where he was present (ποιᾶς γὰρ ὄχι ἡγήσατο συνέδοσι); but he gives no hint that he derived any precedence from papal delegation. There can, in fact, be little doubt that Hosius and Eusebius of Caesarea were the real presidents at Nicea, and that mainly through the favour of the emperor. Gelasius of Cyzicus (Labbe, ii. 155), writing towards the end of the fifth century, is the first to assert that Hosius appeared at Nicea as a delegate of Rome, and the same authority (*ib.* 267), in the confessedly imperfect list of subscriptions, makes Hosius sign first, followed by the Roman presbyters Victor (or Vito) and Vincentius. Perhaps Gelasius, who was evidently a wholly uncritical reporter, has transferred to Nicea the practice of his own age. For by the fifth century it had become a common practice for the popes to send representatives to councils.

In what capacity Hosius presided at the Council of Sardica has been much discussed; it seems probable that he owed his pre-eminence rather to his personal merits and the favour of the emperor than to any appointment of the see of Rome.

The African bishops in council at Carthage, A.D. 419, protested against the presence of the legates from Rome, declaring that sanction for sending such legates could be found in none of the councils, and entreating him to withdraw them for the sake of peace (*Cod. Eccl. Afric.* c. 138; Brun, *Canones*, i. 200). The legates, however, Faustinus, bishop of Potentia, and two presbyters named Philippus and Asellus, were received at the council, the place of Faustinus being second to Aurelius the president, in conjunction with Valentinus, bishop of Numidia (*Cod. Eccl. Afric. Præfat.*, in Brun, *Canones*, i. 156.)

In the council of Constantinople of the year 381, neither Damasus of Rome nor any other Western prelate took any share, either personally or by legate.

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, was locumtenens or legate of Rome in the Nestorian controversy; "vicem nostram propter maria et terrena spatia ipsi sancto fratri meo Cyrillo delegavimus," says Celestinus in the document by which he professes to excommunicate Nestorius (Labbe, iii. 373). To the council of Ephesus the pope had sent two bishops, Arcadius and Projectus, and a presbyter, Philip, with instructions to regulate their conduct by the advice of Cyril, but in all things to uphold the authority of the see of Rome. They were not to press their attendance upon the assembly; when they were present, they were to take notes of what passed, without joining in the debates; at the close of the council, they were to report to the pope himself, and afterwards accompany Cyril to Constantinople, to lay the conclusions of the Fathers before the emperor (Greewood, *Cathedra Petri*, i. 335). Great pains were taken on this occasion to make the vindication of orthodoxy at Ephesus appear the work of the pope, acting through Cyril and the legates; their instructions were read in the council, and re-

(παρεβίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς τῆς πόλεως): but who were these? *Pol. de Fuga*, c. 5, quoted by *J. ii. 15*) speaks of the venerable who, from his weight of character a leading part in any synod present (τοῖας γὰρ οὐχ ἡγήσατο) gives no hint that he derived from papal delegation. There is little doubt that Hosius and Irenaeus were the real presidents at Carthage, mainly through the favour of the emperor. Hosius of Eusebius of Cyzicus (Labbe, ii. 155), at the end of the fifth century, is the one that Hosius appeared at Nicæna in 325. Hosius of Eusebius of Rome, and the same authority confessedly imperfect list of successors Hosius sign first, followed by Eusebius Victor (or Vito) and Eusebius Gelasius, who was evidently a contemporary reporter, has transferred the name of Hosius to the pope of the same name of his own age. For by the time Hosius had become a common practice to send representatives to councils, Hosius presided at the Council of Carthage in 390. Hosius had been much discussed; it seems to have owed his pre-eminence rather to his merits and the favour of the emperor than to any appointment of the see of

Hosius in council at Carthage, declared against the presence of the emperor, declaring that sanction for legates could be found in none and entreating him to withdraw for the sake of peace (*Cod. Eccl. Brun.*, *Canones*, i. 200). The legates were Faustinus, bishop of Potentia, and Eusebius, bishop of Asellus. At the council, the place of Faustinus was taken by Aurelius the president, in the person of Valentinus, bishop of Numidia. See *Præfat.*, in *Brun.*, *Canones*,

of Constantinople of the year 325 of Rome nor any other took any share, either personally

of Alexandria, was locum tenens of Rome in the Nestorian canon nostram propter marina et in sancto fratri meo Cyrillo et Celestino in the document of excommunication Nestorius. To the council of Ephesus sent two bishops, Arcadius and a presbyter, Philip, with authority to regulate their conduct by the emperor in all things to uphold the see of Rome. They were not present upon the assembly; present, they were to take notes without joining in the debates of the council, they were to report to the emperor, and afterwards to accompany the emperor, and to lay the conclusions of the emperor (Greenwood, 335). Great pains were taken to make the vindication of orthodoxy appear the work of the pope, Cyril and the legates; their read in the council, and re-

corded in its minutes; the legate Philip then declared its proceedings to have been in conformity with them, and in the name of the see of Rome pronounced the condemnation and deposition of Nestorius, "according to the formula which the holy pope Celestinus had committed to his care." Arcadius and Projectus signified their assent. Cyril then caused the papal ratification to be recorded in the terms in which it had been conveyed to them (Greenwood, p. 339 f.).

These may suffice as instances of the employment of legates to represent the Roman see in the great councils. One or two examples may be given of legates sent from Rome to England, as having a special interest of their own.

At the council of Hatfield (A.D. 680) John the Roman preceptor was present, having come from Rome under the guidance of the English Benedictine Bishop, to introduce the Roman manner of saying the offices in his new monastery at Wearmouth. It is said of him that he joined with the rest in confirming the decrees of the Catholic faith (pariter Catholicæ fidei decreta firmabat), i.e. in receiving the decrees of the first five general councils, and declaring the orthodoxy of the English church in respect of the Monothelites; but nothing is said of any precedence granted to him; the council was summoned by command of the English kings, and presided over by the English archbishop Theodore (*Bede*, *H. E.* iv. 17, 18; *Haddan* and *Stubbs*, iii. 141 ff.).

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ad an. 785) relates that in that year there was a contentious synod at Calcey [probably Chelsea], and also that in that year messengers were sent from Rome by pope Adrian to England, to renew the faith and the peace which St. Gregory had sent us by Augustine the bishop, and they were worshipfully received. The head of this legation was George, bishop of Ostia. These legates, in fact, were present at two councils, one in the north and one in the south of England, probably at Fichale and Chelsea respectively, but as to the extent of the authority they claimed we know nothing, except that they made application to the Mercian and Northumbrian kings respectively for the assembling of the councils. Their names do not appear among the subscriptions (*Haddan* and *Stubbs*, iii. 443-401).

The bearers of the letters sent by pope John IV. (A.D. 640) to the Irish bishops and abbots about the Pelagian heresy were in some sort legates, as two of them at least—Hilary, the arch-presbyter, and John, the primicerius—are described as vicegerents of the apostolic see (servans locum sanctæ sedis apostolicæ). (*Bede*, *H. E.* ii. 19, p. 100.)

And it may be observed generally that in the earlier ages of the church papal legates in councils by no means took the position which a later age assigned to them, after Gregory VII.'s vigorous assertion of the privileges of his see. Thus the legate Faustinus, at the council of Carthage, took his place below the bishop of that see, Aurelius; Eusebius of Vercelli, legate as he was, yielded precedence at Alexandria to Athanasius. At Chalcedon [l. 334] the lay dignitaries occupied the place of honour, and controlled the proceedings of the council throughout; on their left were the Roman legates, on their right Dioscorus of Alexandria and Juve-

of Jerusalem. Julianus, who was rather a legate to the emperor than to the council, took his place after the first twenty bishops. Cyril took the first place among the bishops in the third general council at Ephesus, but this precedence was probably due as much to his rank as patriarch of Alexandria, as to the fact that on this occasion he was vicegerent of the pope [*EPIPHANES*, I. 615]. Moreover, legates did not (in the period with which we are concerned) attempt to set themselves above the sovereign power, but addressed themselves to kings and emperors respecting the summoning of councils and other ecclesiastical business. As the claims of papal legates simply represent the claims of the papacy, the further account of them must be referred to the article *Pope*.

2. The *Apostolicarij* or *Responsales* were so called, as being the persons through whom the *Responsa* or judgments of their principal were communicated to the court to which they were accredited. Hincmar says that *Apostolicarij* were instituted when Constantine removed the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, from which time agents (*responsales*) both of Rome and of other chief sees were maintained at the imperial court; a statement probable in itself, though the authority is late. Hosius, bishop of Cordova, certainly acted as a kind of ecclesiastical minister at the court of Constantine, but there is no evidence whatever that he represented the see of Rome there, or that he held any definite office under Constantine (*Stanley*, *Eastern Church*, p. 112, 3rd edition). *Petrus de Murea* (*De Concord. Sacror. et Imp.* v. 16) places the formal institution of *Apostolicarij* at a later date. Referring to the letter of Leo the Great to Julianus, bishop of Cos (*Epist.* 89), in which the pope gives him a general commission to act on behalf of the Roman see at the court of Constantinople in the repression of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, he says, "this gave occasion to the sending of agents or *apostolicarij* (*responsales*) of the apostolic see to the capital city, especially after the time of Justinian; . . . for at that time there were constantly in the court *diaconi responsales*, who both took charge before the emperor of cases in which the Roman church was peculiarly interested, and kept watch over matters of faith and discipline. At the same time they were as it were hostages of the public faith, guaranteeing the obedience due to princes."

Several legates of the Roman see at the court of Constantinople are known to history. Thus Liberatus records (*Breviarium*, c. 22) that pope Agapetus made the deacon Pelagius his *apostolicarij* at the imperial court; and Gregory the Great relates that he himself, when a deacon, acted as *apostolicarij* of Pelagius II. with the emperor, using the expression, "tempore quo exhibendis responsis ad Principem ipse transmissus sum" (*Dialogus*, iii. 23). Justinian (*Novel.* 6, c. 2; 123, c. 25) desires bishops not to come in person to court, but to transact their business there by the agency of *apostolicarij*.

After the 6th Oecumenical Council we find Constantine Pogonatus writing to Leo II. to send him an *apostolicarij*, who in all ecclesiastical matters should not only represent his person but actually possess his power, "in emergentibus sive dogmaticis sive canonicis et prorsus in omni-

bus ecclesiasticis negotiis vestrae sanctitatis exprimat ac gerat personam." (*Conc.* vi. Act. 18, Labbe.) Leo in consequence sent the subdeacon Constantine, who had been one of his legates at the council, and requested the emperor to receive him as his minister, "ut ministrum digne suscipiat." Thomassin (*Vet. et Nor. Ecol. Discip.* i. 2, c. 108, §§ 27, 28) thinks that this was an evasion of the request to send a legate with full powers, lest he should be induced by the power of the emperor to commit himself to acts for which the papal see would be responsible.

3. The popes of Rome have frequently granted special privileges, such as may be called legatine or vicarial, to certain distinguished sees. The first of these was that of Thessalonica. In the year 379 the great prefecture of Illyricum Orientale was assigned to the Eastern emperor. But the see of Rome had probably for a long time claimed patriarchal authority over this division of the empire, and Damasus, the then pope, was unwilling to allow a mere political severance to affect his spiritual authority, and therefore appointed Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, metropolitan of that prefecture, his representative or vicar for the diocese of Illyricum Orientale (Greenwood, *Cathed. Pet.* i. 259). From the sanctities of our information as to this transaction we know little or nothing of the exact nature of the powers conferred on this legate. Leo the Great (*Epist. ad Avilium Thesa.*) confirms to the archbishop of Thessalonica powers over Illyricum which (he says) had been conferred under his predecessors Damasus, Siricius, and Anastasius. See the *Responsio Pii VI. ad Metropolitanus Mogunt.* etc. super Nuntiariis Apost. Romae 1790. Vicarial or legatine powers were also conferred on the see of Arles, the "Gallican Rome." Thus Zosimus (A.D. 418) made Patroclus, bishop of Arles, his vicegerent; Hilary gave the same office to Leontius; Gelasius I. to Aeonius; Symmachus to Caesarius; Vigilius to Auxonius; and at length, the same privilege having been continued to a series of bishops, it was definitely granted and assigned to the see of Arles (Gregorii *Epist.* iv. 50, 52, 54). See also Gregory's seventh response to Augustine of Canterbury, in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 22. And the same thing took place also with regard to other sees.

(*Petrus de Marca, de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. v.; Böhmer, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*, lib. iii., tit. 37, c. 36; Van Espen, *Jus Ecclesiasticum*; Thomassin, *Nota et Vet. Ecol. Discip.*; Walther, *Kirchenrecht*; Jacobson in Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.*, s. v. *Legaten*.) [P. O. and C.]

LEGATION (*Legatio, πρεσβεία*). A body of legates entrusted with any commission, e.g. *Soc. H. E.* iv. 12; *Soz. H. B.* vi. 11. When the legates were not a mere deputation, but had full power to act on their own authority, it was called a free legation, "legatio libera" (*Cod. Ecol. Afric.* c. 94, 97; see Ducange, *Gloss.*). The commission given to the legates was called a letter of legation, "litterae legationis." At the 6th council of Carthage the various legates presented their credentials, which were read to the council, "offerentibus legationis litteris et recitatis" (*Cod. Ecol. Afric.* c. 90). Sometimes it appears to have been used for the duty en-

trusted to a legate. Thus Leo I. (*Epist.* 26) speaks of a commission given to the emperor Pulcheria to procure the summoning of a fresh council after the Pseudo-Synod of Ephesus as a legation, hæc sibi speculiter a beatissimo Petro Apostolo legatione commissa. But the word for the most part is convertible with LEGATE.

[P. O.]

LEGENDA. This word properly denotes whatever is appointed to be read to the congregation during public worship. It has however acquired the restricted sense of the records of the lives and acts of the saints and martyrs, which were appointed to be thus read. Collections of these records date from the 2nd century, and were known as *Acta* (i. e. the registers containing the official records), *Sanctorum*, or *Acta Martyrum*. They contained the most important sayings and deeds of the saints, both martyrs and confessors. The earliest reputed compiler of the acts of martyrs is St. Clement of Rome, who is said to have employed scribes "notarios," to collect the acts of martyrs throughout the different districts of the city. The practice appears to have spread into the African church. St. Cyprian (*Ep. 57, ad Clericum*) writes: "Denique et dies eorum quibus excedunt, annotat, ut commemoraciones eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus."

Eusebius also (*Hist.* v. 4) speaks of such a collection, "Whoever cares to do so, may easily obtain the fullest information on this subject by reading the epistle itself," which, as I have already said, I have inserted in the collection of the *Acts of Martyrs* [τῆ τῶν μαρτυρίων συναγωγῆ]. He gives at length the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp and his companions (iv. 15. See also vii. 41-42).

Hence Eusebius has been often looked upon as the first to compile a martyrology. St. Jerome made a compendium of the acts as compiled by Eusebius.

Any further question as to the growth of martyrologies belongs more properly to another place [MARTYROLOGY]. It is sufficient here to point out their origin and antiquity.

In the persecution of Diocletian many authentic records of this nature perished, in consequence of a general edict to burn them (Gregor. Taron. *de Gloria Martyr.*). Gelasius (A.D. 492) rejected as spurious writings of this nature then in circulation, and forbade them to be read in churches.

The third council of Carthage (A.D. 397), Can. 47, after ruling that besides the canonical scriptures nothing should be read publicly in the church under the name of Holy Scripture, adds that the passions of the martyrs may be read on their anniversaries. "Licet etiam legi passionem martyrum, quum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur." And it appears from various sermons of St. Augustine (*Ser. xlviii. de Sanctis*, &c.) that the practice was general in his day. Cassiodorus, in the 6th century, writing to certain abbats says (*Instit. div. Lett.* c. 32), "Passiones martyrum legite constanter."

The practice was to read the "acts" of those saints and martyrs who were to be commemorated in the liturgy on the day following, in order that the faithful might join in the commemora-

* I. e. from the martyrs of Lyons to Eleutherus.

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of Carthage (A. D. 397), which besides the canonical should be read publicly in the name of Holy Scripture, adds of the martyrs may be read on the anniversary of their death. "Licitat etiam legi possessiones anniversarii eorum dies cele- brantur in variis sermonibus." (*Ber. xlviii. de Sanctis*, &c.) that general in his day. Cassiodorus, writing to certain *de Lit. c. 32*), "Passiones constantur."

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tion with memories refreshed. When the daily services were reduced to order, the martyrology was appointed to be read in choir, at the end of Prime, after the Orison (Oratio) which is followed by the usual "Benedicamus Domino," R. Deo gratias; the lection which contains the memorials of the saints for the next day being read. The lection is followed by the *Verse* and *Response*. V. Pretiosa in conspectu Domini. R. Mors sanctorum ejus; and a few prayers.

From a MS. appendix to the Roman Responsorial and Antiphony, which is considered to be of the 9th century, it appears that the passion and acts of a saint were only read in the churches dedicated to that saint (ubi ipsius titulus erat) until the time of pope Adrian I. A. D. 772.

This reading of the martyrology with the prayers which follow it is usually considered a distinct office from Prime, and known as *officium capitulare*. In many churches it was said in a different place. Thus in the old statutes of the church of Paris: "Thence (i. e. from the choir after Prime) they go into the chapter house, [or possibly another chapel in the church], where, after the reading of the acts of the saints, and the diptychs of the deceased, let prayers be made for their repose." [Inle in capitulum progrediuntur, ubi gestis sanctorum et diptychis defunctorum perfectis, fiant preces pro eorum requiem.] Again, in the rite of Avranches: "Prime ended, let the brothers assemble in the chapter house, and let the lection of the Martyrology be read, lest any festival of a saint which should be celebrated on the morrow be omitted through inadvertence." [Primâ finitâ, in capitulum convenient fratres, Martyrologii lectio legatur; ne aliqua sancti festivitatis in crastino celebranda negligenter omittatur.] So also the old ritual of St. Martin at Tours. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, A. D. 742, introduced the practice into his chapter among his reforms. On the other hand the martyrology was often read in choir, not in chapter. This was directed by the old *ordinarium* of Seulis, which, after directions for the office of Prime, proceeds: "After the aforesaid orison the calendar* (calenda) is read by one of the boys, and terminates thus: and of all the many other holy martyrs and confessors and virgins. Then the anniversary which is contained in the Martyrology is announced." So also the *ordinarium* of the Cathedral of Tours. "Then follow the lection from the martyrology, read in choir with a sufficiently loud voice . . . A boy says 'Vive, Domine, benedicere.' The priest gives the *benediction*,^d and after the reading of the lection is to say "Pretiosa in conspectu," &c. After this a boy is to announce the anniversary which is to be celebrated on the following day. The reading of the Martyrology in chapter appears to have been limited to the more important monastic houses and colleges of canons, and usually in connexion with the reading of the *rubric of the house*, which by the council of Aix in Chapelle (A. D. 817) was directed to be bound in

^b Locus in quem conveniunt Monachi et Canonici, sic dictum, inquit Papias, quod capitulum ubi legantur (Du- rante in loco). [CHAPEL-HOUSE, I. 349.]

^c I. e. the list of names for the day.

^d I. e. the appointed benedictory formula before the lection.

one volume with the martyrology. The custom gradually died out (it had ceased at St. Martin's at Tours in the 15th century); and in the printed breviaries, monastic as well as secular, the *officium capitulare* is printed so as to form part of Prime without any break.

In a decree of the Congregation of Rites (10 Jun. 1690. Meratus in *Ind. Decr. Brev.* 163) we find the following ruling:—

"After what has been said, the hour of Prime is terminated when 'Benedicamus Domino' is said, and what follows is only a sort of appendix to the church here inserts daily the reading of the Martyrology, and Prime of the Blessed Virgin, when this is to be said, so anything else may be inserted; though we do not recommend that this should be done, because what is now supplemented is considered to complete Prime as it were [Primam veluti integrare],* or to be an additional part of it."

In addition to the readings at Prime, on festivals with three nocturns, the lessons of the second nocturn are as a rule taken from the acts of the saint of the day.

The custom of reading at nocturns such acts as were worthy of credit is thought to have grown up in the 8th century; that of reading them in the liturgy much earlier, as has been already stated. They were read before the epistle and briefly recapitulated in the preface. In the course of the liturgy, the bishop ascended the chair (cathedram enseculente) and gave an explanation of the Fathers in honour of the martyrs (see, *inter alia*, S. August. Sermo 2, *de S. Steph.*). This custom was kept up in France till the 9th century, and in Spain till beyond the 10th; and the acts were inserted in the sacramentaries and missals of both countries.† They were never inserted in the Roman, as appears from the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries and missals, which make but sparse and cautious mention of the martyrs and their sufferings in the preface alone.

Among Latin martyrologies, those compiled by Bede, and by the Benedictine monk Usuardus, in the 9th century, may be mentioned.

The Greek equivalent to the martyrology is the menology (*μηνολόγιον*), so called because its contents are arranged according to months. The lection for the day is called the "synaxarion" (*συναξαρίον*), and is inserted at full length in the menæa (which contains the variable parts of the office, and so in some measure correspond to the proprium Sanctorum of the Latin breviaries) after the sixth ode of the canon for the day said at Lauds. It is introduced by its proper stichos, nearly always two iambic lines, containing some allusion to the saint or play upon his name, followed by a hexameter line, of the

* I. e. to fill up the measure of. Compare Lucretius, t. 1031.

† The Mozarabic Missal is still distinguished for the variety and length of its prefaces, called *Illatioes*. They vary with each mass, and that for St. Vincent, for example, occupies more than three closely-printed quarto columns, and one and a half or nearly two columns of the same type is a frequent length. The prefaces of the old Gallican Missal, called *Involutions* or *Contextationes*, are as varied as the Mozarabic, but as a rule considerably shorter. [PREFACE.]

nature of a "memoria technica" of the date. There is usually more than one synaxarion to a day, each in commemoration of a different saint; in which case, with few exceptions, each has its own Ionic stichos; but the first alone the hexameter line. Other saints of the day are commemorated by the simple reciting of their names and death, stating usually its manner, followed by a stichos, but with no synaxarion. These readings and commemorations are concluded with the clause—"By their holy intercessions, O God, have mercy upon us. Amen" (ταῖς αὐτῶν ἁγίαις πρεσβείαις, ὁ θεὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ἀμήν).⁴ There are great variations in different menologies. The emperor Basil the Macedonian directed one to be compiled, A.D. 885, which may be taken as a type of others.

Baronius, *Præf. ad Martyr. Rom.* Paris, 1607; Bona, *de Div. Psal.* c. xvi. 19; Durant, *de Rit. Eccl.* iii. c. 18; Gavanti, *Comm. in Kub. Miss. Rom.* sec. v. c. 21; Martene, *de Ant. Rit.* iv. 8; and the *Breviaris* and the *Meneia* passim; Cavalieri, *Op. Lit.* vol. ii. cap. 37, Dec. 2, and c. 41, Dec. 12 and 17, &c. See also Augusti, *Christ. Archaeologia*, vol. vi. p. 104. [H. J. H.]

LEGER, ST. [LEODEGARIUS.]

LENEY, COUNCIL OF (*Leniense Concilium*), held at Lenev in Ireland, A.D. 630, or thereabouts, respecting Easter, which was kept differently then in Scotland and Ireland from what it was in Rome. In other words, if the fourteenth day of the moon fell on a Sunday, it was kept on that Sunday, and not the following. St. Fintan here prevailed with his countrymen in favour of the old rule; but it was unfair of contemporaries to call them "Quartodecimans" at that account. (Ussher, *Brit. Eccl.* c. 17; comp. Mansi, x. 611.)

[E. S. Ff.]

LENT (*τεσσαρακοστή, Quadragesima*. The English name is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Lencten*, spring; with which may be compared the German *Lenz*, and the Dutch *Lente*. The titles for this season in languages of Latin derivation are merely corruptions of the name *Quadragesima*, as the French *Carême*, Italian *Quaresima*, etc. So also in the Celtic languages, as the Welsh *Garweys*, Manx *Kuryys*, Breton *Coryz*, etc. In Teutonic and allied languages, the name for the season merely indicates the fast, as the German *Fastenzeit*, Dutch *Vaste*, etc. So also in the Calendar of the Greek church it is ἡ νήστεια).

1. *History of the observance.*—We can trace up to very early times the existence of a preparatory fast to Easter, for it is mentioned definitely by Irenæus and Tertullian. While, however, the fast seems to have been one universally kept, there seems to have been very great latitude as

to the duration of the fast. Thus Irenæus writing to Victor, bishop of Rome, and referring to the disputes as to the time of keeping Easter, adds that there is the same dispute as to the length of the preliminary fast. "For," he says, "some think they ought to fast for one day, others for two days, and others even for several, while others reckon forty hours both of day and night to their day" (οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἕρας ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτερῶν συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν). Irenæus then goes on to say that this variety is not merely a thing of his own time, but of much older date (πολὸν πρότερον); an important statement, as carrying back the existence of the fast practically up to apostolic times (Irenæus, *Ep. ad Vict.*; apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. 24).

Before, however, we pass on to consider the references in Tertullian, it must be noted that much discussion has arisen as to the punctuation of the above passage; for the translation of Rufinus puts a full stop after *τεσσαράκοντα*, a plan which is adopted by some, as by Stieren and Harvey, the most recent editors of Irenæus. We must remark, however, that not only are the MSS. said to be unanimous in giving the first-mentioned reading, but as Valesius (*not. in loc.*) justly points out, the general run of the Greek is palpably in favour of the same way.⁵ (For a defence of the opposite theory, see Massuet, *Diss. in Iren.* ii. 23.)

We pass on next to consider the evidence furnished by Tertullian, who in one place speaks of the fast "die Paschæ," as "communis et quasi publica jejunii religio" (*De Orat.* c. 18). This, of course, would be a fast on Good Friday. That the fast, however, was not confined to this day only, we learn from another place, where writing as a Montanist he says of the Catholics that they considered that the only fasts which Christians should observe were those "in which the bridegroom was taken away from them" (*De Jejuniis*, c. 2; cf. also c. 13, where he draws a distinction between the obligation of the fast of the above-mentioned days and other fasts, especially the Stations, so called). Here then we have a fast for the period during which our Saviour was under the power of death.

Thus far it would appear that there was in any case a fast, whether on the day of our Lord's death, or for the above longer period; but in some cases extra days were added, varying in different churches. At a later period the same kind of variation prevailed, as we find, e.g. from Socrates and Sozomen. Thus the former (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 22) speaks of those in Rome as fasting for three

⁵ For *ἡμέραν*, Valesius (*not. in loc.*) conjectured that *νηστειῶν* should be read, on account of the difficulty of understanding the expression "day," as applied in any sense to a period of 40 hours. There is, however, no MS. authority for this, and it cuts the knot of the difficulty rather than solves it.

⁶ Thus a climax seems indicated in the καὶ οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, and we should look for some connecting particle with the ἕρας. The Latin of Rufinus is "nonnulli etiam quadragesima, ita ut horas diurnas . . ." the *ita* has a decidedly suspicious appearance after the termination of the preceding word. Moreover, the fact introduced by *ita ut*, as to the fast being observed during the hours both of day and night, is simply inexplicable when taken in connexion with the preceding "nonnulli etiam quadragesima."

⁴ The following, for St. Polycarp (Feb. 23), may serve as a specimen:

Στίχοι. σοὶ Πολύκαρπος ὀλοκαυτῶθ ἁλόε,
κασπὸν πόλιν δοῦν ἐκ πυρὸς ξενότητος.

εἰκάδι ἐν τριτάτῃ κατὰ φλόξ Πολύκαρπον ἔκαυσε.

⁵ This is the usual form of words and the invariable part of the clause. Sometimes it runs "By the prayers of thy martyrs, O Lord Christ, have mercy upon us and save us. Amen" (ταῖς τῶν σὸν μαρτύρων εὐχαῖς, Χριστὲ ὁ θεὸς, ἐλέησον καὶ σώσον. Ἀμήν).

the fast. Thus Irenaeus writes of Rome, and referring to the time of keeping Easter, the same dispute as to the binary fast. "For," he says, ought to fast for one day, and others even for several, forty hours both of day and night (of δε τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας νηστείας συμπερούσι τὴν νηστείαν then goes on to say is not merely a thing of his much older date (παλαιοῦς statement, as carrying of the fast practically up to Irenaeus, Ep. ad Hæc., apud v. 24).

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weeks before Easter, except on Saturdays and Sundays. In Illyria, through all Greece, and in Alexandria [those of Illyria, the West (ὁ πρὸς δόξαν throughout all Libya, in Egypt and Palestine (Sozomen, Hist. Eccles. vii. 18)], a fast of six weeks' duration was observed. Others again continued it for seven weeks; these are spoken of vaguely by Socrates as ἄλλοι, and more specifically by Sozomen as those of Constantinople, and the countries round about as far as Phoenicia. Socrates, however, states that these, while beginning the fast seven weeks before Easter, only fasted for fifteen days by intervals (τρεῖς μῶνας νηθημῶναι ἐκ διαλημμάτων); and Sozomen speaks of some who fasted three weeks by intervals (σποράδην) out of the six or seven weeks. Lastly, some fasted for two weeks, as the Montanists did.

Gregory the Great (Hom. in Evang. l. 16. 5; vol. i. 1494, ed. Bened.) speaks of the fast as of thirty-six days' duration, that is to say, of six weeks, not counting in the six Sundays. It will have been noticed above that Sozomen speaks of six weeks as the period observed by the Westerns, whereas it lasted through seven weeks in Constantinople and the East. Now in the East, Saturday as well as Sunday partook of a fasting character,* and thus the number of actual fasting days would be in either case thirty-six. Of course those Eastern churches which only took six weeks would have but thirty-one days' fast. [The Saturday which was Easter Eve was of course in all cases excepted from the general rule of Saturdays.] In any case thirty-six was the maximum number of days' fast' (cf. Cassian, Collat. xxi. 24, 25; Patrol. xlix. 1200).

By whom the remaining four days were added, that is Ash-Wednesday and the three days following it, does not clearly appear. Gregory the Great (ob. A.D. 604) has often been credited with it (see e.g. the Micrologus, c. 49; Patrol. cli. 1013), but his remark which we have referred to above seems conclusive against this. The evidence also derivable from the Gregorian sacramentary, into which we must enter in detail when we come to speak of the liturgical part of our subject, points the same way. Thus the headings for these first four days never include the term Quadragesima, which occurs for the first time on the Sunday; and there seems ground for omitting the words *cajut jejuniu* in the heading to Ash-Wednesday. Martene (De Ant. Eccles. Rit. iii. 58, ed. Venice, 1783) shews that even after the time of Gregory the Great,

* There is some difficulty here in the remark as to the Roman fast not holding on the Saturday. See Valsius's not. in loc.

† In illustration of the longer period of the fast observed in the East, we may refer to the case mentioned by Photius (Biblioth. 107; Patrol. Gr. cli. 371).

‡ For an illustration of this, see e.g. Chrysostom (Hom. xi. in Gen. § 2; vol. iv. 101, ed. Gaume), who speaks of the fast on Saturday and Sunday. As regards the West an exception must be made in the case of Milan, where Saturday was viewed as in the East (see Ambrose, de Vita et Jejunio, infra), also for Gaul (see Aurelian, infra).

§ We may refer here to the notion that, since thirty-six days was one-tenth of the year, therefore in Lent was fulfilled the Mosaic precept of paying tithes (Casellian, l. c.).

the four additional days cannot for some time have been observed, at any rate at all universally, for the *Regula Magistri*, a writing apparently of the 7th century, orders that from Sexagesima the monks should fast till the evening on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, but that on other days up to Quadragesima they should take their meal at the ninth hour. Thus by the addition of these six days, the diminution caused in Lent by the taking out of the six Sundays was exactly counterbalanced (c. 28, *Patrol.* lxxxviii. 997). Clearly, therefore, this writer can in no way have viewed Lent as definitely beginning with Ash-Wednesday, and indeed the following day is not reckoned as part of the fast at all. On the other hand, the addition is certainly not to be fixed later than the time of Charlemagne, for (Martene, l. c.) the title "feria quarta in capite jejunii" occurs in MSS. of sacramentaries of and perhaps before his time. Similar evidence is furnished by the *Rule* of Sierac bishop of Metz, in the latter part of the 8th century (c. 30, *Patrol.* lxxxix. 1071), and apparently in the Penitential of Egbert, archbishop of York from A.D. 732 to 766 (l. i. 37, *Patrol.* lxxxix. 410).

Others have referred the addition to Gregory II. (ob. A.D. 731), but the matter seems quite doubtful. It may be remarked here in connexion with this latter prelate, that the *Micrologus* (c. 50, *supra*) states that it was he who first required the Thursdays throughout Lent to be kept as fasts, contrary to the ancient Roman usage. It is to Melchisedes that the appointment of Thursdays as exceptions to the law of fasting in Lent is referred. This, however, is very doubtful, when viewed in connexion with the words of Gregory the Great already quoted.

Considering the diversity which we have found to prevail as to the duration of Lent, it is curious to see how persistently the word *τεσσαράκοντα* is adhered to, a point which puzzled Socrates (l. c.) in the 5th century. Although the origin of this name is by no means clear, there are at any rate some reasonable grounds for connecting it with the period during which our Lord yielded to the power of death, which was estimated at forty hours [e.g. from noon on Friday till 4 A.M. on Sunday]; and we have seen that Tertullian twice refers to the fast as continuing for the days "in quibus ablatu est sponsum." We must also not lose sight of the forty days' fasts of Moses, Elijah, and our Lord, as being especially suggestive of the number of forty. It will have been noticed that when the duration of the fast was considerably lengthened, in the majority of cases the number of days of actual fasting was still approximately forty.

2. *Object and purport of Lent.*—We may inquire in the next place what was the primary idea in the institution of such a fast, and what other reasons were subserved in the maintenance of it. (A) From a passage of Tertullian already cited (*de Jejunio*, c. 13) it is clear that the fast primarily lasted for the time during which our Lord was under the power of death, to mark the mourning of the church when the bridegroom

¶ It is clear that in some parts the additional four days cannot have been accepted for a long time, for Martene (p. 59) speaks of the end of the 11th century as the period when they were recognised in Scotland.

was taken away. Of this mourning then, Lent is the perpetual commemoration. It is interesting to note here that the Montanists who observed three Lents in the course of the year (Jerome, *Epist.* 41, *ad Marcellum*, § 3; vol. i. 189, ed. Vallarsi), and kept one of them after Pentecost (Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.* ix. 15; vol. vii. 51), still agreed with the Catholics in viewing it as the mourning for the absent bridegroom, in accordance with our Lord's declaration.

(B) This primary reason having been fixed, we need not dwell on that reason for its maintenance drawn from its use as a means of quickening zeal, and as an aid to devotion generally, since this is applicable to any fast and has no exclusive reference to Lent. This particular fast, however, served as a special preparation for several important events directly connected with Easter. Chief among these was the Easter communion, which, even in the earlier days of the church, when Christians ordinarily communicated every Sunday, must have had an exceptional prominence; much more in later times when this frequency of communion had greatly diminished, and we find for example canons of councils ordering that all Christians should communicate at least three times a year, of which Easter should be one. (See *e.g.* *Concil. Aquitense* [A.D. 506], can. 63, 64; Labbe, iv. 1393.) This idea is dwelt upon by Chrysostom (*in eos qui primo pascha jejulant*, § 4; vol. i. 746, ed. Gaume; also *Hom.* 1, § 4, vol. iv. 10), and by Jerome (*Comm. in Jonam*, lii. 4; vol. vi. 416).

(γ) Easter again was the special time for the administration of baptism, which was necessarily preceded by a solemn preparation and fasting. The importance of the Lent fast to those about to be baptized is dwelt upon by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* i. 5; p. 18, ed. Touttée). The names of those who sought baptism had to be given in some time before (*ἀνοματογραφία*, *Pro-catech.* c. 1, p. 2; cf. c. 4, p. 4). A council of Carthage or Laus that this shall be done a long time (*diu*) before the baptism (*Conc. Carth.* iv. [A.D. 398] can. 85; Labbe, ii. 1206), but a canon of Siricius, bishop of Rome (ob. A.D. 399) defines the time as not less than forty days (*Ep. i. ad Himerium*, c. 2; Labbe, ii. 1018).

(δ) Lent was also a special time of preparation for penitents who looked forward to readmission for the following Easter. (See Cyprilian, *Epist.* 56, § 3; Ambrose, *Epist.* 20 *ad Marcellinum sororem*, c. 26; *Patrol.* xvi. 1044; Jerome, *Comm. in Jonam*, l.c.; Greg. Nyss. *Epist. Cusan. ad Letianum*, *Patrol. Gr.* xiv. 222; Petr. Alexandr. can. 1, Labbe, i. 955; *Concil. Anciranum* [A.D. 314], can. 6, p. 1437.)

3. *Manner of observance of Lent.*—The special characteristics of Lent consisted in various forms of abstinence from food, the cessation of various ordinary forms of rejoicings, the merciful interference with legal pains and penalties, and the like.

(a) First of all must be noted the actual fast, which was generally a total abstinence from all food till the evening, except on Sundays, and in some cases on Saturdays. (Ambrose, *de Elia et Jejunio*, c. 10; *Patrol.* xiv. 743; *Serm.* 8 in *Psal.* 118; *Patrol.* xv. 1383; Basil, *Hom. i. de Jejunio*, c. 10; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxi. 181; Chrysostom,

Hom. iv. in Gen. c. 7, vol. iv. 36; *Hom. vi. in Gen.* c. 6, vol. iv. 58; *Hom. viii. in Gen.* c. 6, vol. iv. 76.)

As to the particular kinds of food made use of when the fast was broken for the day, there would appear to have been in early times the utmost latitude. This may be gathered, for example, from the passage of Socrates already quoted (*Hist. Eccles.* v. 22). "Now we may notice," he says, "that men differ not only with respect to the number of the days, but also in the character of the abstinence from food, which they practise. For some abstain altogether from animal food, while others partake of no animal food but fish only. Others again eat of birds as well as fishes, saying that according to Moses they also were produced from water. Others abstain also from fruits (*ἀρσώδρα*) and eggs, while some partake only of dry bread, and others not even of that. Another sort fast till the ninth hour, and then have their meal of various sorts of food" (*διόφορον ἔχουσι τὴν ἰστίασιν*).^a He then goes on to argue that since no rule of Scripture can be produced for this observance, therefore the apostles left the decision of the matter to every man's judgment. It will thus be seen that though the fast was to be kept throughout the day, there was as yet an absence of any restriction as to the character of the food taken in the evening; it being, of course, assumed that great moderation was shown, and that luxuries were avoided, in fact that the fast was not to be a technical matter of abstaining from this or that food, merely to enjoy a greater luxury of a different kind. The abstaining from flesh as any absolute and fundamental rule of the church was not yet insisted on, but still remained to some extent a matter of private judgment. An example, which illustrates a transitional state of things, is found in the incident related by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* i. 11) of Spyridon, bishop of Trimythus in Cyprus. He, when once visited by a stranger at the beginning of Lent, offered him some swine's flesh, which was the only food he had in the house. The latter refused to partake of it, saying that he was a Christian. "All the more therefore," said the bishop, "should it not be refused, for that all things are pure to the pure is declared by the word of God." Bingham (*Orig.* xxi. 1. 17), who cites the above instance, has strangely omitted to add that before acting thus, the bishop besought the Divine indulgence (*εὐξάμενος καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτήσας*), as though he were straining a point in doing, as he did, though, on the other hand, such straining had not yet become a violation of a universally recognised law. We find a somewhat parallel illustration in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 3), where a certain Christian prisoner named Alcibiades, who had lived on bread and water all his life, received a divine monition through Attalus, one of his fellow prisoners, that he did not well in thus refusing the good gifts of God.

On the other hand, we continually find protests being made against the conduct of those who, so long as the technical rules were observed, thought themselves at liberty to indulge in every luxury, instead of devoting the money saved by the fast

^a The Greek here seems rather curious. Valesius conjectured that we should read *διόφορον*, sine discrimine ciborum.

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to the relief of the poor. (Augustine, *Serm.* 205, § 2, vol. v. 1337, ed. Gaume; *Serm.* 207, § 2, ib. 1341; *Serm.* 210, § 10, ib. 1353; Leo, *Serm.* 3, *de Jejunio Pentecostes*, vol. 1. 319, ed. Bullerini.)

The same kind of reaction of feeling manifested itself in the indulging in special enjoyments in the days before the fast, and of this the carnival may serve as an illustration.

It is not, however, to be supposed from all this, that there is an absence of positive enactments on the subject.† Thus one of the so-called apostolical canons orders that all clerics shall fast in Lent under penalty of deposition, unless they can plead bodily infirmity; a layman to be excommunicated (can. 69).

The fourth council of Orleans (A.D. 541) also enjoins the observance of Lent, adding a rule that the Saturdays are to be included in the fast. (*Concil. Auct.* iv. can. 2; Labbe, v. 382; cf. *Concil. Toletanum* viii. [A.D. 653], can. 9; Labbe, vi. 407.) It may be noted that Aurelian, bishop of Arles (app. A.D. 545) in laying down the rule for monks, orders that the fast shall be observed every day from Epiphany to Easter, save upon Saturdays and Sundays and greater festivals (*Patrol.* lxxviii. 396).

It was evidently considered that there should be a stricter rule for such than for Christians generally. The last part of the order refers to an increased severity of the fast during the last week; see e. g. Epiphanius, *Epist. Filii* c. 22; vol. i. 1105, ed. Petrus. On this part of the subject reference may be made to the special article. [HOLY WEEK.]

(B) A second point which characterised the season was the forbidding of all things which were of a festal character. Thus the Council of Laodicea (circa A.D. 365) ordered that the oblation of bread and wine in the Eucharist should be confined to Saturdays and Sundays during Lent (can. 49, Labbe, i. 1505). A later council, that in Trullo (A.D. 692) ordains that on days other than the above two and the day of the Annunciation, there may be a communion of the presanctified elements (can. 52; Labbe, vi. 1165).

Again, the Council of Laodicea forbids the celebration of festivals of martyrs in Lent, except the following canon forbids the celebration of marriages and of birthday festivals in Lent, without any reservation. This last, however, perhaps only gradually came to be observed, for in the collection of Eastern canons by Martin, bishop of Braga in Spain, he cites no other canon for this use but that of the Council of Laodicea. Cf. also as to this point Augustine, *Serm.* 205, § 2 (vol. v. 1336); Egbert, *Pendientia*, l. 21 (*Patrol.* lxxix. 406); Theodulfus of Orleans, *Capitul.* 43 (*Patrol.* cv. 205); Nicolaus I. *Resp. ad consult.* Bulg. c. 48; (*Patrol.* cxix. 1000).

A fortiori all public games, theatrical shows, and the like, were forbidden at this season.

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Gregory of Nazianzum reproves one Celestus, a judge, who had authorised spectacles during the fast (*Epi-t.* 112; vol. ii. 101, ed. Bened.). Chrysostom, in a homily delivered in Lent, asks his hearers what profit they have gained from his sermons, when through the investigations of the devil they all have "rushed off to that vain show (*καυμά*) of Satan, the horse-race" (*Hom.* vi. in *Gen.* c. 1; vol. iv. 48); and again he speaks of the great injury men who follow such practices do to themselves, and the scandal they are to others" (*Hom.* vii. in *Gen.* c. 1; vol. iv. 59).

(C) The severity of the laws was relaxed during Lent. Thus the Theodosian Code in a law promulgated in A.D. 380 prohibits all hearing of criminal cases during that season (*Cod. Theod.* s. lib. ix. tit. 35, leg. 4; vol. iii. 252, ed. Gothofredus). Another law, published in A.D. 389, forbids the infliction of punishments of the body "sacris Quadragesimae diebus" (*op. cit.* 253).

As a parallel case, probably referring to the Lent season, we may allude to what is said by Ambrose, in his funeral eulogy of the younger Valentinian, where he praises him in that when some noblemen were about to be tried in a criminal case, and the prefect pressed the matter, the emperor forbade a sentence of death during a holy season (*de Obitu Valentinii, Consolatio*, c. 18; *Patrol.* xvi. 1424). See also Nicolaus I. (*op. cit.* c. 45, col. 998), Theodulfus of Orleans (*op. cit.* c. 42, col. 205).

A rarely occurring exception only serves to bring out more sharply the general observance of the rule, and thus it may be noted that the younger Theodosius orders (A.D. 408) that in the case of the Isaurian robbers, the examinations by torture should be held even in Lent or at Easter (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. 35, l. 7; p. 255, *ed. cit.*), on the ground that the suffering of the few was expedient for the benefit of the many.

Not only the criminal, but also the civil code was relaxed, for Ambrose speaks of the sacred season of the week before Easter when "solent debitorum laxari vincula" (*Epist.* 20, c. 6; *Patrol.* xvi. 1038).

(D) Besides all these negative characteristics, we find also the endeavour to maintain a higher spirit of devotion, by an increased number of religious services. Thus in many cases, it would appear, sermons were delivered to the people daily throughout Lent, and Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis*, to which we have already often referred, and those *his rois ὑποβίβλας* were of this kind. (See esp. *Hom.* xi. in *Gen.* c. 3; vol. iv. 102). We may also cite here Theodulfus of

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* A curious extension of this idea is found in the *Scarpapeus* of abbat Pirmilinus (ob. A.D. 785), who among other things decrees the use of whiteles in Lent (*Patrol.* lxxxix. 1041). Again Nicolaus I. protests against the practice of hunting at that season (*op. cit.* c. 44, col. 997).

† We may note here that the council of Nicea (A.D. 325) appoints Lent as one of the two periods in the year for the sitting of a synod of the bishops of the province to revise the sentence of excommunication inflicted by any undue severity in the preceding season, as a check upon the number (can. 9, Labbe, ii. 32).

‡ For another special manifestation of the same idea, see the rule laid down by the third council of Braga, that the three days at the beginning of Lent should be devoted to special forms of prayer, with litanies and psalms, by

Orleans, in whose *Capitulum* (c. 41, *supra*) it is ordained that all, save excommunicate persons, shall communicate on every Sunday in Lent. (Cf. also Augustine, *Serm.* 141 in *Append.* c. 5, vol. v. 2715.)

4. *Liturgical Notices.*—The earliest Roman sacramentary, the Leonine, is unfortunately defective in the part where Lent would occur, and we therefore first notice the references in the Gelasian sacramentary (*Patrol.* lxxiv. 1064 sqq.). This, in the form in which we now have it, has prefixed to the services for Lent an *ordo agentibus publicum poenitentium* (c. 16), wherein it is ordained that the penitent be taken early on the morning of Ash Wednesday, clothed in sackcloth, and put in seclusion till Maundy Thursday, when he is reconciled. Then follow the forms for the week from Quinquagesima to the following Sunday, provision being made for the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, viewed as preliminary to, but as yet not forming part of, Lent. Thus in the *Secreta* of the first Sunday in Lent, we find "Sacrificium Domini, *quadragessimis initiis* solemniter immolamus. . . ." Services are given for all the Sundays in Lent, and for all the week-days except Thursday [save only in the case of Maundy Thursday]. In the *Micrologus* (l. c.), Melchisedech, bishop of Rome (ob. A.D. 314) is credited with the order that the Thursdays in Lent should not be observed as fasting days. As we have above remarked, the same authority speaks of Gregory II. as having been the first to require the Thursdays to be observed like the other days of Lent.

After the forms for the first week is given that for the first sabbath of the first month "in xii. lect. mense primo," which is followed by forms for ordination. The mass for the third Sunday bears the heading, "Quae pro scrutiniis electorum (i. e. for baptism) celebratur." In the Canon mention is to be made of the names of those who are to act as sponsors for those about to be baptized, and afterwards the names of these latter themselves. The fourth Sunday is headed, "pro scrutinio secundo," with the recitations of names as before, as also on the fifth Sunday. After this are given the various forms requisite for baptism, and the attendant rites, *ad faciendum catechumenum, benedictio salis, exorcism, etc.*, with the setting forth of the creed (Greek and Latin), and the Lord's Prayer. It may be noted finally that Palm Sunday bears the further heading *De Passione Domini*, a title which in the Gregorian sacramentary is given to the previous Sunday. For details as to the week from thence to Easter (the real Passion-week, though this name, by an imitation of Roman usage, is often, with infinitely less point, applied to the preceding week), reference may be made to the special article [HOLY WEEK].

In the Gregorian Sacramentary, after forms for Septuagesima, Sexagesima and Quinquagesima, comes the mass for Ash Wednesday (col. 35, ed. Menard). It is headed *Feria iv., Caput Jejunii*, the latter words, however, are wanting in one of the best MSS., the *Cd. Reg. Suec.*, a fact which has a bearing on the question as to Gregory the Great having been the first to add on the four

days at the beginning of Lent, a view which we considered his own words already cited rendered very improbable. It may further be noted that while this sacramentary provides services for every day from Ash Wednesday to Easter, there is no trace of the word *Quadragesima* till the first Sunday, the previous Saturday, *e. g.* being *Sabbatum intra Quinquagesimam*.

In the Ambrosian Liturgy, the service for Quinquagesima is immediately followed by that for "Dominica in capite Quadragesimae" (Pamellus, *Liturgy.* Lat. l. 324). The services for the week days in this liturgy are the same as in the Gregorian. The Sundays after the first bear the following names, from the subjects of the Gospels, (2) *Dominica de Samaritana*, (3) *de Abraham*, (4) *de Civeo*, (5) *de Lazaro*, [to the Saturday in this week is the heading in *traditione Symboli*, that is, for the approaching baptism], (6) *in Ramis olivarum*.

The ancient Gallienic lectionary and missal, edited by Mabillon, make no mention of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, or of Ash Wednesday. The former gives for the Prophetic Lection and Epistle for the "Initium Quadragesimae" (*sic*) i. e. the first Sunday in Lent, *Isaiah lviil.* 1-14, 2 Cor. vi. 2-15. (Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, lib. ii. p. 124.) The Gospel is unknown, as well as all the lections for the succeeding days till Palm Sunday, eight leaves of the MS. being wanting. The numbers, however, prefixed to the sets of lections shew that the missing ones correspond exactly with the number of Sundays in Lent, with nothing for any week day. For Palm Sunday the Prophetic Lection, Epistle and Gospel, are respectively *Jeremiah xxxi.* . . . 34 [the beginning is unknown, owing to the gap in the MS.], *Heb. ii.* 3-34, *John xii.* 1-24.

In the Gothico-Gallic missal are seven masses in all for the season of Lent, the first being headed "in initium Quadragesimae" (*op. cit.* p. 228), followed by four headed "Missa jejunii," and these by one "Missa in Quad." The seventh is a "Missa in Symboli traditione" (*cf. op. cit. infra*, p. 338 sqq.). Probably the two last masses are both for Palm Sunday; and these are followed by one for Maundy Thursday. As regards the mass "in Symboli traditione" it will have been observed that the Ambrosian liturgy orders the creed to be communicated to the catechumens on the previous Saturday. Palm Sunday was the time ordinarily chosen in Spain and Gaul (*cf. Isidore, de Eccles. Off.* i. 37. 4; *Patrol.* lxxxiii. 772; also *Concil. Agath.* [A.D. 506], can. 13; *Labbe, iv.* 1385), where eight days is fixed as the period before baptism when the creed is to be imparted. Leslie (*op. cit.* 283) speaks of the above name as given to the fourth Sunday in Lent, but only cites a canon of the third council of Braga, which fixes the interval as twenty days (*Concil. Brac.* iii. [A.D. 572], can. 1; *Labbe, v.* 896). According to Isidore (l. c.), Palm Sunday was called *capitulivum*, because the children's heads were then washed with a view to the approaching Easter baptism.

In the Mozarabic liturgy, as we now have it, Sundays are reckoned up to the eighth after the octave of the Epiphany, followed by the "Dominica nata diem Cineris," and this by "feria iv. in Capite jejunii." It is clear, how-

ecclesiastics assembling together from the neighbouring churches, and "per auctoritatem Basilicas amulantes" (*Concil. Bracar.* lit. [A.D. 572], can. 9, *Labbe, v.* 893.)

of Lent, a view which we have already cited rendered. It may further be noted that the liturgical provisions for Ash Wednesday to Easter, there is no *Quadragesima* till the previous Saturday, e. g., being *Quinquagesima*.

In the Roman Liturgy, the service for the first Sunday is immediately followed by that for the second, "in capite Quadragesimae" (Patrol. Lat. i. 324). The services for the first and second Sundays are the same as for the first and second Sundays after the first Sunday, from the subjects of the *Quadragesima*, (1) *De Dominica de Samaritanis*, (2) *De Caeco*, (3) *De Lazaro*, [to the week is the heading in traditione for the approaching baptism], *De Lazaro*.

In the Gallican lectionary and missal, the first Sunday, make no mention of Septuagesima, and Quinquagesima, or of the former gives for the first and second Sundays the "Initium" (sic) i. e., the first Sunday in 1-14, 2 Cor. vi. 2-15. (Mabil. Gallieana, lib. ii. p. 124.) The same, as well as all the lections for the first and second Sundays till Palm Sunday, eight being wanting. The numbers, 1-14, 2 Cor. vi. 2-15, shew that the first and second Sundays correspond exactly with the first and second Sundays in Lent, with nothing for Palm Sunday the Prophetic and Gospel, are respectively 1-14 [the beginning is unknown, as in the MS.], Heb. ii. 3-34,

In the Gallic missal are seven masses for the first Sunday of Lent, the first being *Quadragesimae* (op. cit. p. 4), four headed "Missa jejuni," *Missa in Quad.* The seventh and eighth traditions" (cf. op. cit. p. 4). Probably the two last for Palm Sunday; and these for Maundy Thursday. As in *Symbulii traditione* it is observed that the Ambrosian creed is to be commemorated as on the previous Saturday. The time ordinarily chosen for the first Sunday is the 13th (cf. Isidore, de Eccles. Off. i. xliii. 772; also Council. Agath. 3; Labbe, iv. 1385), where the first Sunday is the period before baptism is to be imparted. Leslie (op. cit. p. 10) gives the above name as given to the first Sunday in Lent, but only cites a council of Braga, which fixes the first Sunday as the first Sunday of Lent, according to Labbe, v. 896). According to the Gallican Sunday was called *capite Quadragesimae* children's heads were then washed to the approaching Easter

liturgy, as we now have observed up to the eighth after Epiphany, followed by the *Quadragesima*, and this by the *Quinquagesima*. It is clear, how-

ever, that in Spain, Lent originally began on the Sunday after Quinquagesima, which left thirty-six fasting days (cf. Isidore, l. c.; Council. Tolet. viii. can. 9, *supra*), and thus there is no form for Ash Wednesday in the Hispano-Gothic use. The Mozarabic missal, therefore, has borrowed from the Toledo missal the office for the benediction of the ashes; and the Gospel and prayers correspond with those for the first Sunday in Lent in the Hispano-Gothic use, and the Prophetic Lection and Epistle with those for the following Wednesday. Altogether the services in the Mozarabic liturgy are much out of order (Leslie, *Not. in Liturg. Mozarab.*; Patrol. lxxxv. 287). As a further consequence of the putting on of Ash Wednesday and three following days, whereas in the Hispano-Gothic use the title *Dominica in cinere* *carnes tollendas* belongs to the first Sunday in Lent, in the Mozarabic it refers to Quinquagesima.

This latter has forms for Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays throughout Lent, and also for Maundy Thursday and Easter Eve. Under Ash Wednesday is given the form for the benediction of the ashes. In this rite (which, it may be remarked in passing, is one of those noted by Gillebert, bishop of Limerick [ob. after A.D. 1139], which may only be performed by a priest in the absence of the bishop, see Bénédictions, p. 165), the priest or bishop (*sacerdos*), after blessing the ashes, sprinkles them with holy water, and they are then received from his hand by the clerics and laymen present. As each takes of them he is addressed in the words, "Memento, homo, quia cinis es, et in cinerem revertaris, age poenitentiam, et prima opera fac." The Prophetic Lection, Epistle and Gospel for this day are Wisdom i. 23-33; James i. 13-21; Matt. iv. 1-12.

A common name in Spain for the first Sunday in Lent was *Dominica in Alleluia*, because of the markedly festal way in which the day was observed, and from the special singing of *Alleluia* on that day. We may take this opportunity of remarking that the ancient Spanish use was to close on this day the doors of the baptistery, which were sealed with the bishop's seal, till Maundy Thursday. The seventeenth Council of Toledo [A.D. 694] dwells on this rule (cap. 2; Labbe, vi. 1364; cf. Hildesonus Toletanus [ob. A.D. 699] *Adnot. de cognitione baptismi*, c. 107; Patrol. xvi. 156). A notice of the same custom as prevailing in the Alexandrian church is found in the ancient lectionary published by Zaenagius (*Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum*, p. 718).

The following are the Old Testament Lections, Epistles and Gospels given in the Mozarabic liturgy for the Sundays in Lent; those for the Wednesdays and Fridays we have not thought it necessary to add. (i.) Isaiah lv. 2-13 (but formerly 1 [3] Kings xix. 3-14, Leslie, op. cit. 296); 2 Cor. v. 20-vi. 11; John iv. 3-43. (ii.) Prov. xiv. 33-xv. 8; Gen. xli. 1-46; James ii. 14-23; John ix. 1-36. (iii.) Prov. xx. 7-28; Num. xii. 2-xxiii. 11; 1 Peter i. 1-12; John vi. 56-71. (iv.) "mediante die festo" [a name due not only to the fact that on this day was the middle point of Lent according to the Hispano-Gothic use, but also because of the occurrence of the words "Jam autem die festo mediante ascendit Jesus in templum" in the Gospel for this day; Leslie, op. cit. 353] Ecclesi. xiv. 11-22;

1 Sam. i. 1-21; 2 Pet. i. 1-12; John vii. 1-15. (v.) Ecclesi. xlvii. 24-30, 21-31; 1 Sam. xxvi. 1-25; 1 John i. 1-8; John x. 1-17. (vi.) "Dominica in ramis Palmarum, ad benedictionem flores vel ramos." [For this rite see HOLY WEEK; also Leslie, op. cit. 380.] Ecclesi. xlii. 2-18; Deut. xl. 18-32; Gal. i. 3-13; John xli. 58-xli. 14.

In the Greek church there is a special service book, called the *Triodion*, for the period extending from what would be with us the last of the Sundays after the Epiphany (called with them the Sunday of the Pharisee and Publican, from the Gospel for the day) to Easter Eve. Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, are respectively the Sundays of the Prodigal (from the Gospel for the day), *ἡγία ἀνοκτώ* (because from Sexagesima onwards flesh was not eaten; cf. *οὐ μὴ φάγω κρέα* 1 Cor. viii. 13, which enters into the Epistle for the day), and *ἡγία τυροφάγω* (from the nature of the diet taken in the ensuing week). The Lent of the Greek church is begun on the day after Quinquagesima, no special regard being paid to Ash Wednesday. The Armenian church, however, begins on the Monday before Quinquagesima; the fast of the Monday week being known as the *Artsiburion*, a word of very doubtful origin (Noble, *Eastern Church*, Introduct. p. 742). The Epistles and Gospels used in the Greek church for the six Sundays of Lent are as follows: (i.) *κωνιακή τῆς ὁρθοδοξίας* (in memory especially of the final overthrow of the Iconoclasts), Heb. xi. 24-26, 32-40; John i. 44-52. (ii.) Heb. ii. 10-ii. 3; Mark ii. 1-12. (iii.) *κωνιακή σταυροῦ παυλοῦ ἁγίου*, or simply *σταυροῦ παυλοῦ* [See CROSS, ADORATION OF, i. 501]. Heb. iv. 14-v. 6; Mark viii. 34-ix. 1. (iv.) Heb. vi. 13-20; Mark ix. 17-31. (v.) Heb. ix. 11-14; Mark x. 32-45. (vi.) Phil. iv. 4-9, Gospel for Matins, Matt. xxi. 1-11, 15-17, for Liturgy, John xii. 1-18.

5. *Literature*.—For the foregoing matter, I am much indebted to Bingham, *Origines*, bk. xxi. ch. i.; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. ii. part 2, pp. 592 sqq.; vol. v. part i. pp. 169 sqq. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, vol. x. pp. 393 sqq.; Ducange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *Quadragesima*; Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, vol. iii. cc. 18, 19. Reference may also be made to Filesacus, *Diatriba de Quadragesima Christianorum*, in his *Opuscula*, Parisiis, 1614; Dassel, *de Jure Temporis Quadragesimalis*, Argentorati, 1617; Duillé, *de Jejunio et Quadragesima*, Daventrie, 1654; Homberg, *de Quadragesima veterum Christianorum*, Helmstadt, 1677; Lienke, *Die Quadragesimalfasten der Kirche*, München, 1853.

[R. S.]

LEO I. (1) the Great, pope A.D. 440-461, is named first of all confessors in the Breton Litany (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 82), second only to Silvester in that at the mass for an emperor in Sac. Gregor. (Muratori, 463), Nov. 10, and commemorated that day (*Mart. Hier. Raban*), but April 11, (Bede, Raban, Notker), "Cujus temporibus synodus Chalcidensis constituta" is added on that day first by Usuard. Commemorated in the Greek church, Feb. 18. April 11 is probably the day of his translation to a more conspicuous tomb in the basilica of St. Peter, by Sergius (A.D. 687-701). He had

an oratory in the days of pope Paul below the basilica of St. Peter without the walls (Anast. 85-95).

LEO (2) Pope A.D. 683, June 28 (Anastasius, the Capitulary published by Fronto, *Mart. Rom. Bede, Ado, Usuard*). Sollerius would make out that this was originally a festival of Leo I. But it is not certain that all the celebrations in the sacramentary of Gregory really date from Gregory's time. (For the collects there given v. Muratori, p. 100, or Migne; v. Rossi, i. 127.)

(3) Bishop of Catania, Feb. 20 (*Cal. Byz.*)

(4) Martyr, March 1 (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(5) Bishop of Sens, Apr. 22 (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(6) Confessor at Troyes, May 25 (Usuard.)

(7) Or Leontius, (*Mart. Gellon*.) martyr, Oct. 2 (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(8) Subdeacon, martyr at Rome, June 30 (*Mart. Hieron. Usuard*.)

(9) Martyr, drowned by the mob at Patara in Lycia, under Lollianus, on February 18 (*Cal. Byz. v. Tillem. v. 381*); not in the *Menology* of Basil. He seems to have been confounded with Leo I. His acts, however, assign his death to June 30, an attempted identification with (8).

[E. B. B.]

LEOBARDUS, monk of Tours, † Jan. 18, A.D. 583. (*Acta SS. Jan. ii. 582*.) [E. B. B.]

LEOBINUS, bishop of Chartres, † A.D. 557; commemorated Sept. 15. (Bede, Raban, Wandelbert, Usuard.) [E. B. B.]

LEOCADIA, virgin, of Toledo, commemorated Dec. 9 (*Cal. Hispano-Goth. ; Mart. Rom. Puvrum*). Ado adds that she died in prison on hearing of the tortures of Eulalia. She had three churches in Toledo: one on the site of her martyrdom, in which the Gothic kings were buried; a parish church at the spot where she was born; and a cathedral over her tomb, in which the councils of Toledo were held. On the Saracen invasion, about A.D. 724, her relics were carried into Hainault. (*De Vitis Sanctorum*, Cologne 1605. Soller's Usuard.) [E. B. B.]

LEODEGARIUS, LEUDEGARIUS, LAUDEGARIUS (Sr. LEGER), bishop of Autun, killed by Ebroic, mayor of the palace, A.D. 678, and commemorated Oct. 2, with a special service in the Gothic missal, as a martyr: "O beatum virum Laudegarium antistitem qui corpus ueribus absolutum, ora labii minuatum oculisque orbatum, exilium perpetratum, lubricitatis sacculi postpositum, diversis tormentis passum, exemplum episcopis reliquit, . . . coronam immarcebilibus floribus remuneratur unde multae post reliquiae in Gallis flourerunt." The grammar is not perfect, nor is it clear what is meant by the relics of his heavenly crown blooming in Gaul. He is not named in the metrical martyrology of Bede. The place of his martyrdom is still St. Leger's wood. He was buried at Sercin. Afterwards the oishops of Autun, Arras, and Poitiers, contended for the possession of his body. They drew lots, and it fell to the latter, and was translated to the monastery of Maxentius at Poitiers, March 16, where a church had been dedicated to him the 30th October preceding. (*Acta SS. Oct. i. 427, 428*.) Monasteries were dedicated to him at Morbach in Alsace, and

Massevaux or Masminster on the Upper Rhine, about A.D. 726. (*Ib. p. 434*.)

LEODEGARIUS (2) Priest in Le Pertois, 6th century, † June 23. (*Acta SS. Jun. v. 414*.) [E. B. B.]

LEODOWINUS, archbishop of Treves (7th century), † Sept. 29. (*Acta SS. Sept. viii. 160*.) [E. B. B.]

LEOGISILUS, LENOGISILUS, or LONEGISILUS, presbyter at Le Mans (7th century), † Jan. 13. (*Acta SS. Jan. ii. 112*.) [E. B. B.]

LEOLINUS, bishop of Padua (4th century), † June 28. (*Acta SS. June, v. 483*.) [E. B. B.]

LEOMENES, Pontius, of Epineium in Crete, under Decius, martyred Dec. 23. (*Cal. Byz.*) [E. B. B.]

LEONADIUS (1) commemorated in Ethiopia, Dec. 27; called by the Copts Leontius the patriarch, and commemorated by them on the 28th. (Ludolf, *Comm. ad Hist. Ethiop.* p. 403.)

(2) Commemorated in Ethiopia along with Benikarus, on Jan. 7. (*Ib. 404*.) [E. B. B.]

LEONARD, (1) A noble disciple of St. Remigius, founder of the monastery of Noblat (St. Leonard), near Limoges; commemorated Nov. 6. He is now honoured in the Greek church also on that day (Arcudius, *Anthologion*.)

(2) A monk of Le Mans, who refused to be prior, † Oct. 15, A.D. 570. His relics translated to Corbigny A.D. 877. (*Acta SS. Oct. vii. 45*.) The two following are found in the additions to Usuard.

(3) Confessor at Vendoeuvre, Nov. 27.

(4) Confessor at Châteaudun, Dec. 8.

[E. B. B.]

LEONIANUS, abbat of Vienne, † Nov. 18, circa A.D. 510. [E. B. B.]

LEONIDES (1) Bishop of Athens, commemorated April 15. (*Cal. Byz.*)

οσιος συνιχη τας Αθηναις δεδωον
δυναμιος αυτης ηλιου Λεωνιδου.

Ha is perhaps intended by the mention of the name on April 16 in the *Hieronymian Martyrology*.

(2) Father of Origen, and martyr circa A.D. 204. On June 28, the name is joined with Potamiaena and the other disciples of Origen, and thus attached as a companion to Ireaena the same day. (*Mart. Hieron.; Acta SS. June vii. 321*.) Supposed to be the one mentioned with Arator, Quiriacus, and Basilus, April 22 in the *Mart. Hieron.* and *Acta SS. April, iii. 10*.

(3) Martyr at Antioch, April 26. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(4) Burnt to death with Eleutherius, Aug. 8. The *Mart. Hieron.* names Leonides only, and assigns him to Philadelphia. Some menologies add, "and the babes," and say that their synaxis was performed "in the house of St. Irene, in the buildings of Justinian outside the gate." (*Acta SS. Aug. ii. 342*.)

(5) The name is mentioned March 1 or Jan. 28, as a martyr at Antinous in the Thebais, under Decius. (*Acta SS. Jan. ii. 448*.) [E. B. B.]

LEONILLA, martyred with her three twin grandchildren, under M. Aurelius or Aurelian,

antstener on the Upper Rhine, b. p. 434.)
(S 2) Priest in Le Pertois, 23. (Acta SS. Jun. v. 414.) [E. B. B.]

archbishop of Treves (7th c. (Acta SS. Sept. viii. 169.) [E. B. B.]

LENOGISELUS, or LONEGISE- Mans (7th century), † Jan. ii. 112.) [E. B. B.]
shop of Padua (4th century), 3. June, v. 483.) [E. B. B.]

antius, of Epineium in Crete, red Dec. 23. (Cal. Hys.) [E. B. B.]

commemorated in Ethiopia, he Copts Leontius the patri- arch by them on the 28th. (Hist. Ethiop. p. 403.)
l in Ethiopia along with (Id. 404.) [E. B. B.]

A noble disciple of St. Re- ne monastery of Noblat (St. es; commemorated Nov. 6. in the Greek church also on Anthologion).

Mans, who refused to be 570. His relics translated. (Acta SS. Oct. vii. 45.)
a found in the additions to

endeuvre, Nov. 27.
ateaudun, Dec. 8. [E. B. B.]
bat of Vienne, † Nov. 16, [E. B. B.]

bishop of Athens, commemo- (Byz.)

τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀρχιεπί- σκωπος Ἀθανάσιος.

ed by the mention of the the Hieronymian Martyro-

en, and martyr circa A.D. the name is joined with other disciples of Origen, a companion to Irenaeus t. Hieron.; Acta SS. Juna to be the one mentioned is, and Basilus, April 22 nd Acta SS. April, iii. 10. ioch, April 26. (Mart.

with Eleutherius, Aug. 8. ames Leonides only, and elphia. Some menologies and say that their synaxis house of St. Irene, in the outside the gate." (Acta

mentioned March 1 or Jan. nous in the Thebas, under . iii. 448.) [E. B. B.]

tyred with her three twin M. Aurelius or Aurelian,

LEONIS

in Cappadocia, and translated to Langres in Gaul (Acta SS. Jan. ii. 437); commemorated Jan. 17 (Cal. Byz., Mart. Hieron., Bede, Ado, Usuard, but not in the Parvum Romanum). The Greeks call her Neonilla. (Men. Basil.) [E. B. B.]

LEONIS, martyr at Augsburg, or more probably at Rome (Acta SS. Aug. ii. 703 A), Aug. 12. [E. B. B.]

LEONIUS (1) Confessor, of Melun (St. Liene); commemorated Nov. 12 (Usuard, Wandelbert). Baronius refers him to Nov. 16, but this is a confusion with Leo (Sollier).
(2) Of Poitou, if not the same, Feb. 1. (Acta SS. Feb. i. 91.) [E. B. B.]

LEONORIUS, bishop in Brittany in the 6th century, † July 1. (Acta SS. July, i. 121.) [E. B. B.]

LEONTIUS (1) and his brothers, fellow-martyrs of Cosmas—Oct. 17 (Cal. Byz.); Sept. 27 (Mart. Rom. Parv. etc.).
(2) Martyr at Tripoli in Syria, under Vespasian, June 18. (Menol. Bas.)
(3) Bishop of Autun (5th century), † July 1. (Mart. Hieron.)
(4) Martyr at Nicopolis of Armenia, under Licinius, July 10 (Menol. Bas.). In the Mart. Hieron. Alexandria stands for Armenia [contracted aria]. He is assigned to the right place next day.
(5) Martyr under Diocletian at Perga in Pamphylia, August 1. (Menol. Basil.)
(6) Martyr at Amasea in Pontus, August 19. (Mart. Hieron.)
(7) In Lucania with Valentia, August 20. (Mart. Hieron.)
(8) The entry is repeated next day, but the name is said here to belong to a bishop of Bordeaux of the 6th century. (Acta SS. Aug. iv. 442.)
(9) Martyr with Carpophorus at Vicenza, cf. Peter de Natalibus, l. 7, c. 87, either Aug. 20 (A. S. S. iv. 35) or March 19 (Acta SS. March, iii. 29).
(10) Martyr at Alexandria with Serapion, Sept. 15. (Mart. Hieron.)
(11) in Cappadocia, Nov. 22 (ib.). Bishop † A. D. 337. (Acta SS. Jan. ii. 63.)
(12) Martyr in the days of the Mussulmans in Ethiopia, May 26. (Ludolf, Comm. p. 416.) [E. B. B.]

LEOPARDUS, martyr at Rome; honoured at Aix-la-Chapelle from the time of Charlemagne, Sept. 30. (Acta SS. Sept. viii. 430.) [E. B. B.]

LEOTHADIUS, bishop of Auch, † Oct. 23, A.D. 717? (Acta SS. Oct. x. 122.) [E. B. B.]

LEPERS, LEPROSI. There are few notices of the treatment of lepers in the early church. It is probable the disease did not assume such dimensions as to call for special enactments. Ugolini, under the heading De Morbis Biblicis, has collected (Thesaurus, vol. xxx. 1544) several reasons why leprosy was less prevalent in the Christian than in the Jewish church. The council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) has a canon (c. 17) directed against τὸν ἀλογουσαμένους καὶ λεπρωθὲς βύτας ἤτοι λεπρωσάντας; which may

refer either to actual lepers, or may signify that those who polluted themselves with unanatural crimes contracted a moral leprosy. The council orders that their station shall be among the γαμάρηνοι, inter hyemantes [HYEMANTES]. In the Gallic church the bishops are directed by the 5th council of Orleans, A.D. 549 (c. 21), to take care that no lepers within their diocese are left destitute, but that they are supplied with food and raiment from the church funds. The 3rd council of Lyons, A.D. 583 (c. 6), gives a similar injunction, with the addition that the lepers are to be prohibited from wandering from one diocese to another. In some instances they must have been in danger of being cut off from all church membership, for pope Gregory II., A.D. 715-731 (Ep. xiii. ad Bonifac.), gives a formal sanction to the Holy Communion being administered to them, although not in company with others free from disease. Some special directions are also given by pope Zacharias, A.D. 741-752 (Ep. xii. de regio morbo laborantibus; the regius morbus in this instance has been held by some to signify leprosy. Martene (De Rit. Antiq. iii. 10) has printed from French rituals various specimens of the forms and services to be observed in the treatment of lepers, but they lie outside our period. [G. M.]

LEPTIS, COUNCIL OF (Leptense Concilium), held A.D. 386, or thereabouts, at Leptis, in Africa, when nine canons contained in a synodical letter of pope Siricius to the African bishops, were received. By the second of them it is ordained that no single bishop may ordain another. (Mansi, iii. 670, and Supplem. ad Colet. i. 252, and see AFRICAN COUNCILS.) [E. S. Ff.]

LERIDA, COUNCIL OF (Lerdense concilium), held A.D. 546—not 524, as was once thought—at Lerida in Catalonia, and passed sixteen canons on discipline, to which eight bishops subscribed, the bishop of Lerida subscribing last, and after him one presbyter representing a ninth. By canon 1, all who minister at the altar are commanded to abstain from shedding of blood under pain of being suspended for two years, and excluded from promotion ever afterwards. By canon 8, no clerk may lay hands upon any slave or pupil of his who has taken sanctuary. By canon 10, those who refuse to leave church, when ordered out for misbehaviour by the priest, are to be deemed contumacious and treated accordingly. By canon 14, the faithful may not communicate, nor so much as eat, with the rebaptized. Other canons are given to this council by Burchard: among them, one referring to the purification of pope Leo III., which took place two and a half centuries afterwards (Mansi, viii. 609 sq.; comp. Catalan, Conc. Hisp. iii. 172.) [E. S. Ff.]

LESSON. [LECTION; LECTONARY.]

LESTINES, COUNCIL OF (Liptinesse Concilium), said to have been held at Liptines, or Lestines, in Hainault, A.D. 743, or according to Mansi, 745; described as one of the five councils under St. Boniface, but beset with as many difficulties as the rest. 1. All the four canons assigned to it reappear among Carloman's capitulares, dated Liptines, A.D. 743 (Mansi, xi. Append. 105); indeed the first of them speaks of

refer either to actual lepers, or may signify that those who polluted themselves with unanatural crimes contracted a moral leprosy. The council orders that their station shall be among the γαμάρηνοι, inter hyemantes [HYEMANTES]. In the Gallic church the bishops are directed by the 5th council of Orleans, A.D. 549 (c. 21), to take care that no lepers within their diocese are left destitute, but that they are supplied with food and raiment from the church funds. The 3rd council of Lyons, A.D. 583 (c. 6), gives a similar injunction, with the addition that the lepers are to be prohibited from wandering from one diocese to another. In some instances they must have been in danger of being cut off from all church membership, for pope Gregory II., A.D. 715-731 (Ep. xiii. ad Bonifac.), gives a formal sanction to the Holy Communion being administered to them, although not in company with others free from disease. Some special directions are also given by pope Zacharias, A.D. 741-752 (Ep. xii. de regio morbo laborantibus; the regius morbus in this instance has been held by some to signify leprosy. Martene (De Rit. Antiq. iii. 10) has printed from French rituals various specimens of the forms and services to be observed in the treatment of lepers, but they lie outside our period. [G. M.]

LEPTIS, COUNCIL OF (Leptense Concilium), held A.D. 386, or thereabouts, at Leptis, in Africa, when nine canons contained in a synodical letter of pope Siricius to the African bishops, were received. By the second of them it is ordained that no single bishop may ordain another. (Mansi, iii. 670, and Supplem. ad Colet. i. 252, and see AFRICAN COUNCILS.) [E. S. Ff.]

LERIDA, COUNCIL OF (Lerdense concilium), held A.D. 546—not 524, as was once thought—at Lerida in Catalonia, and passed sixteen canons on discipline, to which eight bishops subscribed, the bishop of Lerida subscribing last, and after him one presbyter representing a ninth. By canon 1, all who minister at the altar are commanded to abstain from shedding of blood under pain of being suspended for two years, and excluded from promotion ever afterwards. By canon 8, no clerk may lay hands upon any slave or pupil of his who has taken sanctuary. By canon 10, those who refuse to leave church, when ordered out for misbehaviour by the priest, are to be deemed contumacious and treated accordingly. By canon 14, the faithful may not communicate, nor so much as eat, with the rebaptized. Other canons are given to this council by Burchard: among them, one referring to the purification of pope Leo III., which took place two and a half centuries afterwards (Mansi, viii. 609 sq.; comp. Catalan, Conc. Hisp. iii. 172.) [E. S. Ff.]

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the counts and prefects, as well as hishops, who had met there to confirm what a former synod had passed. 2. The heading says it was celebrated under Carloman, and makes no mention of Boniface. 3. Hincmar and others, who are supposed to refer to it, affirm that a legate from Rome, named George, presided at it jointly with St. Boniface. But George was not sent into France by Zachariah, but by Stephen II.; nor before Feb. 755 (*Cod. Carol. Ep. viii. ed. Migne*), by when St. Boniface had been dead eight months. Hence some have supposed a second council of Liptines at that year. The question is rather, whether the first has been truly described as a council. (*Mansi*, xii. 370-5 and 589. *Comp. Hartzheim's Con. Germ.* i. 50, et seq.)

[E. S. Ff.]

LETTERS COMMENDATORY [COMMENDATORY LETTERS].

LETTERS DIMISSORY [DIMISSORY LETTERS].

LETTERS, FORMS OF [LIBER DIURNUS; SUPERScription].

LETTERS, PASCHAL [PASCHAL LETTERS].

LETTERS, PASTORAL [PASTORAL LETTERS].

LETTERS ON VESTMENTS. In the examples of early Christian art to be seen in the frescoes of the catacombs, and the mosaics of the basilicas, the dresses of the persons depicted are, in innumerable instances, marked by one or more letters or monograms on the border or outer fold. The letters thus employed are very various, and usually, if not always, belong to the Greek alphabet, and it must be acknowledged that hitherto no satisfactory explanation of their occurrence has been given. Those most frequently met with are I, H, X, T, T, F. The last letter, the capital gamma, was of such frequent use on the ecclesiastical robes of the Greek church, that it gave its name to a class of vestments [GAMMADIA]. Arbitrary symbols are also found, to which no meaning can be assigned, such as [Γ], [J], [Π], [Ξ], [Ω], [Φ]. The earlier school of Christian archaeologists which was resolved to find a sacred meaning in every detail of the picture or bas-relief under consideration, had no difficulty in deciding that T and X represented the cross in different forms, while both I and H stood for Jesus, and Γ invariably denoted an apostle (*Bosio, Rom. Sott. lib. iv. c. 3, p. 592; Aringhi, Rom. Sott. lib. vi. c. 28; Mellini apud Ciampini, Vet. Mon. tom. i. c. xiii. p. 98*). This supposed law, hastily deduced from insufficient evidence, has been entirely refuted by wider examination. Ciampini (*l. c.*) proves it to be quite baseless. The theory however propounded by him, and supported by Buonarroti (*Vetri*, p. 89), that these letters and monograms on the dresses were the weavers' marks is equally destitute of a solid foundation, and is ridiculed by Ferrario (*Costume antico e moderno: Europa*, vol. iii. p. 149; *Monumenti di Sant' Ambrogio in Milano*, p. 176), since the same marks appear in mosaics most widely separated both by time and place. Other theories, e.g., that the letters indicate the name of the individual represented, or of the mosaic-workers, or even of the

tallors who made the clothes, prove equally untenable, and the hopelessness of discovering any principle that would satisfactorily account at the same time for the variety and the identity of the marks has led some to assert that they were used capriciously (e.g., Suarez, bishop of Vaison, *de Vestibus literatis*, p. 7), without any fixed law, simply in imitation of an already established custom. The existence of this custom of weaving, or embroidering letters in the fabric, or sewing them on to the stuff, is proved by classical authorities. Pliny speaks of the ostentation of Zenxis the painter, in having his name woven in golden letters on the border of his pallium at Olympia (*Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 36, § 2*). Apuleius speaks of "lacinias auro literatas" (*De Asia. cur. lib. 6, ad init.*). Vopiscus describes Carinus as adopting the same custom (*Vopisc. in Ciria*). Suidas (s.v.) defines *τριβωφοδρος* as "one wearing a robe, having on it signs like small letters" (*σημεία ὡς γραμμάτια*). The purple *clavi* sewn on the senatorial robes, which gave its designation to the *laticlavium*, are considered by Rubens to have been "letters, not mere stripes," "literas lacinias palliorum insertas" (*Le Ro ves'aria*, lib. iii. c. 12). In the well-known vision of Boethius, the ascent from practical to theoretical wisdom is symbolised by the letter Π woven into the bottom of the border of the robe of Philosophy, and Θ at the top, the intervening space being occupied with letters arranged like the steps of a ladder (*De Consolat. lib. i. pro. 1*). Although it is impossible to believe that the selection of the letters in the Christian representations was entirely capricious, it must be confessed that no satisfactory explanation of them has yet been given, and that the subject requires further elucidation. [E. V.]

LEUCIUS (1) Bishop of Brindisi, or LEONTIUS, or LAURENTIUS (*Greg. Ep. vi. 62 (ix. 73)*, cf. *De Rossi, Rom. Sott. li. 228*), is commemorated Jan. 11. (*Mart. Hieron.*)

(2) Companion martyr of Thyrsus, at Nicomedia, under Decius, Dec. 14 (*Cal. Byz. and Men. Basil.*); but Jan. 18 and 20 *Mart. Hieron.* which on the latter day refers them to Nijon in Switzerland, whither their relics had been transferred; and at Apollonia Jan. 28. (*Mart. Rom. Petr.* etc.) [E. B. B.]

LEUDOMARUS, bishop of Chalons, † Oct. 2, before A.D. 589. (*Acta SS. Oct. i. 335.*) [E. B. B.]

LEUGATHUS, martyr; Oct. 22. (*Acta SS. Oct. ix. 536.*) [E. B. B.]

LEUTFREDUS, a confessor who by his prayers caused a fountain to well forth in Mier near Montfort-l'Amaury. June 21, Usuard. [E. B. B.]

LEVITE. (*Λευίτης, Aevetrens, Levita*.) Professor Lightfoot has remarked (*on Philippians*, p. 187, 2nd ed.) that "the Levite, whose function it was to keep the beasts for slaughter, to cleanse away the blood and offal of the sacrifices, to serve as porter at the temple gates, and to swell the chorus of sacred psalmody, bears no strong resemblance to the Christian deacon, whose ministrations lay among the widows and orphans, and whose time was almost wholly spent in works of charity." Nevertheless, when the three order

is derivative
vestments
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Egypt.

clothes, prove equally unnecessary of discovering any satisfactorily account at the variety and the identity of the robe to assert that they were made by Suarez, bishop of Vaison, p. 7), without any fixed law of an already established custom of this custom of weaving, or the fabric, or sewing, is proved by classical writers in having his name woven in the border of his pallium at Acta SS. lib. xxv. c. 36, § 2, "laciniis auro literatis" (ibid. p. 6, ad init.). Vopiscus describing the same custom Suidas (s.v.) defines περιβαλλόμενον a robe, having on it letters (συνεμία ὡς ὑφανθεία), on the senatorial robes, and to the *liticivium*, are said to have been "letters," "literas laciniis palliorum" (Suidas, lib. iii. c. 12). In the robes of Boethius, the ascent from wisdom is symbolised by the bottom of the philosophy, and at the top, being occupied with letters of a ladder (*De Consolat.*), though it is impossible to mention of the letters in the robes was entirely capricious, that no satisfactory explanation has been given, and that the proper elucidation. [E. V.]

shop of Brindisi, or LEONARDUS (Greg. Ep. vi. 62 (ix. 73), Acta SS. lib. ii. 228), is commemorated on Jan. 28.

shop of Thyraus, at Nicomedia, Dec. 14 (*Cal. Byz.* and *Mart. Hieron.*), and on Jan. 18 and 20 (*Mart. Hieron.*) refers them to Nijon in their relics had been transcribed Jan. 28. (*Mart. Rom.*) [E. B. B.]

bishop of Chalons, † Oct. 10, Acta SS. Oct. i. 335.

shop of Metz, Oct. 22. (*Acta SS.*) [E. B. B.]

a confessor who by his martyrdom attained to well forth in Mercurius. June 21, Usuard. [E. B. B.]

shop, *Neveltris, Levita*. Pro-remarked (*on Philippinus*), the Levite, whose function was to slay, to cleanse the gates, and to swell the robe, bears no strong resemblance to a deacon, whose ministerial duties are to assist the widows and orphans, and to be wholly spent in works of charity, when the three orders

LEVITO

of the Christian ministry came to be universally recognised, the analogy between the bishop with his attending presbyters and ministering deacons, and the high-priest with his attending priests and ministering Levites, was on the surface so strong, that the terms appropriate to the one soon came to be transferred to the other. Thus Origen (*Hon. 12 in Jerem.* 3, iii. p. 196, ed. Delorme), quoted by Lightfoot (*ibid.* p. 256), regards the priests and Levites as corresponding to the presbyters and deacons respectively. From the third century onward Levite is a frequent designation of the Christian ministry. Thus the 2nd council of Carthage, A.D. 390, designates (c. 2) the three orders of the ministry as *antistes, sacerdotes, and Levitae* (*Codex Eccl. Afric.* c. 3). Synesius (*Epist.* 58, p. 35, ed. Paris, 1640) speaks of the different grades of the ministry as Levites, presbyters, and bishops.

In the early portion of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, however, the bishops are regarded as succeeding to the Levitical privileges of the older dispensation. The bishops who serve the holy tabernacle, that is, the Holy Catholic Church, are the Levites in respect of the congregation (ii. 25, 5); the bishops inherited the Levitical privilege of receiving gifts for the benefit of the community (iv. 8, 1). On the other hand, in the later portion of the *Constitutions* (viii. 1, 2), the high-priest, priest, and Levite are regarded as analogous to bishop, presbyter, and deacon. [C.]

LEVITO (also *Levitarium, Levito, Levitarium, Levites*; *Λεβιτῶν, Λεβιτῶν, Λεβιτῶν, Λεβιτῶν, Λεβιτῶν, etc.*). The name Levito, a word apparently of Coptic origin* (see Tattam's *Lexicon Aegyptiaco-Latinum, in Append.*), is used for a kind of sleeveless cloak, ordinarily worn by Egyptian monks.—*Levitarium* est colobium sine manicis, quod Levitarium est colobium sine manicis, quod nonnachi Aegyptii tumentur (Isidore, *Etyim.* xix. 22). The word occurs frequently in the *Rule* of Pachomius, of which we have Jerome's translation from Eusebius (17a, c. 2; *Regula*, cc. 2, 67, 70, 81; in Jerome, vol. ii. 53 sqq. ed. Vallarsi). From this we learn that each monk was allowed two *Levitariorum* and a *Psithium*, or mat, in his cell. The material, of which this dress was made, was doubtless linen. Ménard (*Not. ad Concord. Regularum, Benedicti Anionensis*, c. 2; *Patrol.* ciii. 1237) argues that in the passage of Isidore cited above, the word *linenum* has dropped out after *colobium*, for Papius, the grammarian, quoting apparently from Isidore, so reads it. Also, Ruffinus (*de Vita Patrum*, c. 7; *Patrol.* xxi. 411) speaks of it as "*stuppeum colobium*." Casian again (*de Coenobiorum Institutis*, i. 5; *Patrol.* xlix. 68, where see Gazet's note) speaks of the Egyptian monks as "*colobii lineis induti*." Also the *Rule* of Pachomius speaks of it directly as "*tunica linea*." We need not therefore attach weight to the definition given by Suidas, *χρῶν μοναχικῶς ἐκ τριχῶν συντεθειμένους*. For further references, see

* In the article *Colobium* it is suggested that the word is derived from *Levita*, since the colobium was the special vestment of deacons. This view, though found in some medieval writers, is, I think, quite untenable, as the passages already cited point distinctly to a primarily monastic use, and connect the dress essentially with Egypt.

LIBELLI

981

Ephrem Syrus (*de Humilitate*, c. 88; vol. i. 320, ed. Assemani) and Palladius (*Hist. Lausica*, cc. 38, 52; *Patrol. Gr.* xxiv. 1099, 1138); also Duceage, *Glossaries*, s. vv. [E. S.]

LIAFWINI [LIVINGS.]

LIASINONUS (LIASFAMON), Egyptian martyr; commemorated Feb. 9 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 294). [C. H.]

LIBANIUS (LEVANGIUS), bishop of Sennis, 6th century; commemorated Oct. 19 (*Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 447). [C. H.]

LIBANUS, Egyptian abbot; commemorated Ter. 3 = Dec. 29 (*Cal. Et'rop.*). [C. H.]

LIBARIA, virgin and martyr in Lorraine, 4th century; commemorated Oct. 8 (*Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 228). [C. H.]

LIBEL (L'ellus famosus). The frequent enactments, both in ecclesiastical and civil legislation, against the circulation of libels, that is, scandalous charges circulated in writing, prove the frequency of the practice. The Theodosian Code (lib. ix. tit. 34, *de Famosis Libellis*) has detailed and rigorous enactments. Even the reader or collector of such libels is to be liable to capital punishment. And that of Justinian has provisions substantially the same. This seems to have been because the person in possession of or circulating a libel, was presumed, in law, to have been the author of it and punished as such (*sciat se quasi auctorem hujusmodi . . . subjungantur*). And this presumption might probably be rebutted by suitable evidence. The Apostolical Canons (Nos. 54, 55, 83) deal only with the case of a clergyman maligning another cleric, or a bishop, or the emperor; in the latter case he was to be deposed. Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 17) remarks on the proneness of the clergy to present to the emperor accusations (*βήβηλα*) against each other before the first council of Nice, and relates that Constantine ordered all these *libelli* to be burnt unread.

In a collection of canons said to have been delivered by pope Adrian to Ingilram, bishop of Metz, we find one apparently founded on the rule of law mentioned above, and embodying similar provisions. And the Council of Eliberis (A.D. 305) anathematized in its 52nd canon those who should be found to have circulated libels, "*famosos libellos*," in the church.

In the 6th century denunciations of this offence become much rarer. From that period forwards we have only a very few canons, and those in general terms, against libel. The councils are mostly occupied with a different class of offences, such as would naturally arise in the ruler state of society which followed upon the irruption of the barbarians and the fall of the empire. [S. J. E.]

LIBELLATICI [LIBELLI.]

LIBELLICI. I. In the Decian persecution the constitution of the courts employed to enforce conformity, and the number of minor officials dealing with individuals, rendered evasion easy. The approved form of submission to the state ritual was (as under Trajan) to offer sacrifice or incense, but it was possible also to tender submission in writing. The name of one who "professed" in

this way was subscribed to a renunciation of Christianity, or to a denial of the charge, or to a declaration of having recently or habitually attended sacrifices, or sometimes (unless Augustine has fallen into an unlikely mistake) to a mere profession of readiness to conform. This document was delivered to a magistrate, entered on the Acta, and finally published in the Forum.

II. Certificates of exemption, like the "Parliamentary Certificates" of our own history, were offered by officials for money, and actually thrust on persons who believed themselves, after privately avowing their faith, to be only purchasing exemption from the obligation to conform. This would have been simply a species of confiscation, which has rarely given great offence (the church penance for it was of six months' duration, *S. Pet. Alex.* can. 5; but on the Montanist view of such acts see Tillemont *sur la persécution de Dèce*, note iii). But it is evident from the efforts of Cyprian to awaken penitence in respect of them, that the purport of this kind of libellus was not less objectionable than the first. They cannot have sanctioned exemption without some grounds alleged, and those grounds can scarcely have been any other than that the certifying officer declared himself satisfied of the sound paganism of the recipient.

The difficulties found by authors on the subject of libelli have arisen from the assumption that they were all of one kind, or that there could be any regular formal procedure for the evasion of procedure. On the contrary, every conceivable means would be adopted. The accounts are not irreconcilable, but are about different things. Cyprian's language is precise to technicality in the use of professional terms.

I. (1). That libellus which the suspected Christian tendered is characterised in Cyprian *de lapsis*, xxvii. 22, "*Professio est denegantis, contestatio christiani quod fuerat* (cf. for this peculiar phrase, *Cyp. c. Demetr.* xiii. 11, *id quod prius fueram*) *abnuentis*." In *Ep.* 30, iii. 3, "*Professio libellorum*" is again the *exhibition* or *putting in* of such documents. *Proferri* is the proper term, as in the *Acts of St. Agape* (Ruinsart, p. 424), *Christi negationem scriptam proferri*, and compare *Aug. de Bap. c. Don.* iv. 6. Again, *contestatio* means the plea, or statement of his own case, made by either party to a suit, answering to the *δισμωρία* of the Athenian courts. The Roman clergy in *Cypr. Ep.* 30, iii. 3, argue correctly that although a man may never have approached the altar, he is bound by the fact of having *put in a legal affirmation* (*contestatus sit*) that he had done it.

In the above passages the libellus is a document emanating from the recanting persons. Such are described in Peter of Alexandria (can. 5) as *ἡσυχροφάτοις*. The nature of its contents is indicated in the passage of the *de Lapsis*, "He has declared himself to have done whatever another in fact sinfully did" (*faciendo commissit*), although this passage implies further the appearance of a deputy, a slave or heathen friend to personate him in the sacrificial act, as was common in the persecution of Diocletian.

The offence of the bishop Martial (*Ep.* 67, vi.) who was "stained with the libellus of idolatry," is explained by this use of the word *contestatus*. In the public proceedings (*actis publica habitis*

apud) before the Decurion Procurator, he had appeared to put in a declaration that he had denied Christ and adopted a heathen cultus. He is not accused of having ever actually sacrificed, and according to Augustine (*l. c.*) libelli might contain only a declaration of readiness to do so.

(2) A second class are spoken of by Novatian and the Roman clergy, as having virtually "given acknowledgments, quittances, or discharges" (*accepta fecissent*, the best authenticated reading, is a common term (Dirksen, *Manuale*, s. v.), but "*acta facere*," which Neander adopts, makes good sense, namely, "to put in a plea in a process"), though not present in person, "*cum fierent*," inasmuch as they had made a *legal* appearance (*praesentiam suam fecissent*) by commissioning a proxy to register their names (*mandando ut sic scriberentur*) on the lists of conformity. Novatian argues that, as one who orders a crime is responsible for its commission, so one who sanctions (*consensu*) the reading in public (public legitur) of an untrue declaration about himself is liable to be proceeded against as if it were true.

II. The other kind of *libellus* which emanated not from the renegade but from the magistrate, is described with equal precision. In the *Epistle to Antonian* (55, xi. 8), Cyprian says some of the Libellatici had received such. An opportunity for obtaining one presented itself unsought (*occasione libelli oblata . . . ostensa*); they went in person or by deputy (*mandavi*) to a magistrate, informed him of their religion, and paid a sum for exemption from sacrifice. Since no magistrate could issue an order simply staying the execution of an edict, his certificate undoubtedly contained a statement of the satisfactory paganism of its holder. Thus Cyprian tried to awaken their consciences, while they felt that they had avowed their religion, and that the form of the document was not their affair.

Again, in the *Exhortation of Martyrdom*, Christians are urged if a libellus is offered (*libelli oblata sibi occasione*) not to embrace the gift (*decipitulum malum munus*), by the example of Eleazar, who refused the facilities offered him of eating lawful flesh as a make-believe for pork. The official connivance in each case would have enabled them to seem to do what they did not. The libellus is here something offered, and is a *munus*.

Thus nothing remains more clear than that the *libellus* of conformity is used for two kinds of documents. Maran thought the distinction was merely as to whether persons had been present or not at the registration of their names (*vita Cypriani*, vi.). Rigalt says that the libellatici only purchased a libellus of exemption. Tillemont alone has guessed that there might be two ways, "Peut-estre que l'on faisait et l'un et l'autre." Whether a document was issued also in cases of registration is not apparent; but all three sorts of persons are included under the name of libellatici.

III. Libellus is the proper name of a perfectly distinct kind of document issued by confessors or martyrs in prison, to those who had "filled." When the reaction commenced among the lapsed, some reappeared before the tribunals and suffered

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torture or death; others dedicated themselves to the service of confessors, others entered on penances of undefined duration (Cyp. *Ep.* 24, 21, 56). Many more relied on vicarious imputations of merit, by means of intercessions, always owned as availing for the individual before God (prærogativa eorum adjuvari apud Deum possunt, *Ep.* 18, cf. *Ep.* 19, II.), but now first used in subversion of church order. At first a letter from a martyr to the bishop only prayed that the case of a lapsed friend might be enquired into on the cessation of persecution; a period of penitence and the imposition of hands being understood to be necessary just as for other sins; some, like Saturninus, declined to venture even on this; Mappalicus requested it only for his sister or mother (Cyp. *Ep.* 20). But the presbyters who composed at Carthage the fiction hostile to Cyprian perceiving the effectiveness which might be given to the practice, anticipated not only the bishop's enquiry but even the death of martyrs, and "offered the names" of lapsed persons (see Aubespine, *Obs.* Ecc. L. i. § vii., prefixed to Priorius's *Optatus*, 1676, p. 40), and gave them communion as duly restored penitents (*Ep.* 34) upon receiving such letters from confessors without the bishop's sanction. These *libelli* sometimes specified only one of a group to whom they were granted, "Communicet ille cum suis" (*Ep.* 15). Then they were issued in the name of deceased confessors, and of confessors too illiterate to write themselves (*Ep.* 27), and this so copiously that some thousands were supposed to be circulating in Africa (*Ep.* 20). The chief authority in this issue, Lucianus, when remonstrated with by Cyprian, seems to have replied almost at once by promulgating in the name of "all the confessors" (compare the letter of ἕως χάριτος μαρτύρων from Nicomedia, end of cent. iii. Lucian ap. Routh, *Reliquiæ*, vol. iv.) an indulgence to "all the lapsed," and requesting Cyprian himself to communicate it to the provincial bishops, the sole condition annexed being that their conduct since their fall should have been satisfactory. This extraordinary document is extant, as Cyp. *Ep.* 23. Cyprian himself was prepared to concede some weight to these libelli in cases not undeserving of restitution, but the influence of the martyrs was ignored in the council (*Carth. Sub. Cyp. i.*) which regulated the terms of readmission. [AFRICAN COUNCILS, I. 38.]

The seditious *libelli* of the martyrs seem to have had no existence at Rome. This was no doubt due to the influence in the exactly opposite direction of Novatian over the confessors, whom he commends for maintaining "Evangelica disciplina" (*Ep.* 30, iv. 4), and who at first adhered to him, and not to the milder Cornelius. The Roman presbyters sympathise with the African episcopate, and deplore the similar revolts in Sicily, and in "nearly all the world." They say of Rome, "We seem to have escaped so far the disorders of the times." The petition of Celerinus at Rome to the confessors of Carthage for "Peace" to be granted to his sisters, implies that *libelli* could not practically be obtained at Rome (*Ep.* 22); accordingly the Roman confessors who correspond with Cyprian, urge humility on the Carthaginians, and go beyond him in strictness (*Ep.* 27, 31, 32).

[E. W. B.]

LIBER DIURNUS. The *Liber Diurnus Pontificum Romanorum* is a collection of formulae used in the correspondence and ordinary business, the "negotia diurna," of the Roman Curia.

Its date is determined within certain limits by internal evidence. In c. ii. tit. ix. p. 28, Constantine Pogonatus is referred to as departed. The formula which contains this reference therefore must have been drawn up or added to after the year 685. And Garnier argues that the book must have been compiled before the year 752, as it contains formulae of addresses to eparchs, which would, he thinks, not have been inserted after the date when eparchs were superseded. He considers the *Liber Diurnus* to have been drawn up in the time of Gregory II. (715-731), mainly on the ground, that in the second "professio fidei" of a newly-elected pope which it gives (p. 33 ff.), expressions and sentiments occur identical with some found in letters of that pope to the emperor Leo. Zaccaria, however, has shown that at any rate the MS. which Garnier used was almost certainly not written earlier than the time of Gregory IV., as it contains an allusion (c. ii. tit. 2, p. 13) to the date of that pontiff's consecration (Nov. A.D. 827). And as it is very probable that many forms were left standing after they had ceased to be in actual use, no certain inference as to the date of the collection as a whole can be drawn from the fact, that forms are given for addresses to an archerch.

It was made use of by the early canonists, as Ivo of Chartres, Anselm, Deusdedit, and Gratian (Dist. xvi. c. 8); but as in the course of time forms of proceeding changed, it gradually fell out of use, and copies became rare.

Some time before the year 1650 the well-known Lucas Holstenius saw in the Cistercian monastery of S. Croce in Jerusalem at Rome an ancient MS. of the *Liber Diurnus*, and with some difficulty obtained from the abbat leave to have it transcribed—a task which is said to have been performed in a single night. While he was preparing to publish this, he heard of another MS. at Paris, in the possession of Sirmondi, which was sent to him at Rome (Sirmondi *Opera*, iv. pp. 685 f. and 701). He does not appear however to have made any use of this MS., for what reason we do not know. His edition was printed, and a copy is found in the Vatican Library with the following title-page in Holstenius's own hand-writing: "*Diurnus Pontificum, sive vetus Formularium, quo S. Rom. Ecclesia ante annos XI utebatur.* Lucas Holstenius edidit cum Notis. Romæ typis Lud. Griniani, MDCL. 8vo." The notes are wanting, but Zaccaria, towards the end of the last century, saw Holstenius's preparations for them still preserved at Rome. The sheets were ready then in 1850, but not issued. The same book exactly, with the exception of some slight variations in the last sheet, is found with the printed title, "*Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum ex antiquissimo codice ms. nunc primum in lucem editus Romæ typis Josephi Vannucci, 1658.*" But the censors intervened, and the book was not pub-

* This MS. is described by Pertz (*Ital. Reise*, in *A. u. M. für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, v. 27) as an 8vo. volume of parchment of (probably) the 6th century.

lished, though some sheets of it were sent to Petrus de Marca in 1660 (Baluze on de Marca, *de Concordia*, l. ix. 7). It is almost certain that this suppression of the book was due to its condemnation of pope Honorius (*Professio Pontif.* p. 41) as abetting heretics, a sentiment which seemed to Cardinal Bona, when the matter was submitted to him as president of the Congregation of the Index, a perilous one. In the pontificate, however, of Benedict XIII. (1724-1730) copies of the edition called of 1658 (really of 1650) were permitted to circulate.

Meantime Jean Garnier published an edition of the *Liber Diurnus* in quarto at Paris, in the year 1680. This seems to have been founded on the Paris MS. In 1685 Mabillon (*Mus. Ital.* i. 75) saw at Rome the original MS. which had been copied for Holstenius, and finding in it some formulæ not contained in Garnier's edition, inserted them in his *Museum Italicum* (i. pt. 2, pp. 32, 37), together with a selection of passages in which the reading of the MS. differed from that of Garnier's edition. These additions and various readings were used by Hoffmann in preparing the edition which he inserted in his *Acta Collectio Scriptorum*, vol. ii. pp. 1-268 (Leipzig, 1733). J. D. Schöfflin in his *Commentationes Hist. et Crit.* (Basil. 1741), pp. 502-524, having had access to a copy of the edition of Holstenius, noted almost all the places in which this differs from that of Garnier, and also added (pp. 525-530) those portions which are wanting in Garnier's edition, omitting four paragraphs, for what reason is not apparent. The edition of Riegger (Vienna, 1762) is a mere reprint of the original Paris edition. This is also reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. 105, with Mabillon's additions.

Garnier found the hundred and four formulæ in the codex without arrangement or division into parts or chapters. He arranged the matter and divided it into seven chapters. Of these the first contains the proper forms for papal letters to the emperor, the empress, the patriarch, the exarch, a consul, a king, a patriarch, etc.; the second treats of the election and consecration of a pope, together with the proper forms of the letters to be written on such occasions to the emperor, the exarch, and other official personages; the third, of the consecration by the pope of the suburbicarian bishops; in the fourth are four formulæ for the bestowing of the Pallium; the fifth contains twenty-one formulæ for various transactions between the pope and the bishops of his own consecration; the sixth relates to the management of the estates of the Church; and the seventh to the granting of privileges to various ecclesiastical corporations, as monasteries and hospitals.

The book contains matter of great interest both in a dogmatic and an archaeological point of view. The "Professions" of a newly elected pope refer to such matters as ecclesiastical tradition, the respect due to the creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople, the heresies to be abjured and condemned, the claims of the Roman primate. The particulars of the order to be observed and the persons to be informed, on a vacancy of the papal see, are brought into clearer light by this document than by any other of so early a date. Much is learned as to the relation between the pope and the bishops of his own archdiocese,

and also between the pope and the metropolitans who owned his jurisdiction, as to the conditions and the periods of ordination generally, to the residence of bishops, to the care and distribution of the property of the church; as to the different classes of churches—basilicas, tituli, oratories, and the like—their consecration, their endowment, and the offices to be performed in them; and as to the care of the sick and poor. In a word, a considerable portion of the ecclesiastical—especially the Roman ecclesiastical—life of the 8th century, or thereabouts, receives illustration from the *Liber Diurnus*.

(See Garnier's preface to the *Liber Diurnus* [Migne, *Patrol.* cv. pp. 11-22; and Zaccaria's *Dissert. de L. D.*, in his *Biblioth. Rit.* t. ii. sec. ii. pp. cccxix-cccxxvi, Rome, 1781; and in Migne, cv. pp. 1361-1404. The most recent edition is that by Eng. de Rozière; Paris, 1869.) [C.]

LIBERA NOS. The amplification of the petition "Deliver us from evil," in the Lord's Prayer, found in almost all liturgies. For instance, that of the Gallican (which is variable), is on Christmas Day—"Libera nos, omnipotens Deus, ab omni malo et custodi nos in omni opere bono, perfecta veritas et vera libertas Deus, qui regnas in sæcula sæculorum." That of St. James's Liturgy is given under **EMPOLESMUS** [l. 609]. Many liturgies contain supplications for the intercession of saints in the *Libera nos*. [**INTERCESSION**, l. 844.] [C.]

LIBERALIS (1) Martyr of Alexandria; commemorated April 24 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 265). [C. H.]

(2) Of Altinum in Venetia, confessor, circ. A. D. 400; commemorated April 27 (*Usuard. Act.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 489). [C. H.]

LIBERATA (1) Of Ticinum (Pavia), circ. A. D. 500; commemorated Jan. 16 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 32). [C. H.]

(2) Of Mons Calvus (Chaumont), 6th century; commemorated Feb. 3 (*Usuard. Act.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 361). [C. H.]

(3) Of Comm (Corno), virgin and martyr, circ. A. D. 580; commemorated Jan. 18 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 196). [C. H.]

LIBERATUS (1) Of Amphitrea (unknown); commemorated Dec. 20 (*Mart. Usuard.*) [C. H.]

(2) Abbat and martyr, circ. A. D. 483; commemorated in Africa Aug. 17 (*Usuard. Act.*; *Acta SS.* Aug. iii. 455). [C. H.]

(3) Physician and martyr, circ. A. D. 484; commemorated in Africa Mar. 23 (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii. 461). [C. H.]

LIBERIUS (1) Archbishop of Ravenna, circ. A. D. 200; commemorated April 29 (*Usuard. Act.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 614). [C. H.]

(2) (**LIBERUS**, **LIBUS**) Bishop; commemorated at Rome May 17 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* May iv. 26). [C. H.]

(3) Bishop of Rome; commemorated Sept. 23 (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Ado. Append.*; *Usuard. Act.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 572); Taguen 4=Aug. 27, and Tekempt 7=Oct. 4 (Neale, *Cal. Ethiop.*); Aug. 27 and Oct. 6 (*Daniel Cod. Liturg.*). [C. H.]

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 72); Tagmen 4=Aug. 27;
 4 (Neale, *Cal. Ethiop.*);
 Daniel *Cod. Liturg.*).

[C. H.]

LIBERTINUS

LIBERTINUS, martyr at Gildoba in
 Thrace; commemorated Dec. 20 (*Mart. Hieron.*
 cf. *Usuard, ad diem, Obs.*). [C. H.]

LIBIUS (LIBUS), martyr in Pannonia; com-
 mmemorated Feb. 23 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Usuard.*
Auct.; Acta SS. Feb. iii. 366). [C. H.]

LIBORIUS, bishop of Mans, patron of Pader-
 born, 4th century, confessor; commemorated
 July 23 and June 9 (*Usuard. Auct.*; *Ado, Mart.*
Append.; Acta SS. July, v. 394; see also *Usuard.*
Auct. ad April 28, May 28). [C. H.]

LIBOSA; commemorated at Nicomedia Feb.
 22 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS. iii. 289*). [C. H.]

LIBOSUS; commemorated at Rome June 3
 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS. June, i. 237*). [C. H.]

LIBRA. In the later Roman empire the pound
 of gold was divided into 72 *aurei* or *solidi* (*Codex*,
 x. tit. 70, a. 5; see *DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND*
ROMAN ANTIQ. s.v. "Aurum"). It was probably
 from this circumstance that a number of 72
 witnesses was called *Libra Occidua* (Baronius ad
 aa. 302, § 91 ff.). The same term is said to be
 applied to the suffragan bishops of the see of
 Rome, who were in number about 72 (Macri,
Hierol. s. v. Libra; *Bisior*, I. 240). [C.]

LIBRANUS, of Clofmid, in Neath, abbat of
 Iona, 6th cent., and at Durrow, Mar. 11 (Aengus).
 [E. B. L.]

LIBRARIES BELONGING TO CHURCHES AND
 MONASTERIES. The information that we are able
 to give on this subject is fragmentary, but not
 without interest.

I. The most ancient library of Christian books
 mentioned by any historian is that at Aelia
 (Jerusalem), collected by Alexander, the bishop
 of that city, A.D. 212. Eusebius of Caesarea,
 writing about 330, says that it contained the
 epistles, from one to another, of many learned
 ecclesiastics of the time of Origen (A.D. 230),
 and that he had himself made very great use of
 it in compiling his history (*Hist. Eccl. vi. 20*).
 There was a much larger and more famous
 library at Caesarea in Palestine, which appears
 to have been founded by Origen, with the
 munificent aid, we may suppose, of his friend
 Ambrosius, and to have been greatly enlarged by
 Pamphilus, the friend of Eusebius, A.D. 294.
 That it existed before the time of Pamphilus
 is clear from St. Jerome's account: "Having
 sought for them (books) over the world, but
 devoting himself especially to the world, but
 Origen, he gave them to the library at Caesarea"
 (*Expos. in Ps. 126, Ep. 34 ad Marcellam*, § 1).
 The same author calls it the library of Origen
 and Pamphilus (*De Vir. Illust. c. 113*). In this
 library there was, as he informs us, the supposed
 Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel (*ibid.*
 c. 3), which is probably the book (in the same
 collection) which he elsewhere describes as a
 Gospel in Syro-Chaldaic, used by the Nazarenes
 (*Contra Pelag. iii. 2*). In another work he says,
 "I have been somewhat diligent in searching
 for copies, and in the library of Eusebius at
 Caesarea I found six volumes of the *Apology*
 for Origen" (by Pamphilus) (*C. Rufin. ii. 12*).
 It contained copies of the greater part of the

LIBRARIES

works of Origen, made by Pamphilus himself
 (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust. c. 75*). The originals of
 the Hexapla were there, and Jerome corrected
 his copy from them (*Comment. in Tit. iii. 9*).
 Before the time of Jerome this library had
 fallen more or less into decay, but endeavours
 to restore it were made by two successors of
 Eusebius, viz. Acacius, 340, and Euzoios, 366
 (Hieron. *ad Marcell. u. s.*). Of Euzoios, he
 says, on the authority of Thespesius Rhetor, that
 he "strove with great labour to refurbish with
 parchments the library of Origen and Pamphilus,
 which was already decayed" (*De Vir. Illust.*
 c. 113). Isidore of Seville, A.D. 636, asserts
 that the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea con-
 tained nearly 30,000 volumes (*Orig. vi. 6*).

There is extant the legal record of some
 proceedings that took place at Cirra or Constan-
 tia, in Africa, during the persecution of 303-
 304. It relates that the officers "went to the
 church in which the Christians used to assemble,
 and spoiled it of chalices, lamps, &c., but when
 they came into the library (bibliothecum), the
 presses (armaria) there were found empty"
 (in *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, Optati Opp. App. ed.
 1703; comp. August. c. *Crescon. iii. 29*). Con-
 stantine directs Eusebius the historian in a
 letter which the latter has preserved (*De Vita*
Const. iv. 36) to cause to be written for the
 new churches in Constantinople, "by calligraphic
 artists, thoroughly skilled in the art, fifty
 volumes of the sacred writings, such as he knew
 to be most necessary for the supply and use
 of the church, on well-prepared parchments,
 legible and portable for use." Such a gift would,
 we may suppose, be in many cases the germ of a
 great church library. Julian the emperor, A.D.
 362, orders Ecdicius the prefect of Egypt to
 send him the library of George, the Arian bishop
 of Alexandria: "See that all the books of
 George be sought out. For there were at his
 residence many philosophical, many rhetorical
 works, and many of the doctrine of the impious
 Gallienus (Christians), which we could wish
 were all destroyed, but lest with these the more
 useful be made away with, let them also be
 carefully sought for. But let your guide in
 this search be the scribe [perhaps secretary]
 (*νοτάριος*) of George himself. . . . But I am
 myself acquainted with the books of George; for
 he lent me many, though not all, when I was
 in Cappadocia, for transcription, and had them
 back again" (*Epist. Jul. 9*). Julian was collect-
 ing books to enrich the library founded by
 Constantius in the portico of the imperial palace,
 and removed by himself to a more suitable
 edifice, which he had erected for the purpose.
 See Duencan, *Constantinople's Christian*, i. 4, 9, 3.
 Hence it appears that the books of which the
 church was robbed did not return to her.
 Georgius Synceilus tells us that he had brought
 to him from the library of Caesarea in Cappa-
 docia an excellent copy of the book of Kings,
 "in which was an inscription to the effect that
 the great and holy Basil (bishop of that see
 from 370 to 378) had himself compared and
 corrected the copies from which it had been
 transcribed" (*Chronogr. p. 382*; ed. Dinlorf).
 St. Jerome, after referring a correspondent to
 several authorities, says, "Turn over the com-
 mentaries of all whom I have mentioned above;
 and make good use of the libraries of the

churches; and thou wilt arrive more quickly at that which thou desirest and hast begun" (*Epist. ad Jannach.* 49, § 3; comp. *Epist.* 112, *ad August.* § 19). St. Augustine, writing at Hippo about the year 428, says, "I have heard that the holy Jerome wrote on heresies; but neither have we been able to find that little work of his in our own library, nor do we know from where it may be obtained" (*De Her.* sub fin.). When Augustine was dying, "he directed that the library of the church and all the books should be carefully kept for posterity for ever." He also left libraries to the church, "containing books and treatises by himself or other holy persons" (*Possid. Vita Aug.* 31). Theodosius the younger, 408-450, "collected the sacred books and their interpreters so diligently, as not to come behind Ptolemy" (*Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccl.* xiv. 3). Whether his collection was for the imperial library or the Patriarchium, we are not told; but the fact is worth noting, because it shows the spirit of the age. The leading ecclesiastics would not be behind the emperor. Hilary of Rome, A.D. 461, according to the Liber Pontificalis, "made two libraries in the Lateran baptistery" (*Anast. Vit. Pont.* 47). From the same authority we learn that the works of Gelasius, A.D. 482, were "kept laid up in the library and archive of the church" down to the 9th century (n. 50). Gregory I. A.D. 598, replying to the request of Eulogius of Alexandria that he would send him the Acts of the Martyrs collected by Eusebius, says, "Besides those things which are contained in the books of Eusebius himself concerning the deeds of the holy martyrs, I know none in the archives of this our church, or in the libraries of the city of Rome, except a few collected in the roll of a single book" (*Epist.* vii. 29). A narrative assigned to the year 649 or thereabout, shews that there was at that time a library already attached to St. Peter's. It is said that when Taio, bishop of Saragossa, who had been sent from Spain by king Chindaswind to procure the latter part of the *M. ratiis* of Gregory, could not learn from the pope or anyone else where it was, the very press in which it lay was pointed out to him in a vision, as he watched and prayed by night in that church (*De Visione*, etc., *Labb. Cons.* v. 1844). Willibald, A.D. 760, in the life of St. Boniface, says that the four books of St. Gregory were to his day put into the "libraries of churches" (*Pertz, Monum. Germ. Hist.* ii. 334). At this period, and earlier, as we learn from an epistle of Taio, above mentioned, few books were composed or copied in the west, and all were in danger of destruction, from the constant wars which desolated the Latin world (*Epist. ad Quiicum; Præfat. Saec. ii.* O. S. B. § v. lv. 17). His evidence refers to Spain, but the evil was felt at Rome equally, as we learn from a statement of the Roman synod in 680, to the emperors who had convened the 3rd council of Constantinople. After describing themselves as "settled in the northern and western parts" of the empire, the Latin bishops say, "We do not think that any one can be found in our time who can boast of great knowledge, seeing that in our regions the fury of various nations is every day raging, now in fighting, now in overrunning and plundering; whence our whole life is full of care, surrounded as we are by a band of nations,

and having to live by bodily toil, the ancient maintenance of the churches having by degrees fallen away and failed through divers calamities" (*Labbe*, vi. 681). Agatho, then bishop of Rome, made this an excuse for his ignorance of his legates, whom he sent to the council, as he said, "out of the obedience which he owed" to the emperors, "not from any confidence in their knowledge" (*ibid.* 634). Bede (*De Temp. Rat.* 66, followed by Hincmar, *Opusc.* 20 c. Hincmar, *Laud.*) says that when they arrived at Constantinople they were "very kindly received by the most reverend defender of the Catholic faith Constantine (Pogonatus), and by him exhorted to lay aside philosophical [om. Hincmar.] disputations, and to seek the truth in peaceable conference, all the books of the ancient fathers which they asked for being supplied them out of the library at Constantinople." The records of the council tell us that the same legates besought the emperor that the "original books of the patristic testimonies added might be brought from the Patriarchium" (*Act. vi.* *Labb.* vi. 719); and we find the bishop of Constantinople himself speaking of the "books of the holy and approved fathers which were laid up in his Patriarchium" (*Act. viii.* *ibid.* 730; comp. 751, 780). A large number of extracts from the fathers are said to have been compared with the originals in the "library of the Patriarchium" (*Act. x.* *coll.* 788, 790, 798, &c.). Several testimonies alleged are also said to have been compared with a "silver-bound parchment book belonging to the *σκευοφυλάκιον* of the most holy high church" in the same city (*ibid.* 813, 814, &c.). There was at Constantinople also a registry or repository of documents (*χαρτοφυλάκιον*, n. s. 803) under the charge of an officer called the *χαρτοφύλαξ* (*ibid.*). Whether this was a department of the library or distinct from it does not appear. The great esteem in which the church library at Constantinople was held by all parties is attested by the fact that the iconolater Theophanes refused to look at a copy of Isaiah, brought from the emperor's library, alleging that all his books were corrupted, but asked for one from the library of the Patriarchium instead (*Continuatio*, iii. 14).

For some centuries after this the Greeks possessed advantages for the acquisition of knowledge over the Latins; though there were many in the west, especially among the bishops, who employed themselves in collecting and multiplying good books. Thus Bede says of Aeca, who succeeded Wilfrid at Hexham, A.D. 710, that he "gathered together the histories of the sufferings (of the martyrs, &c.), with other ecclesiastical books most diligently, and made there a very large and noble library" (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 20). Egbertus, bishop of York from 782-786, is another example in our own country. Aleuin, in 796, writing to Charlemagne from Tours, where he had opened a school, says, "I am partly in want of books of scholastic erudition, that are somewhat difficult to be procured, which I had in my own country, through the good and most devoted diligence of my master, or my own labour, such as it was." He therefore desired that some youths might be sent into Britain to bring back whatever was necessary, "that there might not only be 'a garden enclosed' at York, but that there may be at

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by bodily toil, the ancient churches having by degrees passed through divers calamities." Bede, then bishop of Home, speaks for the ignorance of his country to the council, as he said, "I know which he owed" (c. 9). "I am any confidence in our country" (Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* 434). Bede (*De Temp. Rat.* Cassin., *Opus.* 20 c. Hincm. ann. they arrived at Constan- tium very kindly received by the ruler of the Catholic faith Con- stantine), and by him exhorted to a [Cath. Hincm.]disputations, both in peaceable conference, and in ancient fathers which they died them out of the library. The records of the council name legates besought the "original books of the pa- radise which he brought him" (Act. vi. Labb. vi. 710); "I am any confidence in our country" (Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* 434). Bede (*De Temp. Rat.* Cassin., *Opus.* 20 c. Hincm. ann. they arrived at Constan- tium very kindly received by the ruler of the Catholic faith Con- stantine), and by him exhorted to a [Cath. Hincm.]disputations, both in peaceable conference, and in ancient fathers which they died them out of the library.

The records of the council name legates besought the "original books of the pa- radise which he brought him" (Act. vi. Labb. vi. 710); "I am any confidence in our country" (Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* 434). Bede (*De Temp. Rat.* Cassin., *Opus.* 20 c. Hincm. ann. they arrived at Constan- tium very kindly received by the ruler of the Catholic faith Con- stantine), and by him exhorted to a [Cath. Hincm.]disputations, both in peaceable conference, and in ancient fathers which they died them out of the library.

ies after this the Greeks were sent for the acquisition of the Latin; though there were especially among the bishops, themselves in collecting and books. Thus Bede says of Wilfrid at Hexham, A.D. 662, "I brought together the histories of the martyrs, &c.), with other most diligently, and made a noble library" (*Hist.* Bede, bishop of York from example in our own country, coming to Charlemagne from the north opened a school, says, "I have books of scholastic erudi- tion difficult to be procured, in my own country, through the great diligence of my master, such as it was." He there- fore some youths might be sent to the buck whither was sent might not only be a garden but that there may be at

Tours also 'plants, an orchard with pleasant fruits.'" (Cant. iv. 13), (*Epst.* 38). From William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Reg. Angl.* l.) we learn that the master of whom Alcuin speaks is Egbert of York. Alcuin also celebrates in verse the library which Alcuin, another bishop of York, attached to his cathedral church, and gives the names of many of the fathers, poets, and grammarians, whose works were contained in it (*Poema de Pont.* Ebor. II. 1525 et seq. tom. II. p. 257). In 787 a great stimulus was given to the formation of libraries in cathedral churches within the dominions of Charlemagne, by an order issued by him for the establishment of schools in connexion with them (Labbe, *Cona.* v. 1779). Such schools, as we have seen, implied a good collection of books. A later edict of the same prince, after providing that there be "set up schools of reading boys," adds, "Let them learn the psalms, notes, chants, the art of determining the seasons (computum), and grammar [in its ancient sense], in every monastery and episcopal church (episcopatum). Let them also have Catholic books, well corrected" (*Casal.* ann. 789, c. 70). These laws of Charlemagne would certainly lead to the foundation of cathedral libraries where they had not existed before. It is probable that the smaller libraries found in connexion with many other churches owe their origin in a great measure to a similar edict of Lewis in 816. By this, bishops were ordered to "see that the Presbyters had a missal and lectionary and other books necessary to them" (c. 28; *Capit. Reg. Franc.* i. 569). What some at least of these "other books," supposed to be necessary, were, we may gather from the following list in an ancient polyptychon, preserved in the church of St. Remigius, at Rheims: "A book of the gospels, a psalter, an antiphonary, a breviary [i.e. a table of the gospels for the year, in which they were indicated by their first and last words]. . . . a computus, an order of baptism, a martyrology, a penitential, a pas- sional, a volume of canons, forty homilies of St. Gregory" (*Ibid.* ii. 1159). As soon as such a collection went beyond the requirements of the service, as in this case it did, the foundation of a church library was already laid.

II. We read of libraries attached to monas- teries in the west at a somewhat early period. The rule of St. Benedict, A.D. 530, speaks of the benefit to be derived from the reading of the Catholic fathers, their conferences, institutes, and lives (c. 73), in a manner which implies access to a considerable number of such works. Compare the rule of Ferreolus, A.D. 533 (c. 19). In Lent every monk under the rule of St. Benedict received a book "from the library" (bibliotheca), which he was to read through before he could have another (c. 48). The rule of Isidore, A.D. 593, enters into details: "Let the keeper of the sacramin (here=secratarium) have charge of all the books; from whom let all the brethren receive them one at a time, which they shall carefully read and handle, and always return after vespers. Let the books be asked for every day at the first hour; and let none be given to him who shall ask later" (c. 9). To shew the care with which the books were treated, we may mention that monks were allowed to have handkerchiefs in which to wrap

them (Theodmar. Cassin. ad Car. Magn. in *Capit. Reg. Franc.* II. 1080), and that the council of Aix, 817, left it to the prior to determine, "when books had been received from the library," whether others should be given out or not (cap. 19). It would seem that, except in Lent, the ordinary monk did not have books out of the library for his private use; but the practice of reading aloud at meals implies a variety of suitable works. We hear of this even before the days of Benedict, viz. in the rule of Caesarius, A.D. 502: "While they eat at table, let no one speak, but let one read some book; that as the body is refreshed by food, so may the soul be refreshed by the word of God" (c. 9; comp. *Reg. S. Ben.* c. 38). Other times for reading were also appointed in some houses, as by the rule of Donatus for nuns, A.D. 640: "From the 2nd hour to the 3rd, if there be no need for them to work, let them employ themselves in reading. . . . Let one of the elder read to the rest, as they work together" (c. 20).

Cassiodorus, who built, or entered, the monas- tery of Vivarium, about the year 562, collected books for it from the more distant parts of the world, and directed his monks that, if they met with any book that he wanted, they should make a copy of it, "that by the help of God and their labour, the library of the monastery might be benefited" (*De Instit. Div. Litt.* 8). In the preface to his work on Orthography, he gives a list of twelve books on the subject which he used in compiling his own. As he was then 93 years old, they were presumably all at hand in his own monastery. The fact suggests a good collection of works on general subjects, as well as in one written (A.D. 590) to the Defensor of Naples representing that the books of the monas- tery of Macheris had in a time of trouble been carried into Sicily by a certain presbyter, who had died and left them there, and requiring that they should be restored (*Epist.* viii. 15). The monks of our own country were not behind others in collecting books. E.g. Benedict Biscop, abbat of Wearmouth, having visited Rome in 671, "brought home not a few books of all divine erudition, either bought with a set price or given to him by the kindness of friends, and when on his return he came to Vienne he re- ceived those which he had bought and intrusted to friends there" (Bede, *Hist. Abbat. W. cem.* § 4). In 678 he paid another visit to Rome, and then "brought home an innumerable quantity of books of every kind" (*Ibid.* 5). "A great quantity of sacred volumes" was part of the result of a third visit in 686 (§ 8). In his last illness he gave directions that "the very noble and complete library, which he had brought from Rome, as necessary for the instruction of the church, should be anxiously preserved entire, and neither suffer injury through want of care nor be dispersed" (9). This collection, which was divided between the monasteries of Wear- mouth and Jarrow, was "doubled" by the zeal of his successor, Coelfrid (12). It is to these libraries chiefly that we owe the learning of Bede. The order of Charlemagne in 787 al- ready mentioned was addressed to abbats as well as bishops, and the only copy extant is that which was sent to the abbat of Fulda. It is interesting to know that less than 50 years after

its promulgation, the famous Rabanus Maurus built a library there, which he amply stored with books (*Vita per Rodolf. in Cave, Hist. Litt. nom. Raban.*). A beginning had been made, however, so far back as 754. When Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, was murdered by the Pagans at Dokem in east Frisia, they "broke open the repository of books . . . and scattered those which they found, some over the level fields, others in the reed-bed of the marshes, and flung and hid others away in all sorts of places." They were afterwards found and taken to Fulda, where three of them are still shewn, viz. a New Testament, a book of the Gospels, said to have been written by the martyr himself, and a volume stained with his blood, containing, with other tracts of St. Ambrose, *de Spiritu Sancto* and *Pono Mortis* (Willibaldi *Vita S. Bonif.* xi. 37, and Mabillon's note). In 799 Charlemagne founded an abbey at Charroux, which "he enriched with many relics and most magnificent gifts brought to him from the east, and with a very rich library" (*Gallia Christiana*, ii. 1278). Many monastic libraries were destroyed by fire in the 9th and following centuries, in several of which books must have been accumulating during a lengthened period. For example, in 870, when the Danes destroyed the minster of Medhamsted (Peterborough), founded about 656, "a vast library of sacred books was burned with the charters of the monastery" (*Ann. Bened.* iii. 167, § 16, from Ingulf.). In 892 the monastery at Teano, near Monte Cassino, was burned down, "in which fire most of the deeds and instruments of the Cassinates were consumed, with the very autograph of the rule which the holy father Benedict had written with his own hand" (*ibid.* p. 283, § 67). About the year 900, the Hungarians destroyed the monastery of Noanantula by fire, and "burned many books" (*ibid.* 305, § 30).

We can give no certain information on the origin and condition of monastic libraries in the east during the period to which we are confined. We may, however, infer with great probability that monasteries began very early to collect books, from the fact that manuscripts of the highest antiquity are found in them at the present day. About 400 volumes of MSS. are now in the British Museum, which were brought in the years 1839, 1842, 1847 from a single Syrian monastery, viz. that of St. Mary Deipara, in the Desert of Nitria, or Valley of Scete. As a proof of the antiquity of some of these books, we may mention that the three volumes in which occur the several copies of the Epistles of St. Ignatius published by Mr. Cureton are, one earlier than 550, another some 50 or 60 years later, and the third "certainly not later than the 7th or 8th century" (*Corpus Ignatianum*, Introd. xvii. xxxiii.). In the second of these volumes is a notice curiously similar to one quoted above respecting an English abbat, to the effect that Moses of Nisibis, the superior of the monastery, "gave diligence and acquired that book together with many others, being 250, many of which he purchased, and others were given to him by some persons as a blessing [see EULOGIAE (5)], when he went to Bagdad" (xxx.). This bears date A.D. 931. The MS. bible found by Tischendorf (1844, 1859) in the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, is assigned to the 4th

century (*Nov. Test. Sinaii*, Tisch. Proleg. ix.). He obtained many other books from the same library, and many from monasteries in Palestine, at Berytus, Laodicea, Smyrna, in Patmos, and at Constantinople (*Notitia Editt. Cod. Sinaii*, p. 7). In his collection, now at St. Petersburg, are various Greek fragments of the 5th and 6th centuries (*ibid.* p. 56); five of the New Testament of the 6th and 7th; and one of the 7th or 8th (p. 50); parts of some Homilies of St. Chrysostom (p. 55), and some liturgical remains of the 8th (p. 56); all in the same language; and a Syriac version of hymns and sermons by Gregory Nazianzen written in the 7th (p. 64). We do not multiply such facts, because, though very probable indications of the existence of monastic libraries in the East within our period, and of the nature of their contents, they do not amount to a direct and positive proof. [W. E. S.]

LIBRARIUS. The word *librarius* has two meanings—viz. either a 'book-seller' or a 'transcriber': we are concerned with the latter sense. Of course there must have been transcribers in abundance before Christian times, if, as is said, the libraries of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, and of the kings of Pergamus in Asia Minor contained between them a million volumes, and upwards in all languages (DICT. OF GR. AND ROM. ANTS. art. 'Bibliotheca'). Transcribers were frequently slaves at first, or else worked for money, and were not well paid. Hence the endless complaints of their ignorance, carelessness, or dishonesty which occur in the Fathers as well as in classical authors (Wower, *de Polymath.* c. 18, ap. Gronov. Thes. x. 1079). But with Christian times the office of transcriber for libraries insensibly passed into better hands. It was not that he became, strictly speaking, a public functionary, but he copied far more frequently for ecclesiastical bodies than for private persons: a ' was, in most cases, a member of the body for which he worked. Thus he worked, not for money, but as a duty; and not on chance books, but on books carefully selected for their contents by his superiors. This altered the character of his performances materially, besides going far to ensure their preservation. It is a simple fact in history, that Christianity stands between us and the written records of all preceding ages, and is our sole guarantee for their trustworthiness in their present state.

Origen was one of the first Christians who is said to have employed transcribers regularly for literary purposes (*Βιβλιογράφους*, Euseb. *E. H.* vi. 23). Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, his friend and patron, was one of the first to form an episcopal library, which Eusebius found of great use in collecting facts for his history (*ib.* c. 20). Eusebius himself, by order of the emperor Constantine, had 50 choice copies of the scriptures made by experienced calligraphers on vellum, arranged in ternions and quaternions (*Vit. Const.* iv. 34-7, and Vales. *ad l.*). Pamphilus, the presbyter and martyr, with whom Eusebius was so intimate, enriched Caesarea with a large library, consisting of the works of Origen and other ecclesiastical writers, transcribed by himself (*ib.* c. 32, comp. St. Hier. *de Vir. Illust.* s. v.); and it was still in existence, and handy for readers, when St. Jerome wrote. [LIBRARIES.]

st. Sicut. Tisch. Proleg. ix.) other books from the same from monasteries in Palestine, Asia, Smyrna, in Patmos, and at St. Petersburg, are various of the 5th and 6th centuries of the New Testament of the one of the 7th or 8th (p. 50); of St. Chrysostom (p. 55); of the 8th (p. 56); of the 9th; and a Syriac version of the 10th (p. 64). We do not multiply examples, though very probable instances of monastic libraries in the 9th period, and of the nature of which do not amount to a direct

[W. E. S.]

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Some of the first Christians who were employed as transcribers regularly for the church (Βιβλιογράφος, Euseb. *E. H.* ii. 17, 18), was one of the first to form a school, which Eusebius found of collecting facts for his history of his own times, by order of the emperor, had 50 choice copies of the text, by experienced calligraphers, and decorated by ornaments and quarters. *De Libr. Palimp.* iv. 34-7, and Vales. *ad l.* p. 10. The presbyter and martyr, with whom was so intimate, enriched Caesarea with a library, consisting of the works of the ecclesiastical writers, transferred to him (ib. c. 32, comp. St. Hier. *de Libr. Palimp.* v.). and it was still in existence for readers, when St. Jerome

[L.]

When parchment was scarce, one work was often copied to make way for another. This may have been dictated here and there by religious prejudice: but in general what was least wanted at the time made way for what was most. The Scriptures themselves, or the works of the Aeschylus—then regarded with almost equal reverence—were written over sometimes, as well as works like the Republic of Cicero—"Latent hodie," says Knittel (quoted by Blone, *de Libr. Palimp.* p. 2) in palimpsestis libris codices Novi Testamenti remotissimas antiquitatis: haec est prima ratio, cur magnae sint utilitatis codices rescripti."

We must never forget, in estimating their practices or productions, that *Christian* transcribers were of all ranks and capacities. "The highest dignitaries of the church and princes even, says Mr. Taylor (*Transmission of Ancient Books*, c. ii. § 5), "thought themselves well employed in transcribing the Gospels and Epistles, the Psalter, or the Homilies and Meditations of the Fathers: nor were the classical authors... neglected by these gratuitous copyists." And again: "Every church and every convent and monastery had its library, and its librarian and other officers employed in the conservation of books" (ib. c. i. § 1). Then, further, as Mr. Taylor observes, "The property of each establishment was always highly prized—passed down from age to age, as if under the hand of a proprietor: and was therefore subjected to fewer dispersions and destructions than the mutability of human affairs ordinarily permits" (c. i. § 1). And again: "The places in which the remains of ancient literature were preserved during the middle ages were too many, and too distant from each other, and too little connected by any kind of intercourse, to admit of a combination or conspiracy for any supposed purposes of interpolation or corruption. Possessing, therefore, as we do, copies of the same author, some of which were drawn from the monasteries of England, others from Spain, and others collected in Egypt, Palestine, or Asia Minor, if, on comparing them, we find that they accord except in variations of little moment, we have an incontestable proof of the care and integrity with which the business of transcription was generally conducted" (ib.).... Transcribers were frequently concealed under other names, from being attached to some special office, or else from their art having come to be divided into different branches. They were the notaries, chancellors, clerks, readers, amanuenses, of most convents, as Mabillon shews (*Dipl.* i. 13). St. Isidore tells us of the another distinction which is still more to the point. "Librarii," he says, "idem et antiquarii vocantur: sed librarii sunt, qui et nota et vetera scribunt: antiquarii, qui tantummodo vetera, unde et nomen sumpserunt" (*Etym.* vi. 14). If this be true, and other authorities might be cited for it, there was a class of copyists whose labours were confined to retranscribing old MSS.

Illuminators, again, formed another branch of the profession. They designed the initial letters, laid on the gold, or painted the miniatures. Under this last word, again, we have the record of another class: *miniatores*, who filled in the 'rubrics.' In general, the transcriber

left blanks both for the rubrics and illuminations, as we see from many MSS. whose blank spaces have been but partially filled, or left altogether untouched. Sometimes it happened that there were transcribers who did all for themselves. Otherwise, we may occasionally find the dates of the handwriting and of the decorations separated by a wide interval. [MINIATURE.]

After a MS. had been transcribed, it passed through other hands to be corrected (Mabill. *Suppl.* c. xlii. 29): and the corrections in many cases not being erasures, we see what was judged erroneous, and what was judged right at the time. They are perhaps oftener corrections of the spelling, or of words omitted, than of anything else: while numerous errors of grammar are left untouched.

Handwriting, of course, varied with the age, though two or more were almost always in full use at the same time. The handwriting of the 13th century, for instance, was always much later, but it was unknown to transcribers who lived much earlier. Antiquaries could reproduce obsolete styles, but could not anticipate styles as yet unborn. Consequently, the rise of the different styles may be fixed with some accuracy; not so their duration after they had become current.

"The instruments," say the authors of the *Nouv. Trait. Diplom.* (p. ii. § 1. c. 10), "with which antiquity required that the work-room of a transcriber should be provided, were the ruler, compass, lead, scissors, penknife, hone, sponge, style, brush, quill or reed, inkstand or inkhorn, writing table, desk, vial with liquid for thinning ink become too thick, vial with vermilion for writing titles of books or chapters, and a box of pounce. Each of these instruments had its own special use."

Their materials were more limited. "Parchment," says Mr. Taylor (c. ii. § 1), "so called, long after the time of its first use from Pergamus, a city of Mysia, where the manufacture was improved... is mentioned by Herodotus and Ctesias as a material that had been from time immemorial used for books." Almost all the early MSS. we possess are written on this. "In the east, leaves of the mulberry or palm were used in remote times... and the inner bark of the linden or teal tree... called by the Romans 'liber,' and by the Greeks 'biblos,' was so generally used as a material for writing as to have given its name to a book in both languages... Tables of solid wood called *codices*, whence the term 'codex' for a MS. on any material... were also employed... leaves or tablets of lead or ivory are mentioned... and still oftener 'tablets covered with a thin coat of coloured wax; removable' by an iron needle called a *style*." Paper made from the papyrus in Egypt was in considerable demand at one time, but it was found to be less durable than parchment. Cotton paper, 'charta bombicina,' which began to be used in the west about the 10th century, led to the introduction of paper from rags, as at present, about two centuries later.

"Transcribers frequently subscribed their names at the end of a MS., with the year in which it was written, accompanied by a pious

wish that posterity might profit by its perusal, and other particulars; numerous instances might be cited. The celebrated 'codex Amiatinus,' used by Tischendorf in his latest edition of the Vulgate of the Old Testament, has an inscription at the end of the book of Exodus, from which he infers it was transcribed by one of the disciples of St. Benedict named 'Servandus,' about A.D. 541" (*Proleg.* p. viii. lx.). Mabillon, in his *Diarium Italicum*, mentions a MS. of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, inscribed with the name of Theophylact, presbyter and doctor of law, and dated 6492 from the Creation, or A.D. 984 (c. 25). This was in Greek. Another, the *Life of St. Gregory the Great*, by John the deacon, in Latin, has the following: "Ego, Ugo, indignus sacerdos, inchoavi hunc librum 8 Cal. Sept. et explevi eum 14 Cal. Oct. feliciter concurrente sesto, indict. 15." Another, a work of Matthew Palmer the poet: "Antonius, Marii filius, Florentinus civis atque notarius, transcripsit Florentinae ab originali 11 Cal. Jan. MCCCXLVIII. Valeas qui legas." . . . (*Ib.* and comp. c. 27.) "Qui legitis, orate pro me," was another pious and favourite parting sentence.* Most of the oldest MSS., however unfortunately, supply no such clue to their authorship or date, and there are very few that have not had later additions appended to them, often in the same handwriting, which throw doubts upon their earlier parts. Often, again, the same work has not been copied all through by the same scribe; and sometimes the writing of contemporary scribes varies as much as the writing of one age from another. Dedicatory pieces again, especially when in verse, are apt to mislead. Sometimes it is their complimentary vagueness, sometimes it is the affectation of a higher antiquity than really belongs to them, that has enhanced the value of a MS. unduly. When Waterland, for instance, speaks of the Vienna MS. as "a Gallican psalter, written in letters of gold, and presented by Charlemagne, while only king of France, to pope Adrian I., at his first entrance upon the pontificate, in the year 772" (*Crit. Hist.* p. 101), he draws his conclusion from the dedicatory verses in gold letters at its commencement. But these might have been written by any king Charles, on giving this psalter to any pope Adrian. And there was a combination of just such another king, and just such another pope in Charles the Bald and Adrian II.

For authorities, see Montfaucon, *Palaeogr. Graeca*; Mabillon, *Iter Ital. and de Re Diplom.* with the Suppl., *Nouveau Traité Dipl.* in 6 vols.; Schwarz, de *Ornam. Libr.*, with additions by Leuchner; Casley, Pref. to *MSS. in the King's Library*; Mone, de *Libr. pilimp.*; Guéranger, *Inst. Liturg.* p. li. c. vi.; Labarte, *Handbook*, c. ii., and *Arts Indust.* vol. iii.; Taylor, *Transmission of Ancient Books*; and the magnificently illustrated works of Count Bastard, Professor Westwood, and M. Silvestre. [E. S. Fr.]

LIBRI POENITENTIALES [PENITENTIAL BOOKS].

LICERIUS (GLYCERIUS), bishop and con-

* The names of the principal caligraphers whose osmes have been preserved have been collected by Guéranger, *Institutions Liturg.* tom. iii. p. 288 ff.—[Ed.]

fessor at Conserans, 6th century; commemorated Aug. 27 (*Usuard. Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 47). [C. II.]

LICINIUS (LAZINIUS), bishop of Angers, confessor; commemorated Feb. 13 (*Uuard. Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 678); June 8 (*Mart. Ado.*) [C. II.]

LICTA; commemorated at Caesarea, April 5 (*Mart. Hieron.*) [C. II.]

LICTISSIMUS (LECTISSIMUS), martyr; commemorated in Africa Apr. 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*; *Acta SS.* Apr. iii. 415). [C. II.]

LIDORIUS (LYDORIUS, LITTORIUS, LITORIUS), bishop of Tours, 4th century; commemorated Sept. 13 (*Mart. Hieron.*, *Usuard. Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. iv. 61). [C. II.]

LIGATURAE (*Ligameta*, *Ligamina*, *Alligaturae*, *Suballigaturae*, *Béreis*, *καταβέαις*, *καταβεραι*, *επιδικματα*, *επιπλατα*) were amulets or phylacteries bound (ligatae) to any part of the body of man or beast, in the hope of averting or driving away evil. The name was, however, often given to amulets attached to the person in any other way; as when suspended, in which case they were sometimes called by the Greeks *επιφύλακτα*. This is one among many gainful superstitions which St. Chrysostom charged "certain of the vagabond Jews" (*Acts* xix. 13) with practising, as their fathers had done before them. Thus he says to Christians to whom they promised health by such means: "If thou persevere for a short time, and spurn and with great contumely cast out of the house those who seek to sing some incantation over, or to bind some *perisupta* to the body, thou hast at once received refreshment from thy conscience" (*Adv. Jud.* Hom. viii. § 7). The heathen were equally addicted to their use. Two or three examples out of many given by Pliny in his *Natural History* will suffice to shew this. Wool stolen from a shepherd, bound to the left arm, was supposed to cure fever (xxix. 4); the larged-tined horns of the stag-beetle bound to infants "acquired the nature of amulets" (xxx. 15). A stone taken from the head of an or bound to an infant relieved it in teething (*ibid.*). As the ox was believed to spit this stone out, if it saw death coming, its head must be cut off suddenly. These facts may serve to indicate the source of the superstition among Christians. Until the conversion of the emperors this practice was regarded by all as magic and unlawful. Thus Tertullian (A.D. 192) says of the wound caused by the bite of a scorpion, "Magic binds something round it; medicine meets it with steel and cup" (*Scorpiac.*). In the Apostolical Constitutions, probably compiled about the end of the 2nd century, bishops are forbidden to receive as catechumens those who "make ligaturae" (*επιδικματα*, viii. 32). The earliest intimation of their use by professed Christians occurs in the 36th canon of the Council of Nodice, held probably about 365: "It is unlawful for those of the sacerdotal and clerical orders . . . to make phylacteries, which are the bonds of their souls. We have ordered those who wear them to be cast out of the church." It is implied here that these "phylacteries" were bound on, i.e. were ligaturae. When Martin of Braga (A.D. 560)

ana, 6th century; commemorated
d. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Aug. vi. 47).

[C. H.]

(LIZINIUS), bishop of Angers,
commemorated Feb. 13 (*Acta*;
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[C. H.]

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[C. H.]

US (LECTISSIMUS), martyr; com-
Africa Apr. 26 (*Mart. Hieron.*;
i. 415). [C. H.]

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of Tours, 4th century; com-
t. 13 (*Mart. Hieron.*, Usuard,
i. Sept. iv. 61). [C. H.]

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among Christians. Until the
ne emperors this practice was
ne magic and unlawful. Thus
192) says of the wound caused
scorpion, "Magie binds, some
medicine meets it with steel and
In the Apostolical Constituti-
compiled about the end of the
ops are forbidden to receive as
e who "make ligaturae" (*επι-
e*). The earliest intimation of
fessed Christians occurs in the
Council of Laodicea, held pro-
"It is unlawful for those of
d clerical orders . . . to make
ch are the bonds of their souls,
h those who wear them to be
urch." It is implied here that
ies" were bound on, i. e. were
a Martin of Braga (A. D. 580)

made his collection of canons, he rendered the
word "phylacteries" by "ligaturae" (can. 59;
Labbe, v. 912). The words were, in fact, treated
by many as synonyms, except when the Jewish
practice mentioned in Scripture was intended.
Of this we shall have further proof as we proceed.
St. Epiphanius (A. D. 366) explains that the
"phylacteries" of Matt. xxiii. 5 are not
"periapts," as might be supposed "from the
circumstance that some called periapts phylac-
teries" (*Haer.* 15, c. *Scriptus*). When a distinc-
tion was made by Christian writers, the name
of phylactery was restricted to those ligaturae
which had writing in them. Thus Boniface at
the council of Lipines, A. D. 743; "If any pres-
byter or clerk shall observe auguries . . . or
phylacteries, *id est scripturas*, let him know that
he is subject to the penalties of the canons"
(*Stat.* 33). To proceed: St. Basil, in Cappa-
doeia (A. D. 370) seems to imply an extensive
recourse to such amulets by Christians: "Is
thy child sick? Thou lookest about for a
charmer, or one who puts vain characters about
the neck of innocent infants, or at last goest to
the physician and to medicines, without any
thought of Him who is able to save" (in *Paulin.*
xlv. 2). Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia (A. D. 385)
warns his neophytes against all such practices
as among the "abominations of the Gentiles"
and "by-ways of idolatry," "Deeds of witchcraft,
incantations, suballigaturae, . . . are parts of
idolatry" (*Tract.* iv. de Lect. Exodi). St.
Augustine, in Africa, speaks of our subject in
writings ranging from 397 to 426. Thus after
mention of several "superstitious" practices, he
says, "To this class belong also all ligaturae
and remedies which even the science of the phy-
sicians condemns, whether in prencations or
in certain marks which they call characters, or
in any object to be suspended and bound on,"
&c. (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 20, § 30). A refer-
ence to earrings in this passage is cleared up
by another (*Ep. ad Possid.* 245, § 2), "The exec-
crable superstition of ligatures, wherein even
the earrings of men are made to serve as pen-
dants at the tops of the ears on one side (*De*
Doctr. Chr. in summo aurium singularum) is
not practised to please men, but to serve devils."
Here, it will be observed, objects that were
merely suspended are called ligaturae. In a
sermon to the people the same father says, "One
of the faithful is lying bed-rid, is tormented
by pains; prays, is not heard; or rather is
heard, but is proved, is exercised; the son is
scourged that he may be received back. Then
when he is tortured by pains, comes the tempta-
tion of the tongue. Some wretched woman or
man, if he is to be called a man, comes to his
bedside, and says, 'Make that ligature and thou
 wilt be well. Such and such persons (ask
 them) did it and were made well by it.' He
 yet he has a struggle. He has no strength, and
 conquers the devil. He becomes a martyr on
 his bed, crowned by Him, who for him hung on
 the tree" (*Serm.* 283, § 7). Compare a strictly
 parallel passage in *Serm.* 318, § 3. Elsewhere
 he says, that the "evil spirits devise for them-
 selves certain shadows of honour, that so they
 may deceive the followers of Christ; and this
 so far . . . that even they who seduce by liga-
 ture, prencations, by machinations of the

enemy, mix the name of Christ with their pre-
cautions" (*Tract.* vii. in *Ev. Joan.* § 9). Again,
"Who, by head aches, we praise thee, if thou
 hast put the gospel to thy head, and not had
 recourse to a ligatura. For the weakness of
 men has gone so far, and men who fly to li-
 gaturae are so much to be bewailed, that we re-
 joice when we see that a bedridden man tossed
 with fever and pains has placed his hope in
 nothing but in the application of the gospel to his
 head; not because it was done to this end, but
 because the gospel has been preferred to li-
 gaturae" (*ibid.* § 12). St. Chrysostom (398)
 is witness to the prevalence of the superstition
 both in Syria and Greece, e. g. in a homily
 preached at Antioch: "Who should one say of
 scarlet thread, and the rest, full of great folly?
 while nothing ought to be put round the child,
 who hath converted the world . . . is despised,
 and woof and warp and such ligaturae (*επι-
 αμμάτια*) are intrusted with the safety of the
 child?" (*Hom.* xii. in *Ep.*, ad *Cor.* § 7) "What
 should we say of those who use incantations and
 Macedonian about their heads and feet?" (*Ad*
Ilum. Catech. ii. 5). He says of Job that he
 did not, when sick, "bind periapts about him"
 (*Adv. Judae.* *Hom.* viii. § 6); and of Lazarus
 that "he did not bind plates of metal (*ψελλάρα*)
 on himself" (*ibid.*). "Some," he says, "told
 about them the names of rivers" (*Hom.* viii. in
Ep. ad *Col.* § 5). It appears that some alleged
 the compatibility of such practices with a sound
 belief. Hence St. Chrysostom warns his hearers,
 that "though they who have to do with periapts
 offer numberless subtle excuses for them, as
 that 'we call on God and nothing more,' and
 that 'the old woman is a Christian and one of
 the faithful,' it is nevertheless idolatry" (*ibid.*).
 He bids them as Christians make the sign of the
 cross, and to know no other remedy out of
 medicine (*ibid.*). Like St. Augustine he en-
 courages the sufferer to resist the temptation to
 use amulets by telling him that patience has
 the merit of martyrdom: "Thou hast fallen into
 a sore disease, and there are present many who
 would force thee to relieve the mauldly, some
 by incantations, others by ligaturae (*επιαμμάτια*),
 some by some other means? Through the fear
 of God thou hast borne up nobly and with con-
 stancy, and wouldst choose to suffer anything
 rather than endure to commit any act of idola-
 try? This wins the crown of martyrdom," &c.
 (*Hom.* lii. § 5, in *Ep.* i. ad *Thess.* *Comp. Hom.*
 viii. in *Ep.* ad *Col.* u. s.). In France Caesarius
 of Arles (A. D. 502) denounces the use of "di-
 abolical phylacteries hung" on the person (*Serm.*
 66, § 5). Gregory of Tours (A. D. 573) speaks of
 a harlots who "mutters charms, casts lots,
 hangs ligaturae from the neck" of a sick boy
 (*Mirac.* ii. 45). In another case which he re-
 lates, to expel "the noonday demon," they
 applied "ligamina of herbs," with incantations
 (*De Mir. S. Mart.* iv. 36). In a third, the
 parents of the patient, "as the custom is of
 country people, carried to him ligamenta and
 potions from the fortune-tellers and soothsayers"
 (*ibid.* i. 26). Isidore of Seville, in Gothic Spain,
 writing in 636, copies in his *Etymologicum* (viii.
 9) the passage cited above from St. Augustine,

de Doctr. Christ. St. Eley, bishop of Noyen, A.D. 640: "Let no Christian presume to hang ligamina on the necks of man or any animal whatsoever, even though it be done by clerks, and it be said that it is a holy thing and contains divine lectures" (*De Rect. Cath. Convers.* § 5). In 742, Boniface, writing to Zacharias of Rome on the difficulties put in his way by the report of scandals tolerated in that city, says that his informants declared that they saw there among other relics of paganism, "women with phylacteries and ligaturae, bound, in pagan fashion, on their arms and legs, and publicly offering them for sale to others" (*Epist.* 49). The pope, in reply, says that he has already endeavoured to suppress these superstitions (*Epist.* i. 9). Boniface himself, the next year at the council of Liptines, sanctioned a decree for the abolition of all pagan practices. A list of them was appended to it, and in this we find, "Phylacteries and Ligaturae" (n. 10). In the 6th book of the Carolingian Capitularies is the following law: "That phylacteries or false writings, or ligaturae, which the ignorant think good for fevers and other diseases, be on no account made by clerks or laymen, or by any Christian, for they are the insignia of magic art" (cap. 72). Instead of such means, prayer and the unction prescribed by St. James are to be used. By the 42nd canon of the council of Tours (813) priests are directed to admonish the people that "ligaturae of bones or herbs applied to any mortal thing (man or beast) are of no avail, but are snares and deceits of the old enemy" (*Sim. Add. iii. Capit. Reg. Franc.* cap. 93). When the Bulgarians, A.D. 866, asked Nicholas I. if they might retain their custom of "hanging a ligatura around the throat of the sick," he replied, "ligaturae of this kind are phylacteries invented by the craft of the devil, and are proved to be bonds for men's souls" (*Epist.* 97, § 79). Probably we shall not be wrong in inferring from the foregoing testimonies that the practice prevailed at one time or another in every part of Christendom. It is also probable that it suggested the manner of many attempts to cure by those who looked solely for divine aid. *E.g.* St. Cuthbert (A.D. 685) sent a linen belt to the abbess Elfred, who was sick. "She girded herself with it," and was healed. The same belt "bound round" the head of a nun cured her of headache (*Baeda, Vita S. Cuthb.* c. 24).

In the 8th century we find a name of profession applied to those who offered to cure by means of ligaturae: "We decree that none become calculators and enchanters, nor storm-raisers, nor obligators." (*See Conc. Aquagr.* (A.D. 789), can. 63 (*Labbe*, 64); *Capit. Car. M.* at *Lud.* P. i. 62; vi. 374.) Similarly in a later law of Charlemagne (c. 40; *Capit. Reg. Fr.* i. 518).

[W. E. S.]

LIGHHOUSE (Pharos). The lighthouse, as a symbol of the happy termination of the voyage of life, is of frequent occurrence in the cemeteries of the early Christians. Sometimes a ship in full sail appears to be steering towards it (*Baldetti, Osservazioni*, p. 372, but it is often found without the ship, as in the monumental slab of FIRMIA VICTORIA (*Fabretti, Inscript. Ant.* p. 566), in which, appearing with the crown and palm branch, and in conjunction with

the name Victoria, it plainly typifies the triumph close of a Christian career.

A kind of tower in four stories, crowned with flame, bearing an exact resemblance to a funeral pyre, is found on some imperial medals, particularly on those of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus (*Mionnet, De la rarité et du prix des Médailles Romaines*, t. i. pp. 218, 226, 241). This symbol, however, though it misled Fabretti, does not appear to have any Christian significance (*Martigny, Dict. des Antig. Chret.* s. v. *Phare*). [C.]

LIGHTNING, PRAYER AGAINST.

Among the prayers for special occasions which follow the general form of office for a *Lite* in the Greek church, to be embodied in it as occasion shall serve [*LITE*], is one to be used in the time of danger from thunder and lightning. The prayer is too long to quote; it contains a confession of sin, an appeal to God's mercy, and an earnest supplication that he would assuage the fury of the elements.

In the Roman Ritual, under the head *de Processionibus*, we find "Preces nō repellendam tempestatem." The order is as follows:

The bells are rung, and those who are able to attend assemble in the church, and the ordinary litanies are said, in which the clause "a folgure et tempestate, R. Libera nos Domine," is said twice; and after the litany and the Lord's prayer, Ps. 147 (147, v. 12, *E. V. Laudis Jerusalem*). Then follow some *preces* or versicles, said by the priest and people alternately, and the office concludes with five collects, and *aspersion*. Of the collects, the first is of an ordinary penitential character. The last four are these:

"A domo tua, quaesumus Domine spiritales nequitiae repellantur, et aeriarum discedat malignitas tempestatum."

"Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, parce metuentibus, propitiare supplicibus: ut pest nosios ignes nubium, et vim procellarum, in misericordiam transeat laudis conminatio tempestatum."

"Domine Jesu, qui imperasti ventis et mari, et facta fuit tranquillitas magna, exacti preces familie tue, ut hoc signo sanctae crucis et omnis discedat saevitia tempestatum."

"Omnipotens et misericors Deus, quo nos et castigando sanas, et ignoscendo conservas: praesta supplicibus tuis ut et tranquillitatis optatae consolatiois laetetur, et dono tuae pietatis semper utamur. Per."

The Roman missal contains a mass "contra tempestates" in which the *collect* is the first of these four collects, and the *post-communion* the last.

In the *Ambrosian ritual* there is a "Benedictio contra aëris tempestatem," of the same type as that in the Roman.

The clergy and people kneel before the high altar, where the tabernacle of the sacrament is opened, and after *Deus in adiutorium*, &c., these Psalms are said: 1, 14 [E. V. 15]; 53 [E. V. 54]; 69 [E. V. 70]; 86 [E. V. 87]; 92 [E. V. 93].

Then follow the *Litanies*, *Pater noster*, some

* This collect is quoted by Martene (ii. 502) from an old MS. of cir. A.D. 500.

† *Augus opt.* in missal.

It plainly typifies the triumph of the Christian career. It is in four stories, crowned with exact resemblance to a funeral some imperial medals, part of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Commodus (Mionnet, *De la rarité des médailles Romaines*, t. I, pp. 218, symbol, however, though it does not appear to have any appeal (Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq.* [C.]

PRAYER AGAINST for special occasions which is a form of office for a *Live* in the to be embodied in it as occasion [C.], is one to be used in the time of thunder and lightning. The to quote; it contains a couplet appeal to God's mercy, and an that he would assuage the

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peris" is as follows:
g, and those who are able to the church, and the ordinary which the clause "a fulgure Libera nos Domine," is said to be a litany and the Lord's prayer, 12, E. V. *Lauda Jerusalem*). *preces* or versicles, said by the (teratately, and the office collects, and *asperation*. Of the s of an ordinary penitential at four are these:
I. Ihesusum Domine spiritales
II, et aeriarum discedat malig-

piternae Deus, parce metuen-
supplicibus: ut post noxias
vium procellarum, in miseri-
laudis comminatio tempe-

ni imperanti ventis et mari, et
litas magna, exaudi preces
hoc signo sanctae crucis +
tia tempestatum."
misericordia Deus, quo nos et
et ignoscendo conservas:
tuis ut et tranquillitatis
is laetemur, et dono tuae
nur. Per."

ritual contains a mass "contris
which the *collect* is the first of
and the *post-communion* the

ritual there is a "Benedictio
tatem," of the same type as

people kneel before the high
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Deus in adiutorium, &c.,
mid: 1, 14 [E. V. 15]; 53
V. 70]; 86 [E. V. 87]; 92

Litanies, Pater noster, nome

ed by Martene (ll. 302) from an

preces, and two prayers, each much longer than the corresponding Roman collects, but to the same effect, and the office ends with an aspersion with holy water at the door of the church.

[H. J. H.]
LIGHTS, THE CEREMONIAL USE OF. It may be safely affirmed that for more than 300 years there was no ceremonial use of lighted candles, torches, or lamps in the worship of the Christian church. This is evident from the language of early writers, when they have occasion to refer to the heathen practice of burning lights in honour of the gods. Tertullian, for example, A.D. 205, ridicules the custom of "exposing useless candles at noon-day" (*Apol.* xlii.), and "encroaching on the day with lamps" (*ibid.* xxxv.). "Let them," he says, "who have no light, kindle their lamps daily" (*De Idolol.* xv.). Lactantius, A.D. 303: "They burn lights as to one dwelling in darkness . . . Is he to be thought in his right mind who offers for a gift the light of candles and wax tapers to the author and giver of light? . . . But their gods, because they are of the earth, need light that they may not be in darkness; whose worshippers, because they have no sense of heaven, bring down to the earth even those superstitions to which they are enslaved" (*Instit.* vi. 2). Gregory Nazianzen, about 70 years later, says, "Let not our dwellings blaze with visible light; for this indeed is the custom of the Greek holy-moon; but let not us honour God with these things, and exalt the present season with unbecoming rites, but with purity of soul and cheerfulness of mind, and with lamps that enlighten the whole body of the church; that is to say, with divine contemplations and thoughts," &c. (*C. cat.* v. § 35). The reader will observe that the objection is not to the use of lights in idolatrous worship only, but to all ceremonial use of them, even in the worship of the true God.

I. There was, however, already by the end of the 3rd century a partial use of lights in honour of martyrs, which would greatly facilitate their introduction as ritual accessories to worship at a later period. We learn this in the first instance from their prohibition by the council of Illiberis in Spain, probably about the year 305: "It is decreed that wax candles be not kindled in a cemetery during the day; for the spirits of the saints ought not to be disquieted" (can. 34). By the saints we must here understand the faithful who went to the martyr's for prayer. This is the explanation of Binius, Dupin, Mendoza, and others. They would certainly be more or less distracted by the presence of the lights, and they might fear to excite the attention of the heathen by them. Many, if we may infer from the language of the writers quoted above, would be offended at the rite itself. The practice, nevertheless, maintained its ground in Spain and elsewhere. For at the beginning of the next century, we find it attacked by Vigilantius, himself a Spaniard, of Barcelona. Jerome, who replied to him, does not deny that such a custom existed. His language even shews that he did not in his heart disapprove of it; but he pleads that it was due to the "ignorance and simplicity of laymen, or at least of superstitious (religiosum) women," who "had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge." Speaking for the church at large he says, "We do not, as you

groundlessly slander us, burn wax tapers in clear light, but that we may by this means of relief moderate the darkness of the night, and watch till dawn." Yet he inconsistently defends the practice which Vigilantius condemns, comparing those who supplied the lights "in honour of the martyrs" to her who poured ointment on our Lord (*Contra Vigilant.* § 8).

II. In the time of St. Jerome we first hear of another practice, which would inevitably end in the ceremonial use of lights; viz. their employment as a decoration in churches on festivals. This is first mentioned by Paulinus of Nola, A.D. 407, who thus describes his own custom on the feast of St. Felix, to whom his church there was dedicated: "The bright altars are crowned with lamps thickly set. Lights are burnt odorously with waxed papyrus. They shine by night and day: thus night is radiant with the brightness of the day, and the day itself, bright in heavenly beauty, shines yet more with light doubled by countless lamps" (*Poem.* xiv. Nat. 3, l. 99; comp. P. xix. N. 11, ll. 405, &c.). This does not prove his common use of lights by day, but that it is made probable by another poem, in which, describing apparently the ordinary appearance of his church, he says:—

"Tectoque superna
Pendentes Lychni splris rotin-entur ahenis,
Et modo in vacuo laevis vaga lumina nutant
Fumibus: undantes flammæ levis aurs fulgunt."
Poem. xxxvii. Nat. ix. l. 389.

If such a practice prevailed in any degree during the 4th century, it probably affords the explanation needed in the well-known story of Eppiphanius, who once, when passing through a country place called Anablatha, "saw, as he went by, a lamp burning, and on inquiring what place that was, learnt that it was a church" (*Epist.* ad Joan. *Hieros.*).

III. The ritual use of lights for which such a custom prepared the way would probably have been only occasional for many ages, but for the conditions under which the worship of Christians was held during the first 300 years. Seclusion was necessary when persecution was active, and great privacy at all times. This led to their assembling after the daylight had failed, or before the sun rose. When the disciples at Troas "came together to break bread," it was evening, "and there were many lights in the upper chamber, where they were gathered together" (*Acts* xx. 7, 8). Pliny the younger, some 50 years later, told the emperor that the Christians were in the habit of meeting for common worship "before it was light" (*Epist.* lib. x. n. 97). From Tertullian (*De Coronâ*, iii.) we learn that it was the custom of his day to "attend the sacrament of the Eucharist in assemblies held before dawn." The fear of discovery which induced this precaution caused them also to avoid themselves of the catacombs and other subterranean places in which, while they were more free to choose their time of meeting, the natural darkness of the place itself would make artificial light essential. St. Jerome, speaking of the catacombs at Rome at a time when they were no longer in use for Christian worship, says, "They are all so dark that to enter into them is, in the language of the psalmist, like going down into hell" (*Comment.* in *Ezek.* lib.

xii. c. xl.). Some of the first churches even were, for the reason that we have indicated, built under ground. There is one still to be seen at Lyons, containing the remains of St. Irenaeus, "fort profonde et fort obscure," which is believed to be "one of the first churches in which the first Christians of Lyons used to assemble" (*De Moleon, Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 71). Now there is every reason to believe that the necessary lights of this period became the ceremonial lights of the next. We do not know when they ceased to be necessary. Even in the 7th and 8th centuries, the station before the celebration of the Eucharist on high festivals still began at daybreak (*Ordo Rom.* i. 4; ii. 1; iii. 3; *Misae. Ital.* tom. ii.). They could hardly be needed to give light at that time; but a mystic meaning, already attached to them, must have led to their retention. The following is a description of their use in a pontifical mass of that period. When the bishop left the secretarium, he was preceded by 7 acolytes, each bearing a lighted wax candle (*Ordo R.* i. 8; ii. 5; iii. 7). As they came near the altar, they divided, 4 going to the right, and 3 to the left, that he might pass through. When the deacon went to the ambo to read the Gospel two of the lights were carried before him in honour of the book which he bore in his hands (i. 11; ii. 8; iii. 10). Our earliest authority now quoted does not tell us whether the lights were extinguished at any part of the service; but according to the next in date they were "extinguished in their place after the reading of the Gospel" (ii. 9). This was clearly a reminiscence of their original use. From the first two we learn that after the Kyrie the acolytes set the candle-stands (cero-stata) on the floor (i. 26; ii. 5; comp. v. 6). The second further tells us that they were put "4 on the right and 3 on the left, or (as some will have it) in a row from south to north" (ii. 5). At a later period they were set "so as to form a cross" (vi. 5). After the Collect they were in the earlier age put "in one line from east to west, in the middle of the church" (ii. 6). In a later, we find them when extinguished set behind the altar (v. 7)—a practice which, in conjunction with the need of light at an early celebration, in due time paved the way for the introduction of altar-lights. The earliest document to which we have here referred is supposed by Ussher, Cave, and others to have been compiled about the year 730; but it evidently did not create all the rites which it prescribes. We therefore assume that those now described were practised at Rome at least during the latter part of the 7th century.

IV. To the same period we may, on the same grounds, refer the office of the TENEBRAE in its first stage. It was celebrated on the night before Good Friday. One-third of the lights in the church were extinguished after the first psalm of Nocturnus; another third after the second, and the remainder, with the exception of seven lamps, after the third. These seven were extinguished at Matins; the first on the right side of the church, when the antiphon before the first psalm was heard; the second, on the left, at the end of the psalm, "and so on either side alternately down to the Gospel, *i. e.* the Benedictus; but at the Gospel the middle light is put out" (*Ordo*, i. 33; comp. App. § 2).

V. The Paschal Light (Paschal Post, Cereus Paschalis) is heard of at an earlier period. We have an almost certain reference to it in the *Liber Pontificalis*, where we are told (n. 42), that Zosimus, A.D. 417, "gave permission for the blessing of candles in the suburbicarian dioceses." Some copies (*Concil. Surii, Annal. Baronii*) even read *cereum Paschalem* here, and the passage can hardly refer to anything else. This was the tradition of Siegbert of Gemblours; "Zosimus the pope orders a wax candle to be blessed throughout the churches on the holy Sabbath of Easter" (ad ann. 417; Biblioth. PP. vii. 1358). Similarly Leo Ostleensis, *Chron. Cassin.* iii. 31). Two forms for the benediction of the Paschal Light were composed by Ennodius, who became bishop of Ticino in 511. They are still extant (see his works by Sirmund, *Opusc.* 9, 10, p. 453). Gregory the Great, writing in 605 to a bishop who was sick, says, "Let the prayers which in the city of Ravenna are wont to be said over the wax candle, and the expositions of the gospel which are made by the bishops (sacerdotibus) at the Easter solemnity, be said by another" (*Epist.* xi. 28, al. 33).

From the first *Ordo Romanus* (about 730) we learn that on Maundy Thursday, at the 9th hour, a light was struck from flint in some place outside the basilicæ at the door, if there was no oratory, from which a candle was lighted and brought into the church in the presence of the congregation. A lamp lighted "from the same fire" was kept burning until Easter Eve, and from that was lighted the wax candle which was solemnly blessed on that day (*Ordo Rom.* i. 32). Zachary, who became pope in 741, in a letter to Boniface of Mentz, says that "three lamps of great size (so lighted) placed in some more secret part of the church, burned to the third day, *i. e.* Saturday." He adds that oil for them was collected from every candle in the church, and that "the fire for the baptism of the sacred font on Easter Eve was taken from those candles" (*Ep. zil. Labbe, Conc. tom. vi. col. 1525*). It will be observed that lamps and candela are here synonymous. From the fragment of a letter of Hadrian I. A.D. 772, to the monks of Corbie, we learn that the priests and clerics did not put on their stoles and plaquettes on Easter Eve "until the new light was brought in that the wax candle might be blessed" (*Comment. Praev. in Ord. Rom. Mabill. Mus. R. tom. ii. p. cil.*). The blessing was pronounced by the archdeacon (Rabanus, *de Instit. Cler. ii. 38*).

There are two forms of the Benedictio cerei in the Gregorian Sacramentary (Murat. *Liturg. Rom. Vet.* tom. ii. col. 143). The former of these is also found in the *Missale Gothicum* (*Liturg. Gallic.* p. 241), in the *Missale Gallicanum* (*Ibid.* p. 357), and again in the *Besaçon Sacramentary* discovered by Mabillon at Bobio (*Mus. Ital.* tom. i. p. 321). This may be thought to prove that the rite was derived to France from Rome.

In Gothic Spain and Languedoc, both the prayers and ceremonial differed from those of Rome. The clergy assembled, not on Maundy Thursday, but Easter Eve at the 9th hour in the processus, a chamber connected with the church, and in small churches identical with the sacrum. There the deacons received 12

Light (Paschal Post, Cereus of an earlier period. We certain reference to it in the where we are told (n. 42), 417, "gave permission for the in the suburbicarian dioceses." *St. Suri, Ann. il. Buroni*) even chalem here, and the passage anything else. This was the bert of Gemblours: "Zosimus a wax candle to be blessed urches on the holy Sabbath of 417; *Biblioth. PP. vii. 1358. iensis, Chron. Cassin. iii. 31,* the benediction of the Paschal eed by Eanodlus, who became 511. They are still extant *Sirmond, Opusc. 9, 10, p. 453.* , writing in 605 to a bishop "Let the prayers which in na are wont to be said over d the expositions of the gospel d the bishops (sacerdotibus) at y, be said by another" (*Epist.*

Ordo Romanus (about 730) we Sunday Thursday, at the 9th truck from flint in some place at the door, if there was no ch a candle was lighted and urch in the presence of the lamp lighted "from the same rning until Easter Eve, and ighted the wax candle which d on that day (*O. do Rom. i.* o became pope in 741, in a of Mentz, says that "three (so lighted) placed in some of the church, burned to the rday." He adds that oil for d from every candle in the d the fire for the baptism of Easter Eve was taken from o. zil. Labbe, *Conc. tom. vi.* be observed that lampas and nonymous. From the frag of Hadrian I. A. D. 772, to the ve learn that the priests and on their stoles and plaucete all the new light was brought adle might be blessed" (*Com-Ord. Rom. Mabill. Mus. It.* The blessing was pronounced (*Rabanus, de Instit. Cler. ii.*

forms of the Benedictio cerei in ramentary (*Murat. Liturg. col. 143*). The former of l in the *Missale Gothicum* (241), in the *Missale Gallica-* and again in the *Besanoen* vered by Mabillon at Bobio n. 321). This may be thought rite was derived to France

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wax candles from the bishop, who retained one for himself. They then entered the sacrum, where the bishop himself proceeded to strike the flint. A candle (candela) was first lighted with the fire thus obtained, and a lamp (lucerna) was then lighted from the candle. They then returned into the processus, where the bishop took his seat. He next lighted his own candle from the lamp which a deacon had brought from the sacrum, and the deacons then lighted theirs, also from the lamp. The deacon who held it then received a blessing from the bishop, for which no words were prescribed; and the bishop said an "Oratio ad benedicendam lucernam." They then entered the church in procession, the deacons with their lights preceding the lamp, the bishop and presbyters following it. As they entered the choir they sang an antiphon (*Lumen verum, St. John i. 9*) with versicle (*populus qui sedebat, St. Matt. iv. 16*) and gloria. The bishop or a priest next goes to the altar and says a prayer "ad benedicendum cereum." After this the deacons, who are themselves to bless the paschal lamp and candle, receive a benediction from the bishop, which is to fit them for that office. They then, while the bishop is in his chair behind the altar, and the presbyters are standing by him, solemnly pronounce a long form of blessing (benedictio lucernae) given in the sacramentary. A similar benedictio cerei followed, and the bishop then comes in front of the altar, and proceeds with the service of the day (*Missale Mozarabicum, Leslie, pp. 174-178*).

The benediction of the lamp appears to have been peculiar to this office, and the prayer is said by Elipandus, A. D. 792, to have been composed by Isidore of Seville (*Epist. ad Alcuin. § xi. inter Opp. Alc.*). He quotes a passage in it: "Induit carnem, sed non exiit majestatem," &c. by which we are enabled to identify it. See *Miss. Moz. p. 178*. It is certain that the 4th council of Toledo, A. D. 633 (can. 9), at which Isidore presided, recognised both the paschal lights:—"The lamp and the candle are not blessed in some churches on Easter Eve, and they inquire why they are blessed by us. We bless them solemnly because of the glorious sacrament of that night; that in the benediction of the hallowed light we may discern the mystery of the sacred resurrection of Christ, which took place on this votive night. And forasmuch as this rite is practised in churches in many lands, and districts of Spain, it is fit that for the unity of peace it be observed in the churches of Gallicia."

At Rome there was a singular custom in connexion with the paschal candle which, so far as we have been able to discover, was not adopted elsewhere. The number of years from the crucifixion was inscribed on it. Bede (*De Tempor. Ed. c. 45*) records such an inscription, which had been copied at Rome by some pilgrims from England, viz.: "From the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ ars 668 years."

The paschal candle played a considerable part in the baptisms which took place on Easter Eve. When the font was blessed, "at the invocation of the Holy Spirit, which the priest pronounces with a loud voice, i. e. with deep emotion of mind, the candle that has been blessed, or those that have been lighted from it, are put down into the water to shew the presence of the Holy Ghost"

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(*Pseudo-Alcuin, de Div. Off. Hittorp. col. 259*): Only the lower part was immersed (*ibid.*), while the whole, when lighted, represented Christ the pillar of light; the part not yet burning, but ready to furnish the means of light, symbolised the Holy Ghost (*Amal. Var. Lect. Hittorp. 1447*). This was the baptism of the font mentioned above by Zachary. When the catechumens had been baptized, an unlighted candle was put into the hand of each. Litanies were then sung in the Roman ritual (probably only *Ayris*), and then the *Agnus Dei*, during which the precursor gave the word, "Light up," and the candles of the neophytes (*Amalar. de Antiqu. c. 44*; *Pseudo-Alcuin, Hitt. col. 260*), and all throughout the church (*Ord. Rom. i. 45*; *Amal. ibid.*), were at once lighted. Till that moment the lamps and candles of the church were not lighted for three nights, "to teach us," says the archdeacon of Rome to Amalaricus (u. s.), "to turn away from joyfulness to sadness," as "joy was quenched in the hearts of the disciples of Christ so long as he lay in the tomb" (*Amal. ibid.*). They were lighted at the Agnus to shew that every one ought to receive light through that "Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world" (*Amal. de Eccles. Off. i. 30*). The mass of the resurrection began after the lighting of the candles (*Ord. Rom. i. 45*, and *Append. 10*; *Amal. de Antiph. c. 44*; *Rabanus, de Instit. Cler. ii. 38*). For "the seven white days," i. e. until Low Sunday, the newly baptized were daily present at the celebration of the Eucharist in their white robes and with their candles in their hands (*Alcuin, Ep. ad Car. Magn. in Hittorp. col. 300*; *Raban. u. s. cap. 59*). The symbolism is thus explained: "The eight days of the neophytes represent the course of this present life. For as the Hebrew people, after passing the Red Sea, entered the land of promise, trampling over their foes, preceded by fire throughout their journey by a pillar of fire, so our baptized, their past sins done away, are daily led to the church preceded by a lighted pillar of wax" (*Pseudo-Alc. u. s. col. 262*).

VI. We first hear of these baptismal lights in the 4th century.* Zeno of Verona, A. D. 380, speaks of the "salt, fire, and oil, and poor tunic" given to the newly baptized (*Tract. i. xiv. 4*). St. Ambrose, 374, addressing a lapsd virgin, says: "Hast thou forgotten the holy day of the Lord's resurrection in which thou didst offer thyself to the altar of God to be veiled? In so great and so solemn an assembly of the church of God, amid the blazing lights of the neophytes, among candidates for the kingdom of heaven, didst thou come forward as if to become the bride of the King" (*De Lips. Virg. v. 19*). Gregory Nazianzen, in a discourse delivered on Easter Day about 385: "Our white dresses sad light-bearing yesterday, which we celebrated both privately and publicly, all conditions of men nearly,

* Cyril of Jerusalem, A. D. 350, has been supposed to mention these lights: "The call to be soldiers of Christ, and the lamps that lead the bride home, and the desire of the kingdom of heaven. . . . have been yours" (*Catech. Praef. l.*); but he is speaking, not to the baptized, but to competentes, and by the bridal lamps he means those motions of the Holy Ghost and spiritual instructions which had lighted their way to Christ, and to the entrance of His kingdom.

and every high officer, illuminaing the night with abundant fire," &c. (In S. Pascha, xlv. § 2). About the year 500, a large number of Jews were converted at Auvergne, and we are told by Gregory of Tours, 573, that at their baptism "candles blazed, lamps shone, the whole city was bright with the white-robed flock" (*Hist. Franc.* v. 11). At the request of Gregory, Fortunatus wrote a poem on the event (*Poem.* v. 5), from which we may cite the following lines:—

"Indique rapta manu lux cerea provocat astrum:
Credas ut stellis tre trabendo comas.
Lacteus hinc vest color est; hinc lae pede fulgor
Ductor, et vario lumine picta dies."

We should infer from this that at baptisms of great interest others, beside the neophytes, carried lights. This is confirmed by the account which an eyewitness gives of the baptism of Theodosius the Younger, A.D. 401: "All were in white, so that you might fancy the multitude covered with snow. Illustrious patricians went before, and every dignitary with the military orders all carrying wax lights, so that the stars might be supposed to be seen on earth" (*Marcus Gaz. Epist. ad Arcad.* apud Baron. ad ann. § 28). The symbolism of these lights is thus explained by Gregory Nazianzen to some candidates for baptism: "The lamps which thou wilt kindle are a mystical sign of that lamp-bearing from thenceforth, wherewith we, bright and virgin souls, will go forth to meet the Bridegroom" (*Orat. xl. in Senat. Bapt.* § 46).

VII. The gospel lights, to which incidental reference has been made, are first heard of in the 4th century. St. Jerome, A.D. 378, tells us that, "through all the churches of the east, when the gospel is to be read, lights are kindled, though the sun is already shining; not, indeed, to dispel darkness, but to exhibit a token of joy; . . . and that under the figure of bodily light, that light may be set forth of which we read in the psalter, 'Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths'" (*Cont. Vigilant.* c. iii.). In the west the custom is first mentioned by Isidore of Seville, writing in 636, which makes it probable that it travelled to Roma through Spain, as several other rites appear to have done. He says (*Symol.* vii. xii. 29), "Those who in Greek are called acolytes are, in Latin, called *cerotarii*, from their carrying wax candles when the gospel is to be read, or the sacrifice to be offered; for these lights are kindled by them, and carried by them, not to dispel darkness, for the sun is shining the while, but for a sign of joy, that under the form of bodily light may be represented that light of which we read in the gospel: 'He was the true light.'"

VIII. There is ample evidence of the use of lights, both stationary and processional, at funerals in every part of the Christian church. When the body of Constantine lay in state, "they lighted candles on golden stands around it, and afforded a wonderful spectacle to the beholders, such as was never seen on the earth under the sun since the world was made" (*Euseb. Vita Constant.* iv. 66). Gregory Nyssen, A.D. 370, speaking of his sister's funeral, says that "No small number of deacons and sub-deacons preceded the corpse on either side, escorting it from the house in orderly procession, all holding wax candles" (*De Vita S. Marianne*, in fin.). From

Gregory^b Nazianzen, we learn that the rite was in frequent, if not general, use at this time; for referring to the burial of Constantius, he says: "He is carried forth with the acclamations and escort of the people, and with these our solemn rites, viz. hymns by night, and torch-bearing, with which we Christians are wont to honour a religious departure" (*in Julian. Invect.* ii. Or. v. 16). St. Jerome, of the obsequies of Paula, A.D. 386: "She was borne by the hands of bishops, who even put their shoulder to the bier, while other pontiffs carried lamps and candles before her (*Ad Eustoch. Ep.* cviii. § 29). St. Chrysostom: "Tell me what mean those shining lamps. Do we not conduct them (the dead) forth as athletes?" (*in Epist. ad Hebr.* c. 2; *Hom.* iv. § 5). When the remains of Chrysostom himself were removed from Comana to Constantinople in 438, "the assemblage of the faithful covered the mouth of the Bosphorus at the Propontis with their lamps" (*Theodoret. Hist.* Eccl. iv. 36; comp. 34). At the funeral of St. Germanus of Auxerre, A.D. 447, "the multitude of lights beat back the rays of the sun. I maintained their brightness even through the day" (*Constant.* in *Vita S. Germ.* ii. 24; *ap. Surium*, Jul. 31). When Euthymius died in Palestine, A.D. 467, the patriarch of Jerusalem "went down to the laura himself, and transferred, with accompaniment of lamps and psalms, that holy body of the blessed one to the abode which he had himself built, trusting it to his own hands alone" (*Euthymian Vita*, c. 112; *Eccl. Gr. Monum.* ii. 296, Cotel.). *Corippus*, the grammarian, describing the ceremonial at the funeral of Justinian, A.D. 565, says that, "a thousand stands of gold and silver with candles set on them filled the halls," and that when the corpse was taken out for burial, "the whole populace went out in procession from the palace, the mournful bands burning funereal torches" (*De Laet. Justin.* Min. iii. 9, 38).

At Paris, in 555, king Guntram buried a murdered grandson "with the decoration of innumerable candles" (*Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc.* vii. 10). When queen Radegund was buried at Poitiers in 587, "the freewomen, who carried candles (cereos) before her, all stood round the grave. Every one gave her name inscribed on her candle. They all, according to the order prescribed, gave the candles to one of the servants. A dispute arises among the people; some said that the candles themselves ought to be put into her holy tomb; others said not" (*Vita St. Radeg.* auct. Baudouvia, cap. v.; *Boll. Acta SS.* Aug. 13). The question was settled by one of the candles leaping out of the hands of the servant who held them, and falling at the feet of the corpse.

IX. From this use of lights the transition was easy to leaving them in the sepulchre, or near the grave, when the nature of the place admitted of it. We accordingly often read of candles in the martyria or oratories erected

^b Gregory (*Orat.* vii. 15) has been quoted as if that his mother carried a lamp at the funeral of her son Caesarius, but the original has, not *λαμπροφορία*, but *λαμπροφωρία*, and tells us that she wore a shining white dress. The error is due to the old Latin translation, which gives "cereorum gestatione" as the equivalent to *λαμπροφωρία*. See edit. Morell. Or. x. tom. i. p. 166.

, we learn that the rite was general, use at this time; for of Constantius, he says: "with the acclamations and, and with these our solemn by night, and torch-bearing, Christians are wont to honour a" (*In Julian, Tract. ii. Or. v.* of the obsequies of Paula, A.D. ene by the hands of bishops, shoulder to the bier, while ed lamps and candles before *Ep. cviii. § 29*). St. Chryso- at mean those shining lamps. t them (the dead) forth as *t. ad Hebr. c. 2; Hom. iv. §* mains of Chrysostom himself Comana to Constantino in ge of the faithful covered the orus at the Propontis with odoreti *Hist. Eccl. iv. 36*; funeral of St. Germanus of the multitude of lights beat *ep. Sirmium, Jul. 31*). ed in Palestine, A.D. 467, the em "went down to the laura red, with accompaniment of hat holy body of the blessed which he had himself built, own hands alone" (*Enthyria Gr. Monum. ii. 296, Cotel*). marian, describing the cere- of Justinian, A.D. 565, and stands of gold and silver them filled the halls," and he was taken out for burial, ce went out in procession e mournful bands burning *De Louv. Justin. Min. iii.*

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mains of martyrs. We have already seen this forbidden in the daytime by the council of Illi- beris, about 305, because it tended to distract those who resorted to them for prayer. St. Jerome, as we have also seen, owns and defends the practice, though ascribing it to weak and ignorant persons. We may cite an instance from the Dialogues of Gregory, A.D. 595. That author relates that St. Peter once appeared to the sacer- dot, not long deceased, of the church dedicated to him at Rome, and in which the saint's body lay, when he had risen at night "to trim the lights by the entrance" (*lib. liii. c. 24*). Gregory's sug- gested explanation is, that he did so in order to shew that he was always cognizant of, and always ready to reward "whatever was done out of reverence for him." Gregory of Tours tells us that two emergents entering a monas- tery at Mallineum (Maillet-Lallier), decla ed that it contained the tomb of St. Solemois, and said: "When you have found it, cover it with hang- ings, and burn a light." Miracles followed the discovery, and we read that one person who had been cured of an ague, "having prayed and lighted candles, held them in his hands throug- out the night, keeping vigil there" (*De Glor. Conf. 21*). A lamp gave perpetual light at the tomb of St. Marcellinus of Iverdun (*ibid. c. 69*), and of St. Marcellus of Die in Dauphny (*ibid. 70*). The oil in both these instances was sup- posed to be endued with miraculous power. Franco, bishop of Aix, A.D. 566, having been plundered by a powerful neighbour, is said to have addressed St. Merre, before whose tomb he had prostrated himself, in these words: "Neither light shall be burnt here, nor psalms sung, most glorious saint, unless thou first avenge thy servants of their enemies, and restore to holy church the things by force taken from thee" (*ibid. 71*).

X. The next step, naturally, was to treat any supposed relic of the saint, however small, with similar tokens of veneration. In the 5th cen- tury, we read of a man who had been cured of lameness after praying in a church where relics of St. Stephen and other saints were thought to be preserved, "lighting candles and leaving his staff there" before he went home (*Erodius, de Mirac. St. Steph. i. 4; App. vi. Opp. Aug.*). Gregory of Tours having dedicated an oratory, removed thither from a church relics of St. Euphronius and others, "candles and crosses shining" as they went (*De Glor. Conf. 20*). In another oratory at Tours were alleged relics of John the Baptist, before which a lamp burnt, the oil of which bubbled miraculously (*Mirac. i. 15*). The bishop of a certain sea-town in the east, hearing that some relics of St. Julian were in a ship that had just arrived, "moved the people to go in procession to the port with lighted torches" (*ibid. ii. 33*). During an epidemic at Rheims in 546, a relic of St. Remigius was carried through the city "with lighted candles on crosses, and with candlesticks" (*De Glor. Confess. 89*). Lights fixed on crosses were an invention of St. Chrysostom, who employed them in those nocturnal processions which he instituted at Constantinople to counteract a simi- lar custom of the Arians (*Socrates, Hist. Eccl. vi. 8*).

XI. Lights before relics were naturally fol- lowed by lights before images, when the lat'er

began to be madly honoured. There are no in- stances, however, earlier than the 6th century. Some MSS. of Gregory of Tours relate a miracu- lous cure performed with oil from a lamp before the picture of St. Martin in a church at Lavenna (*De Mirac. St. Ma t. i. 15*). This proves, at least, that the practice was known to the writer, while its novelty and partial distribution may be inferred from the fact that Paulus Warnefrill, tell- ing the same story, says that "there was an altar in honour of St. Martin, with a window near it, in which a lamp was set to give light" (*De Gest. Longob. ii. 13*). In the east, J. ha Moschus, A.D. 630, tells the story of a hermit who, when about to visit any holy place, used to set a candle before the picture of the blessed Virgin, trust- ing to her to keep it burning until he returned (*Pratum Spirit. c. clv.*). In 715, Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, writing to another bishop, says: "Let it not scandalize some that lights are before the sacred images and sweet perfumes. For such rites have been devised to their honour. . . . For the visible lights are a symbol of the gift of immaterial and divine light, and the burning of sweet spices of the pure and perfect inspiration and fulness of the Holy Ghost (*Ep. ad Thomam, in Labbe, Conc. vii. 313*). In 787, the second council of Nicea gave its sanction to the practice already popular by a decree that "an offering of incense and lights should be made in honour" of the icons of Christ, of angels, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints (*Labbe, u. s. 556*). This was one of the practices which even the more moderate of the emperors opposed to image worship en- deavoured to put down (*Epist. Mich. Bah. ad Ludov. Pium in Decreta de Cultu Imag. Gold- ast. p. 619*).

XII. During the last three centuries of our period, a custom prevailed of offering candles to God, and at length to the saints, with prayer for recovery from sickness, and other benefits. *E.g.* a girl who had been long ill made a candle of her own height, which she lighted and held burning, "by the help of which (God pitying her in the name of the holy woman St. Rade Gund), the cold was expelled before the candle was consumed" (*Vita St. Rudoy, § 32; Venant. Fortun. A.D. 587; compare the Life by Baudon, § 20*). Gotselin, the monk who, in the 9th century, wrote a life of St. Augustine of Canterbury, when relating the cure of a cripple, says, that he had received from a charitable woman "a light to offer" to the saint (*§ 2, Acta SS. O. B. tom. i.*). By the council of Nantes, A.D. 660, all persons were forbidden "to make a vow or to carry a candle or any gift when going to pray for their health, except at the church to the Lord their God" (*can. 20*). The object, it must be explained, was to put down heathen superstitions, not to dis- courage saint-worship. In the life of St. Sabas, ascribed to Cyril of Scythopolis, A.D. 553, there is a story of a silversmith who, having been robbed, "went immediately to the martyrdom of St. Theodore, and for five days supplied (and gave, and remained there night and day weeping at the rails of the bema" (*§ 78, Cotel. Mon. Græc. iii. 355*).

XIII. Candles were also offered as a token of thankfulness for mercies received. For example, when Justin the Younger, on his accession, went

with the empress to a public service of thanksgiving, they both offered frankincense and candles (Corippus, *u. s.* ii. 9, 71; comp. v. 317). A wax candle was offered at the tomb of St. Eucherius of Orleans, A.D. 738, by a woman whom he had converted (*Vita S. Eucher.* § 10; *Acta SS.* O. B. iii. 599).

XIV. The Liber Pontificalis (*Anastat. Bib. vth.* n. 85) tells us that Sergius I, A.D. 687, ordered that on the feast "of St. Simeon, which the Greeks call *Hypapante*, a litany (*i.e.* procession) should go forth from St. Adrian's, and the people meet it at St. Mary's." The Greeks had observed the feast for some time (with what ceremonies we cannot say); but this appears to be its introduction at Rome. Sergius was a Syrian of Antioch by birth, and was more likely to bring in an eastern custom than many of his predecessors. This feast (Feb. 2) was afterwards called the Purification of St. Mary, and was marked by so profuse an use of lights that it acquired the name of *Visa Luminum* (Candlemas). Lights are not mentioned in the above account, nor by the interpolator who in the 9th century or later adapted Gregory Nyssen's Sermon de *Occursu Domini* to the feast; but they were so common in processions at Rome, that they were probably carried in it from the first; especially as the words of Simeon (Luke ii. 32) suggested them as appropriate to the occasion. The earliest witness to their use however is Bede, 730, who says that the festival took the place of the old lustrations of February: "This custom of lustration the Christian religion did well to change, when in the same month, on the day of St. Mary, the whole people with the priests and ministers go in procession through the churches and suitable parts of the city with the singing of hymns, all carrying in their hands burning wax lights, given them by the pontiff" (*De Temp. Rat.* 10). The only other witness before the death of Charlemagne is Alcuin, in a sermon (*in Hypapanti*; § 2) before that prince: "The solemnity of this day, while it is unknown to some Christians, is held by many in greater honour than the other solemnities of the year; but above all in that place, where the Catholic Church has obtained the primacy in its chief pastor, is it held in so great reverence, that the whole populace of the city collected together, shining with huge lights of wax candles, celebrate the solemn rites of masses, and no one without a light held in his hand enters the approach to a public station;—as if, in sooth, being about to offer the Lord in the temple, yet, to receive also the light of faith, they are outwardly setting forth by the sacred symbolism (religione) of their offering that light wherewith they shine inwardly" (Baluz. *Miscell.* ed. Mansi, ii. 52). Martene and others have cited similar references to the lights of this festival, which, if genuine, would be earlier than Bede, from homilies ascribed to St. Eloy, bishop of Noyon, A.D. 640, and Hildephonsus, bishop of Toledo, 657; but those homilies are by careful critics assigned respectively to the 9th and 12th centuries. See Oudin in *an.*

It will be observed that Bede speaks of the candles as "given" by the bishop of Rome. He does not say "blessed." Similarly, Pseudo-Alcuin (*De Div. Off.* Hittorp. 231): "They

receive all a single wax candle from the hand of the pontiff." Annularius, A.D. 827 (*De Ecol. Off.* iv. 33) and Rabanus, 847 (*De Instit. Cleri.* ii. 33), also mention the lights, but not any benediction. Nor can we find any form of blessing in any sacramentary written before the 9th century. There is one in a Tours missal of that age, but so inferior in composition that it can hardly be older than the missal itself. We give it here:—"A Prayer at the Blessing of the Lights. O God, the true light (lumen), propagator and author of the light (lucis); everlasting, pour into the hearts of Thy faithful the brightness of perpetual light (luminis); and (grant) that whosoever in the holy temple of Thy glory are adorned with lamps of present lights, being purified from the contagions of all vices, may be able to be presented unto Thee, with the fruit of good works, in the temple of Thy heavenly habitation; for the," &c. (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. 13, 5). [W. E. S.]

LILIOSA, martyr; commemorated Aug. 27 (*Usuard. Mart.*); Bede as LIBIOSA same day.

LILY. Though this flower may be considered as a scriptural symbol from St. Matt. vi. 28, no particular meaning seems to have attached to it at any early date. The *spina* of that passage may be the scarlet anemones which every traveller must have observed in the Holy Land during the spring, or rather, as the writer is inclined to fancy, the delicate and lovely cyclamens which flower in great plenty in both spring and autumn in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The early Christian decorators made little generic distinction in the wreaths of flowers they painted or carved on graves. The lily was used from the earliest times from viotto and the early Florentine Renaissance, and would then refer to the red or white Giglio of the city arms. The subject of the Annunciation, so frequently treated from the earliest Byzantine or Lombard-Romanesque dates, would sooner or later bring the favourite flower of Florence and of France* in special pictorial relation to the blessed Virgin. In later days, it is considered as the lily of the tribe of Judah, and accordingly forms a symbolic essential to pictures of the Annunciation (Guénebault, *Dictionnaire des Monuments*, &c.). But as a symbol, carved or painted, it is either ethnic or mediæval, though used to convey the idea of virginal beauty in Cant. ii. 2, 16, &c. Its connexion with the lotus, dwelt on by Auber (*Symbolisme*, iii. 546), is not made out, and appears to be simply architectural, and founded on the convex or concave form of the bells of capitals of columns (1 Kings vii. 19, 22). See Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, ii. 128, 242, 137.

The following meanings are attached to the lily in the *Clavis* attributed to Melchior Sarda (*Spicilegium Solemnense*, iii. p. 101). It is fairest of flowers, and so resembles him (Cant. ii. 1). It is golden on white, as his petals and six leaves, both perfect flowers, representing perfect deity and humanity. It possesses both beauty and medicinal virtue ("membris medetur austus"), and so resembles the mother of God, who has pity on sinners.

* A earlier than Philip Augustus (Auber, *op. cit.* p. 547).

wax candle from the hand of
 carius, A.D. 827 (*De Eccl. Off.*
 847 (*De Instit. Cleri*, II, 33),
 lights, but not any benediction.
 any form of blessing in any
 time before the 9th century.
 Tours missal of that age, but
 position that it can hardly be
 of itself. We give it here:—
Blessing of the Lights. O
 at (lumen), propagator and
 (lucis) everlasting, pour into
 faithful the brightness of
 (ummis); and (grant) that
 holy temple of Thy glory are
 of present lights, being
 contagions of all vices, may be
 unto Thee, with the fruit of
 the temple of Thy heavenly
 " &c. (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl.*
 [W. E. S.]

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Phillip Augustus (Auber, to

Its green signifies humility; its whiteness,
 chastity; its golden hue, charity. It is the
 holy church; it is the glory of immortality; it
 is the Holy Scriptures, with reference to Cant.
 iv. 5; and a variety of impertinences of symbol-
 ism, which have been its weak side, and the
 base of religious art, from a distressingly early
 date in the history of religion and art alike.

[R. St. J. T.]

LIMINIUS, martyr, in Auvergne, circ. A.D.
 255; commemorated Mar. 29 (*Acta SS.* Mar. iii.
 769).

[C. H.]

LINFENTIUS, confessor near Tours, 6th
 century; commemorated Jan. 25 (*Acta SS.*
 Jan. ii. 628).

[C. H.]

LINUS (1) Bishop and martyr at Tyre;
 commemorated Feb. 20 (*Mart.* Usuard.).

(2) Bishop of Rome, martyr; commemorated
 Sept. 23 (Usuard. *Auct.*; *Ado, Mart. Append.*;
Acta SS. Sept. vi. 539), and Nov. 26 (*Mart.*
 Usuard.; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*). One of the saints
 of the Gregorian canon.

[C. H.]

LIOBA (LEOBGYTHA, TRUTHGEBRA), abbess,
 circ. A.D. 780; commemorated Sept. 28 (*Mart.*
Ado, Append., Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. vii.
 748).

[C. H.]

LION. It is difficult, as Ciampini admits
 (*Vet. Mon.* tab. 17), to attach specially Christian
 meaning to the form of an animal which
 has been an ethnic or universally human sym-
 bol of strength and courage from the earliest
 records of Egypt and Assyria. As part of a
 composite form, the shape of the lion is con-
 nected with the cherubic symbol. [See CUERUB
 in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*] The twelve lions
 of Solomon's throne (1 Kings x. 19, 20), to which
 Ciampini alludes, were intended of course as
 emblematic sentinels, after the fashion of Assy-
 rian imagery; and he also notices that the eagle
 is used in the same manner, often in company
 with the lion, apparently for state and ornament
 alone. It is pretty certain, however, that the
 ideas of watchfulness and vigour, or authority
 in the faith, were connected with the leonine
 form, as it not unfrequently occurred in Christian
 churches, especially under Lombard rule. It is
 placed at the doors, very frequently as a solid
 base to small pillars in the porch, or tympanum;
 and also at the foot of ambons or pulpits; as a
 symbol no doubt of watchfulness, or even of
 wakefulness, according to the tradition of the
 lion's sleeping with open eyes. The lions of
 the gate of Mycææ may be an instance of
 ancient Greek use of the form in this sense. To
 this effect Martigny quotes Alciati's *Emblema*
 (*Dolice Ital. Pælarum*, p. 20, Francof. 1558):
 "Est leo, sed custos, oculis qui dormit apertis;
 Templorum idcirco ponitur ante fores."

It is natural, of course, that archaeologists of
 all dates should wish to attach a specially
 Christian symbolism to the lion-form. But, as
 Ciampini shews, the principal sculptures of the
 subject are of early pre-Christian date; he gives
 two, in particular, from ancient Egypt (*Vet.*
Mon. i. tab. 17), and the same associations have
 attended the image of the king of beasts from
 the first records of ideas. By the early church,
 it was adopted, like the originally ethnic images

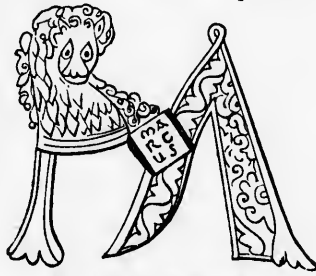
of the shepherd, the vine, or the fish; though
 not sanctioned, like them, by the Lord's use
 of the image.

Lions are sometimes represented as grasping
 the "hystrix" or porcupine, or holding a
 small human figure in their claws, apparently
 with tenderness, in the latter case (see
 Ciampini). The hystrix will in this case repre-
 sent the power of evil, the human form the race
 of mankind. The Veronese griffin, mentioned by
 Prof. Ruskin (*Modern Painters*, vol. iii. ch. viii.
 p. 106), holds a dragon in his claws to typify
 victory over evil by the angelic powers.

On a gem figured vol. i. p. 715, the lion and
 serpent are represented on each side of a dove,
 which is placed on a wheat-sheaf, bears the olive
 branch, and evidently represents the church.
 This Mr. King considers an illustration of the
 precept to be wise as serpents, and harm-
 less as doves; though it seems possible that the
 idea of contest with the lion and adder, the
 young lion and the dragon, may be connected
 with it. This subject, though rare, occurs in a
 Vatican ivory from the abbey of Lorch, part of
 the binding of its ancient Evangelii; and
 again in Gori (*Theat. Diptychorum*, vol. iii. lv.).

For the lions as attendant on Daniel, on sarco-
 phagi and elsewhere, see Bottari, *passim*.

[R. St. J. T.]



From Bottari, 'Sacramentary of Gallone.'

LIPHARDUS (1) (LIETHPHARDUS), bishop of
 archbishop of Canterbury and martyr; circ.
 A.D. 640; commemorated Feb. 4 (Bede, *Mart.*,
Auct.; *Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 492). [LIPHARDUS.] Bede
 has Liphard under both days.

(2) (LIPHARDUS), of Magdunum (Meun); com-
 memorated June 3 (*Mart. Hieron.*; Bede, *Auct.*;
 Usuard. *Auct.*; *Acta SS.* June, i. 298).

[C. H.]

LIPPIENSE CONCILIIUM. [PADERBORN,
 COUNCIL OF.]

LIPSTADT, COUNCIL OF. [PADER-
 BORN.]

LIPITINENSE CONCILIIUM. [LESTINES,
 COUNCIL OF.]

LITANY (*Litania*, *Litania* v. *Letania*). A
 litany is strictly any united prayer and suppli-
 cation in the churches or assemblies of the
 faithful. "Litania, quæ Latine Rogatio dicitur,
 inde et Rogationes." *Ordo Romanus*. By the
 word, however, is usually understood a form of
 alternative prayer, intercessory or deprecatory,

and of a penitential character, containing invocations to the Holy Trinity and to the saints, in which the people respond to each clause of the priest by the repetition of a short and expressive formula.

Litanies date from the earliest times of settled forms of Christian worship. Originally they were confined to the liturgy, properly so called; but in course of time, as forms of public prayer developed themselves, they are more frequently found apart from the liturgy, and appropriated to occasions of more than ordinarily earnest and penitential supplication, and specially associated with processions, during which they were repeated. Hence the procession itself was often called *litanía*.

The word is sometimes spelt "*letania*," and some have drawn a distinction between the two forms, and argued that *letania* means a day appointed for special rejoicing. "*Laetum ac festivum diem significat.*" The words are, however, generally, and probably always, used as synonyms.⁵

The earliest and simplest form of Litany is the *Kyrie Eleison*, repeated three,⁶ six,⁷ twelve,⁸ forty,⁹ or more times. Mabillon (*Comm. in Ord. Rom.* i. 2, p. 34) describes a procession in which the people chanted alternately three hundred times *Kyrie Eleison*, *Christe Eleison*; and the *Capitulary of Charlemagne* (vi. c. 197) directs that during the funeral office, if the people do not know the Psalms, the men should repeat *Kyrie Eleison* and the women *Christe Eleison* while they were being chanted.

The expression has been thought by some to have been suggested by a sentence of Arrian (*Comment. de Epicteti Disput.* ii. c. 7), "Calling upon God we beg of Him *κύριε ἰσχυρόν*." It occurs however with slight variations in the Old Testament, and was in use in the Christian church before the date of the sentence just quoted. It has been used in the ecclesiastical offices of all nations, and from the earliest times. It is found in the liturgies of St. James, of St. Mark, and of the Greek Fathers, as well as in those of the Armenians, Syrians, and other Oriental Christians, whose rites are among the oldest extant, and who repeat it in the vernacular.

There is some uncertainty by whom it was introduced into the Latin Church. The chief writers on Ritual¹⁰ attribute the introduction to Gregory the Great. But the custom appears to have been in use before his time, as the 5th canon¹¹ of the 2nd council of Vaison, in the time

⁵ v. Pappenbrock, *Acta Sancti*. Jun. 28, in S. Leon. II., where he gives his reasons.

⁶ Augusti (*Chris. Arch.* 10. 33) says, "Aber dieser willkürlich gemachte Unterschied scheint nur auf einem Wortspiele zu beruhen."

⁷ As in the daily offices, *passim*.

⁸ As in the litanies after Terce on certain days, in the Ambrosian use.

⁹ As after the hymn at Lauds, and in Lent at the end of Vespers in the same use, and in Vespers of the Greek church.

¹⁰ As in the daily night and day hours of the Greek church.

¹¹ e. g. Micrologus, Amalarius.

¹² There is some confusion in the canons of the two councils of Vaison (*Vasio*, in Gallia Narbonensis); the first was in the time of Leo the Great, A.D. 442.

of Felix IV. (A.D. 529), seems to shew, which speaks of the *Kyrie Eleison* as being then established in all the provinces of the East and of Italy, and directs it to be used in the churches of Gaul; and Gregory himself (lib. 7, Ep. 64), in answer to some who spoke of him as wishing to introduce the rites of the church of Constantinople into that of Rome, says: "We neither have hitherto said, nor do we now say, *Kyrie Eleison*, as it is said by the Greeks" [now neque diximus, neque dicimus, &c.], and then he points out the double distinction: (1) that with the Greeks the whole congregation say it together, whereas with the Romans the clergy and people say it alternately; and (2) that the Roman use is to repeat *Christe Eleison* as often as *Kyrie Eleison* has been said, which the Greeks never do.

The words were always said by the Latin church in Greek, for which practice different symbolical reasons have been given. St. August. (*Ep.* 178) compares it with the use of the Greek *Homoousion*, and remarks that as by the word *Homoousion* the unity of substance of the Trinity is confessed by all believers, so by that other, *Kyrie Eleison*, the nature of the One God is invoked by all Romans and barbarians. The words were said after the *Intruit*, but originally the number of repetitions was not prescribed, but *Kyrie Eleison* was repeated by the choir until the presiding prelate directed it to be changed into *Christe Eleison*: "Schola vero, finita Antiphonia, ponit *Kyrie Eleison*, Prior vero scholae custodit ad Pontificem ut ei annuntiet si vult mutare¹² numerum *Letaniae*!" (*Ordo Rom.* v. noni. 6).

It appears that in the 9th century the number of repetitions was prescribed (v. Amalarius, *de Div. Off.* iii. cap. 8), and by the 12th century at latest was established at nine, i.e. *Kyrie Eleison* (thrice), *Christe Eleison* (thrice), *Kyrie Eleison* (thrice). At this number it has since remained. Various symbolical reasons have been assigned for this number, on which it is not necessary to dwell. In the Ambrosian rite *Kyrie Eleison* is said thrice after the *Gloria in Excelsis*, thrice after the Gospel, and thrice at the end of the mass.

It has been questioned to whom the invocation is to be considered as addressed. When the form *Kyrie Eleison* alone is used, the prevailing opinion appears to be that it is addressed to the second person in the blessed Trinity, and Anastasius Sinaiticus¹³ (*Contemp. in Hexaemeron*. lib. vii. cont.), referring to Dionysius the Areopagite,¹⁴ says that God the Word was properly called Lord (*Dominus*, *Kύριος*), after and with reference to the Incarnation, and the dominion which He thereupon received. "He is called Lord [*Dominus*, nempe *Kύριος*] because He has the Lordship [ex eo quod *κυριεύει*]. Rightly, therefore, and fittingly and suitably, when God the Word in His advent to man took flesh and was seen upon earth, was He also called Lord. For previously He was called God (*θεός*), as being the over-creator (*θεωπρῆξις*) of the world."

¹ In the Ambrosian rite the invocation *Christe Eleison* is very rarely found, and only in borrowed forms.

² Other-wise called "mutare Litaniam."

³ i. e. In alteram formulam, sc. *Christe Eleison*.

⁴ Vid. *Biblich. Mus. Patr.* vol. xiv.

⁵ Id. vol. ii.

1.), A. D. 529, seems to shew, *Kyrie Eleison* as being then the provinces of the East and as it to be used in the churches gory himself (lib. 7, Ep. 64), who spoke of him as washing tes of the church of Constantino of Romo, says: "We neither, nor do we now say, *Kyrie* d by the Greeks" [nos neque mus, &c.], and then he points ctinction: (1) that with the congregation say it together, Romans the clergy and people and (2) that the Roman use te *Eleison* as often as *Kyrie* l, which the Greeks never do, always said by the Latin for which practice different ave been given. St. August. it with the use of the Greek marks that as by the word y of substance of the Trinity believers, so by that other, nature of the One God is mans and barbarian. The or the *Interit*, but originally titions was not prescribed, was repeated by the choir prelate directed it to be te *Eleison*: "Schola vero, oant *Kyrie Eleison*, Prior ad Pontificem et de amant numerum Letanial" (*Ordo*

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eed to whom the invocatio addressed. When the form used, the prevailing opinion is addressed to the second Trinity, and Anastasius Si- *Hexameron*, lib. vii. cont.), the Arcopagite," says that properly called Lord (Do- and with reference to the dominion which He there- is called Lord [Dominus, se He has the Lordship [ex Rightly, therefore, and y, when God the Word in ook flesh and was seen upon illed Lord. For previously (és), as being the overseer

be the invocation *Christe Eleison* only in borrowed form, are Litaniarum." *Antiphonari*, sc. *Christe Eleison*, *Antiphonari*, vol. xiv.

When *Christe Eleison* is interposed, the invocation is usually considered to be addressed successively to each of the persons in the Trinity (see Amalarius, lib. iii. 6, and iv. 2; and S. Tho. Aquin. *Summus*, part iii. qn. 83, art. 4).

We have entered at some length into the use of *Kyrie Eleison*, as these words are the germ of all litanies. We will now proceed to their use and development.

I. As to the use of litanies in the *Liturgy*. In the Greek liturgies from the earliest times long intercessory prayers, broken into clauses, each with the same beginning, and responded to in the same words, have formed part of the introductory or *proanaphoral* part of the liturgy. In the Clementine liturgy, these prayers begin as follows. They are called "The Bidding of Prayer over the Faithful" (*προσφώνησις ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν*).

"Let us pray for the peace and the stability of the world and of the holy churches, that the God of the universe may give us His perpetual peace which cannot be taken away; that He would keep us to the end of our lives in the fullness of piety and godliness. Let us pray for the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church throughout the world, that," &c., and so on; the successive petitions comprising prayers for the diocese, the bishop and clergy, the married, the single, relations, travellers, captives, slaves, enemies, those who are in error, infants, &c.

Here no response is given at the end of each clause, but each begins with the same form, *Let us pray for* (*ὁρίε* . . . *δεηθῶμεν*).

In the *Liturgy of St. James* these prayers occur in the same position as in the Clementine liturgy, shortly before the beginning of the Anaphora. They are of precisely the same nature, though differently worded. They are called the catholic and universal *collecta* or *synapte* (*συναπτή*); and, after a few opening words by the deacon, begin thus: "That God may send peace from heaven; that He may be gracious unto us, and preserve our souls, *Let us beseech the Lord,*"

and so on for twelve such clauses, each ending *Let us beseech the Lord* (*τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν*), and the last followed by *κύριε ἐλέησον* (thrice).

In the liturgies of St. Basil and of St. Chrysostom these prayers are the same for each. They occur in both at the opening of the liturgy, before the prayer of the first antiphon.

The deacon says: "Let us beseech the Lord in peace."

"*R. Kyrie Eleison.*
"Deacon. For peace from above, and for the salvation of our souls, let us beseech the Lord."

"*R. Kyrie Eleison.*
"For the peace of the whole world, for the stability of God's holy churches, and the unity of them all, let us beseech the Lord."

"*R. Kyrie Eleison.*
and so on, the petitions making mention of all ivers of men, for the king, his court and army, for success in battle, for fine weather, for the fruits of the earth, &c. These prayers are called in the rubrics, *εἰρηναῖα*, because of the introduction, "Let us beseech the Lord in peace," the first petition in all of them, as will be seen in the examples given, being for peace. They are

also known as *διακονικά*, because said by the deacon; as *συναπτή* [*Collecta*], because their form, as it were, a concatenation of petitions fitted together into one; or as *Ectene* (*ἐκτενή*), because they are ordinarily long. They were recited by the deacon from the *Ambo*.

In the Armenian liturgy a litany of the same character, except that the response is not always the same, is said by the deacon and the choir alternately, immediately after the *Trisagion*, and before the lessons from Scripture, and the Creed.

In the West, missal litanies were also common. It was usual to say them immediately after the *Kyrie* on those days on which *Gloria in Excelsis* was not said, and this custom continued until the 9th century. They contained prayers for all estates of men, and were of the same character as the Greek.

An old form contained in a MS. at Fulda, and called a missal litany, begins thus:

- "Let us all say with our whole heart and mind,
- " O Lord hear and have mercy [Domine exaudi et miserere].
- "Thou who beholdest the earth and makest it tremble,
- " We beseech Thee, O Lord, hear and have mercy.
- "For profoundest peace and tranquillity of our times,
- " We beseech Thee," &c.
- "For the holy Catholic Church, which is from the borders of the world unto the ends thereof,
- " We beseech Thee," &c.

and so on for 15 clauses.

In the Ambrosian liturgy, the missal litany is still said on the Sundays in Lent, immediately before the *Oratio super populum*, which corresponds with the Roman collect for the day. There are two litanies, of which one is used on the first, third, and fifth Sundays in Lent, the other on the alternate Sundays. They are framed entirely on the Greek model; often in almost the same words. They are said by the deacon, the choir responding. The first runs thus:

- "Imploring the gifts of divine peace and indulgence with our whole heart and soul, we beseech Thee,
- " Lord, have mercy.
- "For the holy Catholic Church, which is here, and is dispersed throughout the whole world, we beseech Thee
- " Lord, have mercy," &c., &c.

The original of this litany, which is a good specimen of missal litanies, is as follows:

- "Divite pacis et indulgentiæ munera supplicantes ex toto corde et ex tota mente precamur te,
- " Domine miserere" (repeated at the end of each clause).
- "Pro Ecclesia sancta Catholica, quæ hinc et per universum orbem diffusa est, precamur Te." [These two words repeated at the end of each clause.]
- "Pro Papa nostro III. et Pontifice nostro III. et omni clero eorum, omnibusque Sacerdotibus ac Ministris, precamur Te.
- "Pro famulis Tuis III. Imperatore, et III. Rege, Duce, milite, et omni exercitu eorum,
- "Pro pace Ecclesiarum, vocations gentium, et quiete populum,
- "Pro civitate hac et conservatione ejus, omnibusque habitantibus in ea,
- "Pro aeris temperie ac fructu et fecunditate terrarum,

» The English word *collect* conveys quite a different notion.
» This must be distinguished from the *Sanctus* of the liturgy.
» Sc. III.

o Gear. Not. in S. Chryso. Lit.

"Pro virginibus, viduis, orphanis, captivis, ac poenitentibus,

"Pra navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in claustris, in metallis," in exillis constitutis.

"Pro his qui diversis instrumentibus detinentur, quique spiritibus vexantur inmundis,

"Pro his qui in Sancta Ecclesia Tua fructus misericordiae largiuntur.

"Exaudi nos Deus in omni oratione atque deprecatione nostra,

"Dicamus omnes, Domine miserere."

The other litany is of precisely the same nature, but worded differently.

In the Mozarabic liturgy, missal litanies, called *preces*, are said on the first five Sundays in Lent, after the psallendo, which follows the prophecy, or Old Testament lection, and before the epistle. There is no essential difference of character in them from those hitherto mentioned, though prayers for mercy for the particular congregation occupy a larger space, and there is a much greater number and variety in them. They also have a distinctly rhythmical and stanzaic character, and an approximately accentual scansion, which a few corrections of the text, often corrupt, would probably restore throughout. Those for the first, second, and third Sundays are addressed to the Saviour; those for the fourth and fifth are put into His mouth. Their rhythmical character is clearly seen in the following opening of that for the second Sunday in Lent, which is in accentual iambic lines:

"*Preces. Miserere et parce clementissime Domine*

populo tuo: Quia peccavimus Tibi.

Prostrati omnes lacrymas productimus,

Pandentes Tibi occulta quae admisimus

A Te Deus veniam deposcimus.

R. Quia peccavimus Tibi.

"Orationem sacerdotum accipe,

Et quaeque postulant (? possunt) affluenter tribue,

Ac Tuae plebi miserere Domine.

Quia peccavimus Tibi."

And so on for nine such stanzas.

Or in that for the third Sunday:

"*Rogamus Te, Rex Saeculorum, Deus Sancte,*

Jam miserere, peccavimus Tibi.

Audi clamorem, Pater altissime,

Et quae precamur, clemens acribus,

Exaudi nos Domine. Jam miserere, &c.

Bone Redemptor, supplices quae sumus,

De toto corde flentes, requirimus

Adiuste propitius. Jam miserere, &c."

And so on for seven stanzas.

That for the fourth Sunday begins thus:

"*Vide Domine humilitatem meam, quia erectus est inimicus*

"R. Miserere Pater Juste et omnibus indulgentiam dona."

"*A Patre misus veni*

Perditos requirere,

Et hostes captivos

Sanguine redimere,

Plebs datus subjecti ma.

R. Miserere, &c.

"*Fraedictus a Prophetis*

Natus sum ex Virgine,

Assumpsit formam servi

Dispensos colligere,

Venantes esperunt me.

R. Miserere, &c."

And so on for nine stanzas, recounting the incidents of the Passion.

In the Roman liturgy these litanies did not establish themselves permanently. None appear

* A very frequent petition in these litanies.

† In the office books they are printed without distinction of lines.

in the sacramentary printed by Thom. (v. 1. v.) which cannot be later than the end of the 6th century.*

The interpolated or forced kyries, said at the mass instead of the simple *kyrie* on certain days, hardly come within our limits of time; but a reference to them, in connexion with the subject before us, may be allowed. They were common in the Middle Ages, and probably were intended to assist the devotion and bring out the mystical signification of the words. A few are printed in an edition of the Roman missal of Paul III., with the heading "Sequuntur quaedam devota verba super *Kyrie Eleison, Sanctus, et Agnus Dei*, ibi ob pascebam nonnullorum Sacerdotum devotionem posita, quae licet non sint de ordinario Rom. Eoc., tamen in certis missis ibidem annotatis licite dicendae." These interpolated kyries were called "tropes."

The following is appointed for festivals, other than those of the highest class:

Kyrie. Rex genitor Ingenite, vera essentia, Eleison.

Kyrie. lumen fons, rerumq; conditor, Eleison.

Kyrie. qui nos tuae imaginis signasti specie, Eleia. v.

Christe Deus formae humanae particeps, Eleison.

Christe lux ortus per quem sunt omnia, Eleison.

Christe qui perfectus es sapientia, Eleison.

Kyrie. Spiritus vivificus, vitae vis, Eleison.

Kyrie. Utique visor in quo cuncta, Eleison.

Kyrie. expurgator scelorum et largitor gratiae, quae sumus propter nostras offensas non nos relinquere, consolator dolentis animae, Eleison.

II. In other of the daily offices of the church, litanies of the same description as those in the liturgy often occur. For instance, in the Greek church a litany, whether called "synapte" or by any other name, is said in the daily office of nocturns, and at great vespers of a vigil at the office of lighting of lamps. They also form part of many of the offices of the church contained in the euchology.

In the Ambrosian office, litanies are said (among other days) after terce on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent ("litaniae post tertiam"). These consist mainly of a series of penitential antiphons, divided into two parts by invocations to saints and two collects, and other forms.

The Mozarabic daily offices abound in short litanies, of the same nature as those in the mass. They are placed at the end of most of the offices in Lent and on days of penitence. They are in most cases evidently rhythmical, and are addressed to the Saviour.

The following is from terce on Tuesday in the fourth week in Lent, and is a fair specimen:

* Among other reasons (1) because *Filius* does not appear in the mass; (2) because there are no masses for Thursday in Lent, which (on the authority of Anas-tasius) Gregory II. instituted early in the 8th century, and (3) because masses for some festivals are wanting which were instituted early in the 7th century.

† They were in common use in England, and are said by some to have been introduced by Bede, and twentynine are given from the various missals. The Sarum missal directs that on all double feasts throughout the year one of the following *Kyries* (which are there given), with its verses (cum suis versiculis), shall be sung at the choice, within certain limits, of the precentor. It is said they were in use in Sicily in the middle of the last century. The one given in the text is found in the Sarum and Hereford missals.

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not to later than the end of

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e Eleison, Sanctus, et Agnus
lam nonnullorum Sacerdotum
quae licet non sint de ordina-
mento in certis missis libere
entiae." These interpolated
"tropes."

appointed for festivals, other
highest class:

ingenite, vera essentia, Eleison.
renuque conditor, Eleison.
magisne signati specte, Eleison.
humane particeps, Eleison.
quae sunt omnia, Eleison.
se sapientia, Eleison.
lice, vita vis, Eleison.
por in quo cuncta, Eleison.
celorum et largitor gratiae, quae-
nistras offensas non nos relinquere,
tis animae, Eleison.

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... all double feasts throughout the
... *Kyries* (which are three given),
... versulenti), shall be sung at the
... of the precentor. It is said
... in the middle of the last cen-
... the text is found in the Sarum

Preces. Dicamus omnes: Misereere nobis Deus.
R. *Misereere nobis.*
V. Tu Redemptor, Jesu Christe, salva mundum Tuum
morto. R. *Misereere nobis.*
Qui pro nobis es perensatus, et inique Judicatus.
R. *Misereere nobis.*
Qui ligatus crucem portas, et in cruce Patrum vocas.
R. *Misereere nobis.*
Cujus latens perfoditur, et humilitas ardetur.
R. *Misereere nobis.*

The "miserationes" said at compline on week
days in Lent are of the same nature. There is
a different form for each day in the week.

III. The typical form of litany differs from those
already noticed. It was, moreover, appropriated
to other occasions of prayer, and used at other
times than the ordinary liturgy or daily offices,
and especially in connexion with processions.

The original and simplest form was, as we
have seen, *Kyrie Eleison* and its repetitions.
The smallest and most usual number of these
repetitions was three, in the place of the second
of which the Roman church, at an early period,
substituted the form *Christe Eleison*. To this
introduction was added an invocation to each
Person of the Blessed Trinity severally and to
all collectively, with *miserere nobis* at the end
of each clause. Then followed invocations to the
Blessed Virgin, angels and saints, each with
ora pro nobis. Then "deprecations" from various
evils, spiritual and temporal, each followed by
Libera nos Domine; supplications for the church,
and all estates of men, each followed by *Te
rogamus, audi nos*; the whole series concluding
with the *Agnus Dei* thrice repeated, with the
three successive responses—*Parce nobis Domine*;
Exaudi nos Domine; *miserere nobis*. Then
Christe audi nos; *Christe exaudi nos*; *Kyrie, &c.*;
Pater noster, a few "preces" (said alternately),
a psalm, or disconnected verses of psalm, said
consecutively, and sometimes called "cantica,"
and the whole concluded with prayers or collects
(orationes), mainly for forgiveness and pro-
tection.

This is the outline of a Roman litany in its
full development. The names of the saints
invoked varied with the place, or the occasion,
or the service, as in the Ambrosian litanies in
Lent, already referred to, in which they vary
with each litany. The list was always headed
by the Virgin and the heavenly host. The *Agnus
Dei* was added in the 9th or 10th century.
According to some authorities the essential parts
of a litany, without which no form of prayer is
properly entitled to the name, are the invocation
of saints, and the *Christe audi nos*, &c., at the
end of the supplications.

The following litany is found, under the title
Litania Romana, in an old MS. sacramentary of
Gregory the Great. It was doubtless adopted
in some church or churches of Gaul, as appears
from the introduction of the names of some
saints who were not specially venerated at
Rome (S. Maurice, † A.D. 286. S. Germanus,
† A.D. 448, &c.), and from the petition for the
Emperor of the Franks.

Incepit Litaniam Romanam.
Kyrie Eleison .. ter. S. Philippe .. va.
Christe audi nos .. ter. S. Bartholomaeae .. va.

Letter from J. M. Tommasi to Eras. Gattola, abbat
and librarian of Montecassino, dated Rome, 1690.

Sancta Maria, ora pro S. Mattheae .. ora.
nobis. S. Simon .. ora.
Sancto Michael .. ora. S. Thadlaee .. ora.
S. Gabriel .. ora. S. Mattiaee .. ora.
S. Raphael .. ora. S. Marce .. ora.
S. Johannes .. ora. S. Barnaba .. ora.
S. Petro .. ora. S. Marce .. ora.
S. Paulo .. ora. S. Luca .. ora.
S. Andrea .. ora. S. Stephane .. ora.
S. Jacobo .. ora. S. Cletus .. ora.
S. Johanne .. ora. S. Clemente .. ora.
S. Thoma .. ora. &c. &c.
S. Jacobo .. ora. &c. &c.

[And so on for 101 names.*]

Omnes Sancti .. ora. *Orate pro nobis.*
Propitius esto .. ora. *Parce nobis Domine.*
Propitius esto .. ora. *Libera nos Domine.*
Ab hoste malo .. ora. *Libera.*
A periculo mortis .. ora. *Libera.*
Per crucem tuam .. ora. *Libera.*
Peccatores .. ora. *Te rogamus audi nos.*
Ut pacem nobis dones .. ora. *Te rogamus.*
Ut sanitatem aeris dones .. ora. *Te rogamus.*
Ut fructum terrae nobis dones .. ora. *Te rogamus.*
Ut aeris temperiem nobis dones .. ora. *Te rogamus.*
Ut domum Apostolicum illi in sancta
religionis conservare digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut domum Imperatorem de exercitum
Francorum conservare digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut cunctum populum Christianum pre-
tioso sanguine tuo redemptum con-
servare digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Ut iram tuam ab eo auferre digneris, *Te rogamus.*
Fili Dei, *Te rogamus.*
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, *Miserere nobis.*
Christe audi.
Kyrie eleison.

Later forms of litanies are fuller, but in cha-
racter do not differ from the earlier.

In the early Latin church various kinds of
litanies were distinguished by different names.
The principal of these were—

1. The greater litany (*litaniam major*), called also
the sevenfold litany (*litaniam septiformis*).

This is said to have been instituted by Gregory
the Great, A.D. 590, to be observed on St. Mark's
day (April 25), for the purpose of averting the
Divine wrath on the occasion of a pestilence
then ravaging the city. In a sermon preached
the day before, he urged the people to come at
daybreak the next day with contrite heart and
amendment of life to the sevenfold litany, for
which he then proceeds to give directions. It
was so called from its being divided into seven
litanies or processions, each of which started
from a different church, and singing litanies on
their road, all met in the church of St. Mary
the Great. "Let the litany" (*i.e.* the pro-
cession), he continues, "of the clergy proceed
from the church of St. John the Baptist; the
litany of men from the church of St. Marcellus
the Martyr; the litany of monks from the
church of SS. John and Paul; the litany of the
handmaidens of God from the church of the
Blessed Martyrs Cosmas and Damian; the litany
of married women from the church of the Blessed
Stephen the Protomartyr; the litany of widows
from the church of the Blessed Martyr Vitalis;
the litany of the poor and infants from the

* The number of these invocations was sometimes
much larger. A litany of the church of Tours, assigned
to a date not later than A.D. 800, has more than 300.

church of the Blessed Martyr Cecilia" (S. Greg. Ep. lib. ii. 2). In another passage Gregory speaks of Litanies as already in existence, and their observance as familiar to the people:—"The return of this annual devotional celebration reminds us, beloved brethren, that we ought, by the help of God, to celebrate with earnest and devout hearts the litany which is called by all the greater (major)."

But there is an uncertainty. It may well be that Gregory found some litanies on a smaller scale in existence, and developed them. These litanies on St. Mark's day are still observed in the Ambrosian rite.

2. There were the litanies on the three Rogation days. These are said to have been instituted by St. Mamertus, archbishop of Vienne, A.D. 477. St. Avitus, his disciple, Sidonius Apollinaris (lib. i. 7, &c.), and Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* lib. ii. c. 34), relate the circumstances. The latter says there had been a great and destructive earthquake in the city of Vienne, which also suffered from war and wild beasts, and that as Mamertus was celebrating mass on Easter Eve, the royal palace in the city was struck with fire from heaven (divino igne) and destroyed. Upon this, he ordered litanies, with fasting, for the three days previous to Ascension Day. The rite was adopted in other French churches, and enjoyed by the council of Orleans, A.D. 511. These litanies were not introduced into the church of Rome till the pontificate of Leo III. (A.D. 795-816). In Spain they were received still later. According to Ambrosian use, they are not observed on the original days of their institution, as is supposed on account of our Lord's words, "Can the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them," &c. (St. Mark, ii. 19), but a week later, i.e. on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in the octave of the Ascension. The litanies are said after terce as on the days in Lent, and are of the same description, but somewhat longer. In the Mozarabic breviary the four days next before Pentecost are appointed as days of fasting—"ad exorandum Dⁿⁱ nostrum J. C. pro peccatis nostris, ac pacem impetrandam vel pro sacris lectionibus audiendis; et ut veniat Spiritus Paraclitici, et munda nostra reperiat habitacula Ecclesiam Dⁿⁱ. frequentemus" (*Lib. in Brev. Moz.*). The ordinary service is modified by the addition of short preces at the end of terce, sext, and none.

There is some variation in the name by which the litany of the Rogation days is known. At first it seems to have been called, in Rome at least, *letania* "minor," partly to distinguish it from the litany on St. Mark's day, which was always called "major," and to which the epithet was appropriated, and partly, possibly, as suggested by Durandus—"quæ minorem nacta sit auctorem; non Romanum Pontificem, sed Mamertum Viennæ Allobrogum Episcopum." These litanies, however, were soon called "major," as in the council of Metz, can. 33, A.D. 813—"Pneuit nobis ut *Litania major* observanda sit a cunctis Christianis diebus tribus," &c. Me-

* This sevenfold order is said to have been kept up at Tours as late as the 17th century, the clergy of the seven churches in the city starting each from their own church and meeting in the abbey church of St. Martin.

nardus also says (in *Litania major*): "Hæc *Litania major* est Rogationum, quæ in triduo ante Dominicam Ascensionem celebranda," &c. It was also sometimes called *Galleiana*, from the country in which it was instituted, while the litany on St. Mark's day was called *Romana*.

The directions for the order of the Litany and procession on the Rogation days are given very fully from a MS. ceremonial of the Church of Vienne by Martene, iii. 126, and also the Litanies themselves for each day from a MS. ordinary of the church of Lyons. They present no peculiar features, but are interesting as pointing out clearly where the Stations occur, and at what churches. They are always said after Terce. After the ordinary litany, in which no psalm is said (Nulla dicitur capitula sed orationem tantum), *Sext* is said, the processional office continuing with more invocations and antiphons, and at the last station of the day *None* is said, and then *Mass*. Afterwards the procession returns, saying alternately certain preces, and the whole terminates with the "Litany for any trouble" [*Letania de quacunque tribulatione*].

Litanies of the same character were said in some churches at other times. Thus the Mozarabic breviary prescribes Litanies and days of fasting on the *Jejunium calendarum Junii*, i.e. the three days next before the Epiphany, for three days before the festival of St. Cyprian [Sept. 13], and for three days before that of St. Martin [Nov. 11], called *Jejunium calendarum Novembris*, as well as on certain other week days.

The Ambrosian rite also appoints Litanies for the week days of the last week in Advent, called *Feriae de Exceptato*.

3. Certain Litanies were also called septenary, quinary, ternary (*septena, quina, trina*). They were thus said at the fast on Easter Eve:

The first subdeacon begins *Kyrie Eleison*, then the second repeats *Kyrie Eleison*, and so on till the seventh.

Then the first begins *Christe Eleison*, and so on till the seventh.

Then the first begins *Christe audi nos*, and so on till the seventh.

And the whole litany is gone through in the same manner, each clause being repeated seven times, once by each of seven subdeacons. In the *Invocations* of the saints, seven names are recited out of each order of saints (dicuntur de quolibet choro septem sancti), seven from the apostles, seven from the martyrs, seven from the confessors, and seven from the virgins.

Then follows the *quinary* litany, said in the same manner by five subdeacons, the names of five saints being recited from each order, and then the *ternary*, said in the same manner by three.

Litanies were also used at baptisms, at administering extreme unction, and on other occasions, which it is not necessary to specify.

In a MS. Pontifical of Salzburg, the following metrical litany occurs:—

Rex sacrorum Angelorum, totum mundum adjuva,
Ora primum tu pro nobis, Virgo mater Germinis
Et ministri Patris summi, ordines Angeli.

Rex Sanctorum.

Supplicate Christo regi, coetus Apostolorum,
Supplicesque permagnum sanguis fusus Martyrum.

Rex Sanctorum.

Rex Sanctorum.

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(in *Litania major*): "Hæc Rogationum, quæ in triduo Ascensionem celebrantur," &c. It is called *Galiciana*, from the fact it was instituted, while the king's day was called *Romana*. For the order of the Litany and Rogation days are given very ceremonially of the Church of Rome, lib. iii. 126, and also the ones for each day from a MS. Church of Lyons. They present a variety, but are interesting as regards where the Stations occur. They are always said in the ordinary litany, in which (Nulla dies *capitula* sed *Oratio*) is said, the processional with more inventions and ornaments at the last station of the day *None Mass*. Afterwards the procession alternately certain *proces*, imitates with the "Litany for Pestilence" of quatuordecim tribu-

same character were said in other times. Thus the *Mozza* describes Litanies and days of *litany calendarum Junii*, i.e. next before the Epiphany, for the festival of St. Cyprian or three days before that of *J*, called *Jejunium calendarum* as on certain other week days. It also appoints Litanies for the last week in Advent, called *o*.

ies were also called septenary, *septena, quina, triu*). They are said on Easter Eve: *on* begins *Kyrie Eleison*, then *Kyrie Eleison*, and so on till begins *Christe Eleison*, and so begins *Christe audi nos*, and so in the clause being repeated seven of seven subdeacons. In the Litanies, seven names are recited of saints (dicantur de quolibet *li*), seven from the apostles, seven martyrs, seven from the confessor the virgins.

quinary litany, said in the seven subdeacons, the names of recited from each order, and said in the same manner by

so used at baptisms, at adunction, and on other occasions necessary to specify. of Salzburg, the following

lorum, totum mundum adjo, obis, Virgo mater Germinis, nunt, ordines Angelicæ, Res Sanctorum, et, coetus Apostolicæ, norum sanguis fuit Martyrum, Res Sanctorum.

Inplorato Confessores, consonato Virgines, Quo ducetur magnas nobis diæ indulgentias,

(and so on through all the orders of saints, ending thus):

Præsta Patri, atque Nati compar Sancte Spiritus, Ut te solus semper omni diligamus tempore,

The following is "ex pervastato collice seu ordine Romano Wirtinnensis, in dioecesi Monasteriensis:—

"*Litania*" (for the first day of Rogation). Humil prece ad Te clamantes semper exaudi nos, Summus et Omnipotens Genitor qui cuncta creasti, Acturus Christus Filius atque Deus; Necnon sanctissimus Dominator spiritus almus, Unica majestas trinitate sola Deo,

Ipsa Dei Genetrix, reparatrix inelyta mundi, Quis Dominum casto corpore concipiens, Propetua semper radians cum virginitate Indignos famulos Virgo Maris tuæ,

Angelici proceres, coelorum exercitus omnis, Aeterno semper lumine conspicua, Amenur ter trino supere per sidera regno Laudibus æternum concelibrans Dominum, Et Jacob sanctus nos relevat precibus, Andrea, Mattheus, Barabas atque Johannes, Mattheus, Lucas, Marcus et Mattheus,

(and so on for 78 Elegiac verses, embodying the usual invocations of saints, and supplications of a litany).

These curious litanies are given by Martene, vol. iii. [See also LITE, PROCESSION.]

LITE (Λιτή). This word is explained as the united supplication of many. In the Greek church it has acquired the technical meaning of a religious procession accompanied with prayer; or of prayer for a special object made during such procession. Hence Λιτή and περιπάτος are used by Codinus* as synonyms, and both as equivalents of the Latin *processio*, ἐπιβαλλομένων τοῦ ὄρθρου γίνεσθαι ὁ περιπάτος, καὶ ἐστὶν ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι ἐς ἕως λιτήν, ἐν δὲ τῇ λιτῇ περιπάτῳ τὸν βασιλέα. "Mututinis decantatis, processio fit, et necesse est supplicationem in procedendo fieri, et in supplicatione Imperatorem proceetere." (Codinus *De off. aul. Const.* c. li.) Again λιτή and λιτανία are used by Cedrenus† as synonymous, ἀόχμοῦ γενομένου λιτανίαν ἐποίησαντο οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοὶ . . . ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν λιτήν ὁ πατριάρχης σὺν τῷ κλήρῳ. So λιτανεῖον is used in the sense of "to walk in such a procession" (*Typicon Sabae*, c. 42).

Litæ were used on various occasions of public calamity and intercession. The Greek euchology contains a general "office for different Litæ, and vigils with supplications" [ἀκούσθητε εἰς διαφόρους λιτὰς καὶ ἀρχωνίας παρακλήσεων], the framework of which is common to all Litæ,

* Codinus held the office of *Cyropalate* at the court of the last emperors of Constantinople, and wrote (among other works) *de Officiis Eccl. et aulæ Constantin.* (Graz. at Lat.

† A Greek monk of the 11th century, who wrote *Compendium Historiarum* from the beginning of the world to A.D. 1057.

and is adapted to the special occasion by the introduction of proper prayers, epistle, gospel, and canon. These and some other minor varying portions are given for the following emergencies: in time of Drought; in peril of *Euthymate*; in time of Pestilence; in storms on Land and at Sea; on occasion of Inroads of Barbarians; in anticipation of War. There are also special prayers for occasions of intercession, such as, in any public calamity; for the *Christian people*; for the Emperor and his Army; in times of famine; in danger of thunder and lightning.

The outline of the service is as follows: The customary opening formulae (Ter sanctus—τρισάγιον. Most Holy Trinity—παναγία τριάς). The Lord's prayer. *Kyrie eleison* twelve times.

Psalm 142 [143, E. V. Domine exaudi]. The great Synapte. A few Troparia of the usual character. Psalm 6.

"Then the first of the priests says a prayer proper to the *Lite*, and the deacon the *little Synapte*" (ἐπειτὰ λέγει ὁ πρῶτος τῶν λεπτῶν μίαν εὐχήν, κατὰ τὴν λιτὴν, ὁ δὲ δίακονος συνάπτην μικροῦ).

Then begins the second station:— [καὶ ἀρχόμεθα τῆς δευτέρας στάσεως.] Psalm 101 [102, E. V. Domine exaudi]. A few Troparia.

The second of the priests says another prayer. The *little Synapte*.

Psalm 78 [79. Deus venerunt]. A few Troparia and the *gradual* psalms. The proper gospel and canon. Dismissal. [εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ τὴν λιτὴν, καὶ ὁ κανὼν παρομοίων.]

The special prayers in these offices are long; several occupying a closely printed folio column and a half, or more, and one (in time of pestilence) almost five such columns.

A *Lite* of a somewhat different nature from the foregoing occurs in the course of *Great Vespers of a Vigil*.

After the prayer of *Inclination of the head* [εὐχὴ τῆς κεφαλῶκλισίας] the rubric proceeds: "Then we sing in this manner the *idionelon* proper to the saint of the day, making procession in the Narthex (ἀιτανεῖοντες ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι) the priest and the deacon going first with lights and censer. *Gloria. Stichos* of the saint. *And now, Theotokion*, and after this the deacon, if he is present, or if not, the priest, says this prayer."

Then follows a prayer for protection through the intercessions of the saints, and prayers for all conditions of men, framed as an ordinary *Ectene*, but with *Kyrie eleison* repeated not after each clause, but three times after a group of several in the course of the prayer, and forty times at the conclusion.

The priest then says a short prayer, bids *Peace to all*, and after the injunction by the deacon to bow the head to the Lord, says a prayer for protection identical in substance with that immediately preceding the *Ectene*.

* There are corresponding offices for nearly all these occasions in the rituals of the Western church.

† The same, with the omission of the clauses for the King, &c., as that said in the office of the LUCERNARIUM.

‡ i. e. certain antiphons, or stichs, i. e. verses.

§ i. e. an antiphon to the B. V. M.

Then the *Aposticha* (ἀποστιχα) are begun, and while they are being sung, the procession returns into the nave, preceded by lights, and singing both the *Aposticha* and the *Stichia* belonging to them (ἀπόδοτες καὶ τοῦς τυχόντας στιχίους ἀνάων).

The office then finishes with the benediction of the leaves [see Article].

[This is extracted from the office for vespers (ἐκλογὴ τοῦ ἱεραρινοῦ) given in the euchology. The "order of the sacred ministry" (διδάχαις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας), in the same book, gives fuller and more complicated rubrics, but the office is the same.]

Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica, speaking of this office (*op. cont. Haeres.*) says, "This (ἀρχή) is celebrated out of doors (ἔξωθεν) in the Narthex of the church, on Saturdays and chief festivals." He assigns also as the reason why the *Lite* is celebrated in the Narthex, that as the Saviour descended to our lower regions, so we implore His mercy, standing at the doors of the church as though at the doors of heaven.

Other occasional and extraordinary *Litae* take place, he says, when any plague or public calamity threatens. [See also LITANY and PROCESSION.] [H. J. H.]

LITERAE COMMENDATORIAE. [COMMENDATORY LETTERS.]

LITERAE DIMISSORIAE. [DIMISSORY LETTERS.]

LITERAE FORMATAE. [FORMA.]

LITERAE PASCHALES. [PASCIAL LETTERS.]

LITRAE PEREGRINORUM. [KOINONIKON, l. 907.]

LITIGATION (*lites*). Lawsuits of any kind, especially before secular courts, were discouraged as far as possible. The 3rd Council of Carthage (c. 9) provides that any of the clergy who might appeal to a secular court in a civil matter, should in case of success forfeit what they had gained, if they desired to retain their offices. The 4th council of Carthage goes still farther. A bishop is altogether forbidden to undertake any lawsuit about a temporal matter (*Statut. Eccl. Antip.*, c. 19; Bruns, *Canones*, i. 141). The disputes of the clergy among themselves were to be settled by the bishop, either by persuasion or authority, those refusing to obey him were to be condemned by the synod (c. 59). Any catholic, lay or clerical, who referred any case, just or unjust, to the decision of a non-catholic (*alterius fidei*) judge was to be excommunicated (c. 87). The council of Chalcedon (c. 9) provides a series of appeals to ecclesiastical courts, ending with the tribunal of the emperor at Constantinople (*cf. Codes Eccl. Afric.*, c. 125). The council of Vannes however (c. 9) permits the clergy to appeal to the secular courts by permission of their bishops, but an appeal from the decision of a bishop, or a suit

against a bishop, must be made to other bishops, and on no account, on peril of excommunication, be referred to a secular court. The council of Agde (c. 31, 32; Bruns, *Can.* ii. 152) provides that those who refuse to cease from litigation at the bidding of the bishop shall be excommunicated, and forbids any of the clergy to carry a cause into a secular court without permission of the bishop, but permits them to plead in a cause that has already been taken there. The evidence of those who were prone to litigation was to be regarded with suspicion and not received without very careful inquiry into its truth (*Statut. Eccl. Antip.*, c. 58). In all lawsuits the faith and moral character of both parties were to be taken into consideration (*ibid.*, c. 96). [P. O.]

LITTEUS (LITEUS), bishop and confessor in Africa; commemorated Sept. 10 (*Mark. Usuard. Ado.*; *Acta SS.* Sept. iii. 485). [C. H.]

LITURGICAL BOOKS. The present article relates not merely to such books as are necessary for the performance of the Liturgy proper, or Mass; but to all that are used in the performance of the offices of the church.

1. Before enumerating these, it will be convenient to attempt some answer to the question, "When were liturgies or other formularies committed to writing; for use in the church?"

It is sometimes alleged that the great variety and length of the prayers, &c. in the liturgies and offices of the church preclude the supposition that these can ever have been said without book. And this is no doubt true; but it only throws us back on the further enquiry, when it was that liturgies and services became so lengthy and complicated as absolutely to require written manuals for their due performance—a question to which no definite answer can be given.

We cannot, in fact, inquire when liturgies were first written, without first inquiring when they were first celebrated in set forms; forms must have been adopted before they were written down, though it by no means follows that they were at once written; some forms may have been long handed down by tradition before they were committed to writing.

As it is certain that the Jews used forms of devotion in the Temple and in the Synagogue before the Incarnation, and as the services of the church were unquestionably influenced by those of the Synagogue, it seems to be a fair presumption that Christians also adopted set forms in their public devotions from an early period. To this it is objected that Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. c. 67) describes the president of a Christian assembly as sending up prayers "according to his ability"—an expression which (it is thought) must imply that the prayers were wholly dependent upon the powers of him who uttered them. But in fact it is probable that the words ὡς δύναμις ἀνάω simply mean "with all his strength," referring to the vehemence with which the prayer was uttered, and not to the matter of it; and Valesius has noted (on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15, § 36), that ἀναπέμψεν is used specially of uttering with a loud voice. Indeed, when Justin describes (l. c.) the Christians as

* Goss (*in loco*) calls these τὰ ἀνά στιχίους στιχίονα. They are στιχίονα appended to ἀναπέμψεν, or fragmentary verses from the psalms, and are explained as "versus Davidicis versus compositi."

† *Ibid.* Max. Pat. xxii.

* In saying this, the writer does not contend that forms of prayer were adopted to the exclusion of *ex tempore* prayer.

must be made to other bishops, on peril of excommunication, secular court. The council of nus, *Can. ii. 152*) provides that no case from litigation at the top shall be excommunicated, if the clergy to carry a cause without permission of the bishop who to plead in a cause been taken there. The evils were prone to litigation was with suspicion and not received full inquiry into its truth (*p. 58*). In all lawsuits the character of both parties were to *ration (ibid. c. 96)*. [P. O.]

BOOKS. The present article to such books as are necessary of the Liturgy proper, all that are used in the practices of the church.

Regarding these, it will be considered as to the question, *rites or other formularies current use in the church?*

It is alleged that the great variety of prayers, &c. in the liturgies of the church preclude the supposition ever have been said without no doubt true; but it only the further enquiry, when it and services became so lengthy absolutely to require written due performance—a question an answer can be given.

In fact, inquire when liturgies without first inquiring when celebrated in set forms; forms adopted before they were written by no means follows that they written; some forms may have been by tradition before they writing.

That the Jews used forms of temple and in the Synagogue, and as the services of the Christian church were doubtably influenced by those of the Jews, it seems to be a fair presumption also adopted set forms in Christian churches from an early period. That Justin Martyr (*Apol.*) the president of a Christian church up prayers "according to his custom which (it is thought) the prayers were wholly depowers of him who uttered it is probable that the words simply mean "with all his might to the vehemence with which was uttered, and not to the fact that Jesus has noted (on *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. i. 16*), that *ἀναπέμψαι* is used with a loud voice. Indeed, in the *Acts* (1. c.) the Christians as

the writer does not contend that forms were used to the exclusion of *ex tempore*

standing up together in a body, and uttering prayers (*εὐχὰς πέμψουσαν*), we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the harmonious utterances of a multitude must have taken some well-known form, perhaps rather of the nature of short "pieces" than more lengthened "orations." And when he says (*Apol. i. c. 13*) that Christians "thought it right to send "pompas and hymns" to the Creator by means of language, rather than as the heathen did his words suit better the majestic style of Eastern prayers and odes, such as we have them, than the unpremeditated effusions of a presiding brother.

Another objection is found in Tertullian's assertion (*Apol. c. 30*), that Christians prayed without a prompter (*sine monitor*) because they prayed from the heart. We know too little of the functions of the heathen "monitor" to be able to say with certainty what kind of contrast is intended. If the monitor dictated the words of the prayer, the passage seems to imply that Christians needed no such aid, but prayed in such words as the heart prompted; if the monitor, like the deacon in Christian assemblies at a somewhat later date, simply proclaimed the object for which prayer was to be made from time to time, no such inference can be drawn. And, as Bingham has remarked (*xiii. v. 5*), in public prayer the presiding brother or presbyter must, in any case, have dictated words to the rest, whether with the help of a set form or not, or there could have been no common worship. On the whole, we conclude that Tertullian, in the passage before us, simply means that Christians needed no urging to pray, as some of the heathen did; they needed no prompting but that of their own hearts.

Again, it is contended (*c. g.* by Le Brun, tom. ii. *Diss. i. p. 11*) that certain expressions of St. Basil prove conclusively that liturgies were not committed to writing in his time. The passage in question is the following: τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναπέμψαι τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ παντῆρος τῆς εὐλογίας τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῶν καὶ ἀλέοιται; (*De Spiritu Sancto, c. 27, § 66*); that is, "which of the saints left behind for us in writing the words of the invocation at the displaying (or dedicating) of the bread of thanksgiving and the cup of blessing?" On this passage we have to remark, that St. Basil is here defending apostolic tradition; if, he says, we were to reject everything which has not direct written [*i. e.* scriptural] authority as being of no great importance, we should very much endanger the church; for many well-known practices rest only on tradition; as the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, the turning towards the East, the use of the words of invocation [EPICLESIS]. That he is referring to the want of scriptural authority for certain parts of the church service, not to the absence of written copies, is evident from the words which follow the passage quoted above: "for we do not by any means content ourselves with those words which are recorded in the Epistles or the Gospels, but we prefix and suffix others, as being of great efficacy in respect

¹ P. is the application of the word *κομψή* to language, compare Pseudo-Plato, *Λόγος*, p. 389 D, *κομψή καὶ ἡμεῶν ἀγαθότης*.

of the mystery, receiving them from the unwritten discipline (*ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες*)." Clearly when St. Basil says that the words of the Epiclesis were not received in a written form from any of the saints, he means that they were not contained in scripture, but formed a part of that mass of non-scriptural tradition which included so many well-known church observances. On the question, whether these formularies were committed to writing in his own time, his words determine nothing; what he says is virtually, that they were not contained in any writing of the apostolic age. In any case, St. Basil's expressions relate only to the Epiclesis in the liturgy, the exact words of which may perhaps not have been committed to writing until a comparatively late period, from the dread of profanation by the heathen.

In another of Le Brun's arguments (tom. ii. *Diss. i. art. 5, p. 29-32*), that the fathers expressly forbade the Lord's Prayer or the Creed to be written down on paper or parchment, he seems to have forgotten both that the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were regarded as much more secret and sacred than most other portions of divine service, and that these cautions were addressed to catechumens.

On the other hand, it has been supposed that some at least of St. Paul's quotations, which are not found in canonical scripture, are taken from Christian liturgies. As, for instance, in 1 Cor. ii. 9, the quotation, "eye hath not seen nor ear heard . . ." which is introduced with the words "καθὼς γέγραπται," is by no means exactly taken from Isaiah *lxiv. 4*, and may (it is contended) have been taken from a liturgy. The expression does in fact occur in the liturgy of St. James (*Daniel, Codex, iv. 113*), which however is, as a whole, unquestionably of much later date than the apostolic age. With greater probability it has been thought that the expression "faithful is the word" (*πιστὸς ὁ λόγος*), several times occurring in the pastoral epistles (1 Tim. i. 15; iii. 1; 2 Tim. ii. 11; Tit. iii. 8) implies the quotation of a saying or γυνή familiar to the Christians in their assemblies, perhaps one which they were accustomed to repeat "with one voice;" the passage 2 Tim. ii. 11 in particular has very much the rhythm of an "ode" intended for chanting.

Whether we should reckon the books or rolls found in ancient Christian pictures [*i. 877*] as liturgical books is very doubtful. But we come upon the traces of at least some forms committed to writing in the 2nd century. Celsus (*Origen c. Cels. vi. 40, p. 302* Spencer) says that he saw in the possession of Christian priests certain "barbaric books, full of names of demons and portentous expressions." These were in all probability forms of EXORCISM [*i. 651*], though Daniel (*Codex, iv. 28 ff.*) considers them to have been DIRTY. They were at any rate some kind of formulae used by Christians. And the way in which Origen replies to Celsus, that Christians who duly worship God in the set prayers (*προσταχθείσαις εὐχαίς*) are free from the assault of demons, seems at any rate to indicate the existence of forms. Eusebius declares (*H. E. v. 28, § 5*) that written odes (*ὑμνοὶ*) testified from the very beginning of the divinity of Christ the word of God; a passage which reminds us of the well-known phrase

of Pliny (*Epist.* x, 96 [al. 97]), "carmen Christiquasi Deo dicere." In the account of the martyrdom of Felix (†250) of Tubyyza in Africa (Baluz. *Miscell.* ii, 77), the emperor is said to have put forth an edict, that the books—meaning apparently those which were the property of the church—should be taken from the bishops and priests by violence if necessary; and in the same narrative, the priest Januarius and the readers Fortunatus and Septimianus declare that the bishop had the custody of the books. In the 4th century, the evidence of the existence of liturgical books becomes more clear and definite. Pseudo-Athanasius, for instance, speaking of the rage of the Arians against the orthodox (*Epist. Adv. et Episc. ad Marcum*, in Migne, vol. 28, p. 1445), says that, among other things, they burned the church books. It is not improbable that the book which Hilary of Poitiers is said to have compiled (Jerome *de Scripturis Eccl.* c. 100), called *Liber Hymnorum et Mysteriorum*, was a collection of forms for the celebration of the sacraments. Gennadius (*De Viris Ill.* c. 48) describes certain books which Paulinus of Nola compiled as *Sacramentarium* and *Hymnarium*. Victor Vitensis (*Pe-sec. Vandal.* i. 12) tells how Geiseric compelled the priests to give up the sacred vessels or all their books (*ministra divina vel libros cunctos*).

The existence of something of the nature of a "mass-book" in the 5th century is testified by Gregory of Tours in the following circumstance (*Hist. Franc.* ii, 22). Sidonius Apollinaris († ca. 488), when the book from which he was accustomed to read the sacred office (*per quem sancta sollemnitas agere consueverat*) had been mischievously taken away, was able to go through the whole service of the holy day "a tempore," to the admiration of all. This is mentioned as an instance of his readiness and command of expression, not of his memory; but even if we suppose that the saint extemporised the office, the passage equally proves that a "libellus" was in common use. Gregory also (*Vitae Patr.* c. 16, § 2, p. 1229) relates of Venantius, that coming one day to the church he said, "my eyes are dim and I cannot see the service book (libellum)," and requested a presbyter to say the office, which was (as the subsequent narrative shews) the altar service.

II. *List of Liturgical Books.*—The rule of Chrodegang (c. 79, in *Conc. Germ.* i. 119) lays down that every priest ought to have in his church the books which are necessary to enable him to read masses, epistles, gospels, baptismal and penitential offices, the series of offices for the year (*circulus anni*) or the nocturnal lectures, without further defining the books. The English Aelfric at a somewhat later date required that every presbyter should possess before ordination a psalter, a book of the Epistles, a book of the Gospels, a mass-book (*librum missalem*), books of the Canticles, a manual or enchiridion, a "gerim," a penitential, and a lectionary (Hardouin's *Conc.* vi. 982). Instead of the word "gerim," Mansi gives (*Suppl. Conc.* i. 1168) "Numerale," which is thought to mean a calendar or martyrology. [LIBRARIES, II. 986.]

We proceed now to give a list of liturgical

* Or "understand," if "intelligt" be the right reading rather than "legere."

books actually existing, and used (in most cases) from ancient times.

a. *Of the Western Church.*—For the saying of the several offices at the altar or in the choir there would evidently be required—

1. Some kind of directory as to the order and manner of performing the services and ceremonies appropriate to the several days. Such a book, which would contain what in modern times we call the *Rubrics*, the Latins called *ORDO*.

2. The actual matter of the prayers, thanksgivings, prefaces, &c., which were to be used in the offices. The *SACRAMENTARY* or *MISSAL* contained the prayers, &c., used in the altar offices on the several festivals throughout the year.

The plenary *MISSALS*, which contain all that is necessary for the performance of the altar-services, do not fall within our chronological limits. The *Collectarium* contained the *COLLECTS* [I. 403], and *CAPITULA* [I. 289], to be said in the Hour-offices.

3. The *PSALTER* contained the Psalms arranged for saying in the daily offices, together with the *CANTICLES* [I. 284], and the *Psalm Q. iconque Vult*.

4. Provision was of course made for the reading the Scripture-portions appointed in the offices, whether at the altar or in choir. This was done either by marking in a copy of the Gospels, Epistles, or other books of Scripture, the passages to be read in the several offices; or by extracting the several passages and arranging them in a separate book [EPISTLE, I. 621; GOSPEL, I. 740; LECTONARY, II. 953].

5. The *ANTIPHONARY* [I. 100] contained the Antiphons, Responses, and Invitatories used in divine service.

6. The *Hymnarium* contained the metrical hymns used in the offices.

7. It was sometimes found convenient to place the Benedictions in a separate volume called a *BENEDICTIONAL* [I. 199].

8. The *MANUAL* contained those offices (other than the Mass and the Hour-offices), which a presbyter could administer; and

9. The *PONTIFICAL*, those which only a bishop could perform.

10. The *Penitential* (*Poenitentiale*) contained not only the form of administering penance, but also the penances required for various forms of sin. [PENITENTIAL BOOKS.]

11. The *Passional* (*Passionale*, or *Liber Passionario*) contained the acts of the martyrs who were commemorated on certain days of the year. [LEGENDA, MARTYROLOGY.]

B. The Greek Liturgical books in the list given below are probably, in several cases, of later origin than the eighth century; but as there is great difficulty in determining their exact date it seemed best to give the whole list according to the modern arrangement.

1. The Directory for saying the offices was called by the Greeks *ΤΥΠΙΚΟΝ* (*tympikon*).

2. The *LITURGY* proper (*Λειτουργία*) contains the fixed portions of the office of the altar. If to this the offices for the administration of the other sacraments, benedictions, etc. are added, the whole volume is called *ΕΚΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ*.

3. The *MENAE* contains the portions both of the choir-services and altar-offices which are

g, and used (in most cases)

Church.—For the saying at the altar or in the choir to be required—

rectory as to the order and the services and cere- the several days. Such a contain what in modern *Librics*, the Latins called

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s, which contain all that is ormance of the altar-ser- in our chronological limits. tained the COLLECTS [I. I. 289], to be said in the

contained the Psalms ar- the daily offices, together [I. 284], and the Psalm

course made for the read- rations appointed in the a altar or in choir. This rking in a copy of the other books of Scripture, and passages and arranging ok [EPISTLE, I. 621; GOS- BR. II. 953].

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PICTM (τυτικόν). per (λειουργία) contains he office of the altar. If e administration of the ditions, etc. are added, led EUCHOLOGION.

sains the portions both of altar-offices which are

proper for the several Saints'-days or other festi- vials.

4. The HOROLOGION [I. 784] contains the daily offices for the hours of prayer.

5. The Greeks, like the Latins, have a book of the Gospels (εὐαγγέλιον); of Epistles (ἀποστόλος, or πρᾶξι ἀποστόλου); and of Lessons from the Old Testament (ἀναγνώσεων βιβλίου). Also

6. The PSALTER (ψαλτήριον), containing the Psalms, arranged for recitation, and several other offices or portions of offices.

7. The TRIDION contains the CANONS of odes to be used in Lent; and a similar book, the PENTECOSTARION, contains the proper odes, &c. for the period from Easter to the octave of Pentecost.

8. The PARACLETICON, or Paraclete, contains the Troparia for the ferial offices.

9. The OCTOICHIUS contains the ferial Stichera and Troparia from the vespers of the Saturday till the end of the liturgy on Sunday.

10. The MENOLOGION is equivalent to the MARTYROLOGION of the Western Church.

The ANTHOLOGION [I. 91] and Synopsis ought, perhaps, scarcely to be reckoned among liturgical books, as they are mere compilations for the use of ordinary worshippers, from the Paraclete, Menaea, and Hologion, of such portions as are most commonly in use.

The Hirmologion is a collection of HIRMOI (I. 773).

The Synaxaria are "the abbreviated lections from the Menologion, extracted from the Menaea, and published, for convenience sake, by themselves" (Neale's *Eastern Ch. Int.* 890).

The PANEGRYCON is a collection of sermons, by approved authors, for various festivals.

III. Among liturgical books, the first place, both for its importance and the splendour with which it was written, illuminated, and decorated [see below], is to be given to the Evangelii, or book of the Gospels. Evangelistaria, or books containing only those passages of the Gospels which were read in the altar-office, are rare within our period, while many ancient MSS. of the Gospels bear marginal words or marks which shew that they have been used for liturgical purposes [LEXICONARY].

The book of the Gospels was an object of veneration in many ways. When the church was able to celebrate its services and arrange its churches without fear of persecution, and the sacred books were no longer concealed from the prying eyes of informers; then it came to be usual to lay the book of the Gospels in some conspicuous place in the church, or even on the altar itself [ALTAR, I. 66] (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, x. 29; see the representations figured by Ciampini, *Vet. Mon. tab.* xxxvii.). Compare ENTRANCE, GOSPEL. In councils it was not unusual for the Codex of the Gospels to be enthroned with great solemnity at the beginning of the assembly, as was done in the councils of Chalcedon, in the third and fourth of Constantinople, the second of Nicaea, and in the Roman synods of the years 642, 745, and 969. In the Christianised Empire, Justinian ordered the book of the Gospels to be deposited in the courts of justice (Binterlin, *lv.* i. 225). From Chrysostom (*Hom.* 72 [al. 73] in *Matt.*, p. 669, Migne), and Jerome (*Comm.* on *Matt.* xxiii. 6, p. 186), we learn that in their time it was not unusual for

Christians to have a copy of the Gospels hung from their necks, which was also a practice of pious ladies in the fifth century, according to the testimony of Isidore of Polusium.

The oath in the Gospels was from ancient times regarded as one of the most solemn adjurations. [OATH.]

On the use of the book of the Gospels in ordination, see BISHOP, I. 221, and ORDINATION.

The Fathers of the Eighth General Council (*Constantinople*, A.D. 869, c. 7) approved the veneration paid to the book of the Gospels by the faithful.

The Evangelii, to protect it from injury, was commonly placed in a clasped or sealed CAPSA when not actually in use; an example may be seen in a mosaic of the Liberian church in Rome, said to have been completed under Sixtus III. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* i. 16). [C.]

IV. LITURGICAL BOOKS IN ART.—Dom Guéranger (*Instit. Liturg.* iii. 223 ff.) dwells on the devoted care with which the sacred books were transcribed, edited, and corrected, in early days. There was required of them, he says, accuracy and fidelity enough to set all men free from the least fear of alteration in the text; personal morality, well suited to the sanctity of civic mysteries; and a degree of dignity, if possible of splendour, in execution such as might impress the eye and the mind with religious respect. The MSS., when completed in the scriptoria, were corrected under the care of bishops and abbots, who either entrusted that duty to confidential hands, or, in many cases, executed it themselves. The copyists would have thought it sacrilege to depart in any degree from the words given them to reproduce.

Guéranger (iii. 225) quotes the prologue found in Alcuin's sacramentary, as a specimen of the spirit in which church-books were compiled and copied.

"But since there are some other forms which the holy church necessarily makes use of, and which the said father saw had been set forth by others, and so himself had passed them by, on this account we thought it worth the while to gather these up like blossoming flowers of the field, and collect them in one, and set them apart in the body of this MS. . . . and for the sake of this distinction we have set this prologue in the midst, so as to be the end of the first part of the book and the beginning of the second. . . . We pray you therefore, whoever shall have taken in hand this roll to read or transcribe it, that ye pour out your prayers to the Lord for me, for that we have been diligent to collect and correct these things for the profit of as many as may be. And we pray you to copy it again so diligently, as to its text, that it comfort the ears of the learned, and allow not any of the simpler sort to go astray. For it will be no avail, as saith blessed St. Jerome, to have made correction in a book, unless the corrected reading be preserved by the diligent care of the book-keepers."

Some of the personal prayers or benedictions of actual scribes are of great beauty, but few appear to have been preserved before the 11th century. One or two may be repeated here. Guéranger has extracted the first from a Greek evangeliary of that period. Their mournful

piety is certainly different from the quiet greeting of St. Paul's secretary, "I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you."

"This book has been written by the hand of a sinner. May the most holy mother of God, and Saint Eutychius, vouchsafe to accept its homage, and may the Lord God, by intercession of the most holy mother of God and Saint Eutychius, grant us eternal life in heaven. Amen."

The two illustrious (and ominously named) calligraphers of the 9th-century evangeliary of St. Emmeran of Ratisbon speak to this purpose on its last page, in Latin elegiacs:—

"Bis quadringenti volitant et septuaginta
Anni, quo Deus est virgine natus Homo;
Ter densis annis Karolus regnavit et uno,
Cum codex actus illius imperio.

Hactenus undosum calamo descripsimus aequor,
Littoris ad finem nostra carina manet,
Sanguine nos uno patris matrisque creasti,
Atque sacerdotis servit uterque gradum,
En Berengerius, Luthardus nomine dicti,
Quis fuerat audor diffidisse nimis,
Hic thibimet, lector, succedant verba precantis,
Ut dicas, capiant regna beata poli."

Mabilion, *Iter Germanicum*, p. 63.

"Twice four hundred years are fled and seventy, since the God-Man was born of a virgin; thrice ten years and one Charles had reigned when by his command this book was begun. Thus far we have traced our course over a troubled sea with our pen; our bark is staid on the shore at last: we two were born of the blood of one father and one mother, and each of us serves the office of priest, even we, called by name Berengarius and Luthard, to whom has been told much and hard. Here, O reader, mayest thou thyself take up words of prayer, and say, May they reach the blessed kingdom of heaven."

Charlemagne exerted himself, amidst all the cares of his vast empire, to multiply exact copies of evangeliaries, psalters, and sacramentaries, often destined as presents to his bishops for the use of their dioceses. There can be no doubt of the important effect produced on deep and imaginative minds, not greatly aided nor encumbered by book-study, by the lovely ornament, and sometimes energetic and powerful realizations of actual events, which are found in the great MSS. of early ages. There is no reason to doubt the story that king Alfred received help in the pursuit of knowledge, if he was not induced to learn to read, by the ornamental letters of a MS. (Asser, pp. 7, 8, ed. Walsingham). Charlemagne's devotion to the subject induced him to attempt the art of calligraphy and illumination with his own hand (Eginhard, *Vita B. Caroli Magni*, cap. vii.), "sed parum prosperè successit labor præposterus et sero inchoatus."

Mabilion and Montfaucon both describe a MS. which is said to have been copied by the hand of Eusebius of Vercell in the 4th century. (See *Iter Italicum*, xxv. p. 9, ed. 1687; *Diarium Italicum*, p. 445, 1702.) It contains the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, as Mabilion says; and it may here be observed, in passing, that the early grandeur of uncial characters, inajuscular or minuscular, often made it necessary, for want of space, to divide the evangeliaries into parts; or

^a Krazor (*De Liturg.* p. 234) quotes Charlemagne's *Capitularies* (l. 62) thus: "Pueros vestros non sinitis eos vel legendo vel scribendo occupare: et, si opus est, Evangelium, et Psalterium, et Missale scribere, perfectæ ætatis nomine scribant cum omni diligentia."

even prevented their completion. The Eusebian evangeliary is in uncial writing, chiefly minuscular, says Guéranger (*Institutiōnes Liturgicæ*, iii. 312.) and Montfaucon gives its alphabet. But both he and Mabillon speak of it as in a most lamentable state of fragility and decay, caused more by damp and former accidents, than by its age. "Membrana situ fere corrupta est, characteres paene fugientes et semideleti tantisper a Romana scriptura degenerant," says the latter; and Montfaucon seems to have regretted its probable destruction somewhat the less because he found it as a version, "a vulgata nostra toto celo discrepantem." It has been published by Bianchini, Rome, 1749,^a and is said to be still preserved in the treasury of its ancient convent.

In the 5th century the principal authentic specimens of evangeliaries yet remaining are the Vatican MS. above mentioned (1209), the Gothic evangeliary of Ulfilas, kept at Upsal,^b the Latin evangeliary of St. Germain des Prés, and those at Cambrige, with perhaps the most important of all, the Syriac gospels, transcribed by the monk Rabula in 586,^c now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. The Leonian sacramentary, the psalter of St. Germain des Prés,^d and that of Zurich,^e complete Guéranger's selection of liturgical MSS. of this century. Without giving his full list (iii. 289-292) of the works and calligraphers of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, we may mention the evangeliaries of Monza,^f of Notre Dame de Paris, and that which bears the name of Colbert, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris;^g the Anglo-Saxon Cottonian MS. in the British Museum, and St. Kilian's at Würzburg, in the cathedral treasury, with the Cottonian psalter of St. Augustine. Of the 8th century, the Sacramentary of Gellone will be found admirably illustrated by Count Bastard, vol. i.; and the great Greek evangeliary of Vienna, with the Missale Francorum, Missale Gothicum, the Cottonian MSS., and others, in Silvestre's *Poleographie Universelle*.

Before proceeding farther, it may be well to call the reader's attention to the accurate meanings of a few terms, and one or two necessary explanations. The first has reference to the real function of the calligrapher, as distinguished from that of the illuminator or miniature-artist of later times. The illuminators, as Guéranger observes, begin their reign at the end of the

^a The silver cover of this ancient MS. is described by Mabilion, and will be referred to later in this article.

^b See Migne, Ulfilas.

^c Assesein, *Catalogue of Laurentian Library*; D'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'Art par les Monuments*; *Peinture* pl. xxvii.

^d See *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. i. p. 686, nos. 2 and 3 in plate.

^e Dom. Tassin. *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. i. p. 686, no. 14 in plate.

^f Mabilion, *Iter Italicum*, p. 219: "Codex ex membranis purpureis, quadratis litteris aureis exaratus, sed mutilum; Gregorii Antiphonarum continens; cum operculis ex ebore, quae ex una parte præferunt effigiem Davidis regis, ex alia Sancti Gregorii cum diebus," etc. "Est et duplex alterius codicis majoris operculum ex auro, cum cruce ex utraque parte, addita tunc et his hæc inscriptiones. Ex doliis Dei dedit Theophiloida Reg. in Basilea (sic), quam tuncavit in Modicis juxta palatium suum."

^g Count Bastard, vol. i. *Peintures des MSS.*

ir completion. The Eusebian capital writing, chiefly minusculer (*Institutiones Liturgiquae*, Bacon gives its alphabet. But on speak of it as in a most languidly and decay, caused more accidents, than by its age. ere corrupta est, characteres semideleti tantisper a Romana ant," says the latter; and o have regretted its probable at the less because he found vulgata nostra toto coelo disben published by Bianchini, said to be still preserved in ancient convent.

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de Diplomatique, vol. I. p. 686,

u Traité de Diplomatique, tom. I.

um, p. 213: "Codex ex mem-arts literis aureis exaratus, sed phonarum continens; cum opera parte praesertim effligent acti Gregorii cum diatēba," etc. *is codicis majoris operaculum ex aequa parte, addita hinc et inde Jouis Dei delli Theodosiana Reg. fundavit in Modeste Justa pal-*

A. Peintures des MSS.

12th, and enter on decided pre-eminence in the 13th century. They have little to do with our period, and their work marks the commencement of a new period when the study of natural beauty had begun, and the vegetable kingdom in particular began to be illustrated for ornamental purposes in the service books of the church. A distinction will be found, under article MINIATURES, between truly calligraphic and artistic ornament. (See Westwood, *Palaeographia Sacra*.) Much of what we have to say on the subject of artistic ornamentation belongs to article MINIATURES: for the present the distinction must always be observed between the beauty, elegance, or splendour of the letters as writing, which is calligraphy, and the power of colour, form, and imagination displayed in pictures attached to the writing, which is fine art. It is difficult, if not impossible, to assign proper limits between these phases of decoration; and it is enough to say that they are combined in most liturgical MSS. of the earliest date which still remain to us; and, further, that in most of the most valuable the calligraphic art has its full share of importance, and that the decoration is subordinate to the writing, and dependent on the text, not only as to meaning and import, but also in appearance. The effect of the whole page, as to form and colour, has evidently been the chief object of the calligraphic artists as such, apart from the genuine piety of aim which really seems to have influenced them as their main motive. The text and its pictures form a whole, united, generally speaking, by the effect of grandly ornamented capital letters; unless, of course, the MS. be on purple vellum, when the ground colour gives the main effect, and determines all the rest of the ornament. Perhaps only one modern artist has revived this idea of the old calligraphists in a perfectly original way, but with exact analogy. The illustrations and ornamented writing of Blake's various poems, copied and executed by his own hand, renew and illustrate that excellent moderation of judgment of the old copyists, which made their pictorial ornament, however beautiful and ingenious, still always subsidiary to their calligraphy. The pictures were beautiful, they thought, the text was sacred; but even because the latter was chief and the one thing needful, too much attention could not possibly be given to the former.

The capital letters in liturgical MS. are generally of the kind called rustic, especially when several lines consist of smaller capital letters. But they are frequently executed in the best Roman style, as in the evangelaries of Soissons and of Gellone, and in the sacramentary of Drogon. (Count Bastard, vol. i. ii.; Silvestre, *Palaeographie Universelle*, 3^{me} partie, § 2.) The uncial characters, or rounded capitals, with their particular beauties of size, clearness, and order, appear and reappear in all the richer MSS. down to the 11th century, when writing begins to be altogether Gothicked or made cursive, and the ornament is concentrated on the initial letters, and their accompanying miniatures. The artistic use of varied colour may be said to be based on the minium or red lead, from which the word miniature is derived, Green and yellow follow almost immediately in the Visigothic and Merovingian work; but while the

richest MSS. were executed on purple or azure grounds, the use of varied hues was of course out of the question, and writing and ornament were alike executed in gold or silver. A very grand specimen of the earlier chrysographs, as they are called, in uncial capitals of gold and silver, is the celebrated psalter of St. Germain (Bastard, i. 1). But the use of purple vellum for books destined for the use of imperial students goes back to comparatively early days of the empire, on the eve of the triumph of the Christian faith; Maximin the younger received a purple vellum MS. of Homer as a present from his mother (Jul. Capitolin, *Vita Maximin*). Sacred books, and in particular the evangelaries, would naturally have been the first objects of Christian splendour, when such a thing became possible. The gospels of Ulfilas, the psalter of St. Germain above mentioned, with that of Zurich, and the evangelary of Brescia, are on purple, and the evangelary of Brescia on azure-blue vellum; but that of St. Germain has one side of each page dyed purple, the other in azure.

St. Wilfrid of York gave a purple evangelary to his cathedral in the 7th century: the 8th produced those now at Vienna and Monza. Charlemagne presented one to his church at Aix-la-Chapelle, and another of his evangelaries, entirely on purple vellum, is still, says Guéranger, the principal ornament of the library of Abbeville.⁵ The splendid MS. preserved in the library of the Remonstrants at Prague, appears to the writer to be of about the same date. The great emperor's attachment to the art of calligraphy has been mentioned, and the splendour of the early empire was revived by him in this use of purple or azure books, necessarily written in either gold or silver. They reappear during the Carolingian age, and go out of use almost entirely in the 10th century, though the Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses a purple evangelary, with whole-page pictures, dating from the 11th.

Silver-ink MSS. are much rarer than chrysographs, strictly so-called, but both metals are frequently used together, as in the evangelary of Ulfilas and the psalters of St. Germain and of Zurich. The evangelaries of Verona and Brescia are written almost entirely in letters of silver.⁶ In the others the text is silver, with golden headings and initials, gold being used also for the sacred names.

Purple vellum begins to be economised in or before the 9th century, as in Charlemagne's psalter, presented to Adrian VIII. about the end of the 8th. This is now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and has a limited number of purple pages. The antiphonary of Monza, of nearly the same date, is entirely purple.

In the sacramentaries of the 9th century, the canon of the mass is frequently on purple, or the frontispiece and first pages of the books; or texts to which special attention is to be drawn, are thus distinguished. Gradually the purple is arranged with other hues on a white ground, and begins to be used, artistically speaking, as a colour.

Golden writing was not, or was not long, con-

⁵ Notice par M. de Belleval, *Mémoires de la Société Royale d'émulation, d'Abbeville*, 1836, 37.

⁶ The latter admits a few golden letters.

fined to the purple, violet, or azure MSS.* Many which have but few coloured pages are chryseographs throughout; as the evangeliaries of Charlemagne (or of St. Martin des Champs), of St. Martin and St. Mélard of Soissons (in Count Bastard's second volume). The expense of purple vellum seems to have been very great; so much so, that as early as the 4th century the bishop Theonas enjoins on Lucianus, the emperor's chamberlain, not to have the MSS. of the imperial library entirely in colour, unless by special order (D'Achery, *Spirolegium*, tom. xii.). Charlemagne seems to have reserved this magnificence especially for evangeliaries, the Vienna psalter being only gold in part. For chryseographs on white, in the 9th century, they are too numerous to allow of more than brief mention of a few, besides those of St. Mélard and St. Martin already named. The evangeliaries of St. Emmerand at Munich, of Lothaire in the National Library of France, with his psalter; those of the abbays of Hautvillers (Bastard, ii.) and Lorch (the latter now at the Vatican, with fine uncial writing on alternate bands of purple and azure), and the antiphony of Goubert, monk of St. Bertin, are named by Dom Guéranger. Those of Charlemagne, or St. Martin des Champs (Gothic writing), and of St. Mélard, and another very grand one, written for Charlemagne, in fine uncial, with large whole-page illustrations [see MINIATURES], the sacramentary of Drogo (golden uncial, rustic capitals, and cursive Gothic, with splendid Roman initials), the evangeliaries of Lothaire and Louis le Débonnaire, are all magnificently illustrated by Count Bastard, vol. ii., with that of Hautvillers. He also gives pictures from two magnificent bibles, written for Louis le Débonnaire and Charles the Bold; and one presented to the latter monarch by Count Vivien, abbat commendatory of Tours, which shews great progress in miniature painting, and attains something like a climax of splendour in ornamental calligraphy. The ceremony of its presentation to Charles the Bald is illustrated on its title-page with considerable skill, and perhaps with some attempts at portraiture. Its writing is a perfect example of what is called the Caroline uncial and deminicial.

Guéranger goes back to the 7th century for the first employment of artistic design by the liturgical calligraphers of the Western church. They began naturally with their initial letters, making the illustration a part of the page considered as a whole, and keeping their art in equal alliance with their calligraphy. In the Eastern church the Rabula MS. shews how much could be done even in the 6th century, but its miniatures are inserted in rectangular spaces, and independent of the writing. (See Professor Westwood's *Palaographia Sacra*, Introduction; also CRUCIFIX and MINIATURE.)

The canons of Eusebius of Cæsarea were very early added to the sacred text: they are found in the MS. of Rabula, in the 6th century, accompanied with a free and luxuriant ornament: and

* The names of these colours are somewhat vague and must necessarily convey rather different ideas to different persons. The greater number of purple MSS. are at present of what would be called a puce colour, mostly dark and rich, but occasionally lightened by tints, or deadened almost into black.

in the western world the evangeliary of Ulfilas, of the same period, possesses them. The idea of architectural decoration of pages struck the calligraphers at once, as was natural. To consider a row of parallel columns as an arcade, separated by pillars, and to lavish wreath, scroll-, and flower-work, or even birds, on their traceries, was an obvious and pleasing system of decoration. The Colbert evangeliary (Bastard, i.), 7th century, has its columns drawn firmly and beautifully with the pen; and it is most interesting to the artist, in an age of mechanical copying, to observe the extraordinary power and freedom of manual execution in many of these MSS., which in the opinion of the present writer, fully raise the ancient calligraphy to the level of a fine art. The O of Giotto was doubtless a fair test of his great executive power; but it is excelled in difficulty and interest by the pen-drawn birds and grotesques of the MSS. See GROTESQUE, I. 751 f; LION, II. 999, for instances of true pen-drawing. It is singular that the last relics of the vanished art should be the swans or birds of the modern writing-master's flourish.

The 8th and 9th century MSS. are richest in their decoration of the canons, and those of St. Martin des Champs, St. Mélard, of the Church of Mans of Hautvillers, and that written for Lothaire, are models of gorgeous grotesque. Sometimes there are twenty or twenty-five pages of them, worked out with inexhaustible variations and fancies. Gold and silver are lavished everywhere; the horizontal lines end in non-descript heads, the leaf-work is rich but chaste, and wreaths about the pillars like "the gadding vine;" and a faint sign of naturalistic imitation appears in the very skillful use of gold to imitate the wavy cloudings and changing lines of polished marble pillars. Animals and small figures present themselves apparently just where they like, though always in places well adapted to balance of pattern and ordered arrangement. They are in some cases emblematic, as the evangelical symbols present themselves constantly, and there are endless nondescripts. A list is appended, taken from the above-mentioned MSS., which differ from the wild grotesques of the Gellone sacramentary of 7th century, by being often drawn with careful attention to natural character.†

A decided falling off in colour-power, with some carelessness of drawing, will be observed in the Hautvillers MS.: the bibles of Charles the Bald are either Franco-Saxon or Gallo-French, showing the serpentine spirals and endless interlacings of the Northern-Gothic work. Count Vivien's MS. shews equal splendour and higher aim in the artist: the great zodiac illumination is given by Count Bastard (vol. ii.).

In the Visigothic work of the Sacramentary of Gellone, 8th century, there is a crucifixion,

† List of animals represented in 9th century MSS. of the Western church:—

Antelope.	Peacock.
Centaur.	Pheasant.
Cock and hen.	Rhinoceros (bull-like).
Crane.	marking the idea of the "Unicorn"
Dove (white).	(MS. Lothaire).
Eagle.	Swan.
Elephant.	Stag and hind.
Hound and compounded as griffin).	Stork.
Lion (and compounded).	Stockdove.

ld the evangeliary of Ulflin, possesses them. The idea of a calendar of pages struck the calligrapher as natural. To consider the initials as an arcade, separated by a wreath, scroll, and flowers, on their traceries, was an original system of decoration. The *Book of Hours* (Bastard, i.), 7th century, has a firm and beautifully with the interesting to the artist, in the copying, to observe the order and freedom of manual work of these MSS, which in the present writer, fully raise the art to the level of a fine art. It is doubtless a fair test of his power; but it is excelled in the pen-drawn birds of the MSS. See GROSSEAU, 1899, for instances of true pen-work that the last relics of the swans or birds of the birding-master's flourish.

A 9th century MSS. are those of the canons, and those of the camps. St. Melard, of the Hautvillers, and that written in models of gorgeous grotesque, in twenty or twenty-five pages out with inextinguishable varnish. Gold and silver are lavished on horizontal lines and in non-decorative work is rich but chaste, the pillars like "the giddy sign of naturalistic line the very skilful use of gold to loadings and changing lines of pillars. Animals and small figures appear just where they always in places well adapted to an ordered arrangement. The scenes emblematic, as the evanescent themselves constantly, less nondescript. A list is given in the above-mentioned MSS, of the wild grotesques of the 7th century, by being careful attention to natural

g off in colour-power, with drawing, will be observed in the bibles of Charles the Franco-Saxon or Gallo-French, the spirals and endless interlathen-Gothic work. Count a equal splendour and higher the great zodiac illumination of Bastard (vol. ii.).

The work of the Sacramentary, there is a crucifixion,

represented in 9th century MSS. of

Peacock.
Pheasant.
Rhinoceros (bull-like),
marking the sides of
the "Unicorn"
(MS. Lothaire).
Swan.
Stag and hind.
Stork.
Stock dove.

with angels; much blood is used, and the drawing is very rude. There is a miniature of the crucifix in the canon of the mass, the cross forming the T in the words "Te igitur." In the same MS. the Mass of the Invention of the Cross has in its initial letter the figure of a man squaring a tree-trunk, as if to form the upright stem. The "Leonic" sacramentary, in the Boileian, 9th century, has highly-ornamented initials in the canon of the mass, but is without figures. Our Lord sits in the initial of the word *Quoniam*, at the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel, in the MS. of St. Melard. The grand whole-page St. Matthew of the Charlemagne evangeliary, with its mystic fountain and symbolic building of the Church, is an interesting example of the decoration of manuscripts. As Guéranger remarks, the ideas of the heavenly city or palace, and possibly the pillars and polished corners of the Hebrew Temple, may have been in the minds of the artists (Ps. cxliv. 12). We cannot agree with him (*Inst. Lit.* p. 366) as to their admirable knowledge of perspective; but ingenuity of invention, splendour of material, harmony of colour, and minute accuracy of hand, can go no further than in most of their works. Information about Byzantine architecture is certainly to be gathered from the illustrations of the Menologion or Calendar of the emperor Basil the Younger, and other works; as, for instance, Charlemagne's evangeliary. They remind the student of the architectural backgrounds of Giotto of Pisa, in the lower church of Assisi and elsewhere.

The ease with which cheap copies of the holy scriptures and other books are to be obtained in our own day, may prevent us from understanding the real and practical value of the sacred MSS. of the earlier ages, and still more from understanding the single-hearted devotion, and happy self-concentration, with which the copyists seem to have carried on their labours. It is probable that in most cases the best educated monks, or men of more natural refinement than others, must have been employed in the scriptoria of the great houses; at least in every monastery which professed the life of labour and prayer with sincerity, some sensible division of labour, according to various capacities, must have taken place, and the fine hands of the calligrapher or painter would hardly be set to hew wood or draw water, unless for temporary discipline.

It is singular that Martene, who records forms of benediction in use for all other objects, from emperors and empresses down to pilgrims' staves and scrips, says nothing in his chapter "De Benedictionibus," of forms for dedication of sacred books, though he gives the full order for blessing a writing-desk (scrinium) or book-case (capsa), (*De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. 1). This is quoted from an English pontifical MS., and a second from a MS. of St. Victor, said to have been 500 years old, in his own time. The first, however, seems to apply to an area or credence, and neither are within the limits of our period.

A specimen of malediction on any person guilty of stealing a 13th-century MS. is not to be omitted (Colbert, *Bibliothèque Natimole*). "This sacred gospel has been copied by the hand of George, priest of Rhodes, by the exertions and care of Athanasius, cloistered monk and by the

labour of Christonymus Chartinos, for their souls' health. If any man dares to carry it off, either secretly or publicly, let him incur the malediction of the twelve apostles and let him also receive the heavier curse of all monks. Amen." The first day of the month of September, year 6743, of Jesus Christ 1215."

The missal of St. Maur des Fossés speaks to the same purpose. "This book belongs to St. Mary and St. Peter, of the monastery of the Treuches. He who shall have stolen or sold it, or in any manner withdrawn it from this place; or he who shall have been its buyer, may he be ever in the company of Judas, Pilate, and Caiaphas. Amen, amen. Fiat, fiat. Brother Robert *Gualensis* (of Wales?), being yet young and a Levite, hath devoutly written it for his soul's health, in the time of Louis (le Gros), king of the French, and of Asselin, abbat of this place. Richard, prior and monk, caused this book to be copied, in order to deserve the heavenly and blessed country. Thou, O priest, who ministerest before the Lord, be mindful of him. Pater noster."

The bindings and outer cases (capsae) of the more important liturgical books are in themselves a subject of no small interest. That of the Eusebian evangeliary of Verceil is thus described by Mabillon (*Iter Ital.* p. 9, April 1685). "Codex operculum ex argento, a Berengario imperatore ab annis fere octingentis instauratum, ex una parte Salvatoris effigiem, ex alio sanctum Eusebium exhibet; ad cuius caput hi versus adscripti leguntur:

Præsul hic Eusebium scripsit, solvitque vetustas;
Rex Berengarius sed reparavit idem.

In infima vero parte ad pedes Eusebii

Argentum [?] postquam fulvo decompit et auro,
Ecclesie Præsuli obtulit ipse suae."

He also mentions (p. 213, Jan. 1686) the ivory covers of St. Gregory's purple antiphonary, at Monza, one of which has a medallion of David, the other of the donor. The great MS. of Theodolinda (supra) has a golden cover, with the cross on each side. These ancient relics may be classed according to their material and ornaments, whether of carved ivory, of chased metal, or of metal with jewelled ornaments. A special interest attaches to the ivory covers, not only from their intrinsic value, but from the use of ancient consular diptychs (DIPTYCHA). There is no doubt that many of these ancient ivories have been employed by later ages in the bindings of liturgical books, sometimes with slight changes and adaptations, as in the antiphonary of Monza. This is, perhaps, the typical example of a consular diptych, converted to ecclesiastical use. Two ivory panels or plaques bear each its figure, perfectly recognisable as a consul of the 5th century, by the dress and the mappa of the games. But one of them has been converted to St. Gregory the Great, by the addition of a tonsure, and the addition of a cross to his staff of office. The other has had his wand lengthened and curved into a shepherd's staff, and passes for David. The consular ivory of

* This Professor Westwood denies, *Early Christian Sculptures*, p. 34

Flavius Taurus Clementinus, now at Nuremberg, had an ecclesiastical diptych-list engraven on the ivory itself, and the Diptychon Leodiense, in memory of the consul Flavius Astyrius, forms one of the sides of an evangelary in St. Martin's, of Liège, and is also engraved on the inside. (See Donati, *De Dittici degli Antichi profani e sacri*, Lucea, 1753-4; Gori, *Thesaurus veterum Diptychonum*, Flor. 1751, fol.; and Maskell, *Ivories*, 1876.)

There is a passage in Cassiodorus in which he speaks of having designed and published, or set forth in a collected volume, a number of examples of carvings, or designs of some kind, for the external bindings of sacred books. "We have moreover designed skillful artifices in the coverings of our MSS.; so that there might be a covering of outer ornament over the beauty of the sacred text, herein perhaps in some sort imitating that example of the Lord's figuring. Who clothed in marriage garments those whom He thought worthy of invitation to His supper. Among which we have set forth many examples of designs (facturarum) represented in one volume, that any studious person may choose for himself any form of covering he shall prefer." (*De Institutione divin. Scripturarum*, cap. xxx.) These would probably be executed in ivory for the most part. The Ivory of Murano (described by Costadoni in the collection of Calogera, tom. xx.) is of the greatest interest, as it is covered with reliefs of the ancient cubicles of the catacombs and of the earlier sarcophagi, and it may be considered earlier than the 8th century. The nail-holes intended to fix the ivory panel on the cover of the book to which it belonged still remain, as is the case with many ivories, which have been used for reliquaries and shrines, as in the case of the diptychs of Symmachus and Nicomachus (Gori, *Thesaurus*, tom. i. p. 207). For 9th-century ivories as bindings of church books, those of the evangelary of Lorch in the Vatican, and of the sacramentary of Droyon and evangelary, No. 99 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, may be referred to. The collection, or catalogue, of Professor Westwood, is the best reference in this country for all the more ancient documents on ivory.

The Gothic evangelary of Ulphilas is called Codex Argenteus, on account of its rich binding of that metal; and the evangelaries of St. Médard and St. Emmeran possess covers of enamel and gold respectively, the latter with embossed portraits. Plates of vermilion-enamel occur in the Eusebian gospels, and one of the covers of the Lorch evangelary is of this material. This use of different metals was practised by Victor III., while at Monte Casino, under the name of Didier; who ornamented an epistolary for his abbey, with gold plate on one side and silver on the other; this binding was called dimidius (*D'Achery, Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 402). Precious stones, and even relics, have been enclosed in these bindings, as by Didier of Monte Cassino, in the MS. of St. Emmeran, in the splendid ones of the Sainte-Chapelle,* and in

many instances, and with great magnificence, in the Eastern church."

The subjects represented in Ivory or metal on covers of sacred books are of course, in most cases, simple in choice and in execution during our period. Guéranger mentions in particular the grand ivory cover of the Lorch evangelary in the Vatican, which bears some resemblance in its carving to the work of the later sarcophagi, and which he vindicates on Gori's authority (*Thes. v. Diptych.* tom. iii. tab. lv.) from the imputation of being a pagan ivory, altered and adapted to Christian use.¹ Our Lord is represented as holding the Gospel and treading down the Lion and the Dragon, attended by two angels bearing sceptres and rolls; above are two flying angels with a cleft cross, and below, two subjects of the Magi before Herod, and also making their offerings to the Holy Child and His Mother.

On the great MS. 99 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, are Lazarus, the Samaritan woman, and the Entry into Jerusalem, treated much as in the sarcophagi. See *Treor de Numismatique, Bas-reliefs et Ornaments*, X. Série, II. Classe, 2 partie, pl. ix. x. xi. The sacramentary of Droyon has liturgical rites chased or embossed on its cover in eighteen compartments.

The embossed figure of our Lord on the Vercelli Gospels is probably one of the earliest in such a place, and dates from about 888. Representations of the crucifixion also begin in that age.

The folio work of Prof. Westwood, published 1869, contains an appendix note on the magnificent book-covers, "auro argento gemmisque ornata, which are repeatedly mentioned in connexion with fine early copies of the Gospels. They have, for the most part, long ago disappeared; but there still exist a number of metal cases which have served to hold some of the smaller Irish MSS., which generally exhibit restorations at various periods." They are also generally ornamented with crystals or other gems, and are known under the name of cumbdachs. See article on the *Book of Armagh*, p. 80; on the *Psalter of S. Columba*, p. 82; the *Book of Diurna*, pp. 83, 84; and the *Gospels of S. Mellig*, p. 93. Plate 51, fig. 9, represents a party of ecclesiastics from the cumbdach of the Stow missal, p. 88. The front of that of St. Molaise or Molasch is at fig. 6, pl. 51. "It is 5½ inches by 4½ inches, and 3½ inches deep; of bronze, bound with silver, overlaid with openwork, riveted, on white metal, silvered . . . a cruciform or wheel-cross design, with the emblems of the Four Evangelists at the angles, barbarously designed. Portions of gold filigree and interlaced ornaments, with some jewels, occupy some of the remaining compartments of the openwork, one ruby still remaining in its setting."

The capsae or cases in which the books thus gorgeously ornamented were deposited for safety were generally made of, or adorned with, plates

* Even in Constantinople, The Russian service books have been pronounced the most splendid in the world (*La Neuville, Relation de Moscou*, à Paris, 1699, p. 193, quoted by Guéranger).

¹ It appears to be 8th or 9th century by the limb, the image cleft, and its overlaid ornament; it cannot be supposed to be of anything like primitive or classical antiquity.

* On the gold bindings of the Sainte-Chapelle evangelaries:—

No.	Emeralds.	Pearls.	Sapphires.	Rubics.	
1.	30	140	35	24	(10th cent.)
2.	26	60	12	10	Onyx 2.

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Moscou, à Paris, 1698, p. 192.

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of gold, silver, &c. They are mentioned repeatedly in mediæval documents beyond our period; but Gregory of Tours says that Childebert obtained, in the plunder won from Annalaric, about twenty of these cases for evangeliaries, all covered with pure gold and precious stones" (*Hist. Francor.* cap. lxxiii. p. 114; Migne, 71, 259). St. Wilfrid of York's evangeliary had a case of this kind (*Acta SS. O.S.B. Saec. II.* part ii. Vita S. Wilfredi).

The study of this subject must necessarily lend, as has been said, to a full understanding of the reverence paid to the text of the Gospels, in particular, during the dark ages, and at a period when that text, like the oral prophecies of the Lord in Samuel's early days, was rare and precious in the eyes of those who were its keepers. Yet, in looking at the few and splendid relics of the magnificence of Byzantine or Carolingian ritual, it is impossible to help thinking of the vast mass of perished MSS. of far earlier days, written on humbler materials and for humbler hands; and on the important question, how far the skill, enterprise, and numbers of the regular book-transcribing and selling trades of Rome and the larger cities of the empire may have multiplied cheap copies of the Holy Scriptures in the first three centuries. This is for other hands; an article on the learning of the early Church by the Rev. Prof. Milligan (*Cont. Rev.* vol. x. April 1869) is well worthy of reference as bearing on the subject; but the important and strictly correct remark of the Commendatore de Rossi, that the early cycle of Christian ornament in the Catacombs is merely a *ciel. biblicæ*, or scriptural repertory of Christian symbolism and history, bears also on this observation. It is impossible not to see that in the earliest centuries the Holy Scriptures were held to be the exclusive repertory of subjects for Christian art, and that the true and exclusive use of Christian popular art was general instruction in Scripture.

It seems possible that evangeliaries or forms of sacramental ministration may have been multiplied on papyrus, like other books, in large numbers by means of dictation—possibly to educated slaves or freedmen. If so, they have perished with other books in the wrecks of ancient civilisation.

The following inscription from the first folio of the Gospels of Treves may be taken (as prefixed to the facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon and Irish miniatures) to represent the commendatory inscriptions of the Greek MSS.

"Scriptori vita aeterna; Legenti pax perpetua; Videnti felicitas perennis; Habenti possessio e salute. Amen Dō gracias; Ora pro me; D's tecum." [R. St. J. T.]

LITURGICAL LANGUAGE. It would seem natural that prayer and praise in the congregation should be made in the vernacular tongue of the people; and in the early days of Christianity there can be no doubt that it was so. St. Paul's depreciation of "speaking with

tongues," in comparison with "prophesying" (1 Cor. xiv. 1-7), has not indeed a direct bearing on the question of liturgical language, for the "tongues" of which he speaks do not appear to have been foreign languages, but utterances which only persons specially gifted could interpret; but his reasoning on the necessity of so giving thanks and so speaking that the congregation may be edified, and may not merely hear sounds which convey no definite impression, applies in full force to services celebrated in languages "not understood of the people." Even Guéranger (*Inst. Lit.* iii. 86, 88; compare Bona, *de Heb. Lit.* l. 5), eagerly as he defends the modern Roman usage, "has no difficulty in conceding that originally the church must have employed the vulgar tongue at the altar. . . . As for the apostles themselves, there is no doubt that they celebrated the liturgy in the language of the people whom they instructed." In truth, we may safely conclude, on the testimony of Origen (*c. Celsus*, viii. c. 37, p. 402, Spencer), that in the third century "each man prayed to God in his own common speech (*κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάλεκτον*), and sang hymns to Him as he could."

Over a large portion of the East there can be no doubt that Greek—in which were written the great liturgies which bear the names of St. James, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and St. Mark—was the language of public devotion; for, from the beginning of the fourth century, Greek was the official language of the Eastern empire, and Constantinople the seat of a patriarchate. Numerous liturgies are also found in Syriac, whether translations of Greek originals or of independent origin. The Armenian, the Ethiopic, and the native Egyptian churches had also vernacular services. Of the early use of the latter we have an instance in the circumstance which Athanasius (*Vita Antonii*, c. 2, p. 633) relates of St. Anthony, that he was induced to sell all that he had by hearing the parable of the rich young man read in church. As we are expressly told that the saint knew none but his native language, this lecture must have been in Coptic. Where a vernacular version, from whatever cause, was not used in the services, an interpreter explained what was read. Thus Procopius held three offices in the church at Seythopolis; first, that of reading; second, that of interpreting Syriac (in Syri interpretatione sermonis); third, that of exorcist.

It is probable that even in the West the first missionaries of Christianity spoke mainly Greek, the "lingua franca" of the educated class throughout Europe, and of the scattered communities of Jews and Jewish proselytes in Gentile cities. The church in Rome to which St. Paul wrote was a Greek-speaking community, and so it continued to be for several generations. Polycarp came to Rome to confer with Anicetus on the observance of Easter in the year 170. Eusebius tells us (*H. E.* v. 24) that on this occasion the pope—himself almost certainly a Greek—ceded to the stranger the privilege of consecrating the eucharist. It is in the highest degree probable that Polycarp celebrated in any other language than Greek. At the beginning of the third century Hippolytus wrote in Greek, and evidently contemplated the church in Rome as a Greek-speaking society. The inscriptions on the tombs of popes Fabian (A.D. 251), Lucius (A.D.

¹ The same author tells a story of a goldsmith who fraudulently combined with the saint's messenger to substitute silver for gold in the binding of an evangeliary. Both were swallowed up by the earth, "viventes et vacillantes." (*De Gloria Confess.* cap. lxxiii. p. 946.)

252), and Eutychanus (A.D. 275) are in Greek; a fact which, as De Rossi (*Roma Sott. Christ.* i. p. 126) points out, evidences the official use of the Greek tongue by the Roman church in its solemn acts. And at an even later date, pope Sylvester (†435) wrote against the Jews in the Greek tongue; unless indeed the treatise which we possess is a Greek translation of a Latin original. From this time all trace of Greek as the language of the church of Rome vanishes; it probably migrated to Byzantium with the emperor and the court. Pope Leo (440-461) seems to have been ignorant of Greek; he was certainly unable to write it, for he speaks of the necessity of having an accurate Greek translation made of his letter to Flavian (*Epist.* 131 *ad Julian.*); and the words of Proterius (Leo, *Epist.* 133), apologising for the omission of a Latin translation of his letter, the responsibility of which (as it seems) he wished to leave to the pope, seem to imply that he could not read it in Greek. Survivals of the days when Greek was the liturgical language of the church of Rome are found in the *Kyrie Eleison* so frequent in her services; in the use of the Greek *Trisagion—Agios o Theos, agios ischyros, agios atavatos, eisions inas*—in the Holy Week; in the recitation of the Creed in Greek on behalf of a child to be baptized [*CRED.* I. 492]; in the reciting of certain lectures in Greek as well as in Latin [*INSTRUCTION*, I. 862]; and in the singing of the angelic hymn in Greek in the Christmas mass (Martene, *lit. Ant.* I. iii. 2. § 6).

In the half-Greek districts of Southern Italy, Greek rites naturally lingered long; but the Greek element received a large accession when Leo the Isaurian, in the eighth century, placed a considerable part of Southern Italy under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Constantinople, who not only founded new sees, but made vigorous efforts to introduce Greek rites. And these efforts of the pope's adversaries were seconded by the pope's adherents; for many Basilian monks who, like the pope, defended images, took refuge in the same region, where they naturally maintained their own services in their monasteries, which were numerous (P. P. Kollota, *Dell' Origine, Progresso, e stato presente del Rito Greco in Italia osservato dai Greci Monaci Basiliani e Albanesi*, Roma, 1758). There is a strong indication of the mixture of the two languages in the following circumstance. The author of the life of Athanasius of Naples (†877), commonly supposed to be Peter the Deacon, speaks of "laity and clergy not ceasing in common prayer in Greek and Latin." Even the purely Western Benedictine Order was not insensible to the influence of the Greek colonies in its neighbourhood. Thus we read that the monks of Monte Cassino on Easter Tuesday, going from their monastery to the church of St. Peter, sang mass with a bilingual chant (Greek and Latin) to the end of the gospel (*Codex Cussin.* in Martene, *Monach. Rit.* III. xvii. n. 14).

In Southern Gaul we find another region which had received its civilisation mainly from Greece. There, says Dean Milman, "Latin had not entirely dispossessed the Greek even in the fifth century;" and Jourdain (*Traductions d'Aristote*, p. 44) refers to a MS. of Limoges in the National Library at Paris (No. 4458), which gives the *Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei* in the

mass of Pentecost, in Greek. Doublet (*Antiq. de St. Denis*, c. 48, p. 366) tells us that on the festival of St. Denis the monks of the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, chanted the whole mass in Greek, in honour of the Greek apostle of France, with Epistle and Gospel in Latin as well as in Greek.

The MS. Sacramentary, No. 2290, of the Paris National Library, which is of the ninth century, contains at the beginning the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Nicene Creed, the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*, in Greek, but in Latin characters. In the so-called "Athelstane's Psalter" (British Museum, Galba, A. xviii.), in a portion of the MS. which belongs to the early part of the ninth century, we find a short Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the *Sanctus* in Greek, in Anglo-Saxon characters. And in a Psalter in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, called "Pope Gregory's Psalter," is a Creed in Greek.

At the time when Christianity was first preached, Latin was rapidly becoming the common tongue of a large part of Western Europe; the conquests of Rome, as St. Augustine remarks (*De Civ. Dei*, xix. 7), imposed the Latin language on the subject races. Latin was commonly spoken in the Roman colony of Africa, and in Africa we find the most considerable Latin writers of the early ages—Tertullian and Cyprian. St. Augustine tells us of himself (*Conf.* l. 14) that he learned Latin in the nursery, and contrasts the perfect ease with which he acquired this with the difficulty which he afterwards experienced in learning Greek. In preaching at Hippo he assumes that his congregation all spoke Latin, while some at least did not understand the native Punic; for, quoting a Punic proverb, he thinks it necessary to translate it into Latin: "quia Punicæ non omnes nostis" (*Serm.* 167, on Eph. v. 15, 16). The earliest distinct mention of a liturgical form in Latin appears to be Cyprian's citation of the *Sursum Corda* (*De Unit. Don.* c. 31). Gaul from the time of its subjugation adopted the Roman customs and idiom with remarkable readiness; and in later times the civilised Gauls imposed their tongue on their Frankish and Norman conquerors. An incident related by Sulpicius Severus (*Vita S. Mart.* c. 9) may serve to shew that Latin was what we may fairly call the vernacular of at least a portion of Gaul in the fourth century. Martin was taken by force from his beloved monastery by a crowd of the neighbouring villagers to be made bishop. In the church to which he was taken some one in the crowd, opening a Psalter at random, read aloud from the eighth psalm the verse, "Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et defensorem." There was instantly a shout raised, for the people looked upon the passage as of ill omen to the defender, a neighbouring bishop who had opposed Martin's election. In Spain also, after its subjugation by the Romans, the Latin language came into common use. It seems also to have been spoken in Dalmatia. Jerome at least, who was born there, clearly regarded it as his native language, and complains that he never heard of it in its purity while he

* The word *defensorem* is used in the older version for the *ultorem* of the present.

Greek. Doublet (*Antiq. &c.*) tells us that on the feast of the monks of the abbey of St. Chanté the whole mass in the Greek apostle of France, the Gospel in Latin as well as in

ary, No. 2290, of the Paris which is of the ninth century, being the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the *Sicutus*, and the *Agnus Dei* in Latin characters. In the so-called "Psalter" (British Museum, a portion of the MS. which is part of the ninth century, the Lord's Prayer, the *Sanctus*, in Greek, in Latin. And in a Psalter in the Christy College, Cambridge, "y's Psalter," is a Creed in

Christianity was first rapidly becoming the common part of Western Europe; as St. Augustine remarks imposed the Latin language. Latin was commonly in a colony of Africa, and in the most considerable Latin languages—Tertullian and Cyprian. is of himself (*Conf. l. 34*) in the nursery, and converse with which he acquired uld which he afterwards ng Greek. In preaching at his congregation all spoke at least did not understand r, quoting a Punic proverb, y to translate it into Latin: ones nosis" (*Serm. 167*, on e earliest distinct mention in Latin appears to be the *Sacrum Cordi (De Orat.* yrom the time of its subju-Roman customs and idiom adiness; and in later times posed their tongue on their n conquerors. An incident Severus (*Vita S. Mart.* ew that Latin was what ve vernacular of at least a por- urth century. Martin was his beloved monastery by a ouring villagers to be made ch to which he was taken d, opening a Psalter at ran- the eighth psalm the verse, et letentium perfectio iojos tuos, ut destruas ini- " There was instantly a people looked upon the pas- o Defensor, a neighbouring osed Martin's electio. In subjugation by the Romans, ame into common use. It eo spoken in Balmatica. no was born there, clearly ve language, and complains of it in its purity while he

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was living in the East (*Epist. 7* [al. 43] *ad Ciron.*, p. 18). Even in Britain after the time of Agricola the upper classes adopted to some extent the Roman language and customs (*Tacit. Agric. c. 21*).

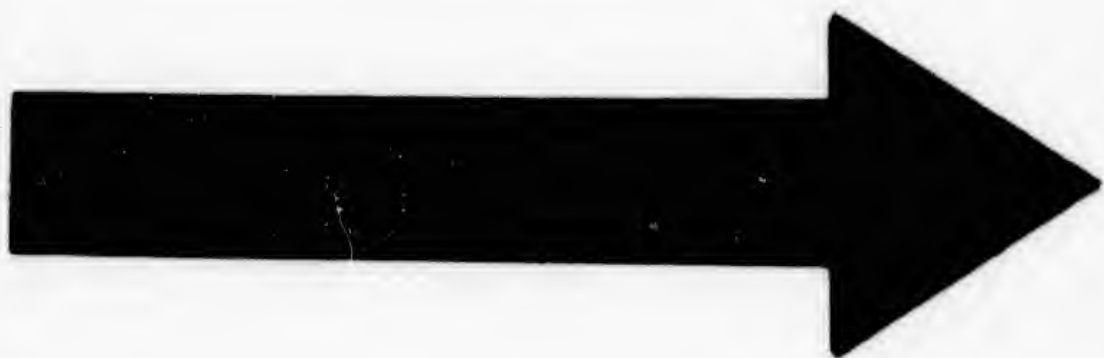
When Latin was so generally diffused, it could not fail soon to become the vehicle of public worship. When public prayer was first offered in Latin in Rome itself we cannot tell, but it is an obvious conjecture that when the "old Italic" version of the New Testament came into use in Rome, prayers and thanksgivings were also said in the Latin tongue. That at an early date Latin became the liturgical language of (at least) much the greater part of Italy, of Gaul, and of Spain, admits of no doubt whatever. The "clerks" and officials everywhere spoke Latin throughout the Western empire. And even when Christianity was introduced into regions where little or no Latin was spoken, as Britain and Ireland, there is no evidence of vernacular services; the early evangelists of Britain, St. Patrick and his followers in Ireland, the Roman missionaries to the Angles and Saxons, alike seem to have retained the Roman language in the offices which they introduced. Probably it would have seemed a kind of profanation to translate sacred phrases into the "gibberish" of barbarian tribes. Indeed it came to be maintained that a certain sacredness attaches to the three languages, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, of the inscription on the Lord's cross (*Hilary of Poitiers, Prod. in lib. Pass. c. 13*; Honorius of Autun, *Geniva Animæ*, i. 92), and that these tongues alone—Syriac being taken to represent the ancient Hebrew—are fit vehicles for the public prayers of Christians. Hilary further elevates Latin to a dominant position among the three tongues, as the language of Rome, "specialiter evangelica doctrina in Romani imperii, sub quo Hebraei et Graeci continentur, seculi consistit." Ulfilas did indeed give the Goths a vernacular version of the Bible, but even here there is no trace remaining of Gothic offices.

That the Latin of the service-books was often, even among the so-called "Latin" races, a tongue "not understood of the people" seems scarcely doubtful. In Italy, for instance, where even at this day the peasantry speak several dialects neither mutually intelligible nor intelligible to those who only understand the literary Italian, we cannot suppose that the language of Leo and Gregory was everywhere understood. The same may be said of Spain and Gaul, and still more of Britain and Ireland. Provision was no doubt made for *instructing* the several races in their own tongues wherein they were born, and there is no reason to doubt that the nature of the several offices was explained to the faithful; but the offices themselves seem to have been invariably said in Latin. Whatever may be the case with the Syriac or other Eastern offices, in the districts where Greek and Latin were the ecclesiastical languages the gulf between the tongue of the church and the tongue of the people was always widening; the dialect of the streets came to differ widely from the unchanging idiom of the church, even while it retained the same name. In the eighth century this divergency became so marked that it was recognised by authority. A council at Frankfort in the year 794 (*c. 52, Conc. Germ. i. 323*; Baluze, *Cypit.*

Reg. Fr. l. 270) expressly repudiated the theory of the three sacred languages, on the ground that God heareth prayer in every tongue; and Charles the Great, insisting (*Capit. v. 161*, in Baluze, l. 855) that all men should learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, makes provision for the ease of those who know none but their mother tongue: "qui aliter non potuerit vel in sua lingua hoc discat." The same monarch further directs (*Capit. vi. 185*; Bal. l. 954) that every presbyter should teach men publicly in his church, in the tongue which his hearers understand, truly to believe the faith of Almighty God in Unity and Trinity, and also those things which are to be said to all generally; as avoiding evil and doing good, and of the command to come in the Resurrection. He cannot do this of himself is to get a proper form of words written out by some more learned person, which he may read; and he who cannot even do this must exhort the people in the words, "Repente ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Herard (*Capit. 55*, Bal. l. 1289) ordered that no man should be admitted to be a godfather who did not understand the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in his own tongue, and the nature of the covenant made with God. A council at Rheims, A.D. 813 (*c. 15*), enjoined bishops to preach in the dialects of their several dioceses, and in the same year a council at Tours (*c. 17*) ordered bishops to translate their homilies into the rustic-Roman or the Teutonic tongue. So the council of Mayence (*c. 2*) in the year 847. At a still earlier date the council of West, A.D. 743 (*Concc. Germ. i. 51*; Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 22) had ordered the Renunciations and Professions in baptism to be made in the vernacular—which is given in the canon—of the Teutonic converts. These instances shew that, while care was taken to instruct the faithful in the cardinal truths of Christianity, the offices in general were in the ecclesiastical tongue, Latin.

When the Slavonic races were converted in the 9th century, pope John VIII. (A.D. 880) not only permitted but recommended that the divine offices and liturgy should be said in their vernacular. It is interesting to notice that he expressly repudiates the theory of three sacred languages and no more, saying that Scripture calls upon all nations and all peoples to praise the Lord, and that the apostles spoke in all tongues the wonderful works of God (*Epist. 293, ad Sacerdotes*, Migne, 126, p. 906). Nor is it (he continues) in any way contrary to sound faith and doctrine to say masses in the Slavonic tongue; or to read the gospel, or lessons of the Old or New Testament, well translated or interpreted; or to sing other hour-offices in it; for he who made the three chief tongues (linguas principales), Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, also made the others to His honour and glory. The pope however makes this reservation, that the gospel, to give it the more honour, should always be read first in Latin, and afterwards translated into Slavonic. Swentopnk and his judges may, if they please, hear mass in Latin. The Russian church returns to this day its vernacular services.

The following are instances of provision being made for the wants of a district where several languages were spoken. Theodosius the archi-



mandrite built within the circuit of his monastery four churches; one for the brothers of the house, in which the offices were said in Greek; one in which they were said in the vernacular of the Bessene, a barbarous tribe of the neighbourhood; one in which they were said in Armenian; and a fourth in which the brothers who were vexed with devils, and those who had charge of them, had their special service. The ordinary daily offices were thus said severally; but when the eucharist was celebrated, the office was said in the several churches and tongues to the end of the gospel, and then the several congregations (except the demoniacs) assembled in the Greek—the proper monastic—church for the remaining portion of the celebration (Simeon Metaphr. *Vita Theod.* c. 24, in Surius, Jan. 11). It is not quite clear whether the restriction of the more solemn part of the mysteries to one church and one tongue arose simply from a desire to symbolise more emphatically the oneness of the community, or from a reluctance to recite the anaphora in any other than one of the recognised "sacred" languages; and the same ambiguity attaches to the following somewhat similar instance. St. Sabas is said (Cyril Scythop. *Vita Sab.* cc. 20, 32, in Cotelierus, *Mon. Eccl. Græc.* iii. 247, 264) to have provided the Armenians with an oratory, and afterwards with a church, where they might say the psalms, the megalion, and other portions of the divine office separately in their own tongue, but at the time of oblation join the Hellenists and communicate with them. The same event is narrated in Surius (Dec. 5) in the following form. Sabas transferred the Armenian congregation to the church which he had built, on condition that the glorification and reading of the gospels should take place in their own tongue, while they should partake of the divine mysteries with the rest. And the writer adds, that when some adopted an addition made by Peter the Fuller to the angelic hymn [SACRUS], Sabas desired them to chant that hymn in Greek, that he might know whether they adopted the correct version; he apparently did not understand Armenian.

Literature.—Ussher, *Historia Dogm. de Script. et Sacris Vernaculis*; Boua, *de Heb. Liturg.* l. v. 4; Biugham, *Antiq.* XIII. iv.; Martene, *de Rit. Ant.* l. iii. 2; Krazer, *de Liturgiis Occ.* sec. v. c. 3; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv. pt. 2, p. 93 ff.; Martigny, *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v. *Liturgies Liturgiques*; Bishop A. P. Forbes, *On Greek Rites in the West, in the Church and the World*, 1867, p. 145 ff.; W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Euchaistica*, p. 207, first edition; Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten Christl. Jahrhunderte, Einleitung*, § 4. [C.]

LITURGY. (1.) The Greek words *λεiturγία*, *λεiturγία*, *λεiturγία*, in their early usage refer to the work or the agent in any public service. Etymologically we may compare *δημιουργός*. *Λεiturγία* thus means to perform some service for the public. In Athens, it came to be used technically for the duty which wealthy men were especially called upon to render to the state, and the *λεiturγία* was the service which they rendered. [See "Liturgia," in DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.]

(2.) Except in a passage of Plutarch where

the limitation is effected by the context, we do not find in classical Greek any special application of the word *LITURGY* other than is contained in the above. But in the Septuagint it is generally, though not exclusively, used in this behalf. Thus we have the word and its derivatives applied to the service at the altar; or to the service in or to the tabernacle; and in Daniel vii. 10, "Thousand thousands ministered unto Him."

(3.) In the New Testament the usage of the words is less restricted. Thus, kings are *ministers* to God, in attending on the duties of their high office (Rom. xiii. 6). Hence we pass on to the parabolic use of the word *λεiturγία*, in Rom. xv. 16. "So that I should be a *minister*: to Jesus Christ (*λεiturγία* 'I. X.') for the Gentiles, in administering in sacerdotal or sacred fashion (*επιποιούοντα*) the gospel of God, in order that the offering up of the Gentiles might become accepted, being sanctified in the Holy Ghost." Another instance of this parabolic use is to be found in Phil. ii. 17. "But even if I am poured out as a libation over the sacrifice and *ministry* (*λεiturγία*) of your faith, I rejoice and congratulate you all." Thus the special meaning of the word and its cognates in any particular passage must be determined (if at all) by the context. There can be no doubt of the meaning in Luke i. 23, "when the days of his *ministration* were accomplished." Some doubt is felt as to Acts xiii. 2, "As they *ministered* to the Lord, and fasted." Chrysostom explains the word by *κηρύσσοντων* (preaching); it would rather seem to refer to some public ministration to the Lord, such as was accompanied with a fast. Of the Saviour it is recorded (Heb. viii. 3), that He has obtained a more excellent *ministry* than the ministry of Aaron: the explanation being given in vv. 1, 2. "He is seated on the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, a *minister* of the sanctuary and of the true tabernacle." Thus the angels are *ministering* spirits, sent forth for service (*εις διακονίαν*), for the sake of those who are to inherit salvation.

(4.) In early Christian literature the word *λεiturγία* was soon adopted in reference to sacred functions. Thus Clemens Romanus (l. c. 8) speaks of the old prophets as the *ministers* of the grace of God, speaking through the Holy Spirit. And in c. 44 he speaks of the office of the apostles as being their *Liturgy* or *Ministry*. In the process of time the word *liturgy* came, in practice, to be regarded as the appropriate designation of the Eucharistic office, but it is not quite clear when this limitation was generally accepted. At the council of Ancyra, (A. D. 314), a presbyter who had offered to an idol, was forbidden (c. i.) "either to offer or to address the congregation, or to *minister*: any part whatever of the hieratic *ministrations*," ἢ βλασ *λεiturγίαν* τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν *λεiturγιῶν*. Canon 2 enforced a similar rule on deacons who had lapsed. Athanasius speaks of the Arians stopping the bread (*τῶν λεiturγιῶν καὶ τῶν παρθένων*) of the ministers and the virgins. In the acts of the council of Ephesus mention is made of the evening and morning liturgies, and Theodoret (iii. 114) is also quoted as speaking of the evening liturgy, i. e. the evening service. The same writer (iii. 1065) speaks of the liturgy of the Holy Baptism:

affected by the context, we see the usual Greek name applied to the Liturgy other than is common. But in the Septuagint it is not exclusively used in this sense. We have the word and its derivative used in the service at the altar; or to the tabernacle; and in Daniel and thousands ministered unto

the use of the word is restricted. Thus, kings are ministered unto in attending on the duties of a king (Rom. xiii. 6). Hence we pass to the use of the word λειτουργία, "So that I should be a minister to the Gentiles, in sacerdotal or sacred fashion of the service of God, in order that the Gentiles might become sanctified in the Holy Ghost," of this parabolic use is to be seen in 17. "But even if I am poured out over the sacrifice and ministry of your faith, I rejoice and congratulate you. Thus the special meaning of the word in any particular passage is determined (if at all) by the context. There can be no doubt of the meaning here in the days of his ministry." Some doubt is felt as to Acts 13:10, "ministered to the Lord, and from whom the word is derived is rather seem to refer to the Lord, such as with a fast. Of the Saviour (Matt. x. viii. 3), that He has obtained ministry than the ministry of the Lord, being given in vv. 1, 2, the right hand of the Majesty of the Lord, the sanctuary and the altar." Thus the angels are sent forth for service (1 Pet. i. 12) for the sake of those who are to in-

Christian literature the word is not adopted in reference to the Liturgy. Thus Clement Romanus (1. c. 44) speaks of the office of the Liturgy or Ministry, and regards as the appropriate name the Eucharistic office, but it is only in this limitation was given. At the council of Ancyra, the word was used to refer to the office of either to offer or to regulate, or to minister: "the hieratic ministrations," ἐκείνη τὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργιών. Athanasius speaks of the bread (τῶν λειτουργιῶν) of the ministers and the acts of the council of Ephesus of the evening and morning (iii. 114) is also quoted in the evening liturgy, i. e. the Liturgy of the Holy Baptism:

and Ep. cxlvi. p. 1032, he says that in almost all the churches the apostolic benediction (2 Cor. xiii. 13) forms the introduction to the mystical liturgy. The additional mystical course limits the term Liturgy, and, in fact, we shall find that this benediction stands at the commencement of the anaphora in most of the liturgies that will come under our review. It is not found in that of St. Mark, nor the Coptic St. Basil, nor in the Mozarabic. I may mention also here that it is not found in either the Roman or the Ambrosian or the Gallican Canon. Theodoret therefore refers to the liturgies of the Oriental churches proper.*

(5.) Turning now to the services for the administration of the Eucharist, which are specifically called LITURGIES, we may note in passing that the newly discovered complement to the first letter of Clement Romanus contains liturgical phrases which we find also in the liturgy of the church of Alexandria, of which below. Apart from this, the earliest records of such service are contained in the letter of Pliny to Trajan, and the Apology of Justin Martyr. From the former, we know that the Christians used to meet on a stated day before it was light, and repeat alternately a hymn to Christ as God, and bind themselves sacramentally that they would commit no crime; then they separated, and came together again a second time to partake of food, ordinary and innocent. The use of the word sacramentum here certainly seems to point to the reception of the Eucharist, for it is, of course, inconceivable that an oath to this effect should be repeated on every occasion:—it may, however, point to the Baptismal promise. But the accounts in Justin Martyr give us more information. He describes the service as it was performed after the administration of Baptism, and again on an ordinary Sunday. Combining the two accounts together we learn that during the service the records of the apostles or the writings of the prophets were read by a special reader, and, when he had ceased, the President instructed the congregation, urging them to imitate the noble things of which they had heard. United or common prayer was offered for those who were assembled, for those who had been baptized, and for all believers everywhere, that now that they had learned the truth they might by their good works be enabled to keep God's commandments so that they might attain to eternal salvation. The prayers were said standing, and apparently by all; and these being concluded they saluted each other with the kiss of peace. Then bread was brought to the president and a cup of wine and water; and now he, alone, with all his energy, sent up his prayers and thanksgivings, and the people assented with the word "Amen," and the deacons gave to each of those who were present a portion of the bread and wine and water over which the thanksgiving had been offered, and portions were also sent by their hands to those who were absent, and, Justin adds, the wealthy and willing give freely, each according as he wishes, and the collection is deposited with the president, and he assists the orphans and widows,

* The use of λειτουργία as embracing the evening service continued even to the end of the 6th century (see Eustratius; Migne, 86, p. 2380 a).

those who are impoverished by sickness or other cause, those that are in prison, and strangers who may happen to be sojourning amongst them: and Justin twice announces that this is done on the day called Sunday. In his dialogue with Trypho we have frequent references to the Eucharist. From one of them we learn that at the time when the Christians offered their sacrifice to God, mention was made of the sufferings which the Son of God underwent (Dialogue, § 117).

(6.) A question has arisen whether this account refers to the service in Palestine—or Justin was a native of Samaria—or to the service near Rome, the seat of the emperors to whom his apology was addressed. The question seems to be settled by the following considerations:—The kiss of peace is given in the Roman church in the solemn mass after consecration; here it is before it. Again, it is one of the points which are noted as differing the Roman from the other missae, that in the Roman order there was generally no lesson from the prophets. Here there was such lesson every Sunday.

Thus we have apparently sufficient warrant for the conclusion of Palmer (*Origines Liturgicæ*, vol. i. p. 42) that Justin Martyr's account is of the liturgy of the patriarchate of Antioch. And it is interesting to note that later narratives agree with his description as far as it goes. All the points he introduces are found in the later liturgy of Jerusalem.

(7.) *Liturgy of Jerusalem.*—Passing over for the time the liturgy contained in the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, we proceed from Justin Martyr, who must have written about A. D. 150, to the lectures of Cyril, who was bishop of Jerusalem from the year 351 to 386. Cyril has left us seventeen lectures, delivered, apparently about the year 347, to the catechumens in the course of Lent, and five to the recently baptized, delivered shortly after Easter. In these five he gives descriptions and explanations of the sacramental offices, and, in the last of all, an account of the Communion Service. His hearers had been present at it, but they had not been taught the meaning of its several parts.

(8.) There can be no doubt that every marked feature of the office, as it then existed, is noted here by St. Cyril. He commences, however, after the dismissal of the uninitiated; at a point (that is) corresponding to the close of the sermon in the account of Justin Martyr. He describes the ablutions, possibly with LAVABO [I. 938], followed by the Kiss of peace, and then proceeds to the *Sursum Corda*, Preface, Sanctus, Consecration, Intercession, Lord's Prayer [CANON, I. 269], *Sancta Sanctis, Gustate*, and COMMUNION [I. 413].

(9.) It is interesting to compare with this the liturgy of St. James,—the liturgy, that is, of the church of Palestine.

We have it in two forms: the one form from two Greek manuscripts (with a fragment of a third), of which the first was written during the 12th century at Antioch; the second MS. appears to have been transcribed at Mount Sinai during the 10th (Palmer, i. 21, 22). The second form, published by Renaudot, vol. ii. p. 21, is found in Syriac, and is still retained amongst the Monophysites or Jacobites in the East (Palmer,

i. 16). The points of similarity are sufficient to prove that they had a common origin, and undoubtedly what is common to the two must have been in use in the united church at the beginning of the 5th century, i.e. before the schism of A.D. 451.

(10.) We see, therefore, here, on the one hand, how the service of Cyril's time was even in a hundred years augmented by many additions, and we find on the other that nearly everything which Cyril mentions remains untouched, both in the Greek and Syriac liturgies. We have the "Sursum Corda" in both,—the "Vere dignum," the "Sanctus sanctus"; the precise words that the Holy Spirit may *make* this bread the Body of Christ, and this cup the Blood of Christ, the prayers for the living, the commemoration of, and the petitions for, the dead. The very words used by Cyril are found in the Greek. And thus we take a step forward in our history; and it is interesting further to notice that Jerome in his controversy with the Pelagians (book ii. sect. 23; Migne, vol. xxiii. p. 587), mentions that the voices of the priests daily sing that "Christ is the only sinless One." We find the expression both in the Syriac and in the Greek liturgies before us: "He is the only sinless one that has appeared upon the earth." Again, in the same dialogue, book iii., sect. 15, p. 612, Jerome says that our Lord taught His apostles that "daily at the sacrifice or sacrament of His body (the manuscripts read *sacramento*) believers should dare to say—Our Father which art in heaven." He refers, no doubt, as before, to the liturgy of Jerusalem, for his work seems to have been written in the neighbourhood of the Holy City shortly after the opinions of Pelagius had received encouragement from the bishop Johannes. Once more in his commentary on Isaiah, book ii. chap. vi. v. 20 (vol. xxiv. 88 of Migne), Jerome says, "Quotidie caelesti panis saturati dicimus; Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus,"—words which occur (I believe) only in the liturgy of St. James. The whole psalm is recited in the Syriac St. James.

(11.) Further illustrations have been drawn from the Homiletic writings of St. Chrysostom, of which several were written when he was a presbyter of the church of Antioch (see Palmer, i. 80, and Bingham, *Antiquities*, book XIII. vi.). It will be unnecessary to carry out this comparison at length, but we may note that Chrysostom speaks of the whole congregation joining in common prayer for those who were afflicted by evil spirits and those who were in a state of penance; and then he reminds his hearers how, when only the initiated remain, they prostrate themselves on the pavement, rise together, and the priest alone offers up the prayers, and the people respond. He mentions the benediction, "The Grace of our Lord," and the address, "Up with our mind and hearts." He speaks of the reasonable service, the bloodless sacrifice; he speaks of the cherubim and seraphim, of the invocation of the Holy Spirit to be present and touch the gifts lying upon the holy table; he speaks of the commemoration of the living and the dead, of the Lord's Prayer, of the holy things for holy persons, of the breaking of the bread of the Communion. All these but one (of which below) are found both in the Syriac and in the Greek, and so far our position is

strengthened—that much that is common to the two belongs at least to the 4th or 5th century.

(12.) Two points remain to be noticed. i. After the words of institution the oblation in the Greek is this: "remembering then His life-giving sufferings, His saving cross, His death and resurrection from the dead, and His ascension into heaven; His session at the right hand of Thee, O God and Father, we offer to Thee this fearful and bloodless sacrifice."

The words in the Syriac liturgy correspond almost exactly to these, except that the oblation is made to Christ: "We remember Thy death and resurrection, Thy ascension into heaven, Thy sitting at the right hand of God the Father, and we offer to Thee this fearful and bloodless sacrifice." The difference is momentous, and the question at once arises which of the two is the more ancient form.

The Syriac is, as we have seen, in use at the present day. The Greek is, as we shall see, affected by later additions from foreign sources; but this fact alone would not, of course, decide the question as to the original form of this momentous formula.

(13.) ii. Our second point is this: Palmer draws attention (*Origines*, i. 24, 25) to several indications that the Greek liturgy of St. James has been affected by late interpolations. These we need not repeat here. I would add that the introduction of a Creed in the proanaphora is a further indication that the liturgy was altered after the date which I have specified. Another indication of change is this: that the prayer for the king, mentioned by St. Cyril and retained by the Syriac (p. 35), is omitted in the Greek, probably because the state rulers of Palestine favoured the Jacobites more than the orthodox. The appeal *χαίτε κεχαριστωμένην*, which is introduced, is entirely out of place, and ungrammatical; it must, therefore, be a late addition; and it is not in the Syriac. There is no prayer in the Greek for the engorgement, nor for the penitents, nor the catechumens, and no notice of their exorcism. This fact also shews that the text of our manuscripts which we possess had been altered at a period when the custom of excluding the two former classes had ceased to be observed.

(14.) The paucity of the Greek manuscripts of course indicates that the rite of St. James has long ceased to be of general observance; in fact, it was first interpolated out of the liturgy of Constantinople, and then gave way before it. Yet it is said to be still used in islands of the Archipelago and elsewhere on St. James's day, but no manuscripts of the modern form have been brought to the west. The conclusion is that the Greek use was generally discontinued before the 13th century. Charles the Bald stated that the rite was celebrated before him; and we learn from Theodore Balsamon and his contemporary Marcus, orthodox bishop of Alexandria, that it, or a rite which went by his name, was still used in the 12th century on great feast-days in the churches of Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine. It was at that time unknown at Anti ch.

(15.) *Liturgies of the Churches of Egypt.*—It will be best now to turn to the liturgies of the churches of Alexandria, with which I would connect the liturgy of the Coptic version of the Apostolic Constitutions. We have three

it much that is common to the lists to the 4th or 5th century. The parts remain to be noticed, of institution the oblation in "remembering then His life—His saving cross, His death and the deal, and His ascension session at the right hand of Father, we offer to Thee this sacrifice."

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notices of the celebration in this version; two of them analogous to that in the eighth book of the Greek version, which is called the Clementine liturgy, and is really an account of a service after the consecration of a bishop. There are several points of deep interest connected with the Coptic constitutions, not the least that the Copts had introduced into their language the Greek terms for presbyter, deacon, bishop, Spirit, Eucharist, offering, salutation; indeed we may say every technical term connected with the celebration. We read (*Tattam, Apostolical Constitutions in Coptic, with Translation; Orient. Trans. Fund, 1848; bk. ii. p. 32*), "After the salutation and the kiss of peace, the deacons present the offering to the newly-made bishop; he puts his hand upon it with the presbyters, and says the eucharist." It begins with the prayer, "The Lord be with you all," and the people say, "And with thy spirit." The bishop says, "Lift up your hearts;" they reply, "We lift them up unto the Lord." He says again, "Let us give thanks unto our Lord;" the people say, "It is right and just;" and then he is directed to say the prayers which follow according "to the form or custom of the holy offering." It is quite clear that the service was in Greek throughout when this version of the "canons of the apostles" was made. But Archbishop Tattam, to whom we owe our edition of the book, unfortunately missed some of the points in his translation; and thus, to the mere English reader, his words can scarcely be said to represent adequately the character of the original. This *εὐχαριστία*, he translates "Let us pray." It was really a mistake for *εὐχαριστία*.

(16.) We have a further account in the same second book (*Tattam, p. 62*). This may be compared with the last lecture of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, for it is the account of the Communion as administered to the newly baptized. We have again the instruction that the deacon should bring the offering to the bishop, and that the latter should give thanks over the bread and over the cup of wine, because of the similitude of the one to the flesh of Christ, and of the other to the blood of Christ. Mention is made of an offering of milk and honey in remembrance of the promise made to the fathers: "I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey." Then the bishop divides the bread, and gives a portion to each. "This is the bread of heaven, the Body of Christ Jesus" (the last clause in Greek). The presbyter or deacon takes the cup, and gives them the blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, and the milk and the honey, saying, "This is the Blood of Christ Jesus," and he who receives says, "Amen."

The account concludes: These things have been delivered to you briefly concerning the holy Baptisma and the holy Offering.

(17.) There is yet a third account in the fourth book (§ lxxv. p. 116). This is a second representation of the service after the ordination of a bishop; it is somewhat longer than the other, supplying additional details. Thus we have the direction of the deacon: "Let no unbeliever remain in this place," the words bidding them salute one another with a holy kiss; the exclusion of the catechumens and the "hearers," and of all who were not partakers of the holy mysteries. The deacons bring the gifts to the

bishop to the holy altar (*θυσιαστήριον*), the presbyters standing on his right hand and on his left, and the "high priest" prays over the offering, and the Holy Spirit may descend upon it and the blood of Christ. Then all partake; first the clergy, then all the people, and then all the women; a psalm was sung during the distribution, and when all was over the deacons called out, "We have all partaken of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ; let us give thanks to Him;" the bishop gives them the blessing, and they are told to depart in peace.

(18.) There can be no doubt that the rubrics of these second and fourth books represent the service at slightly different epochs; thus the word *ἀρχιερέως*, which is limited to the Jewish high priest on p. 108, is given to the bishop on p. 122. The word *θυσιαστήριον* occurs, however, twice in the first book (p. 20). But the whole account will serve us as an introduction to the later liturgies of the church of Alexandria as we find them in the Greek and Coptic versions.

(19.) Of the Alexandrine Fathers, Clemens speaks (*Stromat.* i. 19) of those who use bread and water in the offering not in accordance with the canons of the church; and Origen of our offering sacrifices to the Father through Christ (on Isa. vi. 6; *Homil.* i. near the end; tom. xiii. *Lonnatzsch*). Of the liturgies that have come down to us as connected with various branches or offshoots of the church of the patriarchate of Alexandria, Renaudot gives several, but they may be reduced to three distinct works:—

- (1) The Greek liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic of St. Cyril.
- (2) A Coptic, Arabic, and Greek liturgy, entitled the liturgy of St. Basil. This must be carefully distinguished, as we shall see hereafter, from the liturgy of the church of Caesarea.
- (3) A Coptic, Arabic, and Greek liturgy, entitled the liturgy of St. Gregory the Theologian, i.e. Gregory Nazianzen.

To these we must add what is called 'The Universal Canon of the Athiopic Church.'

(20.) The Greek liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic liturgy of St. Cyril are related to each other, as are the Greek and Syriac liturgies of St. James; they have much in common; but the liturgy of St. Cyril has been used even to the present day by the Monophysites, who have formed the mass of the Egyptian Christians, whilst that of St. Mark was in use only for a limited time by the Melchites or orthodox. For the latter body being small in numbers, and weak in influence, have, for many ages, been drawn within the circle of the church of Constantinople, and have used the liturgy of that church. And thus it is that apparently only one copy of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark has survived. This was found in a monastery of the order of St. Basil, at Rossano, in Calabria. Renaudot saw it at Rome in the house of the religious of the same order. The MS. is of the 10th or 11th century. By comparing the two together, we are able to infer what was the common property of the whole patriarchate before the schism of A.D. 451, and thus also to discover what each body added at later periods. The liturgies of St. Basil and St. Gregory are

also used by the Monophysites (Renaudot, i. 154); the former on fast days, the latter on feast days, except in Lent and the month "Cohiac" during which the liturgy of St. Cyril is used.

(21.) We will turn first to the Greek liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic of St. Cyril. We have already mentioned that words recently discovered in the Epistle of Clemens Romanus are found here. These words are (Bryennius, p. 105), "Raise those that are fallen; bring back those who are wandering; feed those who are hungry; deliver those of us who are in bonds; comfort the feeble-minded." They are all found both in the Coptic (Renaudot, vol. i. p. 65), and in the Greek (Neale, *Greek Liturgies*, ed. 1888, p. 21). The Coptic has also: "Save those of us who are in trouble," which are also Clementine. This fact is interesting in more ways than one, as we shall see. I may mention now that it is a renewed proof of the connexion between the churches of Alexandria and Rome, to which Dr. Neale speaks in his 'General Introduction' (vol. i. p. 120). In the Greek St. Mark, we have the introductory or proanaphoral portion, which is quite distinct from anything in the Coptic. In point of fact, the liturgy of St. Cyril begins with the kiss of peace immediately preceding the *Sursum Corda* (Renaudot, i. 38). We are informed that the "Preparation" which is given in the Coptic St. Basil (Renaudot, i. 1-82) is always used, whatever the liturgy proper may be. Passing on to the canon, I would observe that the intercessory prayers, which are offered by the priest after the giving of thanks in the "dignum et iustum est," are addressed in the Greek liturgy to the Father, in the Coptic to our Lord. In both, the Virgin is commemorated, whilst the "Hail thou that art highly favoured," occurring in the Greek, is not found in the Coptic. This, therefore, is apparently of late introduction. In the Coptic the prayer is addressed to Christ to receive "the sacrifices and oblations of those who offer on His spiritual heavenly altar;" in the Greek a similar prayer is addressed to God. The petitions which I have mentioned just now as occurring in Clemens Romanus occur at this part of the service. The words of St. Paul with reference to Christ (Eph. i. 21) are found in both, and thus it is with reference to Christ that the words follow, "Thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand of holy angels and archangels stand before Thee!" Then the words of institution follow. In both versions the appeal is made to God the Father that we are setting forth the death of His Son, and confessing His resurrection, and waiting for His second coming to judge the world; and with this before our mind "we have set before Thee Thine own of Thine own gifts." The epiclesis or invocation follows, the same in both, bearing, however, internal marks that it was composed after the council of Nicea, a prayer for sanctification, and the Lord's Prayer. Here the Coptic of St. Cyril lapses into the Coptic St. Basil. The Greek, however, proceeds to the end. The "Sancta sanctis," on p. 28, and the "unus Pater sanctus," etc., on the same page; the benediction and the dismissal, p. 30.

(22.) By comparing the Coptic St. Basil with the Greek and Arabic versions of the same liturgy, we are again able, in some degree, to

note the history of liturgic change. It would appear that many of the Greek phrases were continued in use in the Coptic church, as we have already noticed them in the Coptic version of the Apostolic Constitutions (Renaudot, i. 13). Here, after the "Sanctus," the liturgy reverts to the history of our fall, our being placed in paradise, our transgression. It thus passes onwards with great beauty through the warnings given by the prophets to the birth of the Saviour, His love for us, His death, His resurrection, His ascension. Then it records how He left to us this great mystery of piety (the words of 1 Tim. iii. 16) and instituted the Eucharist, giving the words of the institution. Then it proceeds, as in the Greek St. Mark, only where that had "we have offered to Thee of Thine own gifts," here we read, "we offer Thee." The epiclesis follows, in the Coptic the appeal being to Christ, in the Greek and Arabic to God.

Then come the intercessory prayers (not before the words of institution, as in St. Mark and St. Cyril), and these are addressed to God. Commemoration is made also of the Virgin and other saints, including, in the Coptic St. Basil, several of a late date, and the diptychs are read and the Lord's Prayer follows; then an interesting absolution of a precatory character and the "Sancta sanctis." The fraction takes place and a confession (which we also find in the Gregorian liturgy), "that this is the flesh of Christ which He received from the Virgin, and made one with His divinity and delivered for us all on the cross." Further intercessions—in some respect like those of Clemens Romanus, but with the addition, "give rest to those who have fallen asleep before us"—follow in the Arabic, but are not in the Coptic. The dismissal of the people takes place, and then that of the deacons. This does not occur in the Coptic. The communion of the people is mentioned in the Coptic (p. 24), but not in the Greek or Arabic.

(23.) The liturgy of St. Gregory will not detain us long; it begins in the Greek and Arabic with a prayer which is also found in the Greek St. James (Neale, *G. L.* p. 54), with a few words interpolated that the "sacrifice may be for the rest and refreshment of our fathers who have fallen asleep before us, and for the strengthening of Thy people." Moreover, in the Greek "St. James" it is addressed to God, in the Egyptian "St. Gregory" to Christ. This liturgy resembles the Egyptian St. Basil rather than that of St. Cyril; after the "vere dignum," however, there is a hymn of thanksgiving which we do not find there, but, in some respects like the other, it passes on to a touching appeal to God. "No language can measure the ocean of Thy love: Thou madest me a man, not Thyself being in need of my service; . . . it is Thou who, in the bread and the wine, hast delivered to me the mystic participation of Thy flesh."

The account of the Institution follows in the form of a narrative addressed to the Saviour, and the priest continues: "Remembering Thy coming upon earth, Thy Death, Thy Resurrection, Ascension and coming Advent, we offer to Thee of Thine own gifts"; and he beseeches Christ to come and complete the mystic service, to send His Spirit and sanctify and change the gifts into the Body and Blood of our redemption.

f Liturgic change. It would of the Greek phrases were in the Coptic church, as we find them in the Coptic version constitutions (Renaudot, l. 13). Sanctus." the liturgy reverts our fall, our being placed transgression. It thus passes beauty through the words prophets to the birth of love for us, His death, His ascension. Then it records this great mystery of piety (m. iii. 16) and instituted the words of the Institution. In the Greek St. Mark, only we have offered to Thee of here we read, "we do offer sacrifice follows, in the Coptic the Christ, in the Greek and Arabic

Intercessory prayers (not of institution, as in St. Mark these are addressed to God, made also of the Virgin and Child, in the Coptic St. Basil, etc., and the diptychs are read or follows; then an intercessory character and the fraction takes place and we also find in the Gregorian is the flesh of Christ which the Virgin, and made one with delivered for us all on the Intercessions—in some respect mens Romanus, but with the to those who have fallen follow in the Arabic, but are The dismissal of the people on that of the deacons. This is the Coptic. The communion mentioned in the Coptic (p. 24), k or Arabic.

of St. Gregory will not detain in the Greek and Arabic with also found in the Greek St. . . . p. 54), with a few words in "sacrifice may be for the at of our fathers who have us, and for the strengthening Moreover, in the Greek "St. used to God, in the Egyptian Christ. This liturgy resembles Basil rather than that of the "vere dignum," however, of thanksgiving which we do, in some respects like the to a touching appeal to God. measure the ocean of Thy me a man, not Thyself being ice; . . . it is Thou who, in wine, has delivered to meation of Thy flesh." The Institution follows in the addressed to the Saviour, thus: "Remembering Thy Thy Death, Thy Resurrection, coming Advent, we offer to a gifts"; and he beseeches complete the mystic service, and sanctify and change the and Blood of our redemption.

Intercessory prayers now follow, and the commemoration of the saints departed; the diptychs are read, and another appeal to Jesus Christ. The Lord's Prayer follows, and after a while the thanksgiving after Communion; but here both the Coptic and the Arabic fail us, so that the prayers in the Greek which follow appear to be late.

(24) It remains only to speak of the Ethiopic canon, which commences (Renaudot, vol. i. 472) with some beautiful passages from Holy Scripture. From p. 476 we have much in common with the Coptic St. Basil. The canon proper begins on p. 486, but it is strange that we have nothing corresponding to the "Lift up your hearts" of almost all the other liturgies. The intercessory prayers precede the words of institution, and then follows the appeal, "We are setting forth Thy death, O Lord. We believe Thy resurrection, ascension, and second advent, and keeping the memorial of Thy death and resurrection we offer to Thee this bread and this cup." The epiclesis follows: the prayer for pardon for the living, the prayer for rest for the dead. The *Sancta sanctis* with the confession as we find it in St. Basil, the Communion of the people, the thanksgiving after Communion and the Lord's Prayer—the only instance that yet we have met with of such position. We need not discuss the other Ethiopic forms; they are seven in number, but five have never been published (Neale, i. 325).

(25.) Some question has arisen as to the relative claims of these liturgies of St. Basil and St. Mark to be the primitive liturgy of the Egyptian church. Renaudot gives the place to "St. Basil," Palmer to "St. Mark." The latter founds his judgment in part on the comparison of both with the Universal Canon of the Ethiopians, which he considers to "agree exactly in order and substance with the liturgies of Cyril and St. Mark, and no others" (i. p. 90). An entirely independent collation leads the writer to reject this statement, and to regard the Alexandrine St. Basil, and the Ethiopian Canon as intimately connected with each other. A comparison of the liturgies with quotations by any of the Alexandrine Fathers, may facilitate our judgment.

(26.) We shall receive but little assistance from the general tone of Origen's treatise on prayer, except by noting that when he expresses (as he seems to do) his wish that prayer should be addressed mainly to the Father through the Son, his language would seem to intimate that in his time the general custom of his church was to address their prayers to Christ. His reference to the thousand thousands and myriads of myriads (*against Celsus*, viii. 34) may be paralleled out of all the liturgies. Cyril of Alexandria (we take these references from Palmer, i. 102-3) refers to the Seraphin (not Cherubin as Palmer has it) veiling their faces; this is not mentioned in "Basil," but it is mentioned in the others. The same father says (*Epist. ad Johan. Anti ch.*), "We are taught also to say in our prayers, 'O Lord our God, give us peace: for Thou hast given us all things,'"—words to which we find the nearest resemblance in the *Basilian* Coptic and Greek. St. Mark has only "O king of peace, give thy peace to us in harmony and love." Origen on Jeremiah (xiv. § 14) remarks, "We often say in our

prayers, Give me a portion with the prophets, give me a portion with the apostles." A petition resembling this is found both in the Coptic St. Basil and St. Cyril, and the Greek St. Mark. It would be scarcely fair to draw from this the conclusion that what is called St. Basil's Liturgy was used at Alexandria in the time of Cyril, rather than that which we call St. Mark's; but it would seem that when St. Cyril wrote the words I have quoted, the liturgy which bears his name had not been amended. Other references have been noticed in Dionysius of Alexandria, Isidore of Pelusium, and Athanasius, but they do not throw any light on the point before us. It is worthy however of remark that Isidore states distinctly that the sacerdos or bishop uttered the words "Peace be with you," from the extremity or highest point of the church, "imitating the Lord assuming His chair when He gave His peace to His disciples."

(27.) *Liturgy of Caesarea*.—There can be no doubt that St. Basil, who was bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia during the years 370-379, committed to writing, and delivered to the order of monks which he established, a liturgy. And when we look at the well-known words which have been often quoted from his treatise on the Holy Spirit [CANON, l. 269], we can scarcely doubt that this liturgy preserved (at least in its chief features) that form and order which had been traditionally used within the diocese or (possibly) the patriarchate of Caesarea. Our difficulty is to retrieve the service as it came from the hands of Basil. We have the form which passes by his name and now in the East shares with the so-called liturgy of St. Chrysostom the reverence of the churches. It is used, we are told, on all Sundays in Lent but Palm Sunday, on Maundy Thursday and Easter Eve, on the festival of St. Basil himself, and on the vigils of Christmas and of the Epiphany. Dr. Neale and Dr. Littledale (*Greek Liturgies*) have printed this from two recent editions, published the one at Venice, the other at Constantinople; whilst Daniel has given it in a form presenting considerable variations from both.

The Alexandrine liturgy assigned to Basil we have already noticed. With the exceptions mentioned below (§29), it differs entirely from the Greek St. Basil. Besides this there is a Syriac liturgy which goes by the name of Basil, a Latin translation of which Renaudot gives from Masius in his second volume. But most important for our purposes is the Greek copy, found in a manuscript of the end of the 9th century which belonged once to the library of St. Mark at Florence (introduced probably at the time of the council), but is now in the Barberini collection at Rome. This was printed for the first time in Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age* (vol. iv.), and again in his *Anacletus Antequanensis* (vol. iii. pp. 201-236), and it is strange that it has not attracted the attention it deserves.

(28.) This liturgy commences with the prayer which the priest offered in the sacristy, when he placed the bread upon the disc; this is followed by the prayers of the three antiphons. These are all found in the liturgy as published by Daniel, but we must exclude here, as throughout, almost all the rubrical directions relating to the action and language of the deacon. The

prayer of Introit is given next, then the prayer of the Trisagion, and the prayer said by the bishop when he took his throne. This is now omitted, in consequence, no doubt, of the change of ritual. Prayers for the catechumens, for the faithful, for the bishop himself (the last connected with the cherubic hymn) follow, and then the prayer of oblation, which is distinctly stated to be a prayer of the holy Basil. The kiss of peace here follows, and the order to the deacons to look "to the doors," and the people say the creed. Then come the apostolic benediction and the 'Sursum Corda.' The "digum et justum est" is entirely eucharistic, and this is succeeded by an eucharistic introduction to the words of institution. But here, unhappily, a sheet (four leave-) of the manuscript is missing, and we are unable to say what was the exact form of the prayer of invocation, or of that of intercession until we come to the petition for the clergy, in the middle of which the next sheet commences. The words with which the Lord's Prayer is introduced are interesting. It is followed by a petition that Christ our God would attend to us from His holy habitation, and come to sanctify us, seated above with the Father, and invisibly present with us. Then the "sancta sanctis," and the "unus sanctus;" and the priest is directed to take portions from the holy Body, and place them in the holy cup. Then "after all have partaken," whilst the deacon is saying *τὴν εὐχὴν*, the priest *ἐπέχερα*. This is a prayer of thanksgiving for the reception. Collects follow: one to be uttered outside the sanctuary, the other when the priest retires to the sacristy, and so the liturgy concludes. If we may supply from the more modern liturgy the parts lost in the missing sheet, availing ourselves of the analogy which the collations of the rest of the work suggest, we must conclude that the words of institution were embodied in an address to God the Father, and pleaded that "remembering the sufferings of His Son, His cross, His death, His resurrection, ascension, and second coming, and offering to God His own of His own—in all things, and because of all things—we bless Him, we glorify Him, we give thanks to Him." In the prayer of invocation the priest pleads that being admitted to minister at God's holy altar, not because of his own righteousness but because of God's mercy and pity, he draws nigh to it: and that having offered the antitypes of the holy Body and Blood of His Christ, he beseeches God that His Spirit should come on the congregation and the gifts and (*ἀνατίθειαι*) exhibit the bread and cup as the precious Body and Blood of our Lord. There is a prayer that all who partake of the one bread and the cup may find mercy with all the saints (the Virgin and St. John the Baptist are especially mentioned), and then after a while the prayer passes on to petitions for the living.

(29.) Reverting now for a moment to the Alexandrine liturgy of St. Basil, we must notice that the three prayers, which in the Greek and Arabic are distinctly ascribed to the great bishop, i. e. the prayer of the Kiss of Peace (Renaudot, i. 60), the prayer at the breaking of the bread (p. 72), and the doxology (now in the Lord's Prayer), and prayer of bending the head (p. 76) are all of them found in the Barberini copy, and are all of them contained in

the modern liturgy. Not one of them however is in the Coptic St. Basil; these facts may possibly allow us to infer that the Alexandrine Greek received its title from the prayers of St. Basil which it incorporated, but that the Coptic version was made before they were admitted. If so, we have some little light thrown upon the relative dates of the various documents, and it would appear that the Coptic is older than the Greek Alexandrine in its present form. We have already mentioned that in no other respect can we trace any similarity between the Alexandrine Basil and those which bear the great Bishop's name in the Barberini manuscript and in the modern Oriental Church.

(30.) Daniel has noted the portions which are common to the modern Basil, and the so-called liturgy of St. James. A comparison with the Barberini manuscript will help us to judge how far these portions are modern. For example, in both we have the apostrophe, "Let all human flesh be silent and stand with trembling, for the King of kings and Lord of rulers comes forward to be sacrificed, and to be given for the food of the faithful." In the liturgy of St. James this is found near the commencement of the service, when the priest is bringing in the holy gifts: in that of St. Basil, it is placed after the invocation, before the communion of the priest. It seems scarcely appropriate in either place. The fact is that it is not to be found either in the Syriac St. James, or in any of the liturgies that bear the name of St. Basil.

Daniel is silent on the comparison between the Greek and Syriac liturgies of St. Basil (see Renaudot, vol. ii. 543). On comparing the latter with the Barberini copy (supplemented where it fails from the modern service), it will be found that from the apostolic benediction to the words speaking of the memorial of Christ's death and resurrection, the language is nearly identical (Renaudot, ii. 545-548; Bunsen, 214-223). This identity stops suddenly where the latter has, "We offer to Thee Thine own, of Thine own," the former passing on to an appeal for mercy and pardon. The invocation is nearly identical, but the Syriac immediately afterwards gives indications of being interpolated; it has a superabundance of epithetic additions. This is followed by prolonged intercessory prayers, one of which connects the liturgy with the church of St. Peter and St. James; but the collect introducing "Our Father" is, as we have said, the same. The prayer beginning "Father of mercies, God of all comfort," has received modifications. The distinguishing feature of the Syriac liturgy is, that the verbal oblation of the venerated and bloodless sacrifice is made after the invocation.

(31.) *Liturgy of Constantinople.*—The patriarchate of Constantinople dates from the year 381, and the churches subject to this metropolis have used for many years a liturgy which bears the name of St. Chrysostom. Lebrun contends that there was no liturgy ascribed to this great father for 300 years after his death; and it seems not improbable that the work which now bears his name received that name as being used in the city of which he was the most famous bishop in its earlier years. The modern liturgy of St. Chrysostom is used most extensively in the east; Dr. Neale says, through the

gy. Not one of them however is Basil; these facts may possibly show that the Alexandrine Greek from the prayers of St. Basil varied, but that the Coptic version they were admitted. If little light thrown upon the various documents, and it is the Coptic is older than the one in its present form. We mentioned that in no other respect similarity between the Alexandrine those which bear the great Barberini manuscript and the Alexandrian Church.

is noted the portions which are modern Basil, and the so-called ones. A comparison with the manuscript will help us to judge how they are modern. For example, in the apostrophe, "Let all human stand with trembling, for the Lord of rulers comes forward and to be given for the food of the liturgy of St. James this commencement of the service, bringing in the holy gifts: in it is placed after the invocation, union of the priest. It seems to be in either place. The fact is to be found either in the Syrian one of the liturgies that bear Basil.

on the comparison between the liturgies of St. Basil (see § 543). On comparing the latter with a copy (supplemented where it is a later service), it will be found that the benediction to the words memorial of Christ's death and language is nearly identical (§ 548; Bunsen, 214-223). This is identical where the latter has, "Thine own, of Thine own." It is an appeal for mercy in invocation is nearly identical, immediately afterwards gives interpolated; it has a supererogatory additions. This is found in necessary prayers, one of the liturgy with the church of St. James; but the collect introduced is, as we have said, the beginning "Father of mercifulness," has received modifications, the verbal oblation of the veneration sacrifice is made after the

Constantinople.—The patriarchal dates from the year 543 are subject to this metropolis in years a liturgy which bears resemblance. Lebrun contends that the liturgy ascribed to this great saint after his death; and it is probable that the work which now bears that name as being of which he was the most earlier years. The modern Constantinople is used most extensively. Dr. Neale says, through the

four patriarchates and Russia, except on the days when the liturgy of St. Basil is used. To us this is a disadvantage, because, if this were the only evidence we possessed, it would be the more difficult to discover what parts of it are truly ancient. Dr. Neale gives the service as he found it in a work printed at Venice in 1840, corrected by a later edition from Constantinople; Daniel (vol. iv. 327-372) "ad normam ecclesiae Graecorum hodie acceptam et probatam." Dr. Neale's book was originally published in the year 1850, two years before Baron Bunsen printed in the fourth volume of his work *Hippolytus and his Age*, a transcript of this liturgy from the Barberini manuscript. It seems to be inexcusable, however, that Daniel, whose fourth volume came out in 1853, should have been content with the meagre collations with this MS. given by Goar in his *Euchologion*, and have neglected the transcript of Bunsen.

(32.) With the aid of this manuscript we may put upon one side as of uncertain date the thirteen paragraphs which occupy pages 337 to 339 in Daniel's book, and besides this, we must reject the eight succeeding pages, with the exception of one brief prayer. Almost all the rubrical directions (as in St. Basil) disappear; they belong to a period since the time of Charlemagne. On the more, the prayers which the deacon is requested to repeat outside, whilst the priest is rejected also as of later introduction; and the division of the consecrated bread into the four parts, each part containing two letters of ΙΧΘΥΝΑ [see ELEMENTS, I. 603; FRACTION, I. 687], is also proved to be later.

The rubric directing the elevation of the bread (Daniel, p. 365; Neale's *G. L.* p. 140) is also shewn to be modern; so too the introduction of the boiling water. And one thing more attracts attention. As in the rite of St. Basil so here, it was assumed that all would partake. This is altered now. Lastly, in the modern Greek ritual there is an appeal at the very close to St. John Chrysostom that, "having used his liturgy, we may have his intercession that our souls may be saved;" this is also proved now to be of later date than the year 900. Indeed, the liturgy itself is *sine titulo* (Bunsen, iii. 197). The very ascription of the Liturgy, therefore, to St. Chrysostom may be of a date subsequent to the time when this MS. was transcribed.

(33.) It only remains for us to note that in this the early edition of St. Chrysostom, the Kiss of Peace precedes the Creed, and the Creed precedes the Apostolic Benediction. The "dignum et iustum est" is truly eucharistic, and the "Sanctus, sanctus" is specially followed by the words of institution. The text with reference to the bread resembles that accepted now in the Epistle to the Corinthians, τοῦ ἐστι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν. The liturgy proceeds: "Remembering His saving command and all things done by Him, and offering Thine own of Thine own, we raise Thee." The priest proceeds: "We offer to Thee, moreover, this reasonable and bloodless service, and we beseech Thee, send down Thy Holy Spirit on us and on these gifts that lie here before Thee, and make this bread the Body of Thy Christ . . ." The offering is represented as made on behalf of all who have gone to rest: in the faith, "Fathers,

patriarchs, prophets, especially the Holy Virgin." Then intercessions follow on behalf of the living;—amongst them, "for those in mountains, caves, and holes in the earth." (This is now omitted.) "For faithful Kings, and our Queen, lover of Christ." (This possibly points to a precise date when the original of this manuscript was prepared.) Then there is a prayer of commendation to God of ourselves, our lives, and our hopes, followed by the Lord's Prayer. Christ is entreated to come to sanctify us. At last we have the "Sancta sanctis," the "Unus sanctus," and the thanksgiving after the Communion.

(34.) *Liturgy of the Nestorians or Chaldean Christians.*—Notwithstanding the fearful massacres to which even during the last forty years they have been subjected, there still remain among the cities of Mesopotamia Christians who trace their origin to the influx of Nestorians after the council of Ephesus. They possess three liturgies, or rather three anaphoras, ascribed respectively to the Apostles (i. e. SS. Adaeus or Thaddaeus and Mari), to Theodore of Mopsuestia, and to Nestorius himself. These are used at specified times of the year, but the pro-anaphoral and post-Communion portions of the liturgy of the "Apostles" are never omitted. Latin translations of the three from Syrian manuscripts brought into Europe by emissaries of the Roman church are given by Renaudot in his collection (vol. ii.).

An English translation of the services now in use has been recently published by Dr. Badger. Any effort to point out what portions of these are really ancient, apart from the instruction we have received from our previous investigations, must rest on hypothesis only; but the distinguishing features of the liturgy of the Apostles are (1) that in it our Lord's words of institution are not introduced at all, and (2) that the prayers of intercession both for the living and the dead are connected with the oblation which is made before the epiclesis. In the liturgies of Theodore and of Nestorius, the words of institution are found. It would certainly seem from this that, so far, the 'Liturgy of the Apostles' must be very ancient, as it is inconceivable that the words of our Lord, if at any time brought into the service, could at any subsequent period have been omitted (see § 59 below).

There are some points of difference between the liturgy as given by Renaudot and that given by Dr. Badger, indicating probably that even during the last few hundred years additions have been made to that which had been in use; but as these additions must fall into a period far below the 9th century, it is unnecessary to discuss them further here. We should mention, however, that the canon begins with the apostolic benediction, and we have, as everywhere else, the "orsum corda." The words are introduced simply in the liturgy of the Apostles; but in the liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius, as given by Dr. Badger, they are embodied in a highly rhetorical appeal. Some passages of a Nestorian tendency are discoverable in the last-named liturgy. The other two have no such traces.

(35.) *Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions.*—It remains now only that we should briefly discuss the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions, commonly called, "The Liturgy of St.

Clement." [APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS, I. pp. 119-126.] We have already given (§§ 15, 17) a brief account of the Eucharistic services as we find them in the Coptic edition of these constitutions. Ludolf, in his *Commentarius ad Ili-to-sim Aethiopicum* (pp. 324-327), gives a Latin translation of the corresponding passage in the Ethiopic version of the constitutions. This has been reproduced by Baron Bunsen in his *Andrecto Ante-Niceno* (vol. iii. pp. 106-126). It commences with "The Lord be with you, and with thy spirit. Up with your hearts," etc.; then an Eucharistic address to God for the gift and work of His Son, passing at once to the words of institution, which are given in the simplest form. The prayer proceeds, "calling to mind, therefore, His death and His resurrection," etc., "we offer to Thee this bread and cup, rendering Thee thanks that Thou hast made us worthy to stand before Thee, and to perform the functions of Thy priesthood." The Holy Spirit is invoked upon the oblations, but there is no prayer that He will make them the Body and Blood of Christ. The prayer is, "that those who partake of the gifts may be fulfilled with that Spirit." We have the "Sancta sanctis," and the "Unus Pater sanctus," etc., and the "Hymn of Praise;" the latter, possibly, consisting of the 148th Psalm. The people enter to receive the "medicine of their souls," and the thanksgiving follows with a collect. The service concludes, "Depart in peace, and so the Eucharist is accomplished." It will be noticed that the Lord's prayer is not introduced.

(36.) Neither is the Lord's Prayer introduced in the so-called liturgy of St. Clement. This liturgy is found in some MSS. of the eighth book of the Greek *Apostolical Constitutions*, but in the valuable Oxford manuscript (*Codex Bezaecianus*); it is entirely omitted. There are other marks that it is an interpolation of late date. In the manuscripts where it occurs, it follows on the service for the consecration of a bishop, as it does in the Coptic and Ethiopic constitutions. The Greek liturgy begins with the apostolic benediction, and the unbelievers, the hearers, the catechumens, etc., are then dismissed in order. Then comes a long intercessory prayer, the "kiss of peace" is given, and the apostolic benediction is repeated in a slightly different form; we have the "sursum corda" and the "dignum et iustum." This is Eucharistic, detailing the blessings of the creation and the history of God's dispensations to mankind. When we reach the victories of Joshua, the ascription of glory by the Cherubim and Seraphim, "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus," is introduced, and the Thanksgiving passes on to record the mercies of the incarnation, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord; then the bishop introduces the words of institution, and recites how, "Remembering His sufferings, His resurrection, His ascension, and second coming, we offer to Thee, our King and God, according to His appointment, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee by Him;" then follow the epiclesis and the great intercessory prayer, the various clauses of which are introduced by the words, "We pray Thee," or "we entreat Thee," or "we offer to Thee," or "we beg Thee." After this come the "Sancta sanctis" and the "Glory to God in the highest." All the people receive in order; first,

presbyters, then deacons, sub-deacons, etc. The psalm, "I will always give thanks to thee," (which includes the words, "O taste and see,") is sung during the Communion. The post-Communion service begins with a prayer of thanksgiving, the benediction from the bishop follows, the deacon says, "Depart in peace."

(37.) Considerable doubts are felt as to whether the liturgy was ever celebrated after this fashion. At all events we have here the advantage of examining a rite, as it was proposed at some time not later than the 4th century. It can scarcely have been altered or interpolated since that time. It is worthy of mention that the liturgical expressions, which have been noted in the recently recovered pages of the genuine Epistle of Clemens Romanus, are not found here as they are found in the Alexandrine service books; this would be an additional proof, if proof were wanting, that the ascription of the liturgy to St. Clement is purely fictitious.

(38.) *Liturgy of the Churches of Carthage, etc.*—In passing from Alexandria along the coast of Africa to Carthage we pass from an order of things of which the characteristics were Greek to another whose characteristics were Latin. The early writers of the Carthaginian churches are so important and so voluminous that from their works which have come down to us we can supply many details of the Carthaginian services—our sources of information being perhaps more trustworthy than any "liturgy" would be which professed to have been prepared by St. Augustine. Thus we know from Tertullian (*Apology*, xxxix.) that in the gatherings of the faithful, "the most approved seniors presided." The same chapter in the *Apology* mentions that at their gatherings the Christians in one body sued God by their prayers. They prayed for the emperors and for their ministers, for the state of the world, for the quiet of all things, "for the delay of the end." The sacred writings were called to remembrance, selections being made apparently with a view to the emergencies of the times,—and an exhortation followed. Then we infer that all were directed to leave the church who were under censure. A collection of money was made on one day of the month, the money collected being used for the relief of the poor, and for the succour of those who were suffering for conscience sake. No doubt Tertullian is describing features of the ordinary Sunday Eucharist. The section passes on to speak of the Agapae. Elsewhere we learn that the passages from Scripture were taken from the Prophets, from the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, and from the Gospel (*Apology*, xxii.), and that psalms or (*Ad Uxor.* ii. 9) hymns intervened between these sections. Tertullian frequently insists that these rites had been "handed down to us." In praying they turned to the east (*Apology*, xvi.), lifting up their hands to God the Father (*Idolat.* vii. 7). We have two ascriptions of glory, one (*Ad Uxor.* i. 1) "To whom be honour, glory, majesty, dignity, and power, for ever and ever." The other (*De Oratione*, iii.), "To whom be honour and power for all ages."

With regard to the second part of the eucharistic office, to which he apparently gives the title '*Officium sacrificii*' we have additional evidence. The prayers for the emperor seem to

His gift they may persevere in that which they have begun—a prayer analogous to what we have seen in the liturgy of St. Clement. The *Domine Deus Sabbathi*, and the *Holy, Holy, Holy*, are introduced in his interesting letter to Januarius (iv.), in which mention is also made of the *Alleluia*, and of the custom of praying *standing* between Easter and Pentecost.

In the Oriental liturgies mention was made of the church dispersed throughout the world; the words are found in Letter lxxxvii. The custom of a *loving* is referred to in more than one place. But the classical passage is in his famous letter to Paulinus (No. cxlix.), in which he tries to explain the meaning of the different words in 1 Tim. ii. 1, *prayers, orations, supplications*, etc. If we take the words as they are found consecutively in our version, he would say that the *supplications* embrace all that is done in the celebration of the sacrament before that which is on the table of the Lord begins to be blessed,—the *prayers*, when it is being blessed and sanctified and broken for distribution, the part “which ends in almost every church with the Lord’s Prayer,”—the *intercessions*, when the people is being blessed by the imposition of hands and commended to God’s great mercy,—the *giving of thanks*, concluding all.

(42.) We thus have the following clearly laid down as contained in the *African Liturgy* in the time of St. Augustine. The preliminary part included lessons from Scripture, hymns, sermons, and the prayers for the unbelievers, catechumens, and believers which we have described above.

Then, all being excluded except the initiated, the oblations of the people appear to have been made, and the opening words, “*Suscum corda,*” with the “*Vere dignum et justum est;*” with this we connect of course the “*Sanctus.*” Then came what Augustine would call the “*sanctification of the sacrifice,*” concluding with the fraction, and probably a prayer of fraction, such as we found in the Alexandrian liturgies; the Lord’s Prayer ensued. Then came the kiss of peace, this being followed by the benediction of the people, “whom the priest offers up to God;” then the participation of the sacrament and the giving of thanks,—the last part of the service before the dismissal. The three petitions mentioned by Augustine (Letter cxlix.) are also mentioned by Fulgentius of Ruspe in his letter to Bitellus (No. cvii.); two of them are alluded to in a treatise of the same bishop, *De bono perseverantiae*. It is probable that no great change was introduced into the liturgy for many years after the death of the great bishop Augustine.

(43.) *Spanish Liturgies, of the time of Isidore.*—The liturgy of the Spanish Church in its earlier years has a singular interest in several respects. It is quite clear that it was framed in the first instance independently of the Roman Church, although in the time of Innocent the First great efforts were made to render it similar to that of the church of the prince of the Apostles. But time was required for these efforts to succeed. Thus Guéranger (vol. i. p. 133) refers to a council of Gironne, held in the year 517 (Labbe, vol. i. p. 588), the first canon of which directed that throughout the province of Tarragona the use of the metropolitan church was to be observed. The council of Braga, in the year

565, passed an enactment of the same character for the province of which it was the metropolis, which would be nearly contemporaneous with Galicia. The same lessons were to be read at mass through all the churches; all the bishops or presbyters and the people were to retain the salutation, “The Lord be with you,” “And with thy spirit,” “in the manner that all the East observed it from apostolic tradition,” but at the same time directions were given that the masses were to be celebrated in the order which their late bishop, Profuturus, had received in writing from the authority of the apostolic see. In 633 a uniformity was established, not in each province severally, but throughout the whole extent of the peninsula or, as it is called, through all Spain and Gaul (that is *Gallia Narbonensis*); and amongst other things it is mentioned about the same time that the *Kyrie Eleison* was repeated, and the “*Sicut erat in principio*” was added to the “*Gloria Patri*,” to meet the heresy of the Priscillianists, “as it had been done not only at the apostolic see, but also through out all the East, Africa, and Italy.”

(44.) Isidore, the famous archbishop of Seville, who presided in one or more councils at Toledo, has left us two books on the ecclesiastical offices, which are supposed to have been written about the year 633. (He succeeded Leander as bishop in the year 595, and died in the year 636.) In the thirteenth and three following chapters of the first book, he gives us information as to the liturgy of his day. He mentions that, “In Africa the *Alleluia* was sung only on Sundays, and on the fifty days after Easter; but with us, according to the ancient tradition of the Spains, it is sung at all times, except the days of Lent and other fast days.” It would appear also, that what was called the *offertorium* was sung. With reference to the order of the mass, or “the prayers with which the sacrifices offered to God are consecrated,” he claims that St. Peter was the author of the service which was celebrated throughout the whole world. He speaks of there being seven prayers or orations, the first being one of exhortation to the people, inciting them to earnest prayer to God; the second is a prayer to God, that He will mercifully receive the prayers and oblations of the faithful; the third is poured forth either for those who offer, or for the faithful who have departed this life, that by the same sacrifice they may obtain pardon; fourthly, comes, connected with the kiss of peace, a prayer that all, being mutually reconciled to each other, may partake worthily of the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, because the indivisible Body of Christ admits not of dissension. Then follows, fifthly, the *illatio*, which answers to the PREFACE in the Roman Missal. It is described by Isidore as connected with the sanctification of the oblation in which “the whole universe of terrestrial creatures and heavenly powers are urged to join in the praise of God,” and the “*Hosanna* in the Highest” is sung. Then succeeds, sixthly, that which in some manuscripts is described as the “*confirmatio*” of the sacrament, in others, the “*conformatio*,” that “the oblation which is now offered to God, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, may be conformed to the Body and Blood of Christ.” Seventhly, the Lord’s Prayer fol-

ment of the same character in which it was the metropolis, nearly continuous with Gallians were to be read at Mass churches; all the bishops and the people were to retain the Lord be with you," "And with the manner that all the East apostolic tradition," but at the us were given that the masses ted in the order which their late a, had received in writing from the apostolic see. In 633 a un- blished, not in each province oughout the whole extent of the is called, through all Spain and *dia Narbonensis*); and amongst mentioned about the same time leison was repeated, and the cipio" was added to the "Gloria he heresy of the Priscillianists, one not only at the apostolic ght out all the East, Africa, and

the famous archbishop of Se- ded in one or more councils left us two books on the ces, which are supposed to an about the year 633. (He r as bishop in the year 565, ear 636.) In the thirteenth g chapters of the first book, ation as to the liturgy of his is that, "In Africa the Alleluia Sundays, and on the fifty days t with us, according to the of the Spains, it is sung at all days of Lent and other fast appear also, that what was um was sung. With reference e mass, or "the prayers with es offered to God are conse- that St. Peter was the author ch was celebrated throughout He speaks of there being orations, the first being one of e people, inciting them to God; the second is a prayer ill mercifully receive the ons of the faithful; the third er for those who offer, or for ve departed this life, that by e they may obtain pardon; connected with the kiss of at all, being mutually recom- may partake worthily of the Body and Blood of Christ, ible Body of Christ admits not follows, fifthly, the *Illatio*, the PREFACE in the Roman scribed by Isidore as con-secration of the oblation whole universe of terrestrial enly powers are urged to join d," and the "Hosanna in the Then succeeds, sixthly, the nuscripts is described as the sacrament, in others, the at "the oblation which is being sanctified by the Holy rmed to the Body and Blood thly, the Lord's Prayer fol-

lows, in which he notices likewise seven petitions—the first three for things eternal, the last four for things temporal. In chapter xvi, Isidore speaks of the Nicene Creed as proclaimed to the people at the time of the sacrifice, and in the next, of the priestly benedictions. In chapter xviii, he teaches on the nature of the sacrifice. [Compare ELEMENTS, I, 602.]

(45.) Isidore does not mention the part of the service at which the Nicene Creed, as he calls it, was recited; but we know that at the third council of Toledo, in 589, king Recared had ordered that the creed of the hundred and fifty should be recited "in the liturgy before the Lord's Prayer throughout all the churches of Spain and Gaul, according to the form of the Oriental churches." [CREED, I, 491.] This position of the creed is not that which was adopted by the Roman church, but it is that which the creed of the hundred and fifty occupies in the liturgy which we must proceed now to discuss, namely—

(46.) *The Spanish or Mozarabic Liturgy.*—The Mozarabic Liturgy was first printed under the direction of Cardinal Ximenes, in the year 1500. The manuscript which he used must have been of a comparatively late date; for as Lorenzani, subsequently archbishop and cardinal, noticed in the preface to his edition (which was dedicated to Benedict XIV. and has been reprinted in Migne's series, vol. lxxxv.) the book makes mention of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Anthony of Padua, all belonging to the 13th century, to which I would add, that in the first part, amongst the greater festivals, there is a mass for the feast of Corpus Christi, which we know was not introduced until the same century. It would be extremely difficult, therefore, to say what parts of the services are ancient, and what portions fall below the chronological limit by which we are bound; and it must be understood that much that follows is stated under reservation.

(47.) On comparing, however, the account given by St. Isidore, with the masses which we find in the Mozarabic Liturgy (as given by Lorenzani, Migne, p. 109; compare Daniel, i. p. 65, etc.), we have every point mentioned by Isidore reproduced in the liturgy. The exhortation to the people is found almost everywhere, under the heading *Missa*. We have the *Alleluia* at the beginning, apparently, of every mass, except those to be used in Lent (Daniel, pp. 55-57). We have the prayer that God would receive the oblation (*ibid.* p. 67). We have the prayer for the offerers (*ibid.* p. 69). The prayer for the Holy Spirit must have been displaced, for in the modern form it follows here. We have the "Dominus vobiscum" and "Et cum Spiritu tuo" (p. 71). That connected with the kiss of peace, which is the fourth prayer mentioned by Isidore, follows on p. 77. Then the "*Illatio*" follows, p. 79. It is, as Daniel describes it, a somewhat long ascription of glory, beginning with the "Dignum et justum est," varying almost every Sunday of the year, but always ending with the "Sanctus, sanctus" and the "Hosanna in the Highest." The "Confirmatio," or "Confirmatio," consists of the narrative of the institution. The choir recite the creed whilst the priest elevates the consecrated elements; the Lord's Prayer follows, and the benediction before

the communion. Thus, with the one exception of the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the position of each prayer mentioned by Isidore is found here to be the same as that to which he assigned it.

(48.) There are some points which have not yet been mentioned which establish still more closely the connection of this liturgy with those of the Oriental churches. We have three Lessons at least—four in Lent. The first, or first two, from the Old Testament; the next, from the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistle; the last from the Gospel. The offering was distinctly made before the consecration, the choir retained the use of the Greek words, "Agyos, Agyos, Agyos." The Apostolic Benediction is found as in the Greek liturgies. After the Kiss of Peace we have the "Sursum corda" and the "Habemus ad Dominum." In the other Latin liturgies the words of institution are always introduced thus: "Qui pridie quam pateretur." In the Greek liturgies it always was, "Who, in the night in which He was betrayed." The Mozarabic follows the Oriental form, and this serves as an indication that, at all events, in some points the Spanish has never been altered, for the prayer which follows is (I believe) throughout the volume entitled *Post prandii oratio*, i. e. the modern rubric assumes that the prayer of consecration had run in the Roman form. [CANON, I, 272.] Once more, we have the *Sancta sanctis* here, and the choir sings, *Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus*. I think I might add that we have the words, "Give redemption to the captives, health to the infirm," as we had them in the liturgy of St. Mark, and "Rest to the departed," as we found the addition made in another of the Oriental liturgies.

(49.) But most curious of all is the rite which is peculiar to the Mozarabic Liturgy, of dividing the bread. [FRACTION, I, 688.]

(50.) One point more remains to be noticed: That the prayer "Post nomina" is very frequently addressed to Christ, and in many of the petitions so addressed our Lord is entreated to "accept the offering now made to Him;" the same may be noted in the petitions *Post prandii*, in which our Lord is entreated to sanctify the sacrifices. (See for examples, Migne, pp. 129, 138, 175, 195, 202, 204, etc.) Thus it is apparent that the canon of the church of Carthage, to which attention has been drawn, was not observed in Spain at the time when these services were framed.

(51.) *Gallican Liturgies.*—We know from the correspondence which passed between Gregory the Great and the missionary Augustine that the customs of the churches in Gaul and at Rome were different, even in the Mass or Eucharist. (Greg. Ep. xi. 64; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 19.) The difference continued during the seventh and the greater part of the eighth centuries; but the introduction of the Roman chant into Gaul in the time of Pepin was followed up by a command of Charlemagne that every presbyter should celebrate the Mass according to the Roman order (*Capitul. v. cap. 219-37*), and for this purpose Charles obtained a copy of what professed to be the Gregorian Sacramentary from his friend Pope Hadrian. This order was not carried out: without some heartburnings, for we find in the next century the abbat Hilduin remarking to Louis

the Pious that the older rites had been observed in Gaul from the very earliest times, and, as a proof, he referred to "the missal books, which were most ancient and were almost eaten up by age." (Hilduin, *Vita Dionys. Areop.*, in Surius, Oct. 9; Palmer, I, 145.)

(52.) We must, of course, conclude that these "missal books" were not reproduced in the schools founded by Charlemagne and watched over by Alcuin and others. Indeed, they became so rare before the accession of Charles the Bald, that that monarch mentioned in his famous letter to the clergy of Ravenna (quoted by Mabillon, *Lit. Gall.* p. 20) that he was indebted to the clergy of the church of Toledo for his knowledge, that "up to the time of his grandfather, the Gallican churches had celebrated the divine offices in a manner different from those adopted in the churches of Rome and Milan." We cannot be surprised, therefore, at finding that the liturgical remains of the early Gallican church are very scanty, and we shall welcome with the greater thankfulness the discoveries of Thomasius, Martene, Mabillon, and Mone.

(53.) If we remember the early connexion of the churches of Lyons and Vienne with the East, we shall of course expect that the ritual of these churches must exhibit some points of resemblance with the ritual of the church of Ephesus. From the undoubted writings of Irenaeus (I abstain from using the so-called Pfallian fragment), we learn but little of the eucharistic office of his day, but we do learn that it contained the words *eis tou̅s ai̅w̅nas tou̅n ai̅w̅non*, that the service included an offering or sacrifice to God through Christ Jesus of the first fruits of His creatures, that there was an invocation (*ἑκκλησις* or *ἐπικλησις*) on the bread and the *temperamentum* offered (i. 3. 1; iv. 17. 5; 18. 4, 5). These points remind us of the Oriental rites. Later allusions to the Gallican service, found in the writings of Gregory of Tours and others, have been collected by Mabillon in his learned work, *de Liturgiâ Gallicana*, published in 1685; and additional light is thrown upon the subject by the discovery in the library of St. Martin's, at Autun, of two letters, ascribed in the MS. to Germanus, the famous bishop of Paris, who died in the year 576. The discovery was made by Martene, who published the document *verbatim et literaliter* in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. They are reproduced in Migne's series (vol. lxxii. pp. 83-98), and Migne has given as an appendix to them Mabillon's work *de Liturgiâ Gallicana* (pp. 101-447), and also the same writer's further work, entitled *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (pp. 448-576).

(54.) We have altogether in these reprints:—
a. The letters of St. Germanus, of which I have spoken. They seem to be somewhat fragmentary, and I am disposed to regard the former as giving an account specifically of the service on Easter Eve and Easter Day. (Migne, *ut sup.* pp. 89-98.)

b. A *Lectiary* of the Gallican church, which Mabillon found at Luxeuil, and which he assigned to the end of the seventh century. (Migne, pp. 171-216.)

c. A *Missal*, entitled in the manuscript, though in a later hand, *Missale Gallicanum*. This is considered by the learned as representing the ritual of the south of France about the beginning of

the eighth century. (It contains a service for the martyrdom of St. Leodgar, who was killed in 678.) The volume is very interesting, exhibiting indisputable marks that the services it contains were framed not merely at different times, but on different principles. Several holy days are noted by Mabillon as having been introduced at a period subsequent to the *Lectiary*, which he described as above. (Migne, pp. 225-318.)

d. Then follows a missal entitled *Missale Franco-rum*, in consequence of petitions that it contains for the king and kingdom and rulers of the Franks. This missal concludes (at least in its present form) with a fragment of the Roman canon as it exists in the Gregorian Sacramentary; the earlier part is occupied with very interesting ordination offices. Morinus considered the MS. to be of the sixth century, but Mabillon puts it later. It evidently belongs to an epoch at which the Roman services were ousting those of the Gallican church. (Migne, pp. 318-340.)

The MSS. (c) and (d) are now in the Vatican. The former is numbered Vat. Reg. 626, or Alex. Vat. 317 (the accounts differ); the number of the other is apparently Alex. Vat. 257. They must have come from the Library of Fleury, which was dispersed by the Huguenots.

e. The *Missa Gallicanum* which follows in Mabillon (Migne, pp. 340-382) is also at the Vatican (Vat. Pal. 493); it came from the library at Heidelberg. It contains interesting expositions of the Creed and Lord's Prayer, and, almost unutilized, the services for Easter Day. It is believed to represent the use of Mid-France in the eighth century.

f. To these must be added the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, above referred to. It was found by Mabillon at Bobio, and was regarded by him, as by others, as indicating the services of the neighbourhood of Besançon. It commences with the Gregorian Canon under the title *Missa Romanensis collatiana* (Migne, pp. 451-580).

g. And M. Mone, the librarian at Carlsruhe, discovered in the library under his care palimpsests from which he was enabled to decipher several old masses. The volumes came from the famous Benedictine convent of Reichenau, the island near Constance. Baron Bunsen has thrown additional light upon them in the third volume of the *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*.

(55.) A comparison of these manuscripts shows that if the suppositions regarding their origin are correct, there must have been a great variety in the details of the Eucharistic services in the various dioceses or provinces of France. Taking, however, the liturgy of St. Germanus as our guide, we learn that in his time, on the day or days of which he describes the services, when the priest came from the sacristy the clerk sang a kind of introt, and then the deacon proclaimed silence. The salutation followed, *Domine sit semper robiscum*, with the usual response. Lecti- ons were read from a Prophet, an Apostle, and a Gospel. The "Aius," or *Ἄγιος*, in Greek and then in Latin, preceded the "prophet," and the Song of Zacharias followed it. The *Benedictio* followed the Apostle, the "Aius" being again sung before the Gospel. The book was carried to the pulpit, preceded by seven candles, signifying the seven gifts of the Spirit. [Compare GOSPEL, I. 743.] A homily followed upon the

(It contains a service for St. Leodegar, who was killed in 559, and is very interesting, exhibiting that the services it contains were used more or less frequently at different times, but especially at several holy days as we have been introduced at in the Lectionary, which he (Migne, pp. 225-318.)

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One of these manuscripts shows various readings regarding their origin and have been a great variety of Eucharistic services in the provinces of France. Taking, for instance, the service of St. Germanus as our standard, we find in his time, on the day of the services, when the sacristy the clerk sang then the deacon proclaimed followed, *Dominus* with the usual response. Then a Prophet, an Apostle, and a saint, or *Ayios*, in Greek and called the "prophet," and followed it. The *Benedictio*, the "Agnus" being again followed. The book was carried by seven candles, signifying the Spirit. [Compare the homily followed upon the

Gospel, and a prayer by the deacon. Then, Germanus says, intimation was given that the catechumens must leave the church; but his words seem to show that though the form was kept up, the occasion had ceased. The oblations were now brought in (they are designated as being the Body and Blood of Christ, which seems to me to indicate that we have here the service of Easter Eve) amidst the singing of the choir; the *Lauds* or *Alleluia* followed, "as in the Revelation" (iv. 8-11), and the Angelic Hymn; and the names of the departed saints were recited, "as if heaven were opening at the second coming of Christ." The Kiss of Peace was given, and then the *Sursun corda*, the "contractio et commixtio corporis Christi" (the breaking being connected with a strange legend), whilst the prostrate clerks were singing an anthem (apparently the *Sinctus, Sanctus*). On this followed the Lord's Prayer, the benediction of the people ("Pax fides et communicatio corporis et sanguinis Domini sit semper vobiscum"), and the communion. Then, what Germanus called the "mystery of the Trinity," in such words as seem to me to suit only the *ἑὸς ἕνος κ. τ. λ.* of the Oriental liturgies; and with this Germanus's account of the form of the service terminates. It will be noticed that he omits to inform us of the moment when the consecration took place, although we find in an earlier part of the letter that "pridie quam pateretur Dominus," our Saviour said, "Hic est calix sanguinis mei mysterium fidei qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum;" which are the words of the Gregorian Canon. This omission and other reasons prevent me from accepting this account as a description of the ordinary liturgy of the Gallican church at the time of Germanus. The account seems rather to be that of one of the services at the season of Easter.

(56.) With this we may compare the results of Mone's discoveries amongst the palimpsests at Carlsruhe. We should not be justified in regarding the originals of these as all of one date, but we may supplement the account of Germanus by what we find here. It would appear that there was occasionally or generally a prayer *post prophetiam*, and, after the catechumens were dismissed, a *præfatio*, which was an address to the congregation, explaining the service which followed, and calling upon them to join heartily in it. This was followed by a collect. The oblations were then made, and the names both of living and departed members of Christ's body were read, prayers being offered both *ante nomina* and *post nomina*. Then came the kiss of peace and the prayer *ad pacem*, and the service proceeded with the *Sursun corda*, etc. (though this is not mentioned) and the *contestatio*, which answered to the modern preface. Of these contestations there was evidently a great variety. This of course led up to the *Sinctus*, and we have various collects entitled *post sanctus*; the words of institution (we have not them at length) were introduced "qui pridie," and part of them seem to have been uttered *secreta*, for, after them, comes in one missa a "post secreta." (We have three instances here of an invocation.) Then came the Lord's Prayer with variable introductions, all entirely different from the Gregorian, and a variable *EMBOLESMUS*. Then must have followed

the Communion, for the next prayer is entitled generally *post omnia*, once only *post mysterium*; then came the collect and the final benediction:

(57.) The first sacramentary published by Mabillon entirely upholds the correctness of our inferences drawn from these palimpsests, and at the same time exhibits marks of progress towards later modes of thought. In these missals, which were prepared for the Sundays and older established festivals, we have the *præfatio*, still the title for an address to the congregation: the *collectio post nomina* frequently shows that the names recited had been names of the living who had made their offerings or sacrifices, at the same time that it included at times a prayer for the dead. The *Vere dignum et iustum est* is entitled (generally in the older services) *immolatio missæ*, sometimes *contestatio*. The form of the *mysterium* or *secreta* always begins *qui pridie*. The words of consecration are not given. The *post secreta* is either a prayer or an expression of belief. There seems to have been two *benedictiones populi*, one a prayer before communion, the other a blessing before dismissal. The general character of the *Missale Gallicanum* (Migne, pp. 339, etc.) is the same. We still find the titles *immolatio* and *contestatio* prefixed to the *Vere dignum et iustum est*, but there are a few indications that a change of service was being introduced when the manuscript was prepared, such as *immolatio nunc missæ* or *contestatio nunc*, and in a very few instances the *post communionem* is altered to *post eucharistiam*. The character of the collects *post nomina* is the same as in the Gothic missal.

(58.) The other two sacramentaries i.e. the *Missale Francorum*, and the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (which Mabillon found at Bobbio) contain, either in whole or in part (the former manuscript being mutilated), the Gregorian canon. We must therefore assign them to the ninth century (or the later years of the eighth) at the earliest. In the former the title *super oblatam* has replaced the words *post nomina*, and the offerings have become the oblations of God's people. The names of the offerers are no longer recited; and the *Memento etiam* appears in the canon, after the consecration. We have still benedictions "ad plebem," pp. 336, 337.

From the letter of the Monks of Mount Olivet to pope Leo III., we know that the creed of Constantine was used in the chapel of Charlemagne. [CREED, §15, I. 492.] We find no notice of it in any of the manuscripts.

(59.) *Roman Liturgy*.—We must now turn to one of the most difficult subjects,—the history and characteristics of the liturgy in use in Rome. We have seen evidences that it differed materially from the Liturgy of Gaul in the middle of the 8th century, and we know, with considerable accuracy, the form which it assumed before the end of the 9th century; but

* A prayer in the earlier MS. (p. 227), "Give deliverance to the captive, sight to the blind," may remind us of a similar petition in the Alexandrine liturgies. The prayers *post nomina*, *ad pacem*, *post secreta*, are also frequently addressed to our Lord. There is a distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit on pages 246, 257, and on page 266 (the Thursday in Holy Week) I notice the "Agnus Dei."

the evidence is very limited as to its previous growth. In the accounts of the 9th century we meet with statements that Alexander (A.D. 100 to 106) combined the history of the Passion of our Lord with the prayer of the priest, when the masses were celebrated (see § 34); that Xystus (107-116) directed that during the service the people should sing the hymn *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, etc.; that Telesphorus (117-127) ordered that at the commencement of the sacrifice the angelic hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo* should be sung on the night of the Nativity alone. These and similar statements, found in the works of Walafrid Strabo and others, indicate a belief that the portions referred to were of great antiquity. Greater credence may perhaps be given to details such as these which follow. Caecilius (422) is said to have directed that Psalms of David should be sung before the sacrifice, in addition to the reciting of parts of St. Paul's Epistles and the Holy Gospel. Of Leo the Great (440-462), it is distinctly stated that he added the words "sanctum sacrificium et aeterna;" and of Gelasius (about 495), that he framed with great caution prefaces for the sacraments. The letter of Vigilius to Profuturus, Bishop of Braga, has been already referred to; he sent to the Spanish bishop the text of the "canonical prayer," "which by God's mercy we have received (he said) from apostolic tradition." The letter is preserved, the enclosure unhappily is lost. But in the letter he gives the important information that "in the celebration of masses, at no time and on no festival was the order of the prayer different. They always consecrated in the same form the gifts offered to God." Then we come to the work of Gregory the Great, of whom it is stated by the Deacon John that he made additions to the ritual of the church, that he ordered the ALLELUIA [l. 56] to be said at other times beside Pentecost, the *Ayrie eleison* to be sung, and the Lord's Prayer to be recited immediately after the canon over the sacrifice. (The Canon here would seem to be the list of saints commemorated in the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*. For an example of this limited meaning, see Muratori *de Lit. Rom.* i. 555.) Gregory is also declared by his biographer to have reduced into one volume the Gelasian codex of the solemnities of the mass, by removing many things, altering a few, and adding others "pro exponendis Evangelicis lectionibus." His letter to John the bishop of Syracuse (*Epist.* ix. 12) seems to shew that the Deacon John was correct in his account of the alterations which Gregory had introduced, and several writers agree in narrating that Gregory added the words "diesque nostros in tua pace disponas." They are found in the prayer *Hanc igitur*. With these brief hints we shall be better able to examine the documents which have come down to us.

(60.) The first, and undoubtedly the oldest, is a sacramentary discovered in the library at Verona, and published by Blanchini in the year 1735. He gave to it the title *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, and attributed it (without any documentary evidence) to pope Leo the Great. An examination of the contents of the work has induced almost all the great ritualists to differ herein from Blanchini; and it seems now to be generally agreed that the manuscript was pre-

pared by some ecclesiastic for his own, either private or public, use. It is mutilated at the commencement, and does not give the canon of the Mass. It contains, however, a collection of prayers such as were used at the eucharistic services, one or two collects for the day, a prayer of oblation, a *Vere dignum*, a prayer after communion, and a benediction. Of these there is an immense variety; thus there are eight "sets" of prayers for the festival of St. John and St. Paul, and twenty-eight for that of St. Peter and St. Paul (Migne, iv. pp. 47, 49, etc.). Titles to the prayers occur very rarely; we have, however, *preces* for the collects on p. 110; *super oblata* on pp. 106, 110; and on the same pages, *postcommunio* and *super populum*. We are thus severed from the *post nomina* of the Gothic sacramentary, and brought more into connexion with the *Missale Francorum* and the Bobio manuscript. The Ballerini have remarked that in a mass for Pentecost the prayer *Hanc igitur* is represented as preceding the *Communiantes* (p. 40). On p. 70 there is an *embolismus* (the only one I have discovered), and on p. 75, "Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, quaesumus, mente capiamus," etc., and a distinct invocation of the Holy Spirit on pp. 79, 147 (compare p. 139). On p. 117 we find two prayers, still more resembling the Gregorian *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem*; the former has the words "diesque meos clementissima gubernatione disponas"; in the latter it seems to have been assumed that the reader needed only the first few words, his memory would supply the rest. If so, we carry the petition, *Quam oblationem*, back to a period before the time of Gelasius.

We meet with so many prayers for the rulers or princes of the "Roman Name" that we can have no difficulty in assigning the book to some Roman priest or bishop; and the manner in which the Roman primacy is urged (as we find it in no other sacramentary) may be deemed to justify Blanchini in his opinion that Leo might have been the compiler. We learn from Gerbert (*Vetus Liturgia Aemmanica*, i. 80) that the effect of the discussions which followed his publication on the mind of Blanchini was this; he became persuaded that the work was still more ancient than at first he deemed it to be, and attributed it to Sylvester, who was pope from 314 to 355. One thing is clear, that, when the book was written, the liturgy at Rome had not assumed the character which Vigilius ascribed to it in the middle of the sixth century, unless we limit most rigidly his language as to the form of consecration.

(61.) In the year 1680 the learned Thomasius (afterwards Cardinal) published the contents of a manuscript which, having belonged to Petan, was then in the library of Queen Christina, and is now in the Vatican (Vat. 1455 according to Daniel, 316 according to Muratori). This part of Thomasius' work was republished by Muratori in the first volume of his learned work *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, and with it, in Migne's series, vol. lxxiv. p. 847, etc. The manuscript is of the tenth century, and is entitled, *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli*. It contains several prayers for the princes of the Roman kingdom and the governors of the Roman empire (Muratori, pp. 729-731); but one of the well-known collects for Good Friday (p. 561)

bratur," varies in the details which I shall mention as I proceed.

(66.) What is now called the *Ordo* (of which we have no notice in the Gelasian Sacramentary) is given briefly but satisfactorily. Mention is made of the *Introit*, the *Kyrie eleison*, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, to be used on Sundays and festivals if a bishop is present, otherwise only at Easter. When the Litany is said, neither the *Gloria in excelsis* nor the *Alleluia* is sung. Then followed the *Oratio* or *Oratio Missalis*, i. e. the collect for the day; the *Apostolum* (sic) or Epistle; then either the *Gradalis* or the *Alleluia*; then the Gospel. This was followed by the offertory, and the prayer *super oblata*, which varied; it is called the *secretis* in one MS. It concluded with the words, *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, which were recited aloud. The absence is noted (Gerbert, p. 301) of the salutations before the Epistle and before the Gospel, of the Creed, and of the Sermon. Then the canon commenced, but the records end with the salutation after the embolismus; i. e. we have no account of the communion, or the kiss of peace, or the benediction. The Vatican MS. used by Muratori has, however, one line more, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis*, which is also contained in two or more other MSS. In the body of the books we have for each day a prayer *ad complendum*, answering to the similar prayer in the modern missal.

(67.) I think it is certain that all the known MSS. of this sacramentary were used north of the Alps, yet not one of them refers to the use of the "Nicene" Creed in the service of the Mass. We know, however, that the Gallican churches used the *Gloria in excelsis* every Sunday, and that the recitation of the creed spread very much after the fall of Felix and Elipandus. The collects *super oblata* have never (I believe) any reference to the offenders. This had been discouraged by Pope Innocent I. The persons named in the *Te igitur* are different in the different manuscripts. In some places the king was prayed for; in others the emperor; many omitted the petition, *pro omnibus orthodoxis*, and all the MSS. but one (the Vat. Othob.) omit the words, *Pro quibus tibi offerimus*.¹ The *Memento civium* on behalf of those who have died with the sign of faith is absent from five of the MSS., and in two other early copies it is inserted in the margin. The names adduced in the prayer commencing *Nobis quoque* are again all Roman. (This collect is referred to by Innocent III. as indicating the growth of the Roman service.)

(68.) *Ambrosian Liturgy*.—The church of Milan was said to have been founded by Barnabas, and it seems to be undoubted that it was regarded as entirely independent of Rome until Gregory in 593 attempted to exercise patriarchal privileges within the province. Milan certainly had a liturgy of its own, which, notwithstanding repeated efforts on the part of the Roman patriarch, was, though with some modifications, retained until our own times. One of the most important of these efforts was encouraged by Charlemagne, who, in his anxiety to compel the Lombards to follow the example he had set to his earlier subjects,

¹ They are omitted in loco both in the Bobio MS. and in the *Missale Francorum*, and in the explanation of Amalarius.

carried off to Rome all the service-books he could collect at Milan, with the intention of replacing them by Roman offices (Mabillon, *Her. Ital.* tom. i. part ii. p. 106, etc.). Eugenius, a Gallian bishop, induced Leo to exercise some forbearance in the matter, and thus the Milanese rite was preserved; but, as the account proceeds, only one copy of the earlier service-book could be discovered, so that from it the more recent copies must have been taken.

(69.) This statement seems to be in some degree corroborated by the fact that no manuscript of very ancient date has been discovered containing the Ambrosian rite. The sacramentary published by Pamelius in 1571 differs considerably even in the canon from the modern rite given by Daniel, and it differs too in the service for the Thursday before Easter from that which Saxe, the librarian at Milan, furnished from a very old manuscript to Muratori (*de Lit. Rom.* i. 131). The text of Daniel approximates more nearly to that of the modern Roman *Ordo* and Canon than that given by Pamelius, shewing, I conceive, that the efforts of various popes to induce the Milanese to resign their inheritance have tended to encourage the admission of details from the Roman liturgy. Thus, the text of the *Confiteor* (Daniel, p. 50) and the absolutions, the *Munda cor meum* (p. 62) and the *Hanc igitur* (p. 84, in which the well-known Gregorian words *Desuper nostros in tua pace disponas* are to be found), the *Supplices te rogamus* (p. 90), the *Libera nos* (p. 96) do not occur in Pamelius, nor do other prayers of great importance given by Daniel (pp. 100, 102, 104); and the language of many others differs considerably.

(70.) Taking the text of Pamelius as our guide, we observe that, after two private prayers said by the priest before and whilst he draws near to the altar, an *Ingressa* takes the place of the Roman *Introit*; and that before the *Gloria in excelsis* there is an *oratio super populum*, corresponding to our collect for the day. The salutations, *Dominus vobiscum*, etc., are very frequent; after the *Gloria in excelsis* (in which, as in the older copies, the *Qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis* is not repeated) the *Kyrie eleison* follows. (In the Gregorian it precedes the Angelic Hymn.) Three lessons were read, as in the Gallican and Spanish rites—the Prophecy, the Epistle, the Gospel; a *Psalmus*, consisting of two (or more) verses suited to the Prophecy, was sung after it; a *Benedictus* preceded the Epistle, and a verse for the day with the *Alleluia* followed it; the first few words of the *Gloria in excelsis* and a suitable benedictory prayer preceded the Gospel; salutations, the *Kyrie eleison*, and an antiphon succeeded it. The oblations of the bread and the cup were then made, and they were made even until our own day in a manner recalling the earlier conceptions of the church; they were brought in, not by the deacon, but by ten aged men and as many women, and presented by them to the priest. He had previously offered an *oratio super sidonem*, which varied with the day or season; then came the *orationes secretae ad munus Oblatum*, and a prayer resembling the *suscipe Sancte Pater* of the Roman office, and two others commencing *Et suscipe Sancta Trinitas* (these differ in very interesting details from those which in the Roman book follow the recitation of the creed). According to the book before us a prose hymn entitled *offerenda* was

all the service-books he could find with the intention of replacing offices (Mabilion, *Iter Ital.* 96, etc.). Eugenius, a Gallican, used to exercise some forbearance, and thus the Milanese rite, as the account proceeds, the earlier service-book could be that from it the more recent were taken.

It seems to be in some degree a fact that no manuscript of any age has been discovered containing the sacramentary published by Daniel, which differs considerably even in modern rite given by Daniel, the service for the Thursday after which Saxe, the librarian at Rome, from a very old manuscript (*Rom.* i. 131). The text of the Canon than that given by me, I conceive, that the efforts to induce the Milanese to resign themselves to encourage the service from the Roman liturgy, the *Confiteor* (Daniel, p. 50) the *Munda cor meum* (p. 62), 34, in the well-known *vesque nostros in tua pace dis-*

and the *Symphonicis* to *populum nos* (p. 96) do not occur in the prayers of great importance (pp. 100, 102, 104); and by others differing considerably, the text of Pamelius as our guide, after two private prayers said and whilst he draws near to *missa* takes the place of the Gloria that before the *Gloria in oratio super populum*, collected for the day. The *in vobiscum*, etc., are very *Gloria in excelsis* (in which, the *Qui tollis peccata mundi* repeated) the *Kyrie eleison* precedes the Anglican services were read, as in the *rites*—the Prophecy, the *Psalmus*, consisting of *suited* to the Prophecy, was *edictus* preceded the Epistle, with the *Alleluia* followed by the *Gloria in excelsis* victory prayer preceded the *Kyrie eleison*, and an *it*. The oblations of the were then made, and they *il* our own day in a manner *conceptions* of the church; *a*, not by the deacon, but by *many* women, and presented *e*. He had previously ordered *mem*, which varied with the *came* the *orationes secretæ* and a prayer resembling the of the Roman office, and two *Et suscipe Sancta Trinitas* interesting details from the Roman book follow the *d*). According to the book *ymn* entitled *offerenda* was

then chanted (it began *Ecce apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonium*, and ended with the *Sanctus* of the Apocalypse), and this introduced the creed. Then followed the varying prayer *super oblationem* repeated aloud, and the "preface to the canon" followed. The prefaces (they are so entitled) are numerous. The canon commenced in a manner similar to the Gregorian, but the *Hanc igitur* and *Quam oblationem* were replaced by a single prayer commencing *Fac nobis*. (This is not in Daniel, nor is there notice there of the washing of the fingers of the priest which here ensued, its position differing from that in the Roman book.) Then immediately ensued the *consecratio panis per verba Christi* and the *consecratio calicis*, and the *commemoratio passionis resurrectionis et ascensionis Domini*—all differing from the Gregorian text; but we have the *Memento etiam* and the *Nobis quoque*. The *Per quem* differed materially: there was a special prayer for the confection and commixtion, and the Lord's Prayer followed with a doxology. The *Pacis nuntiatio*, including a prayer, *Pax in caelo, pax in terra, pax in omni populo, pax saeculorum ecclesiarum Dei*; *pax Christi et ecclesiae maneat semper in vobiscum*. Then he communicated, and the communion of the bystanders (*V. Corpus Christi, R. Amen*). With the last exception, and that of the offering of the priest after his reception, *Deo gratias, Deo gratias*, etc., the *modera* or Daniel's text here differs almost entirely from that of Pamelius, which has nothing analogous to the prayers of the Roman Liturgy. Then, an appeal to the church to rejoice, entitled *transitorium*; a varying prayer *post communionem*; *Dominus vobiscum: Kyrie eleison*; *Benedicet et exaudiat nos Iesus*; *Procedamus in pace, R. in nomine Christi*, and the service concluded.

(71.) The importance of our subject is such that it is necessary to say a few more words on the canon which Muratori printed in his famous work (p. 131), from the copy furnished to him by Saxe. Here we find the *Hanc igitur oblationem* adapted for the day, and the *Quam oblationem* which is in Pamelius; but there is a prayer commencing *Hanc facimus*, to which I know of nothing analogous anywhere else. The service is represented as then passing on to a prayer resembling in some respects that commencing *Per quem*, and on this the Lord's Prayer follows. Thus then (if Muratori's account may be implicitly trusted) we have no offering after consecration, no prayer for those who have departed with the sign of faith, no commemoration of the Roman martyrs, no ceremony of fraction before the Lord's Prayer: all of which are contained in the rite as published by Pamelius. The fact is remarkable, and the discrepancy seems to require some explanation. We have an indication in both services that, as we have them, they are later than 800; for in both we have a prayer for the emperor, and Charles was not crowned emperor before that year.

(72.) We have no account of the early liturgy of the patriarchate of Aquileia.

(73.) *Liturgy of the British Islands*.—We are in almost entire ignorance of the character of the liturgies of the ancient British and Celtic churches. It is of course most probable that they resembled in some degree the uses of the churches in Gaul or Spain, but of the extent of

this resemblance it is impossible to speak precisely. A curious document originally published by Spellman, and much used by Ussher, Stillington, and others, may be found in Haddan and Stubbs (i. 138-140). It seems to have been written in the latter part of the seventh or in the eighth century, and professes to give some notes on the various 'courses' in use in Western Europe. The 'Cursus Gallorum' is referred to St. John, and it is stated that it was used widely. The 'Cursus Scottorum,' of which a marked feature was that the *Sanctus*, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the Lord's Prayer, and the *Amen* were chanted by all the congregation, male and female, is assigned to St. Mark; and its introduction into Britain and Scotland is attributed to Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus, who visited the islands about the year 429. It thus (as Professor Stubbs says) is silent on the liturgy of Britain before 429, and its evidence, so far as it is worth anything, only asserts that the Irish liturgy used by St. Patrick was neither Roman nor Gallican, but Alexandrian." Coming down to the next century, we find an assertion attributed to Gildas, that the Britons were opposed to the whole world and to the Romans in particular, "in the mass" (H. and S. i. 112). The date is questioned by Mr. Stubbs, who would refer the assertion to a later period; but, of course, if true in the seventh or eighth century it must have been true in the sixth as to the opposition to Rome. The words of Gregory to Augustine (*ib.* iii. 19) authorised the latter to form a purely Anglican rite, and we know from his proposals to the British bishops (Bede, *E. H.* ii. 2, in Palmer, i. 178), that in matters of custom, in which at the time "the latter differed from the use of Rome and of the church universal," Augustine would give up all points but three. He insisted that they should celebrate Easter at the proper time, should baptize after the Roman ritual, and should join him in preaching the word of the Lord to the English nation. "Everything else, however contrary to our customs, we will bear with equanimity." Of course as long as the Britons and Celts refused to observe the Roman Easter, they must have refused to adopt the Roman ritual for the Eucharist. And we know that the Roman Easter was not observed either in Scotland or Ireland before the beginning of the eighth century. Bede (*H. E. v.* 13, see Haddan and Stubbs, ii. 110) states that Adamnan came to Aldred, king of the Angli, about the year 704, and whilst staying with him saw the canonical rites of the church, and was then persuaded how undesirable it was for him and his people, very few in number and living in an extreme corner of the earth, to retain customs which were opposed to those of the whole Christian world. Adamnan succeeded in inducing the North Irish churches to adopt the Roman Easter, but he died before he could persuade his own monastery at Iona to do the same. It yielded, however, about the year 716 (H. and S. ii. 114). The British churches lasted for a few years longer, but at length, between the years 755 and 850, the bishops in Wales gave way one by one (*ib.* i. 203, 204), following the example of their countrymen amongst the West Saxons, who had yielded to the persuasion of Alhelm in 705 (*ib.* i. 674).

(74.) One Tirechanus, writing about the year

750 (H. and S. i. 115, 141, 154), stated that the second order of Irish saints (beginning from the year 544) receive their office of the Mass from David, Gildas, and Cadoc. Dr. O'Connor, in the year 1819 gave some account of a manuscript (then in the library at Stowe, now in the collection of Lord Ashburnham) which contained a missal that must have been in use in Ireland. His account has been supplemented and corrected by Dr. Todd. We are still, unhappily, in great ignorance as to the character of the service contained in the MS. Two things of moment, however, are known. First, that a copy of the Nicene Creed is found in it, omitting the word *Filioque*. But we are not told whether this is in the office of the Mass or in the scrutiny in preparation for baptism. If the latter, we are reminded of the Gelasian or Gregorian Sacramentary, for the exclusion of the *Filioque* points to a mark of difference in the Irish church from the churches of Spain and Gaul. We are told, secondly, that there are several collects in this missal before the Epistles; and we know that at a synod of Mâcon, held about 624, the objection was raised against the famous Columbanus, that he celebrated the solemnities of the Mass with a multiplicity of prayers or collects. Eustatius, who was then abbat of Luxeuil (the convent had been founded by Columbanus), defended the use. Additional confirmation is furnished by the two very interesting books of Mullen and Dimma, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. They are undoubtedly Irish, and although they contain only services for the visitation of the sick, yet these services bear very strong resemblance to each other, and the words, *Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine, tibi semper dicamus, Domine, alleluia, alleluia* (which are repeated), are found, almost identically, in the words of the Spanish Liturgy, *Refecti Christi corpore et sanguine, te laudamus Domine, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia*. A post-communion collect commencing *Refecti* is frequently found in the Gallican and other services, but the jubilant *alleluia* is connected with it only in the Mozarabic rite. I have not seen in the Spanish books the concluding thanksgiving, *Deus tibi gratias agimus, etc.*

Mabillon (*De Liturg. Gall.* lib. i. col. iii. § 2) shews that the Roman order was not introduced into Ireland before the 12th century.

(75.) Mr. Haldan (H. and S. ii. p. 275) considered that the one fragment of *Scottish-Celtic liturgical documents*, that has as yet seen the light, is contained in the book of Deer—a portion of the service for the Visitation of the Sick. It resembles closely that contained in the books I have just named, and thus it seems probable that the service was known from Aberdeen to Wexford. We thus connect the early Scottish rites also with those of Spain. It seems that in the 12th century the bishop of Glasgow introduced, with the consent of Pope Alexander III., the Sarum offices into his cathedral, and that his example was followed by other bishops in the next century (H. and S. 275 and 3:). As the Sarum missal contains the Gregorian Canon, the inference is that the Scotch use up to that time must, like the Irish, have continued to differ from that adopted in Gaul and England.

(76.) Returning to England, we have only to notice that the Sarum, Bangor, York, and Hereford uses, which continued until the 16th century,

all agreed in adopting the text of the Gregorian Canon. We must conclude that that canon had been introduced universally before the end of the 10th century, and thus we have proof that the 13th canon of the council of Cloveshoo (A.D. 747) had secured complete obedience, and that "in the celebration of the masses all things were then done after the example which they had in writing from the Roman church." This canon seems to refer only to days kept in memory of events in the life of our Lord, but the spirit of the enactment is manifest. And doubtless when the Welsh bishops finally adopted the Roman Easter, they adopted simultaneously the Gregorian Liturgy. [C. A. S.]

LITERATURE.—It is impossible to attempt to give here a complete account of the very extensive literature connected with liturgies. The following list contains the principal collections and editions of ancient liturgies, and works useful in the study of the principal rites of antiquity.

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SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND EDITIONS.—E. Renandot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Paris, 1716. [Reprinted, Frankfurt, 1847]. T. Brett, *A Collection of the principal Liturgies, particularly the Clementine, the Liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil; translated into English by several hands. With a Dissertation upon them*. London, 1720 [Reprinted, London, 1838]. J. M. Neale, *Translation and Parallel Arrangement of the Anaphorae of S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, S. James, S. Mark, Coptic-Jacobite S. Basil, Lesser S. James, Theodore the Interpreter, the Armeno-Gregorian, and the Mozarabic Rite, in the Introduction to his History of the Eastern Church*, p. 525 ff.; London, 1850; *Tetralogia Liturgica*; see S. Chrysostomi, S. Jacobi, S. Marci missae, quibus accedit Ordo Mozarabicus, parallelis ordine; London, 1849; *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, and the Church of Malabar, with Translation*; London, 1859; *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil* [in Greek and in English]; London, 1868. H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium, Coptorum, Syrorum et Armeniorum in administrandis Sacramentis*; Würzburg, 1863-64. [Bishop Rattray], *Liturgia Primitiva Hierosolymitana; being the Liturgy of St. James, etc.*, London, 1744. W. Trollope, *The Greek Liturgy of St. James, with Introduction, etc., and a Latin Version of the Syriac Copy*; Edinburgh, 1848. Jac. Gear, *Euchologium Magnum, sive Rituale Graecorum*; Paris, 1647. R. F. Littledale, *Offices from the Service-books of the Holy Eastern Church*; London, 1863.

J. Pamellus, *Liturgica Latinorum*, Cologne, 1571; some later copies bear the title *Missale SS. Patrum Latinorum*; J. M. Thomsius, *Opera omnia*, ed. Vezzosi; Rome, 1747. *Gregorii Dicit Sacramentorum Liber* was printed by Pamellus in his *Liturgica Latinorum* (Cologne, 1571), from a Cologne MS. Again by Angelo Rocca from a Vatican MS., in his edition of Gregory's

Ferd. Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, Tübingen, 1870; *Sakramente und Sakramentation*, Tübingen, 1872; W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, London, 1872; second edition, London, 1876.

J. G. Janus, de *Liturgijs Orientalibus Dissertatio*, Wittenberg, 1724; J. M. Neale, *The Liturgies of the Eastern Church*, in the Introduction to his *History of the Eastern Church*, p. 317 ff., London, 1850; J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches, their early History, Ritual, &c.*, London, 1849; G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852; S. C. Malan, *The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church*, translated, London, 1870; *Original Documents of the Coptic Church*, translated, London, 1872, etc.; J. M. Rodwell, *Ethiopic Liturgies and Prayers*, translated from MSS., London, 1864, etc.; G. B. Howard, *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, Oxford and London, 1864.

Leo Allatius, de *Libris et Rebus Ecclesiasticis Græcorum Dissertationes variae*, Paris, 1646; in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, tom. v.; W. Cave, *Dissertatio de Libris et Officijs Ecclesiasticis Græcorum*, in his *Historia Literaria*, tom. ii. ed. Oxon. 1744-5; J. M. Heinecius, *Abbildung der alten und neuen Griechischen Küche*, Leipzig, 1711.

N. P. Sibbern, de *Libris Latinarum ecclesiasticis et liturgicis*, Wittenberg, 1706; A. Krazer, de *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Liturgijs*, Augsburg, 1786; A. G. Gräser, *Die Röm.-Kathol. Liturgie nach ihrer Entstehung u. Ausbildung*, Halle, 1829.

J. Mabillon, de *Ritu Ambrosiano*, in his *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. pt. 2, p. 95 ff.

Sam. Maresius, *Disputatio Historico-Theologica de Mozarabum Officio*, in his *Disputationes selectae*, pt. ii. pp. 355-368, Groningen, 1663; Dissertation on the ancient Spanish Liturgy in the third volume of *España Sagrada* by H. Florez, Mantuae Carpet. 1748; Jo. Pinus, *Tractatus Historico-Chronologicus de Liturgia Antiqua Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, Toletana, Mieta*, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, July, tom. vi. pp. 1-112; C. W. Flügel, *Bemerkungen über die Mozarabische Liturgie*, in Henke's *Magazin für Religions-Philosophie* u. s. w., Bd. iv. p. 115 ff. [C.]

LIUDGER, bishop of Mimigardford; commemorated March 26 (*Acta SS. Mar. iii. 616*).

[C. H.]

LIVARIUS, martyr at Marsal; commemorated Nov. 25 (*Usuard. Auct.*).

LIVENTIUS (*Usuard. Auct. Jan. 25*). [LIVENTIUS.] [C. H.]

LIVING, COMMEMORATION OF. [CANON; DIPTYCHS.]

LIVINUS (LIVINIUS, LIAFWINUS, LEBVINUS, LEBVIN, LIVIN), apostle of Flanders, 7th century, archbishop and martyr; commemorated Nov. 12 (*Usuard. Auct.*; *Mart. Ado Append.*; *Acta SS. Ord. Bened. ii. 431*; *Surius, Prob. Sanct. Hist.*, ad diem). [C. H.]

LIZERIUS, Roman martyr at Venice, temp. Diocletian; commemorated Oct. 2 (*Acta SS. Oct. i. 324*). [C. H.]

LIZINIUS. [LICINIUS.]

LLAWDOG or LLEUDAD, Welsh saint, late in 6th century, commemorated Jan. 15, at

Llanllawdog in Carmarthen (Rees, *Welsh Saints* (Lond. 1636), p. 274). [E. B. L.]

LLECHID, early in 6th century, Dec. 2, at Llanlechid, in Carnarvon (*ib.* p. 223).

LLEUDAD v. LLAWDOG. [E. B. B.]

LLIBIO, late 7th century, Feb. 28, at Llanlibio, in Anglesey (*ib.* p. 308). [E. B. B.]

LONIO Lawhir ap Alan, early 6th century, has a church at Llanio, in Cardigan (*ib.* p. 221). [E. B. B.]

LLWCHAIARN, late 6th century, Jan. 11, at Llanllwchaiarn (*ib.* p. 275). [E. B. B.]

LLWNI, late 7th century, Aug. 11, at Llanllwni, in Carmarthen (*ib.* 308). [E. B. B.]

LLWYDIAN, late 7th century, Nov. 19 (*ib.*).

[E. B. B.]

LLYR, late 7th century, Oct. 21, at Llanlllyr in Cardigan (*ib.* v. also p. 169).

[E. B. B.]

LLYWEL or Luhlil, at Llywel in Brecon mid. 8th century, p. 253. [E. B. B.]

LOAVES, MULTIPLICATION OF. Representations of this miracle are very frequent in early Christian art. Perhaps the most common form of treatment is that given by Bottari (pl. lxxxv.), in which the Lord lays one hand on the loaves and the other on the fishes presented by two disciples, whilst at his feet are the "baskets" containing the "fragments." A sarcophagus in the Vatican, however, presents a noteworthy variation from this type (*lit. pl. xix.*). Here the loaves are placed in three baskets at the Lord's feet; in His right hand He holds a rod, which He extends over them, whilst He lays His left hand on the fish, presented by a disciple (see woodcut). The principal symbolic use of this subject was doubtless to keep before the minds of the faithful the perpetual supply of the heavenly bread provided in the Eucharist for the nourishment of their souls. Hence we find the second of the two recorded miracles of multiplication is the one usually chosen for representation, as in it the loaves multiplied are supposed to have been of wheat, the "barley loaves" being expressly mentioned on the first occasions. The seven baskets, which are of almost invariable occurrence in these representations, show unmistakably that the second of those miracles is referred to. [Compare MANNA.]



From Bottari (Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus).

LOAVES

Marthen (Rees, *Welsh Saints* 4).
[E. B. B.]
y in 6th century, Dec. 2, at
Arvon (*ib.* p. 223).

LLAWDROG. [E. B. B.]
h century, Feb. 28, at Llan-
b. p. 308). [E. B. B.]
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Llanio, in Cardigan (*ib.* p.
[E. B. B.]
N, late 6th century, Jan. 11,
p. 275). [E. B. B.]

7th century, Aug. 11, at
Arthen (*ib.* 308). [E. B. B.]
ate 7th century, Nov. 19 (*ib.*).
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Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.

LOAVES, BENEDICTION OF

The Lord almost always appears with a rod in his hand (Buonarri, *Petri*, tav. viii.). Upon a sarcophagus given by Bottari (*ib.* p. 201) the Lord holds a rod in one hand, and from the other rays of light appear to stream upon the three baskets of loaves. This subject is represented in paintings, in sarcophagi (v. Bosio, *passim*) and sepulchral slabs (Perret, *vol. v. pl. xviii.* 18), on glasses (Buonarri, *loc. laud.*), and on mosaics (Ciampini, *Vet. Monim.* li. 98). On a curious sarcophagus in the Vatican the Jews appear to seize the Lord, perhaps to take him by force and make him a king (St. John vi. 15). [C.]

LOAVES, BENEDICTION OF. The procession of the *Lite* which occurs in the office of Great Vespers [v. art. *LITE*] returns into the nave of the church while the *Aposticha* are being sung; and each one puts down his candlestick on either side of a table*, already prepared by the *Cellarius* (or steward), on which stands a dish with corn and five loaves, such as we are in the habit of offering in church, and on either side of the dish are two vessels (*ἀγγεῖα*); the one on the left filled with wine, the other on the right with oil. The priest with the deacon stands within the beautiful doors (*τῶν ὀραίων πυλῶν*). When the *Aposticha* are finished, *Nunc dimittis*, the *Trisagion*, and the Lord's prayer are said; and after certain *troparia* belonging to the day, and certain ceremonies which are detailed in the rubrics, relating mainly to the censuring of the loaves, the priest takes one loaf in his hand, and says the following prayer in a loud voice:

"O Lord Jesus Christ, our God, who didst bless the five loaves in the desert, and didst feed five thousand men; do Thou bless these loaves also, the corn, the wine, and the oil; and multiply them in this holy monastery [or in the city], and throughout the whole world which is Thine, and sanctify the faithful who partake of them. For Thou art He that blesseth and sanctifieth all things, Christ our God; and to Thee we offer up (*ἀναπέμπωμεν*) glory, with Thine eternal [lit. without beginning] Father, and Thine all Holy and Good and Life-giving Spirit, now and to all ages. Amen."

Then Psalm 33 [34 E. V. Benedicam Domino] is said as far as the words, "Shall want no manner of thing that is good."

And the priest goes from his place, and stands before the Holy doors looking West. And after the end of the psalm he says:

"The blessing of the Lord and His mercy

* τὰ μαρῶν δία. So called because carried in the hand. ἡ τετραπόδιον. Called in the parallel rubric in the office for Vespers ἀναλόγιον, which word is explained as *pulp. tum portabile*.

† It is disputed what is meant by this term. Here it evidently means the doors which separate the body (nave) of the church from the narthex; for the rubric on the procession of the *Lite*, which starts from the interior of the church, says—*διελθόντες διὰ τῶν ὀραίων πυλῶν . . . ἵστάνται ἐν τῶν ἁγίων, whence they are now returning.* Dr. Neale, however, holds that these doors are the exterior doors of the narthex. The question appears to be connected with some ambiguity in the use of the term narthex, and probably with some structural variation in different churches. See Ducange, *Constantin. Christos* and *Gloss. Gr. Barb.* 288; *Guar. Euch.* pp. 12, 14, &c.; *Neale, Intr.* pp. 107, &c. [*Doors*, p. 574.]

LOCALIS ORDINATIO 1039

come upon you, by His grace and love for men now and ever and to all ages."

And the dismissal takes place.

A note at the end of the office of vespers adds: "Be it known that the bread which has been blessed is a preservative against all sorts of evils, if it be taken with faith."

The following form of "Blessing bread and distributing it to the poor on the feasts of the Ascension or Pentecost" is from an old Pontifical of Narbonne, and is stated [Martene, iii. 193] to have been used in other churches.

After rubrical directions for the procession, and other ritual observances, the deacon reads the gospel from St. John vi. 1. The officiating priest or bishop (Sacerdos vel Pontifex) begins, and the choir continues the antiphon *De quibus panibus*, &c.

- The Priest.* Dispersit dedit pauperibus.
- V. Beatus qui intelligit super egenam et pauperem.
- R. In die mala liberabit eum Dominus.
- V. Numquid panem poterit dare?
- R. Aut parare mensam in deserto?
- V. Pluit illis manna ad manducandum.
- R. Et panem coeli dedit eis.
- V. Cibavit illos ex adipe trument,
- R. Et de petra melle attravit eos.
- V. Manducaverunt et saturati sunt.
- R. Et desiderium attruli eis.
- V. Panem angelorum manducavit homo.
- R. Misit eis cibaria in abundantia.
- V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.
- R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

And the form concludes with two collects (the former of which is substantially the same as the Greek prayer already given, in a Latin shape) for blessing the bread, and that it may convey spiritual and bodily health and protection against all diseases to those who partake of it.

[H. J. H.]

LOCALIS ORDINATIO. By ancient custom, no priest, deacon, or other ecclesiastic was permitted to be ordained without having a definite sphere in which to exercise his ministry, or, in the later phrase, without a title to orders. This was termed in the Western Church *localis ordinatio*, and the clergy, because ordained to the charge of a particular church or monastery, were termed *locales*. And it was specially forbidden that a clerk should be ordained to two churches, "canoniarum enim est" (*Syn. Nic. II.* can. 15). The first Council of Arles (A.D. 314) recognises this custom incidentally in its 22nd canon, ordering that priests and deacons who should relinquish the churches to which they were bound by their ordination (in quibus ordinati sunt) should return and officiate there only, and that those who did not obey should be deposed. And the Council of Valencia in Spain (A.D. 524) expressly forbids ordination unless the candidate should have first promised to keep to a single post (se futurum localem) in order that none ordained might be able to transgress ecclesiastical rule and discipline with impunity by removing from one church to another. To the same effect the Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) in its 6th canon, forbidding any to be ordained *ἀπολελυμένως*, i.e. absolutely and without a title. It annuls ordinations performed in breach of this rule. By the two following canons it declares all clergy residing in a . . . ari or

serving chapels of the martyrs, to be locales. And we find pope Leo (*Ep.* 92, *ad Rustic.* c. 1.) instructing his correspondent accordingly that ordination without this designation to a particular place was null, "vana est habenda ordinatio, quae nec loco fundata est, nec auctoritate munita."

The principle in fact was that such ordinations had no mission, and this idea kept in mind will in every instance give the reasons of the rule. It is not to be understood as binding a priest to the same church throughout his life, but it would seem that he was expected to keep as a general rule to the same diocese. He owed obedience to the bishop who ordained him to his first grade, and was bound to go and exercise his ministry whither he was sent by him. The 3rd Council of Carthago (A.D. 397) obliged Julian, a bishop, to send back to another bishop, Epigonius, a youth whom the latter had ordained no reader, although Julian had advanced him to the diaconate, and so might seem to have a claim upon him (can. 44). It was not usual for a bishop to promote to a higher grade a clerk ordained by another bishop. This was expressly forbidden by the ninth canon of a synod held at Angers, and by the tenth of another held at Vannes in Brittany. It was the breach of this well-known and understood rule that occasioned the loud complaints made by Demetrius of Alexandria when Origen, who was one of his deacons, was raised to the presbyterate in Palestine by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem. We find Gregory the Great (A.D. 590) writing to the bishop of Syracuse, requesting him to send back to their ordinary certain clerks who had taken refuge with him, having been ordained by another bishop (*Epist.* iii. 42).

Canonical penalties were imposed for breaches of this rule. The Council of Ilerda (*Lerida*, A.D. 524) suspended the bishop so offending from the power to ordain (can. 12). The third of Orleans (538) sequestered him altogether from officiating for six months (can. 6). The civil power appears at some periods to have been called in to relegate wandering clerks to their own diocesan (*Conc. Tolet.* xiii. A.D. 683, cann. 11, 12). The number of these seems to have been very great throughout the Western Churches. Isidore, writing in A.D. 595, calls them Acephali, and speaks of them as disgracing the church, and hardly deserving the name of clergy at all (*Isid. Hispal. de Eccles. Offic.* lib. ii. c. 3).

The same Gregory wishing to appoint the archdeacon of Catania to the vacant see of Syracuse, formally asked for him a release by the bishop of Catania from this bond of *localis* (*Epist.* iv. 30). In like manner the assent of the archbishop of Ravenna was formally applied for before the appointment of Florentius, archdeacon of Ravenna, to the see of Ancona (*Epist.* xii. 6). Many such instances occur in history. Charlemagne himself presided over a council held at Frankfort in 794, when complaint was made of the wandering habit of a part of the clergy, and sundry prohibitions of this were repeated (*Cap. Frankf.*). That neither bishop, presbyter, nor deacon should migrate from city to city, but remain attached to their own church according to rule (can. 7). That bishops should not receive wandering clergy (can. 27). That none should be ordained unattached (*absolutè*) (can. 28).

Nor could they throw off their clerical character

in order to escape this bond of *localis* (*Syn. Cæsariensis*, can. 6; *Conc. Chalced.*, can. 7; Justinian, *Novell.* vi. c. 7, *de clericis in alium ritae formam transentibus*). But the clerk could not be removed from his church or preferment at the mere will of the bishop (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* l. 19; iii. 13), though he might be transferred, "non invitus," from one to another (*Conc. Carthag.* iv. can. 27). The bishop might not in ordinary cases send a clerk into another diocese (*Conc. Antioch.* can. 22; *Can. Apost.* c. 35); but he might send him on a mission to the heathen, as *e. g.* Gregory the Great sent Augustine to the heathen English.

The priest might not travel without the licence and commendatory letters of his bishop under penalty of suspension (*Conc. Laodic.* A.D. 361, can. 42; also can. 41; and especially *Concil. Milan.* A.D. 416, can. 20, which is very express and detailed on this point). Similar canons were passed by the second of Seville (A.D. 619, can. 3; Worm. 868, can. 19). In 506 the Council of Agde imposed by its 64th canon the penalty of three years' suspension upon priests for absence from their churches for even three weeks.

The clerk seems not to have been quite helpless before the power of his bishop. The Council of Sardica (A.D. 381) gave permission to a clerk unjustly accused to appeal to neighbouring bishops, and to these a discretion to hear and judge of such a case (can. 17). But it is very cautiously worded, and seems to point rather to the rehabilitation of the clerk in his own diocese, than his admission to another. The thirteenth of Toledo, however, in its 12th canon gives to clerks a distinct right of appeal to the metropolitan and even to the sovereign. And see also a letter of Pope Leo I. (*ad Anastas.* c. 9), which imposes upon the metropolitan the obligation of compelling such a fugitive to return to his own church. And *Conc. Wormat.* can. 18.

There were occasional exceptions to this rule of making all clergy *locales*. Paulinus, bishop of Nola (A. D. 353-431) writes in his first letter to Sulpicius Severus that he was ordained a presbyter at Barcelona upon the express condition that he should not be bound to that church. But his was altogether a special case; that of a man of high rank and large fortune who was induced to take upon him the priesthood by the urgent persuasions of the people. The case of Jerome (A.D. 340-420) again is peculiar. He was ordained a presbyter by Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, having previously stipulated that he should not be obliged to quit his monastic life. He says (*Apol. ad Pammach.* tom. ii. p. 181) that he told Paulinus "si tribus presbyterum et monachum nobis non auferas, tu videre de iudicio tuo." And from the tone of his description it would seem that like Paulinus of Nola, he too had been solicited to receive ordination. Yet we learn from Epiphanius that it struck him as very unusual and improper that Jerome and another presbyter, Vincentius, lived in retirement, discharging none of the duties of their function; not even celebrating the holy communion; a very remarkable thing at that time. But Jerome, whatever may have been his actual motive, was really in agreement with the principle of the canon of Chalcedon referred to above, which forbade men, ordained as he had been, to exercise their office. Theodoret

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(*Histor. Relig.* c. xiii. 3) records that Flavian, another bishop of Antioch, sent for Macedonius, a famous monk out of the neighbouring desert, and having ordained him a presbyter against his will, allowed him to return.

It is evident that even these exceptions are more apparent than real; that the rule of *localis* was absolute, and was strictly observed.

It extended also to bishops. No bishop was to be consecrated, except to a particular diocese, and to that he was to confine himself. We find the 1st Council of Nicaea (can. 15) recognising this fact in the plainest manner, and applying it to all the clergy, bishops, priests, or deacons. The above refers to clergy obtaining these removals, so to speak, by fair means: can. 16 of the same council deals with the case of presbyters and deacons breaking the rule of *localis* altogether lawlessly. Justinian promulgated a law (*Novelt.* lib. iv. c. 2) forbidding bishops to be absent from their dioceses more than a year, except by command of the emperor. The 3rd of Carthage (397) forbids (can. 38) the translation of bishops; and this canon recites the case which formed its occasion, viz. that Cresconius, bishop of Villa Regia, had left his see, and settled himself over that of Tubunae, contrary to the rule. For a bishop might not be transferred from his original see without the approval of a provincial synod (*iv. Carth.* can. 27, which no doubt embodies an earlier rule).

Yet even here we find some exceptions. Sozomen (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. c. 34) relates that Barsees and Eulogius, monks of Edessa, and Lazarus, a monk of Mount Sigoron, were raised to be bishops, not of any diocese, but purely and simply as an honour, *ὡς πόλεως τιμὴς, ἀλλὰ τιμὴς ἑνεκεν*. These appear, however, to be the only cases expressly recorded of a honorary episcopate, until a much later period. In the 2nd Council of Mâcon (A.D. 585) there were three bishops present who subscribed the acts of the council "non habentes sedes." The Council of Vermeria [Verberie, dioc. Soissons] (A.D. 752) complains of the number of *vagranti* bishops, and refuses to recognise the ordinations performed by them (can. 14), and three years after (A.D. 755) one at Verneville appealed to such bishops not to ordain in the dioceses of others (can. 13). For the case of the chorepiscopi, or assistant bishops, see CHOREPISCOPIUS. Their want of title and jurisdiction in the Western Church was, in the reign of Charlemagne, held to be fatal to their episcopal character, "nam episcopi non erant, qui nec ad quandam episcopalem sedem titulati erant, nec canonice a tribus episcopis ordinati." The whole class were therefore to be recognised as presbyters only, and their ordinations were to be disallowed "pro inanis vacuisque habitae." [S. J. E.]

LOCULUS. [CATACOMBS, I. 306.]

LOCUTORIUM. [PARLOUR.]

LOGIUM. [RATIONALE.]

LOGUORGUE, martyr, commemorated May 4 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

LOIS, grandmother of Timothy, commemorated July 27 (*Arm. Cal.*) [C. H.]

LOMANUS, bishop of Trim, commemorated

with bishop Fortchern Feb. 17 (Boll. *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 13). [C. H.]

LONDON, COUNCIL OF (*Londinense Con- ciliūm*), A.D. 605 or thereabouts, according to Mansi (x. 495), following Spelman and Wilkins, who mistake a general assertion of St. Boniface for one. (Stubbs's Wilkins, notes to pp. 51-2.) [E. S. FF.]

LONGI (Μακροί). A name by which some Egyptian monks were known, who were concerned in the dispute between Theophilus of Alexandria and St. John Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople (Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. vi. c. 30). He explains that the appellation applied only to three brothers, Ammonius, Enebius, and Dioscorus, who were remarkably tall. [S. J. E.]

LONGINUS (1) Said to have been the soldier who pierced the Lord's side. His martyrdom at Caesarea in Cappadocia was commemorated March 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard, *Mart.*; Boll. *Acta SS.* March, ii. 384). In the *Vet. Rom. Mart.* he occurs under Sept. 1, and in the *Auctaria* of Bede under March 15 and Nov. 22. Under the latter date a person of the same name, but otherwise not designated, occurs as suffering in Cappadocia (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Said to have been the centurion who stood by the cross, martyr, commemorated Oct. 16 (*Byzant. Cal.*; Basil, *Menol.*; *Daniel. Cod. Liturg.* iv. 271). The Bollandists make Longinus the soldier and Longinus the centurion both martyred at Caesarea in Cappadocia and both commemorated on March 15 (*Acta SS.* March, ii. 384). In Bede's *Auctaria*, Oct. 23, occurs a Longinus who suffered at Caesarea in Cappadocia.

(3) Soldier and martyr at Marseille, commemorated July 21 (Bede, *Auct.*).

(4) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Sept. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

LONGUS (1) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Oct. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr in Phrygia, commemorated Oct. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

LOQUUMFAS, female martyr at Barcelona, commemorated Feb. 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

LORD (*κύριος, δεσπότης, Dominus*). On the Old Testament (LXX) usage of these several words, see DICT. OF THE BIBLE, art. Lord.

1. *Dominus*, see under that heading in vol. i. II. *Kýrios* is a general title of respect, and, when employed in the vocative, exactly like *Sir* in English (St. John iv. 11, xii. 21).

Δεσπότης is employed sometimes in the same connexion; the use of *dominus* in later times is exactly similar.

Δεσπότης, κύριος, and *dominus* are bestowed upon bishops. In a letter from Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, we find him styling his correspondent lord (*κύριος*). This was probably an excess of adulation. The Prooimium to the acts of the 1st Council of Arles (A.D. 314) speaks of pope Sylvester as "Lord" (*Dominus*). Similarly the epistle of the synod at Gangra (324) speaks to the bishops of Armenia, as "dominus honorabilibus consacer-

doctus." A letter of the Egyptian bishops to pope Marcellus (336) asking for copies of the Nicene canons, is addressed (if we may trust the text) "dominus sanctus et Apostolicus culminis veneranda pagina. And he, in replying, used a similar formula, "dominus venerabilibus fratribus." So the epistle of the Orientals to pope Julius I. (337).

In and after the time of Constantine we find many examples of this usage. St. John Chrysostom, writing to pope Innocent (A.D. 402-417, *Episc. 122, ad Innoc. Episc. Rom.*), supercribes his letter "τῷ δεσπότῃ μου τῷ ἀδελφωτάτῳ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ . . . Ἰουδῆν ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν." In fact henceforward it was applied to men of high rank, both in church and state, "pariterque caeteri principes atque nobiles tum ecclesiae tum reipublicae" (Spelman, *Glossar.* s. v. "Lord").

But yet the designation "Lord" was not universal in addressing bishops: many letters are found without it and it is remarkable that St. Jerome, writing to pope Damasus, although he was his superior and patron, calls him merely "beatissimus papa." (The letter is curious, as being written to suggest that the "Gloria Patri" and Alleluia should be added to the psalms when sung; which had not, up to that time, been done at Rome.) Yet in the very next letter we find Stephen, archbishop of Aphricae (? Antipatra in Libya), addressing the same man in a similar letter, as "lord" (*dominus*). So also does very Damasus in a letter to the bishops of Bithynia calls them "domini venerabiles."

The truth seems to be that whenever any one, cleric or layman, addressing a bishop, wished to be particularly respectful, he said "dominus" not otherwise.

By the early part of the 6th century it had become, in some parts of the church, an official style of those in high position, whether ecclesiastical or civil. The early Frank kings both received it themselves and bestowed it upon others. (*Epist. Clodov. Reg. Franc. ad Syn. Aurel. I.*) Compare SUPERSCRPTION.

III. *Kúporos*, *dominus*, was especially a title of the emperors, both in earlier and later times, before and after the Christian era. Augustus, indeed, forbade by an edict the addressing of himself as *dominus* (Suet. *Vit. August.* c. 53), probably from a prudent political motive; and Tiberius (Suet. *Vit. Neron.* c. 27) renewed the prohibition. But afterwards the use of the title became very common; and Domitian caused himself to be styled, not only "dominus" but "Deus" (Suet. *Vit. Domit.* c. 13). Tertullian (*Apolo.* c. 34) praises the moderation of Augustus, and explains in what sense he himself employed the word; "dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi; sed quando non cogor ut dominum Dei vice dicam. Ceterum liber sum illi; Dominus enim meus meus est, omnipotens Deus aeternus. . . Qui potest, quae est, quomodo dominus est? Sed et gratius est, quia pietatis quam potestatis: etiam imperatoris patris quam domini vocatur."

Arius and Euzoios, writing to Constantine about A.D. 326, call him "dominus master." The bishops of the Council of Rimini (A.D. 359) address Constantius as "domine, amantibus Deo Imperator."

IV. Lord (*dominus*) appears to be sometimes

used during this period in the sense of "saint," (*Epist. Cuthon. Conc. ad Theod.*) [S. J. E.]

V. *Liturgical use.* The word *Kúporos* is applied both to the first Person of the Holy Trinity, as in St. James, c. 26 (Daniel, *Codex.* iv. 105), where God the Creator is invoked as *Kúporos ó Θεός*; to the second, as in St. James, c. 5, where He is addressed as *ó Kúporos καὶ Θεός ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*; and to the Holy Trinity itself, as in St. James, c. 19, where Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom the hymn is sent up, are addressed as *Kúporos ó Θεός ἡμῶν. Δεσπότης* is similarly used; in St. James, c. 21, for instance, we find it *Δέσποτα ó Θεός ó παντακράτωρ, ó Πατήρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου*, where God the Father is addressed; in St. James, c. 3, the Son is addressed as *Δέσποτα Kúporos Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. In Latin, the word *dominus* is used as an appellation both of the Father to whom the prayer is addressed, and of the Son through whom it is offered.

In most Western rites the reader, when about to recite a lesson, says "Jube, domine, benedicere." It has been doubted whether this is addressed to God or to the priest. It probably, however, as archdeacon Freeman (*Divine Service*, l. 113) has pointed out, is a request to the priest that he would desire a blessing, and might be rendered, "Sir, desire God to bless us" (compare Leslie's *Portiforium Sarrid.* p. 5, and note, p. lii.). The corresponding Greek form is simply *εὐλόγησον δέσποτα*, as (*eg.*) in the Byzantine liturgy (Daniel, iv. 327, 329, etc.), where the *δεσπότης* is clearly the priest. It is noteworthy, that in the East the priest responded to the request by blessing God (*εὐλόγηστος ó Θεός*), in the West by blessing himself and the congregation. See on this point the *Regula Benedicti Commentata*, note on n. 9, in Migne, *Patrol.* vol. lvi. p. 272. [C.]

LORD'S DAY. (*ἡ κυριακή ἡμέρα*, *Dominicus* or *Dominica dies*.) The origin of the name is undoubtedly to be found in the well-known passage (Rev. i. 10), *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ*. Even if that passage stood alone, it would be difficult to accept either of the rival interpretations, one of which refers the name to the Sabbath, and the other to the "Day of the Lord." But taking into consideration the remarkable catena of patristic usage which, from Ignatius downwards, establishes the regular and technical use of *ἡ κυριακή* for the "first day of the week," it is not too much to say that these interpretations may be dismissed as unworthy of serious attention. The same usage, moreover (especially in connection with the history of the Paschal controversy), seems effectually to dispose of a third interpretation, which understands by the *τῇ κυριακῇ* the annual festival of the Resurrection, or Easter day. (On these points see Dr. Hessey's article "Lord's Day" in Smith's DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.) We accept, therefore, unhesitatingly the traditional interpretation which sees in this passage of St. John a reference to the weekly Lord's day, as a well-known and established festival in the apostolic church. The more common scriptural designation of that day is the *ἡ μίση ἢ μίση σαββάτου* (Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; John xxi. 19; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2.) In one passage, Mark xvi. 9 (the disputed passage

of in the sense of "saint," and the d. [S. J. K.] The word Kipios is applied on of the Holy Trinity, as (Daniel, Cudez, iv. 105), as is invoked as Kipios d. or in St. James, c. 5, ed as d Kipios kai Oeods; and to the Holy Trinity, c. 10, where Father, Son, and the hymn is sent up, d Oeods hman. Δεσπότης St. James, c. 21, for Δέσποτα d Oeods παντο- Χριστού σου, where God d; in St. James, c. 3, the Δέσποτα Κύριε Ἰησοῦ word Dominus is used as the Father to whom the and of the Son through

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at the close of the Gospel, we have πρώτη σαβ- βάτου or σαββάτου. The use of the ἡ κυριακή by St. John marks transition to the common post-apostolic usage. In one well-known passage in the (so-called) Epistle of Barnabas (c. xvi.), for a reason suggested by the context, we find the day, in contrast with the Jewish sabbath, called the ὀρθοὴ ἡμέρα, an expression taken up and amplified in the ὀρθοὴ ἡμέρα ἡ καὶ πρώτη of subsequent Fathers. At a later period, when the hebdomadal division of the time began to prevail in the Roman empire, we find Christian writers designating the day by its heathen name (the ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα of Justin Martyr). And from the time of the celebrated edict of Constantine, which speaks of the "venerabilis Solis dies," the two names were much interchanged, Christian writers sometimes using (though less frequently than we do) the name "Sunday," and on the other hand the Christian designation making its way into the statute book, as in the edict of Gratian, a.n. 386 ("Solis die, quem Dominicum ritè dixere majores"). [WEEK.]

(1.) Turning from the name to the thing, it seems impossible to doubt that from the earliest existence of the church the Lord's day was observed as the characteristic Christian festival, hallowed as a commemoration of that Resurrection of the Lord, which was the leading subject in the earliest forms of Christian preaching. To this primary consecration of the day was added a second, in the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, which in that year fell on the first day of the week. The passage in the Epistle of Barnabas referred to (ὁδοὶ καὶ ἔργων τῆν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀρθοὴν εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἐν ἧ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνίστηθι ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς) seems even to indicate the notion that it was the day of the Ascension also. We may naturally ask, How could a day so hallowed fall of reverent festal observance? We trace indications of such observance, brief indeed, but unmistakable, in Holy Scripture itself (see Dr. Hessey's article or his Bampton Lectures); and these are still further illustrated by the testimony of early writers.

But the undoubted fact of this observance by no means involves the inference often drawn from it, that the keeping of the Lord's day must be traced to an apostolic decree, transferring to it, directly or by implication, the sanctity of the Sabbath, which was familiar to the early Christians, as being themselves Jews, or having been converted under Jewish influence. It is almost needless to say that of such a decree we have no evidence whatever, either in Holy Scripture or in Church History. Now in regard to Holy Scripture, it would, indeed, be most unsafe to allege its silence as conclusive against the existence of such a decree; although that silence must to some degree tell against it, especially when we consider the many references in the Pastoral Epistles to details of church order and practical religious life. But we are not left here to negative evidence. There are positive indications of an absolute freedom of dealing with such subjects, quite incompatible not merely with the existence of a formal apostolic decree, but even with the idea that the observance of the Lord's day had yet attained to the supreme and unique sanctity accorded to it in later ages.

St. Paul's treatment of the general question of the observation of days in Rom. xiv. 5 (ὅς μὲν κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν, ὅς δὲ κρίνει πάσαν ἡμέραν ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ κατ' ἀλλοφροσύνην), and his unqualified condemnation of the "observ- ing of days" in Gal. iv. 10—to say nothing of the tone of his celebrated reference to the abolition of the sabbath in Col. ii. 16—appear decisive on this point. Granting that the special reference of the apostle was in all cases to the Jewish festivals, it is instructive to compare with his sweeping treatment of the sub- ject the apologetic comments on these very pas- sages, made by patristic writers, at a time when the Lord's day and other Christian festivals had established themselves in definite observance. See, for example, St. Jerome's twofold attempt to an- swer ("simpliciter" and "acutius respondere") the objection, "Dicat aliquis; Si dies observatio non licet . . . nos quoque simile crimen incurra- mus, quantum sabbati observantes et Parasceven et diem Dominicam" (Comm. in Gal. lib. ii. ad c. iv. 10). If we pass from Holy Scripture to the writers of the early church, the fact of utter silence on this subject becomes more and more significant, when we remember their natural anxiety to appeal on all points to ap- ostatic authority, their constant declaration or assumption that all Jewish observances had passed away, and their delight in tracing these transitory observances types of the higher Christian ordinances, which were not to pass away. Hence we must, indeed, fully agree with those who urge that the celebration of the Lord's day is one of these essential and principal ele- ments of the religious life of the church, which can plead apostolical authority. A priori we should hold it all but impossible that the day should have been neglected among the followers of Him who "was declared to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead." From the indications in holy Scripture, which have been so often commented upon, we cannot doubt that it was so regularly hallowed, as to make its observance, both to Christian and heathen, a distinctive mark of Christianity. But the notion that the Lord's day, in that complete- ness of sacred distinction from all other days which is now universal among all Christians, was formally established by apostolic decree is, prob- ably, in relation to historical truth, much what the old legend of the composition of the Apostles' Creed is to the actual process of its formation. In both cases what are chief treasures of our later Christianity grew up by the natural fitness of things and were never formally made. It is obvious that the true view of their genesis de- tracts nothing from their sacredness, nothing from their claim to be of the essence of the Christian system.

The history of the celebrated Paschal contro- versy is singularly instructive on this very point. If the Lord's day had been already stamped by definite apostolic decree as the one great Christian festival, deriving its sacred- ness from the resurrection of the Lord, it would have been impossible for the churches of Palestine and Asia to dream of keeping the annual commemoration of the resurrection itself on any day, except the Lord's day. But the gradual acceptance of the Roman view, disre- garding all Jewish associations in consideration

of the greater fitness of the Lord's day* is exactly that which we might expect to result from such a process of gradual establishment of the Lord's day, as has been described above.

(II.) It is likely that in this case, as in so many others, the close of the apostolic age was a period of rapid development of formal church ordinance. The existence in A. D. 170 of a regular treatise on the subject by Melito, bishop of Sardis (see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 26), connected apparently with the Paschal controversy, seems plainly indicative of such a development. The well-known passage of Justin Martyr in his *Apology*, describes how "on the day called Sunday" there was a religious assembly of those who dwell either in the cities or in the country. It notes the chief points of an established service—viz. the reading of the Apostles or the Prophets, the sermon, the prayers, the partaking of the bread and wine consecrated by thanksgiving and prayers, and the giving of alms, containing the germ of the clearly ancient liturgies. Nor is it possible to doubt that this celebration had become so marked as to impress the mind of the heathen with the distinctive character of the *status dies* of Pliny's famous letter to Trajan. In the passage from Dionysius of Corinth (A. D. 175), quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 22), the keeping of the Lord's day is spoken of as a matter of course (*τὴν σήμερον κυριακὴν τὴν ἄλιαν ἡμέραν διηγάζομεν*), very much as we might speak now. And in the method of its observance (the celebration of the Holy Communion being, of course, excepted) much was probably borrowed from the practice of the synagogue on the sabbath day. But it must not be supposed for a moment that such observance was identified in any degree with sabbatical observance, or based on formal obligation of the fourth commandment. On the contrary, the principle of its observance is exactly that which is indicated in the celebrated passage of Ignatius (*ad Magn.* ix.), *μηκέτι σαββαρίζοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν^b ζώοντες, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτελεν ἐν κύρῳ*. To "sabbatize" is the mark of the Jew; the Christian is to live *κατὰ κυριακὴν*, i. e. not only in the observance of the Lord's day, but according to the spirit of that day, as something wholly diverse from the conception of the sabbath. The very types of the observance of the Lord's day, often fanciful enough, which were traced in the Old Testament, mark an entire separation in thought from the idea of the

* In the treatise of Bede, *de Aquinectio Vernali*, there is a curious account of a council of Caesarea, held under Theophilus, on the Paschal controversy. In the course of it (see Labbe, *Concilia*, i. 714) the bishops are represented as declaring the *Benedictions* of the Lord's day, (a) Because on it the light was created. (b) Because on it the people passed to freedom through the Red Sea. (c) Because on it the manna was given. (d) Because Moses (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 7, 8) commanded to keep "the first and the last day" (hoc est dominicus et sabbatum). (e) Because in Pa. cxviii. the words are spoken of it: "This is the day which the Lord hath made." (f) Because the Lord on it rose from the dead. The historical value of the account is of course more than questionable. But the light which it throws on the traditional ideas of the Lord's day is very interesting.

^b The *ζωὴν* found here in the ordinary text is probably to be omitted, as in the Latin. If it be read it must be taken with *ζώοντες*.

sabbath. In the Epistle of Barnabas (c. xxi.) for instance, the sabbath is a type of the millennium after the six thousand years typified in the six days of creation; the Lord's day, as the eighth day, is the beginning of another world (*ἀλλου κόσμου ἀρχή*).^c Justin Martyr, when he describes the special celebration of public service of the "day called Sunday" derives its sacredness, first, from its being the first day on which God, dispelling darkness and chaos, made the world, next, from the resurrection on it of the Lord Jesus Christ. This is in his *Apology*, addressed to the heathen (*Apol.* i. 67). Where he argues with the Jews, he actually makes the eighth day of the circumcision a type of our receiving the true circumcision of the heart through the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead on the first day of the week, which after the completion of the cycle of the days is the eighth day, though it is still the first (*Dial. with Trypho*, sect. 19).^d This conception, fanciful as it is, is taken up more than once by later writers. Thus St. Augustine asks of circumcision, "Quare ergo octavo die? Quia in hebraicis libris idem primus qui octavus . . . Finiuntur septimus, Dominus sepultus: reditur ad primum, Dominus resuscitatus. Domini enim resuscitatio promisit nobis aeternum diem, et consecravit nobis Dominicum diem" (*Serm. de Script.* clix. 1170 c). Hence our Lord Himself, as being this rest of the just, giving them a *σαββατισμός* in the millennial kingdom, is occasionally called the Great Sabbath, of which the "little sabbath" of the Jews is but a type. The idea is perhaps suggested by Col. ii. 16, where the sabbath and the other Jewish festivals are "the shadow of things to come, but the body" (or substance) "is of Christ." And His rest in the tomb marked what was technically known as the *Μεγά σάββαρον*, the last of the ancient sabbaths; His rising from the dead on the Lord's day began the new Christian era. The notion afterwards embodied in the title of the "Christian sabbath"—that the Lord's day is a spiritualized sabbath, to which the obligation of the fourth commandment is transferred, perhaps a revival of a patriarchal sabbath of all mankind, which had been for a time overborne by the rigid legalism of the Mosaic sabbath—has no *locus standi* whatever either in Scripture or in primitive antiquity.

But it should be noticed that the development of the Lord's day in relation to the sabbath would naturally differ considerably in Jewish and Gentile Christianity. To the Jewish Christians, in the earliest stages of the history of the church, the sabbath and the sabbatical rest would remain unaltered. Just as they united the "being with one accord in the temple" with the "breaking of the bread at home," so the cele-

^c Compare St. Aug. *Serm. de Tempore*, cclix. 2 (vol. v. p. 1548 a. Ben. ed. 1838): "Octavae idea in fine sacrae novam vitam significat: septimum quietem futuram sanctorum in hac terra." The sermon was preached on the first Sunday after Easter (the octave), and begins—"Hodiermus dies magno sacramenta perpetuae felicitatis est nobis."

^d Even in the eight saved in the ark for a new world he finds a type of the eighth day, on which Christ, the head of a new humanity, arose from the dead. (*Dial. with Trypho*, c. 138.)

virtual substitution of the Lord's day for the sabbath, not prevented by the assertion of the same superiority over it which the gospel manifests over the law. If we turn to Tertullian, the same conception of substitution presents itself in a more concrete form. He is anti-Judaic enough; the sabbaths and all the ceremonials of the law are, in his eyes, absolutely gone; they were but preparatory, and cannot continue when their function is completed. But in pleading against frequenting idolatrous festivals he makes the keeping of the Lord's day and the Pentecost the badge of Christianity, contrasting them with the heathen festivals on one side, and the sabbaths and "feriae aliquando a Deo dilectae" on the other. In speaking of the habit of standing in prayer on the Lord's day, he urges that on that day we should cast off all worldly anxieties, "differentes etiam negotia ne quem diabolo locum demus" (*de Oratione*, c. 23). The rest enjoined is, no doubt, simply a means, not an end; but it is notable as the first direct recognition of a sacred rest, as inseparable from the idea of the Lord's day. In a time like Tertullian's, when the church system was fully, even rigidly, organised, it is not difficult to trace here a preparation for some sabbatarianism hereafter.

In fact, two lines of thought must have co-existed in the church. On the one side there was the conviction, not only that the Jewish sabbath had passed away, but that the spirit of strict legal observance, especially in any negative aspect, was foreign to the whole spirit of the gospel. On the other side, there was the tendency to more regular and formal Christian observance, gathering naturally round the recurring weekly festival of the resurrection; and allied with this, the perception of the value of an ordinance of weekly rest, such as that ordained in the fourth commandment, to man as man. From this, by a natural transition, would grow up the disposition to set up the Lord's day, first for religious worship and then for rest, in some rivalry to the ancient sabbath, as being, indeed, superior in dignity and spirituality, but yet a supreme and unique festival, to be observed with equal strictness. These last lines of thought might enter sometimes into alliance, sometimes into conflict. Each would in turn emerge into prominence, and the conception of the Lord's day would fluctuate accordingly.

(III.) But with the beginning of the conversion of the empire a crisis came. The most important epoch in the history of the Lord's day is marked by the issue of the celebrated edict of Constantine: "Omnes iudices urbanaeque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturae liberè licenterque inserviant, quoniam frequenter eventit ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineae scrobibus mandentur, ne occasione momenti perat commoditas caelestis provisione concessa" (see *Cod. Just.* book iii. tit. 12, 3). This edict was clearly intended to pay honour to the great Christian festival, although, in accordance with Constantine's general policy, it declined to identify the emperor with the religion, which he desired only indirectly to support, and only gradually to establish. The use of the heathen name of the "solis dies," with the vague title "venerabilis"—a title rendered the more ambiguous by the known re-

verence which Constantine had delighted to pay to the Sun-god—was something more than conventional. But the effect of the edict, at a time when Christianity was rising as rapidly as heathenism was sinking into decay, must undoubtedly have told mainly on the Christian festival. It would invest the observance of the Lord's day with all the strength (and the weakness) which the sanction of civil law to religious observance must necessarily produce. But more particularly by the prominence given to the idea of rest from ordinary work, which was emphasised all the more by the exemption granted to agricultural labour on the plea of necessity, it introduced a new conception of the day itself. The advocates of the sabbatarian view in later times were not wholly wrong when they compared Constantine to Moses, on the ground that he instituted a kind of new sabbath in the Christian church. For whatever tendency there was already existing to sabbatize the Lord's day would be enormously increased by this interference of the temporal power. The idea of rest would become primary instead of subsidiary; the observance would have more of the law, less of the spirit.

The tendency towards sabbatarianism was evidently slow, for it had the old and well-established conception of the day to overcome. But, although slow, it appears to have been sure.

The edict itself was only the beginning of a long series of imperial laws, constantly increasing in stringency and in unambiguous connexion of the solis dies with Christianity. Eusebius (*de Vit. Const.* iv. 18, 19, 20) declares that Constantine himself went much farther in this course, as his adhesion to Christianity became more decided. He speaks of two edicts to the army, enjoining rest from arms on that day and celebration of religious worship, by the Christians in the church service, by the pagans in the fields, offering to the supreme Deity a prayer authorised by the emperor. This prayer he quotes. It is a prayer in which nothing occurs distinctively Christian, but which is essentially monotheistic and entirely unconnected with the pagan mythology. In speaking of the ordinance for the Christians, Eusebius calls the day the *Σαβήτιος ἡμέρα ἢ καὶ φωτὸς εἶναι καὶ ἡλίου ἐπάνωθεν συμβαίνει*: in reference to the heathen, simply *ἡ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡμέρα*. He then adds, *διὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολιτευομένοις ἅπανιν σχολὴν ἀγειν ταῖς ἐπώνυμοις τοῦ Σαβήτιος ἡμέρας ἐνούθετες, ὁμοίως δὲ τὴν πρό τοῦ σαββάτου ἑταῖρᾶν μὴ ἤμας*.

In another law of Constantine, A.D. 321, there is a recognition of the fitness of certain exceptional legal operations for this day: "gratum et iucundum est eo die quae sunt maxime votiva compleri, atque libè emancipandi et mansuettendi die festo cuncto licentiam habeant" (*Nov. Theod.* II. tit. viii. 1). This appears to have been borrowed from older practice as to heathen festivals. But it is not improbable that in this case there was a special reference to the characteristic idea of the Lord's day, as the day of the completion of our redemption.

This is an emendation for τὰς τοῦ σαββάτου, evidently necessary. There is a passage in Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* i. c. 8) which forms an excellent elucidation of this, especially of the last clause, in the words *εἶμα δὲ τὴν Κυριακὴν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσιος ἐκ νεκρῶν τὴν δὲ εἶραν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σταυρωθέντος*.

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ἐνεκά μοι δοκεῖν τῶν ἐν ταῖς τῷ κοινῷ Σωτηρίᾳ περιεχθῆναι μνημονευομένων. This passage extends the statement to the civil population, and adds the celebration of the Friday to that of the Sunday. It is true that these edicts of Constantine are not found in the codes, and that Eusebius is anxious to make the most of the Christianity of the subject of his panegyric. But it is incredible that he should have been either misinformed or insincere in the main substance of his statements; and it would have been quite accordant with Constantine's temporising policy to issue such commands, as special edicts, not to be enrolled among formal laws. However this may be, under Constantine's successors there were reiterated enactments in this direction, free from the ambiguity of the original law.

Thus we have two laws prohibiting exaction of debt on that day, one under Valentinian and Valens (A.D. 368), protecting Christians against being forced into litigation on that day, the "dies solis, quæ dicitur fastus habetur" (*Cod. Theod. VIII. tit. viii. 1*); the other under Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (A.D. 386), extending this immunity to all, calling the day plainly the "dies solis quem Dominicus ritè dixere majores;" and branding any infringer of the law as "non modo notabilis, verum etiam sacrilegus" (*Cod. Theod. VIII. tit. viii. 2*). The progress marked by the contrast of these two laws is significant. The former, recognising the Christians as a sect, is exactly of the same nature as a law of Honorius and Theodosius in 409, protecting the Jews from being forced to work or litigation on the sabbath or other of their sacred days (*Cod. Theod. II. tit. viii. 3*). The latter accepts Christianity as the religion of the empire, and enforces on all by law the sacredness of its chief festival.

Again, the celebration of the day was gradually separated by law from all heathen and even secular associations. In 389, under Theodosius, the "solis dies" and the "Sancti Paschæ dies" (the weeks before and after Easter) are included with the harvest and vintage seasons, the Kalends of January, and the days of the foundation of Rome and Constantinople, as forensic holidays (*Cod. Theod. II. tit. viii. 2*). In 386 it was ordered that no one should present to the people any spectacle on the "dies solis," "ne divinum venerationem confectâ sollemnitate confundat" (*Cod. Theod. XV. tit. v. 2*). In 425, under Theodosius the younger, we find a law enacting an entire abstinence from all amusements of the theatre or the circus, on the "Dies Dominicus," Christmas day, Epiphany, and the Pentecost, in order that the whole minds of Christians may be devoted to worship of God. It denounces any infringement of the law by "the infatuated impiety of the Jews or the stolid error and madness of heathenism," and orders the celebration even of the emperor's birthday to be set aside for the sake of the Christian holy day (*Cod. Theod. XV. tit. v. 5*). The same law is reiterated in even stronger terms under Leo and Anthemius (A.D. 469) in reference to the Lord's day, which is to be kept absolutely sacred, not only from business, but also from "obscene pleasures" of the theatre, the circus, and the amphitheatre (*Cod. Just. lib. III. tit. xii. 11*). Nor should we pass over a remarkable law of Honorius and Theodosius (A.D.

409), which expressly orders that on the Lord's day the judges shall have prisoners brought before them, to inquire whether they have been treated humanely, to see that food is given to the destitute, and that the prisoners be allowed, under guard, to go to the bath. The bishops were to put the judges in mind of this duty (*Cod. Just. i. tit. iv. 9*). It may be noted that at a later period (A.D. 529) under Justinian, the bishops were ordered to visit the prisoners on Wednesdays or Fridays (the Lord's day being probably thought to be too much occupied), to inquire into the cases of the prisoners, and to see whether any neglect of duty on the part of the magistrates had taken place (*Cod. Just. tit. iv. 22*). But the fifth council of Orleans, twenty years later (A.D. 549), orders the archdeacon or provost (praepositus ecclesiae) to make the visitation on the Lord's day itself, with a Labbe, *Councils*, vol. ix. p. 134). It should be observed that these laws recognise the positive duty of works of charity on the Lord's day, precisely as He Himself had recognised it on the sabbath.

This long series of temporal enactments (in considering which we have, for the sake of exhibiting them as a whole, anticipated chronological order) must have told very powerfully upon the conception of the Lord's day in the church itself, not only tending to formalize its celebration, but to invest it in great degree with the character of a sabbath. Still, however, there was no connexion of its observance with the obligation of the fourth commandment, and therefore no application to it either of the laws of the Jewish sabbath, or of our Lord's teaching on the subject, as modifying and spiritualizing these laws.

But when the legal enforcement of rest on the Lord's day was once established, the next step would not unnaturally follow. In fact, the conception of it, as formally sanctioned by a divine law, would recommend itself to different schools of thought. It would be a refuge to any who scrupled to accept in respect of Christian festivals the authority of a merely temporal power, not yet absolutely identified with Christianity. It would appear to earnest-minded men as a short and ready way of maintaining a high spirituality of tone, in the face of the conventional and insincere observance to which the imperial interference would probably give rise. It would afford to the courtly satellites of the emperor an opportunity of flattering his desire of being "a bishop as to things and men without," by representing him as being the restorer of a half-forgotten divine law. From various causes it would make its way; and, if once admitted, its simplicity and cogency would help it to supersede other pleas for the sacredness of the day.

(IV.) This effect is not at first visible in the great leaders of ecclesiastical opinion and faith. In them we find the same general line of thought which has already been described. It will be sufficient to quote a few leading examples from the East and West. St. Athanasius delights to trace signs of honour due prophetically to the Lord's day, the resurrection day of the Lord (*Ἀναστάσιμος ἡμέρα*), as in the title of the sixth Psalm, "Upon the eighth" (which, however,

seems to have no reference to the eighth day at all) or in the celebrated passage of Ps. cxviii. 24, "This is the day which the Lord hath made," which he connects with the "stone male the head of the corner" (see v. 22). In the treatise "de Sabbato et Circumcisione" (which is ascribed to him, and questioned by the Benedictine editors somewhat hesitatingly), there is a curious passage, comparing the sabbath and the Lord's day. His idea is that the first creation had its end, and therefore its sabbatical rest; the second or new creation has no end, and "therefore God rested not in it, but worketh hitherto" (*ὡς ἄρτι ἐργάζεται*), referring, of course, to John iv. 17. Accordingly (he says) "we keep no sabbath day (*οὐδὲ σαββατίζομεν ἡμέραν*), but we look forward to the sabbath of sabbaths" in heaven, which "the new creation does not accept as its end, but its manifestation and perpetual festival." But he adds, "as God commanded men formerly to keep the sabbath day as a memorial of the end of the older dispensation, so we keep the Lord's day as a memorial of the beginning of the second new creation" (*οὗτος τὴν Κυριακὴν τιμῶμεν μνήμην ὄσων ἀρχῆς δευτέρας ἀνακτίσεως*). (See vol. iii. pp. 42, 43, 44, Bened. ed.) On the subject of circumcision, he repeats the old symbolism of the eighth day, as signifying the Lord's day; and adds significantly, *ἢ οὐδὲν τὸ σάββατον ἔλυσε καὶ οὐ τὸ σάββατον τὴν οὐδόην*. But though in all this there is some suggestion of future ideas, there is still no view of the Lord's day as a sabbath. The passage in the Homily *de Semine* (falsely ascribed to him), in which we find the words, "The Lord changed the sabbath day into the Lord's day" (*μετέθηκε δὲ ὁ Κύριος τὴν τοῦ σαββάτου ἡμέραν εἰς Κυριακὴν*), speaks obviously in this the language of later times; and is as absolutely at variance with the tone of his teaching on this subject as with his general style and line of thought.

This same idea is still more fully and strikingly worked out by Epiphanius. He calls the sabbath of the Jews the "little sabbath," and, referring to the disciples' supposed breach of the sabbath in the corn-fields, he says that it signified the relaxation of the bond of this little sabbath, because "Christ, the great Sabbath was come," of whom Noah was a type and Lamech's words (Gen. v. 29) a prophecy; who is the great sabbath, first, because He gives us rest from our sins, and next, because the Father and the Holy Spirit have rested in Him (*ἀναπέταυται ἐν αὐτῷ*), and in Him all saints found rest" (*adv. Hæc. lib. i. tom. ii. p. 32*). He refers, indeed, to the Lord's day, as of apostolic celebration, but in this he joins with it the Wednesday and Friday (*adv. Hæc. lib. i. tom. ii. pp. 23, 24*); and mentions the occasional festive observance of the sabbath, and Marcion's deliberate protest against this by keeping it as a fast. From him alone we should hardly gather even what we know to have been true of the gradual emergence of the Lord's day into an unique observance, both as to worship and as to rest.

In connexion with this period it may be well to glance at the remarkable treatment of this subject in the "Apostolical Constitutions" which [see APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS] must be referred to about the fourth and fifth cen-

turies. These exemplify in the clearest way the statement above made, that the preservation of the observance of the old sabbath tended to give clearness and certainty to the true idea of the Lord's day. In Book ii. c. 59, 2, we find the sabbath and "the day of the resurrection, the Lord's day" joined in an exhortation to special religious assemblies, which, however, goes on to dwell especially on the Lord's day, as that to which "the reading of the prophets, and the proclamation of the gospel, and the offering of sacrifice and the gift of spiritual food" peculiarly belong. In Book v. c. 18, 19, we have a vivid description of the fast of the "Great Sabbath," "when the bridegroom was taken away," and of the vigil of the Easter day, ending in the "offering of the sacrifice." Otherwise the general command is to keep both the sabbath and the Lord's day as feasts, the one in memory of the work of the Creator, the other of the resurrection (see Book vii. c. 23, 2). In a prayer of thanksgiving given in Book vii. c. 36, there is a remarkable passage on the sabbath and the Lord's day, which tells how the "sabbath is the rest from creation, the completion of the world, the seeking of God's laws, the praise of thanksgiving to God for all that He has given us. But rising above all these ideas, the Lord's day manifests to us the Mediator Himself, the guardian and lawgiver of men, the source of resurrection, the firstborn before all creation, God the Word, man born of the Virgin Mary, . . . who died and rose again; and so commands us to offer to God the highest of all thanksgiving." In Book viii. 33, 1, we find a command given in the names of St. Peter and St. Paul, "Let servants work five days, on the sabbath and the Lord's day let them rest, with a view to instruction in godliness in the church." This command introduces a series of commands to rest on holy days. It is notable, as looking like an apostolic extension of the enactment of the fourth commandment. But when the decalogue is expounded, we find that commandment explained thus, "Thou shalt keep a sabbath, on account of Him who ceased from creation but not from providence, a sabbath not of idleness of hands, but of meditation on his laws" (ii. 361). There is no idea of its transference for a Christian to the observance of the Lord's day.

In St. Chrysostom there is perhaps the first indication of the idea that the sabbath was so far of perpetual obligation, that the one day in seven should always be set apart. In his 10th Homily on Genesis, c. 1, we find him declaring that "God from the beginning teaches us figuratively, instructing us to set aside one day (or 'the first day') in the cycle of the week, and to devote it to work in spiritual things; for it was for this reason that God allowed the seventh day" (*ἢ ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ προοιμίῳ αἰνιγματικῶς διδασκαλίαν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς παρέχεται, παιδεύων τὴν μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς ἑβδομάδος ἵνασαν ἀνατιθεῖται καὶ ἀφορίζῃ τῇ τῶν πνευματικῶν ἐργασίᾳ, διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ὁ δεσπότης, κ.τ.λ.*) (See Bened. ed. vol. iv. p. 80.) This treatment, however, of the subject is but slightly indicated, and it exists side by side with teaching of a more ancient type. Thus the sabbath is to him also the type of eternal rest in heaven (Comm. on Heb. iii. 8, vol. xii. p. 63). In his 39th Homily

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on St. Matthew, he speaks of the formal sabbath
 as a concession to the hardness of the hearts
 of the Jews, and urges that we should always
 keep festival by abstaining from evil, and "be
 idle with a spiritual idleness" (ἀργαίως ἀργίαν
 πνευματικῆν), by keeping our hands from reck-
 lessness (vol. vii. p. 435). Still it is significant;
 it appears to indicate a transition towards the
 later idea of connecting the fourth commandment
 directly with the observance of the Lord's day.
 The circumstances of his time, and the evils with
 which he had to grapple, may have suggested
 this short and easy way of maintaining the sancti-
 ty of the great Christian festival.

We turn to the West, and take as specimens of
 church opinion, the three whom Millman has
 called the great organizers of Latin Christianity.
 St. Ambrose (on Ps. xlii.) holds, like St. Athana-
 nasius, that the Lord's day is "the day which the
 Lord hath made," of Ps. cxviii.; of all the days
 on which God works mighty works, it has the
 leadership (prærogativa), because illuminated by
 the rising of the Sun of Righteousness. In his
 commentary on Ps. xlviii, we observe a marked
 instance of the tendency to supersede the sabbath
 by the Lord's day. The Psalm is to be sung
 "Secundâ Sabbati." What (he asks) is this but
 "the Lord's day, which followed the sabbath?"
 He clearly means that it followed it in old
 times, not only in order, but in dignity; for
 he goes on to speak of the "eighth day, at
 once the eighth and the first," as "sanctified
 by the resurrection," and now accordingly having
 "ex numeri Ordine prærogativam, et ex Resur-
 rectione Domini sanctitatem." He actually
 interprets the ἀσβατον βερερπρωτων as sig-
 nifying that "the sabbath, which was once first,
 now begins to be but the second after the first;"
 and lastly, he uses the phrase "Prima requies
 cessavit, secunda successit," connecting with this
 the declaration of the "sabbath keeping for the
 people of God" (in Heb. iv. 8, 9). Similarly
 commenting on the passage "Vespere Sabbati,
 que lucebit in primam Sabbati," he remarks,
 "Before the resurrection the Evangelist spoke
 of the sabbath; after the resurrection he called
 it the first day of the week." It is true that he
 speaks of the "rest in Christ" as the true and
 "great sabbath," in the same sense as Epiphanius
 (*de Obitu Theod.*, vol. ii. 1206 n, Bened. ed.
 1690). But, while he would have doubtless
 repudiated the idea that the Lord's day was the
 "Christian sabbath," his words certainly prepare
 for it.

St. Jerome's treatment of the subject is
 markedly characteristic. He (*adv. Jovin.* ii. 25)
 deals with the six days of work as representing
 this life, the seventh the "true and eternal
 sabbath," in which we shall be free. In the
 passage already referred to (*in Galat.* lib. II.
 vel. vii. p. 456, Bened. ed.) he lays it down that,
 strictly speaking, all days are equal to a Christian,
 "nec per Parasceven tantum crucifigi Christum
 et die Dominicâ resurgere, sed semper sanctam
 resurrectionis esse diem et semper eum carne
 vesi Dominicâ," and he goes on to contrast the
 strict limitation of the Jews to certain days with
 the freedom of the Christian to fast, to pray, to
 celebrate a Lord's day by receiving the Body
 of the Lord, at all times. On Ezek. xx. 10, 11,
 he has a curious passage, declaring the sabbath
 and circumcision to have been given as signs,

"ut sciamus nos perfecto et æterno sabbato
 requiescendum a sæculi operibus." "Unde in sex
 diebus operantes septimo die requiescimus, ut
 nihil aliud die ac nocte faciamus, nisi unum quod
 vivilimus, debere Domino noverimus, et redemite
 hebdomade totos nos nomini ejus consecremus."
 While he bears constant testimony to the solemn
 observation of the Lord's day by religious wor-
 ship, it is truly remarked by Dr. Hessey (*Dampton
 Lectures*, Lect. III.) that he describes the Egyptian
œnothotæ, as after church making garments for
 themselves or others, and tells the story of his
 visits to the tombs of the apostles and martyrs,
 not as religious ceremonies, but as seemingly re-
 practice, his view of the Lord's day is highly
 spiritual, with no tendency whatever to legal or
 sabbatical observance.

The same remark applies to the teaching of
 St. Augustine, who constantly refers to the
 question of the sabbath, and not infrequently
 to the Lord's day. He expresses himself with
 singular clearness against any continuance of
 sabbatical obligation. In his *De Genesi ad
 Litteram* (Book iv., *Opp.* vol. iii. 208) he ex-
 pressly says that in the time of full revelation
 of grace, that method of observance of the
 sabbath, which was symbolized by the rest of a
 single day, was taken away from the observance
 of the faithful (observatio illa sabbati, quæ
 unius diei vacacione figurabatur, ablata est ab
 observatione fidelium). Similarly in his Epistle
 to Januarius (*Ep.* iv. vel. ii. 203) he expressly
 distinguishes the fourth (or, as he calls it, the
 third commandment, connecting it mystically
 with the third Person of the Holy Trinity), as
 one to be observed figuratively, from all the
 others, which are to be observed literally. In
 both passages he urges on the faithful a per-
 petual sabbath, partly of rest from the "old
 works," partly of working whatever good they
 work with a view to the eternal sabbath of
 heaven. The Lord's day (he adds) was declared
 not to the Jews but to the Christians by the
 resurrection of the Lord, and from that time
 only began to have its festal character. There
 was indeed a mystical signification of the eighth
 day (octaviæ Sacramentum) under the law, which
 he traces fancifully enough, but it was reserved
 and concealed, and the sabbath alone given
 for celebration. Exactly in the same way he
 declares against the Manicheans (*contra Ad-
 mantum*, sect. 2, 16, and *contra Faustum*, book
 vi. vol. viii. 209, 240, 243), that the literal or
 carnal observance of the sabbath is abolished,
 while its spiritual significance remains, in the
 acceptance of the invitation, "Come unto me,
 and I will give you rest." His principle is
 formally enunciated thus, "Apostolicam inter-
 pretationem spiritaliter teneo; Carnalem Servi-
 titium observationem libertate contemo." In his
 treatise *de Spiritu et Littera*, sect. xiv. (vol. x.
 328) he takes it so absolutely for granted that
 the observance of the sabbath according to the
 letter is carnal, that he thinks it necessary to
 plead that the principle, "the letter killeth,"
 applies not only to the fourth commandment,
 but to the other nine. The sabbath day, he
 says elsewhere (on Ps. cl. vol. iv. 2411), signifies
 rest, the Lord's day, resurrection. The two ideas
 are in his view contrasted, as the old and new
 covenants are contrasted. Such is his genuine

teaching. There is, indeed, a passage in one of the Homilies *de Tempore* (*Hom.* 251), attributed to him, but unhesitatingly rejected by the Benedictine editors, and assigned by them to the 9th century, in which he is made to say that "the doctors of the church decreed to transfer all the glory of the Jewish sabbath-keeping to the Lord's day, so that what they celebrated in figure, we might celebrate in reality" (see vol. v. p. 3101). But this is in direct opposition to St. Augustine's general teaching; it clearly breathes the spirit of a later time, and shews traces of a well-known passage of Aleuin.

(V.) In these leading representatives of Christian thought, we find, therefore, not only a preservation of the older and truer ideas, but, generally speaking, a care (possibly prophetic) to enforce the spirituality of the Lord's day more carefully than ever. It is rather in the enactments of councils, embodying the common opinion of the church at large, that we trace the changes of conception which have been described above.

The great Council of Nicaea, taking the Lord's day and its observance for granted, merely directs that on the Lord's day and within the Pentecost, all shall pray standing (Canon 20). Subsequent councils, however, of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries legislate frequently on the subject.

The first class of enactments is directed to the enforcement of ritual and devotional observances. Thus absence from the church on their Lord's days is made a ground for excommunication; fasting on the Lord's day is denounced as savouring of Manicheism; the refusal to join the prayers and receive the Holy Eucharist, and the practice of leaving the church during preaching, are censured and punished; all frequenting of the games or the circus on the Lord's day is strictly forbidden (see Hesse's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. III.). These enactments have no special significance as to the conception of the day. They simply take for granted its religious celebration after the primitive fashion; their existence only indicates that this celebration was becoming more and more a matter of legal regulation and enforcement.

There is, however, another class of enactments intended to secure and guard a quasi-sabbatical rest. To this the well-known canon of Laodicea (A.D. 363) seems certainly to belong. (See Labbe, *Concilia*, vol. ii. pp. 564, 565.) It declares that Christians "are not to Judaize and rest on the sabbath day, but to work on that day, and preferring the Lord's day in honour, on it, if possible, to rest as Christians (*την δε κυριακην προτιμωμεντες, εθγε δυναιντα, σχολαζειν ως Χριστιανου*). Obviously there is a marked distinction intended between the Jewish and Christian idea of rest; but still the result is to transfer a sabbatical rest to the Lord's day, and so to make it a kind of spiritualized and Christianized sabbath. This step being once taken, its necessary consequences follow, accumulating regulations of prohibition or injunction, until the original distinction is obscured or lost. The councils, in fact, were placed between tendencies to extreme observance and to extreme neglect. Thus at the third Council of Orleans (A.D. 538), we see that a certain public opinion had been growing up (*persuasum est populis*) that on the Lord's day no horse or ox or carriage should

be used, no food prepared, nothing done for the cleanliness of the house or person. This the council wisely desires to check, and protests that such minute regulations "savour rather of Jewish than Christian observance" (*ad Judaicam magis quam ad Christianam observantiam pertinere*). It is accordingly laid down, somewhat vaguely, that the freedom hitherto used on the Lord's day should be preserved (*quod antea fieri licuit, liceat*). But in the very same canon abstinence from rural work in general is not only advised, in order that men may have leisure for church-going and prayer, but, in case of neglect, enforced by ecclesiastical sanctions (see Labbe, vol. ix. p. 10). On the other hand, the second Council of Mâcon (A.D. 585) declares itself driven to legislation, because "the people rashly profane the Lord's day, and as on ordinary days (*privatis diebus*) devote themselves to unceasing work." Accordingly the first canon pleads eloquently for the observance of the Lord's day, "which has given us the new birth and freedom from all our sins" (*quae nos deinde peperit et a peccatis omnibus liberavit*); on it "being made free from sin and become servants to righteousness, let us show the service which is perfect freedom" (*liberam servitutem exhibeamus*). "The day is the day of perpetual rest, which is suggested to us by the type of the seventh day in the law and the prophets." Hence it is urged that men should abstain from litigation and pleading, and should not even allow themselves on plea of necessity to yoke their oxen. Their whole soul is to be absorbed in hymns and praises; their eyes and hands raised all day to God. Not that there is value in bodily rest (*corporali abstinentia*), but in an obedience by which earthly actions may be set aside, and the soul raised to heaven. All this is spiritual exhortation; but it is significantly added that disobedience will be punished primarily by God, secondarily "by the implacable anger of the priest;" "pleaders shall be nansuited, peasants or slaves severely scourged, clerks or monks suspended for six months from communion with their fellows." (See Labbe, ix. 847.) It will be observed that in this case there is a vague reference to the seventh day's rest, laid down in the fourth commandment, as foreshadowing the Lord's day. But this is a tentative step anticipatory of the future. Every enactment of quasi-sabbatical rest prepared for a sabbatarian theory; but it was far from being as yet established.

This is clear, if we turn to the writings of Gregory the Great, the foremost man of his day in character as in office, and the unconscious founder of the future papal power. He obviously followed St. Augustine in his view of the Lord's day and its significance, and in some of his references to Old Testament types of its sacredness (see *Hom. in Ezech.* ii. 4). In a celebrated letter to the Romans (*Epi. l. xiii. 1*), written in reference to some introduction of strict rest on the sabbath, he declares that it

^b One is, however, peculiar. On Job i. 5, he contends that in his sanctifying his sons after the seven days, he prefigured the eighth day or Lord's day. He says: "Quia ergo octavo die offerre septem sacrificia dicitur, plenus a pluriformis gratiae Spiritu pro spe resurrectionis Domine deservisse perhibetur."

mimaribus cuilibet Christiano ad ecclesiam, conveniendum est al vigilias sive ad matutinum oblationibus. Concurrentium est etiam cum oblationibus ad missarum solemniam. Et dum ad ecclesiam convenitur nulla causa dici debet vel audiri, nulla jurgia sunt habenda: sed tantummodo Deo vacandum est, in celebratione videlicet sacrarum oblationum, et exhibitione elemosinarum, et in Dei laudibus cum amicis, proximis, et peregrinis spiritaliter epulatum.¹

But Alcuin, Charlemagne's great ecclesiastical adviser, speaking of the Jewish observation of the sabbath, says expressly, "cujus observationem mos Christianus ad diem Dominicum competentius transtulit" (*Homil. xviii. post Pentec.*, quoted by Heylin). It is true that this is said to have been done by custom; there is no word of scriptural authority, or even of any institution of the apostles. But still this passage seems to enunciate for the first time the idea of "the Christian sabbath."¹ And its meaning is illustrated by the laws of the time. A law attributed to Clotaire lays it down that no one should work on the Lord's day, "quia hoc lex prohibet, et Sacra Scriptura in omnibus contrahit." Under Pepin (A.D. 791) a council at Friuli had strictly enforced the observance of the day, with some special restrictions apparently taken from the observance of the sabbath. But Charlemagne opens an imperial edict on the subject with the express words, "statuimus secundum quod et in lege Dominus praecepit," and proceeds to minute prohibitions against various kinds of work and to injunctions for attendance at divine service. (See Heylin, part ii. c. v.)

It is notable that not long after an edict appears at Constantinople by the emperor Leo Philosophus (A.D. 884) for the observance of the Lord's day, referring to the old edict of Constantine as too lax in its exemptions, and declaring absolute rest for labour, as "decreed by the Holy Spirit and the apostles taught of Him" (quod Spiritus Sancto ab ipsoque institutus apostolis placuit), arguing that "if the Jews honoured their sabbath, which was but a shadow of ours, how much more should we honour the day which the Lord hath honoured, and on it delivered us from dishonour and death!" (*Constit. 54*, see Heylin, part ii. c. v.). We note here that it is on apostolic authority that the sanctity of the Lord's day is based, although at the same time the Jewish sabbath is looked upon as the shadow of the Christian. The period is, in fact, one of transition. That the sabbatical authority of the Lord's day was not held in theory is clear, from the fact that the general teaching of the schoolmen follows the express declaration of Aquinas that "the observance of the Lord's day in the new law supersedes the observance of the sabbath, not by obligation of the (divine) law, but by the ordinance of the church and the custom of Christian people" (non ex vi legis sed ex constitutione ecclesiae et consuetudine populi Christiani), or as it is elsewhere expressed, "non de jure divino, sed de jure humano canonico." But

the "custom of Christian people," when once directed in the line of quasi-sabbatical observance, would be apt to ground itself naturally on the divine law, which such observances seemed to suggest, and to which reference is certainly made in the decrees already quoted.

It lies beyond the limits of this article to trace the steady and excessive development of festal observance in the mediæval church, the tendency to place other holy days on nearly the same level as the Lord's day, and to guard all alike by quasi-sabbatarian regulations of an elaborate and burdensome nature. Nor can we do more than allude to the twofold protest made against this at the Reformation. On the Continent generally, it tended to reject all holy days, and treat the Lord's day itself as a matter of simple church ordinance, which any church at its will might alter; in England, Scotland, and Holland, it singled out the Lord's day, placing it on a scriptural basis, as the Christian sabbath, ordained in the fourth commandment, and surrounded it too often with a more than Judaic rigour.

The conclusions, to which within the historical limits assigned to this article we must come, may be thus briefly recapitulated.

(a) The Lord's day must be regarded as a festival, coeval with the existence of Christianity itself—growing up naturally from the apostles' time, gradually assuming the character of the one distinctively Christian festival, and drawing to itself, as by an irresistible gravitation, the periodical rest, which is enjoined in the fourth commandment on grounds applicable to man as man, and which was provided for under the Mosaic law by the special observance of the sabbath.

(b) The idea of the Lord's day is wholly distinct from that of the sabbath, never for a moment confused with it in the early church, in which, indeed, the observance of the sabbath long survived, sometimes as a festival, sometimes as a fast. Wherever rest is associated with it, such rest is invariably regarded as entirely secondary, as simply a means to a higher end. Accordingly the original regulation of observances connected with the Lord's day is positive and not negative, and directed by principle rather than by formal rule.

(c) The tendency to sabbatize the Lord's day is due chiefly to the necessities of legal enforcement—first, as exemplified in the series of imperial laws, then in the decrees of councils, generally backed by the secular power—leading inevitably in prohibition more than in injunction, and so tending to emphasize negative instead of positive observance. For such enactments the law of the Old Testament "mutatis mutandis" became naturally a model, and the step was an easy one, from regarding it as a model to taking it as an authority.

(d) The direct connexion, however, of such observance with the obligation of the fourth commandment can claim no scriptural and no high ecclesiastical authority. Either the observation of that commandment is expressly declared to be figurative (consisting of rest from sin, rest enjoyed in Christ, and rest foreseen in heaven), or careful distinction is made between the moral obligation of religious observance in general, and the positive obligation, now passed

¹ Heylin (*Hist. of Sabbath*, part ii. c. v. 13) asserts that the phrase itself is first found in Petrus Alfonsus in the 12th century: "Dies dominica . . . Christianorum sabbatum est."

Christian people," when once the idea of quasi-sabbatical observance is brought to ground itself naturally which such observance seemed which reference is certainly already quoted.

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away, to keep the sabbath in particular. The notion of connecting it with the keeping of the Lord's day grows up in the first instance through the natural supersession of the sabbath by the Lord's day in the Christian church, and the temptation to transfer to the latter the positive divine sanction of the former; and, once introduced, maintains itself by the very fact of presenting a strong and intelligible plea against any degradation of the high Christian festival.

On this subject the following works may be consulted with advantage: Heylitz's *History of the Sabbath*, part ii., full of learning, though defective in arrangement and criticism; Bingham's *Antiquities*, book xx. c. ii., containing much valuable matter, though needing some correction; Dr. Lessy's *Bampton Lectures on Sunday*, presenting the literature of the subject accurately and popularly; Probst, *Kirchliche Disciplin der Drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (pt. iii. c. i. art. 1) discuss the principal passages bearing on the question found in the writers of the first three centuries; Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche*, vol. v. part i. c. 4. In all there is much common material, derived from the obvious source of information on this subject—the writings of the Fathers, the edicts of the Imperial Cædes, the canons of councils, and the mediæval laws so often based upon them. The distinction is chiefly in the inferences drawn from these historical materials.

[A. B.]

LORD'S DAY (LITURGICAL). The observance of Sunday began after None on Saturday, "ut dies dominica a vespere usque in vespem servetur" (*Conc. Francofurt. A.D. 794*), and the reason is given by Durandus (*Rat. v. 3, 2*): "Quia vespertina synaxis seu hora primum est officium diei sequentis." The Sunday office was longer and more solemnly observed than that of other days. The number of psalms and lessons, and the number of nocturns at the night office was increased. The Gregorian distribution of the Psalter gives eighteen psalms and nine lessons in three nocturns, instead of twelve psalms and three lessons in one nocturn; and the Benedictine twelve psalms, and three canticles, with twelve lessons in three nocturns instead of twelve psalms and three lessons, in two nocturns on week days. *Te Deum* was said at the end of Matins, except in Advent, and from Septuagesima to Easter.

The nocturnal office and that of Lauds were to be said (*Mart. de Ant. Eccl. Rit. iv. 9*) with modulation *tractum*, which word is explained as *lenti ac morosa modulatione*. Incense was offered (oblatum) at each nocturn, and the high altar censured at *Benedictus* at Lauds. The solemn benediction of the holy water "salis et aque," a custom which is considered to have been introduced by pope Leo IV. A.D. 847-855, took place before mass; with which ceremony a procession was in many places joined. At the mass *Gloria in excelsis* was said except during Advent, and from Septuagesima to Easter Eve; and the creed was said at the mass and at Prime in the Sunday office throughout the year. The reserved Eucharist was renewed. Many other distinctions between the Dominical office, and that for week days, might be pointed out. Those already enumerated are among the most conspicuous.

In the Ambrosian use the Dominical office differs from the Ferial in several points, of which the following are the most prominent. No psalms are said at matins, but in their place three canticles, one in each nocturn.

In Nocturn I. The Canticle of Isaiah, cap. xxvi. *De nocte rigidat.*

In Nocturn II. The Canticle of Hannah, I Reg. II. *Confirmatum* c. t.

In Nocturn III. The Canticle of Jonah, cap. 1. *Canavi*; or, during the winter: i.e. from the first Sunday in October till Easter, the Canticle of Habakkuk, cap. ii. *Domine auidi.*

Each of these canticles has its proper antiphon, and is followed by the usual form. *V. Benedictus es, Deus. R. Amen.*

After the third canticle three lessons are read, each with its response. These are not, as on week days, taken from scripture, but from a Homily on the Gospel of the day, and correspond therefore to the lessons in the third nocturn of the Roman Breviary. These are followed, except not during Advent and Lent, by *Te Deum*, which is said separately, the office ends with a collect, and the customary form. *V. Benedictamus Domino. R. Deo Gratias.*

At Lauds after *Benedictus*, which begins the office both in the Dominical and the Ferial office,* follow, each preceded by its *oratio secreta*, and with its proper antiphon, the canticle of Moses (*Exod. xv.*) *Cantemus Domino* and *Benedicite*. In the place of these, on week days other than Saturday, Ps. l. (ii.), *Miserere* is said, and on Saturday, Ps. cxviii. (*cxviii.*) *Confitemini*.

At the other hours there are certain differences in the disposition and number of the collects and antiphons, by whatever names they are called, but, as the general character of the office is unaltered, it is not necessary to enter minutely into them. Certain greater festivals, called *Solemnitates Domini*, have the office nearly identical with that of the Sunday.

In the Mozarabic rite the daily office differs throughout so much for the ordinary Western type that it is not easy to point out clearly in a few words the variations between that of Sunday and other days. The most conspicuous variation is at the beginning of matins, which on Sunday (after the opening) begin with the hymn *Asterius rerum conditor*, followed by its *oratio*, and the three Psalms; iii. *Domine quid*, l. (ii.) *Miserere*, lvi. (lvii.) *Miserere mei*, each with its antiphon and *oratio*, while on week days the corresponding portion of the office is an antiphon called *matutinarium*, and Ps. l. (ii.) *Miserere*,^b with its antiphon and *oratio*. Sundays were of different degrees. The classification varied at different times, and in different churches, but the general Western division was into Greater Sundays: *Dominicæ majores* v. *solemnis* v. *privilegiatæ*; and

* Except on Sundays in Advent, when the Song of Moses (*Deut. xxxii.*) *Astende Coelum*, is said. On Christmas Day both are said.

^b This is the direction given in the *Regula* printed at the head of the Breviary. In the body of the Breviary the Psalm appointed for a week-day varies among the three Sunday psalms; and the *matutinarium* occurs later in the office, in the course of Lauds. The Mozarabic ritual directions are sometimes difficult to reconcile.

into *Ordinary Sundays: Dominicae communes, v. per annum*. Martene, de Ant. Mon. rit. iv. § 4, from the *capitula* of Lanfranc, says, "Quinque dies Dominici sunt, qui communia quaedam inter se habent separata a caeteris diebus Dominici, Dominica vid. prima de Adventu Domini, Dominica primae Septuagesimae, Dominica prima Quadragesimae, Dominica in medio Quadragesimae, Dominica in Palmis." He then proceeds to specify certain ritual peculiarities of those days mainly relating to the dress of the clergy, and the performance of the office in choir.^c In this classification Easter day and Pentecost have already been reckoned among the "quinque praecipuae festivitates."

Another classification given by Durandus [vii. 1-4] defines *Dominicae principales* v. solemniores to be those "in quibus officia mutantur," of which he reckons five. Dominica prima de Adventu, Dominica in Octavis Pascha, Dominica in Octavis Pentecostes, Dominica qua cantatur *Letare Hierusalem* [sc. Midlent Sunday] et Dominica in Ramis Palmarum; Easter and Pentecost being as before otherwise accounted for. To these the first Sunday in Lent was afterwards added, "quia fit officii in ea mutatio."

The later Roman arrangement, which is still in force, subdivides the greater Sundays, *Dominicae maiores*, into two classes: (1) Sundays of the first class, *Dominicae primae classis*, viz. the first Sunday in Advent, the first Sunday in Lent, Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, Easter day, Low Sunday, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday; and (2) Sundays of the second class, *Dominicae secundae classis*, viz. the second, third, and fourth Sunday of Advent, Septuagesima and the two following Sundays, and the second, third and fourth Sundays in Lent. The other Sundays in the year are ordinary Sundays, *Dominicae per annum*.

The Ambrosian rule classifies Sundays according to their office, as follows:—Easter day, Pentecost and Trinity Sunday are reckoned among the *Sollemnitates Domini*, the highest class of festivals. The other Sundays are divided into two classes—(1) those which have a proper office, and (2) those which have the ordinary Sunday office.

Those which have a proper office—*officium proprium*—are the Sundays in Advent, those in Lent, and the Sunday after the Nativity.

The Sundays between Easter and Pentecost have the Paschal office—*Paschale officium*—which has certain ritual peculiarities, and the Sundays from the Epiphany to the beginning of Lent have a mixed office, *officium partim proprium, partim commune*.

The Sundays from the second after Pentecost to Advent have the ordinary office (*officium commune*).

The classification of Sundays in the Greek calendar is not so minute. Easter day stands in a class by itself, at the head of all the festivals of the year; and Palm Sunday and Whitsunday are reckoned among the *Troctes*,^d which rank next in importance.

^c Among other points it is directed that the refectory tables be covered with clean cloths (festivae mappae; sint et quotidiane, totae tamen), and clean towels provided (manutergia candida et honesta).

^d Otherwise called *θεσπρωσαι* v. *κυριακαι επορα*. They

Many Sundays were (and are still) often designated by the first word of the introit of the Roman mass. Thus the first five Sundays in Lent are often known by the names, *Innocentii*,^e *Reminiscere*, *Oculi*, *Laetare*, *Judica*; and the four Sundays following Easter as *Quasimodo*, *Miserere*, *cordis Domini*, *Jubilate*, *Cantate*. Some again are customarily known by some peculiarity in the celebration. Thus the Sunday next before Easter^f is known as *Palm Sunday* and *Dominica palmarum* v. *in ramis palmarum*, from the Benediction of the palm branches, and the subsequent procession which takes place on that day after terce and before mass; and the Sunday after Easter as *Dominica in albis*, or more fully in *albis depositis*, as it is called in the Ambrosian missal; ^g from its being the day after the Saturday on which those who had been baptized on Easter eve laid aside their white garments; or sometimes as *Clausum*^h *Paschae*, from its being the conclusion of the Paschal celebration, and the second and following Sundays after Easter were sometimes called *Dominica*ⁱ and *ii*^h and *post albas*, or *post clausum Paschae*.

Other less familiar designations for particular Sundays which are found, are *Dominica carnevale*, *de carne levatio* v. *de carne levanda*, which would be Quinquagesima Sunday where Lent began on the following Wednesday, and the first Sunday in Lent in the Ambrosian ritual, which begins Lent on that day; *Dominica in Quadragesima* for the first Sunday in Lent, *Dominica mediana* v. *mediante die festo* [Miss. Mozar.] for the fourth Sunday in Lent, *Dominica Osanna* for Palm Sunday, also *Pascha floridum* from the flowers which were associated with Palm branches in the office for their benediction. Thus in the Mozarabic missal the office is to be said *ad benedicendos flores vel ramos*, and in the prayer of the office the clause occurs, "Hos quoque ramos et flores palmarum . . . hodie tua benedictione sanetifica." So also in the *Ordo Romanus*, "Dies palmarum, sive florum atque ramorum dicitur"; also in the Sarum missal the office is called *benedictio florum ac frondium*, and the phrase *creatura florum vel frondium*, or equivalent expressions frequently recur in it. In the York missal, too, we find the words "hos palmarum atque florum ramos, etc. . . ." *Dominica Rogationum* v. *D. ante Litanias* for the Sunday before Ascension.ⁱ Many other similar names might be adduced, though several would not fall within our limits of time.

were originally seven in number, and a mystical reason for that number is given from St. Chrysostom. It was afterwards increased to twelve. The list at first contained Easter day, which afterwards was placed by itself, and has otherwise slightly varied, the number remaining at twelve. The next order of festivals is called *adweekes*, i. e. not of the twelve; but it contains no Sunday.

^e Thus the rubrics of the Missal speak of *Feria ii*, etc. *post Innocentii*, etc.

^f So termed in the English Prayer Book.

^g In the Ambrosian rite the days of Easter week are called *Feria ii*, *iii*, etc. . . . *in albis*, and those in the week next following *Feria ii*, *iii*, etc. . . . *post albas*.

^h This expression must not be confounded with *Clausum Paschae*.

ⁱ It may be noticed that several of these terms have established themselves in familiar use to England, though they nowhere appear in the service books, e. g. *Midlent Sunday*, *Palm Sunday*, *Rogation Sunday*.

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oration Sunday.

The Dominical calendars throughout the year
 varied in different churches, and deserve a few
 words.

The Roman Calendar, as in use to the present
 time, is substantially the same as the early Eng-
 lish (and as that now used among ourselves).
 The chief difference is that in it the Sundays
 throughout the summer are reckoned "*post*
Pentecostem," instead of *post Trinitatem* as in the
 Sarum (and modern English) use; and that
 there are fewer of them. Thus in the Roman
 missal there are twenty-four Sundays *post Pen-*
tecostem, in the English twenty-five *post Trini-*
tatem. In the York missal the Sundays were
 reckoned *post octavas Pentecostes*.

Allatius (*de Dominica et hebdomadibus Grae-*
corum dissertatio) gives a Calendar "ad usum
 Brevarii Romani e bibliotheca Vaticanae Codicis
 antiquissimo"; which (omitting all that does
 not relate to Sundays) runs thus:—

- Dominica prima de Adventu Domini.
- Dominica secunda ante Natale Domini.
- Dominica tertia ante Natale Domini.
- Dominica quarta ante Natale Domini.
- Dominica prima, etc. post Epiphaniam.

(The Sundays after the Epiphany are reckoned
 up to Lent, but the names for the last three,
 Septuagesima, etc. are recognised.)

- Dominica in Quadragesima.
- Dominica prima mensis primi.
- Dominica III^a, IV^a, V^a, VI^a in Quadragesima.
- Dominica Sancta in Pascha.
- Dominica Octava Paschae.
- Dominica I^a, II^a, III^a post Octavam Paschae.
- Dominica post Ascensum Domini.
- Dominica Pentecosten.
- Dominica Octava Pentecosten.
- Dominica II^a, etc. Pentecosten.
- Dominica post Natale Apostolorum [I. e. SS. Pet. et
 Pauli. Jun. 29].
- Dominica I^a, II^a, etc. post Octavam Apostolorum.
- Dominica I^a, III^a, etc. post S. Laurentii [Aug. 10].
- Dominica I^a, II^a, etc. post S. Cypriani [Sept. 28].

The last of these Sundays is that next after
 the festival of St. Andrew, and then follow the
 three Sundays of Advent.

The Mozarabic Calendar contains six Sundays
 in Advent. The Sundays after the Epiphany are
 numbered continuously till the beginning of
 Lent, counting the names Septuagesima, etc.,
 the Sunday corresponding to Quinquagesima
 being known as *Dominica ante diem Cinerum* v.
ante carnes tollendis, after Pentecost are reckoned
 as the first, second, etc., seventh Sunday after
 Pentecost. After the seventh no Sunday mass
 and therefore no Sunday name is given till
 Advent, except one for "In Dominica ante jeju-
 nium Calendarum Novembrium."

The Ambrosian Dominical Calendar, which
 in its main features is of high antiquity, is as
 follows:—

- Dominica I^a, II^a, III^a, IV^a, V^a, VI^a in Adventu.

(These six Sundays are exclusive of and in
 addition to the Vigil of the Nativity, when it
 falls on a Sunday.)

- Dominica post Nativitatem Domini.
- Dominica I^a, II^a, etc. post Epiphaniam.
- Dominica in Septuagesima, in Sexagesima, in Quin-
 quagesima.
- Dominica I^a in Quadragesima (the beginning of Lent).

Dominica II^a in Quadragesima (sometimes called the
 Sunday of the Samaritan Woman).

Dominica III^a in Quadragesima (or the Sunday of
 Abraham).

Dominica IV^a in Quadragesima (or the Sunday of the
 Blind Man).

Dominica V^a in Quadragesima (or the Sunday of
 Lazarus).

Dominica Olivarum.
 Dominica Resurrectionis, v. Dies Sanctus Paschae.

Dominica in Albis deponitis.
 Dominica II^a, III^a, IV^a, V^a post Pascha.

Dominica post Ascensionem.
 Dominica Pentecosten.

Dominica I^a post Pentecosten.
 Dominica in qua celebratur Festum Sanctissimae

Trinitatis.
 Dominica II^a post Pentecosten, v. Dom. infra Octa-
 vam Corporis Christi.

Dominica III^a, etc. post Pentecosten.
 Up to the Decollation of St. Joh. Bapt. [Aug. 29].

Dominica I^a, II^a, III^a, IV^a, V^a post Decollationem.
 Dominica I^a, II^a, III^a Octobris.

Dominica III^a. In Dedicatione Ecclesiae majoris.
 Dominica I^a, II^a, III^a post Dedicationem.

The Greek Dominical Calendar differs in many
 respects. In all Western calendars the ecclesias-
 tical year begins with Advent. The Greek
 Church has no such season,^a and the year begins
 with the *Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican*,
 which corresponds to the Sunday next
 before Septuagesima. The order of the Sundays
 is as follows:—

Sunday of the *Pharisee and the Publican* [also called
προφητισμος].^b

Sunday of the *Prodigal Son*, answering to Septua-
 gesima Sunday.

Sunday of *Apocryes* [so called because it is the last
 day on which meat is eaten].

Sunday of *Tyrophagus* [the last day on which cheese
 is eaten].

First Sunday of the Fast, or Orthodoxy Sunday,
ἀνάστασις τῆς ἑσπέρης κρυαῆς τῶν ἁγίων ὑπορείων,
ἡμέρα τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας [Typ. Sabas, cap. xviii.]. The
 celebration under this name is in commemoration
 of the overthrow of the Iconoclasts.^c

Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth Sundays of the Fast.

Palm Sunday (*εὐχαριστῆ τῶν βασιῶν*).

Pascha (or Bright Sunday, *ἀναστάσις κρυαῆς*).

Antipascha (or the Sunday of St. Thomas), some-
 times *New Sunday*, *καὶ ἡ νέα κρυαῆ* [Theod.

Baisamon in *Expos. de S. Bas.* etc. ad Aouphl. de
Spir. Sanct.].

Sunday of the *Ornment Bearers* (*τῶν κρυφοφόρων*).

Sunday of the *Paralytic*.

Sunday of the *Samaritan Woman*, or Mid Pentecost
 [*μεσοπεντηκοστή*].

Sunday of the *Blind Man*.^d

Sunday of the *Three hundred and eighteen* [i. e. the
 Fathers of Niceaea]. Sunday in the Octave of the
 Ascension.

Pentecost.

All Saints Sunday (Trinity Sunday or First Sunday
 of Matthew).

^a There is a fast preparatory to the Nativity, called
 the *Fast of the Nativity*, which lasts for the forty days
 before Christmas.

^b This and similar names of Sundays are derived from
 the subjects of the Gospels for the day.

^c For the reasons given for this name, see Allatius
de Dominicis et Hebdomadibus Graecorum, s. viii.

^d There is a long and peculiar office for the day in the
Triodion, but it is without our limits of time.

^e The Sundays after Antipascha are variously reckoned
 as the 2nd, 3rd, etc., or as the 3rd, 4th, etc. Sunday after
 Pascha.

The Sundays from this point are called Sundays of *Matthew* or of *Luke* according as the gospels are taken from those Evangelists.*

Second Sunday after Pentecost, or Second Sunday of Matthew.

Third Sunday after Pentecost, or Third Sunday of Matthew.

and so on, up to the Exaltation of the Cross [Sept. 14], the Sunday before which festival is called:—

The Sunday before the Exaltation; and that following it
The Sunday after the Exaltation.

After this the Sundays resume their reckoning from Pentecost, which varies with the years and are called *Sundays of Luke*, whose gospel is now read.

First Sunday of Luke.

Second " "

Sunday before the Nativity.

Sunday before the Lights (*ἡμέρῃ τῶν φάτων*, sc. Epiphany).

Sunday after the Lights.

The numeration from Pentecost, and of the Sundays of Luke is then resumed and continued till the Sunday of the *Pharisee and the Publican*, (Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. (See also Allatius, *de Dom. et Heb. Græc.*; Ducange in v. *Dominica; Micrologus*; and the Latin and Greek office books *passim*. [Compare LECTONARY.] [H. J. H.]

LORD'S PRAYER (the Liturgical use of the). I. In nearly all ancient liturgies this was said between the consecration of the elements and the communion. The earliest direct witness is Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 350; who, after explaining to his competentes, the Sanctus, prayer of consecration, and the intercessions, as they occur in the order of the service, proceeds, "Then, after these things, we say that prayer which the Saviour delivered to His intimate disciples, out of a pure conscience addressing God and saying, Our Father," &c. (*Catech. Myst.* v. 8). Optatus in Africa (A.D. 368), charging the Donatist bishops, who "gave remission of sins as if they had no sin themselves," with a self-contradiction, says, "For at that very time, when ye impose hands and remit offences, soon turning to the altar, ye are obliged to recite the Lord's Prayer, and in fact say, Our Father, which art in heaven, forgive us our debts and sins" (*de Schism. Don.* ii. 20). Now we know from St. Cyprian (*de Lupus*, p. 128; ed. 1690) that in Africa penitents were reconciled after the consecration. St. Augustine, also in Africa (A.D. 397), puts the Lord's Prayer there; "When the hallowing (of the elements) has taken place, we say the Lord's Prayer" (*Serm.* 227, *ad Infantem*, i.e. the newly baptized; see before, vol. i. p. 836). Again, writing in 414, he says that by *προσευχῆς* in 1 Tim. ii. 1, he understands those Prayers which are said "when that which is on the Lord's table is blessed, and hallowed, and broken for distribution; which whole form of prayer nearly every church concludes with the Lord's Prayer" (*ad Paulin. Epist.* 149, § 16). Again, to competentes: "When ye are baptized, that prayer is to be said by you daily. For in

* The Sundays of Matthew and Luke are sometimes also called by the headings of the sections read.

the church that Lord's Prayer is said daily at the altar of God, and the faithful hear it" (*Serm.* 58, c. x. § 12; see also *Serm. Don.* ii. vi. § 26; *Serm.* 17, § 5; 49, 8). St. Jerome must have thought the practice of saying it somewhere in the liturgy universal, for he says in a work written about 415, "So He taught His apostles, that daily in the sacrifice of His body, believers should make bold to speak thus, Our Father," &c. (*Diad. contra Pelag.* iii. 15.) Germanus of Paris is a witness to the use of France in the middle of the 6th century: "But the Lord's Prayer is put in that same place (i.e. after the consecration and contrafraction) for this reason, that every prayer of ours may be concluded with the Lord's Prayer (*Expos. Brev.* in Martene *de Ant. Eccl. Rit.* i. lv. xii. ii.). In the treatise *de Sacramentis*, ascribed to St. Ambrose, but probably written in France, near the end of the 8th century (see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, pp. 590, 622, 2nd ed.) we read, "I said to you that before the words of Christ, that which is offered is called bread. When the words of Christ have been uttered, it is no longer called bread, but is named the Body. Wherefore then in the Lord's Prayer which follows after that, does he say, 'our bread' (lib. v. c. iv. § 24)?" Leontius of Cyprus relates of his contemporary, John the Almoner, pape of Alexandria, who died in 616, that during the celebration he sent for and exchanged forgiveness with a clerk, who was not in charity, after which "with great joy and gladness, he stood at the holy altar, able to say to God with a clear conscience, forgive us," &c. (*Vita Joan.* c. 13; Roswey, p. 186). St. Augustine (as above) alleges the use of the Lord's Prayer after the consecration in "nearly every church." We find it in that place in every ancient liturgy, except the Clementine (*Constit. Apost.* viii. 15), in which it does not appear at all, and the Abyssinian (Renaudot, *Liturg. Orient.* i. 521), in which it is said, as in the English, after the communion. In the Nestorian of Malabar it occurs both before and after the communion (*Liturg. Mal.* Ravlin, 324, 327).

When the Greek compiler of the liturgy called after St. Clement of Rome omitted the Lord's Prayer, he was probably guided by the old Greek liturgy of Rome, which we may suppose to have been before him. We know from St. Gregory, writing in 598, that, until he inserted it, the Lord's Prayer was, according to the plain meaning of his words, certainly not said between the consecration and reception, and therefore probably not said at all in the Eucharistic office of his church. He had been blamed for having (among other innovations) "given an order that the Lord's Prayer should be said soon (mox) after the canon" (*Epist.* viii. 64). His defence was, "We say the Lord's Prayer soon after the prayer (of consecration), because the apostles were wont to consecrate the host of oblation to that very prayer only (ad ipsam solummodo orationem), and it seemed to me very unbecoming to say over the oblation a prayer which some scholastic had put together, and not to say the prayer (traditionem, *lege fors.* orationem) which our Redeemer composed over His body and blood" (*ibid.*). The Lord's Prayer, then, had not been said over the elements either during or after the act of consecration, nor in any place suggested at which it was said. From

the Lord's Prayer is said daily at the faithful hear it" (*Serm. de Serm. Dom. ii. vi. § 26*; p. 10). St. Jerome must have been saying it somewhere in the East, for he says in a work of his, "So He taught His apostles, and His disciples, the office of His body, believers should say, Our Father," &c. (*ibid.* iii. 15.) Germanus of Auxerre, in the use of France in the 5th century: "But the Lord's Prayer is the same place (i.e. after the Mass) for this reason, that it may be concluded with the words of the *Brev. in Marteano de Ant.*

In the treatise of Sacraments, Ambrose, but probably near the end of the 4th century, *Notitia Eucharistica*, &c. we read, "I said to you that Christ, that which is called the Word, that which is called the Body, wherefore then follows after that, &c." (*ibid.* v. c. iv. § 24?") The dates of his contemporary, Athanasius of Alexandria, who died in the celebration he sent for and with a clerk, who was not a priest, "with great joy and with the holy altar, able to say conscience, forgive us," &c. (*ibid.* p. 186.) St. Augustine in the use of the Lord's Prayer in "nearly every church," in the 5th century liturgy. (*Constit. Apost. viii. 13*), appear at all, and in the *Liturgy. Orient. i. 521*), in the English, after the Nestorian of Malabar it after the communion (*ibid.* 324, 327).

The compiler of the liturgy of Rome omitted the Lord's Prayer, probably guided by the custom of Rome, which we may see before him. We know in 598, that, until he the Lord's Prayer was, according to his words, certainly not consecration and reception. It is not said at all in the liturgy of the church. He had been among other innovations the Lord's Prayer should be the canon" (*Epist. viii. 64*). We say the Lord's Prayer of consecration, because it is to consecrate the host in the prayer only (ad ipsam) and it seemed to me very dear the oblation a prayer and put together, and not additionem, *leje* fers. ora-deemer composed over (*ibid.*). The Lord's Prayer, over the elements either of consecration, nor is which it was said. From

one of the canons of the 4th Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) we should infer that there were some in Spain who did not, even at that time, think it a necessary part of the liturgy; "Some priests are found throughout the Spain, who do not say the Lord's Prayer daily, but only on the Lord's day. . . . Whoever therefore of the priests, or of the clerks subject to them, shall fail to say this prayer of the Lord daily, either in a public or private office, let him be deprived of the honour of his order" (can. 10).

II. The statement of Gregory that the apostles consecrated by saying the Lord's Prayer only is probably a mistake; but it is repeated by Amalarius, A.D. 827, and Leo VII. A.D. 936. The first says of the wine on Good Friday, "The apostolic method of consecration is observed, which said the Lord's Prayer only over the Lord's body and blood. Therefore, if it were not prescribed by the Ordo Romanus that the body of the Lord should be reserved from the 5th day of the week to the 6th, its reservation would be unnecessary; because the Lord's Prayer alone would be sufficient for the consecration of the body, as it is for the consecration of the wine and water" (*de Eccl. Off. var. Lect. Hittorp. col. 1445*; see also l. 15). After inquiries made at Rome in 831, Amalarius omitted this passage, but not the letter of Gregory, who had been his authority (iv. 26). Micrologus, without citing Gregory, or mentioning the apostles, remarks that the Ordo Romanus commands the priest to consecrate on Good Friday wine not consecrated before with the Lord's prayer and imposition of the Lord's body, that the people may be able to communicate fully" (*de Eccl. Off. 19*). The Ordo itself ascribes the consecration to the mixture only (*Amal. u. s. col. 1445*; see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 707, ed. 2). Leo forbade the Lord's Prayer in a grace at meals, "because the holy apostles were wont to say this prayer only in the consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ" (*Epist. ii. Labbe, ix. 697*).

III. In the ancient liturgies the Lord's Prayer is introduced by a preface. In the Roman and Ambrosian this is not connected with any preceding form, but in the Greek, Oriental, and Ephesine, it is the conclusion of a separate prayer. The Roman preface is as follows, "Oremus. Præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere" (*Sacram. Gelas. Murat. i. 697*). The Liturgy of Milan uses the same form generally, but on some feasts, as Easter and Christmas (Le Brun, *Dissert. iii. 2*; Pamel. *Liturgiconi*, i. 304), the following: "Divino magisterio edocti et salutaribus monitis instituti audemus dicere," which is identical with a Gothic-Gallican form (*Liturg. Gall. Mabill. 297*). The original Ambrosian canon, however, was followed by a prayer for the presence of Christ, ending thus, "That we may receive the verity of the Lord's body and blood; through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, saying, Our Father," &c. (*Murat. Liturg. Rom. i. 134*). The Roman and Milanese prefaces have been given above in Latin, that the reader may compare them with the language of St. Cyprian, A.D. 252, in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer (*in iud.*): "Evangelica præcepta . . . nihil sunt alia quam Magisteria divina . . . Inter sua salutaris monita et præcepta divina . . . etiam orandi

ipse formam dedit." Of the title "Our Father," he says, "Quod nomen nemo nostrum in oratione videret attingere, nisi ipse nobis sic permisisset orare" (compare St. Jerome, as above). It is a probable inference that a preface, or prefaces, resembling those quoted, was used with the Lord's Prayer in the Latin church of Africa in the 3rd century. In the old Gallican missal there is a variable prayer, called *Collectio ante Orationem Dominicam*, of which the following is a brief example: "We beseech Thee, O God the Father Almighty, in those positions whereunto with our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, hath commanded us to pray, saying, Our Father," &c. (*Miss. Goth. Lit. Gall. 190*). Some of these "collects" in the Gothic-Gallican missal are exhortations (195, 202, &c.). One (238) is partly addressed to God and partly to the people. The Gallicanum Vetus of Mabillon (p. 346), and the fragment known as the Reichenau missal (*Gallican Liturgies*, Neale and Forbes, p. 1), have each an example of exhortation. This collect disappears from the missal Francorum (*Lit. Gall. 326*) and the Besançon sacramentary found at Bobio (*Mus. Ital. l. 281*), as they had both adopted the Roman canon. We do not know the preamble used by the Franks, as the Besançon canon is followed by the Gallican preamble, "Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione dicere, Pater," &c. In the Mozarabic missal the formulæ before the Lord's Prayer (headed *Ad Orationem Dominicam*) is often long. In some instances (Leslie, 20, 63, 85, &c.) it is not verbally connected with the latter. It may be a prayer to the Father (16, 20, 22, &c.) or to the Son (8, 12, 93, &c.), or an address to the people (10, 26, 32, &c.). The following example can hardly be classed under any of these heads: "That which is the way hath He shewn, that we might follow in it; that which is the life hath He taught, that we might speak of it; that which is the truth hath He ordained, that we might hold it. To Thee, Supreme Father, let us from the earth with trembling of heart cry aloud, Our Father," &c. (40).

In the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem, known as St. James, at the close of a long secret prayer, the priest says aloud, "And deign that we, O merciful Lord, may with boldness, uncondemned, with a pure heart, a contrite soul, unashamed face, sanctified lips, dare to call upon Thee, the holy God, the Father in the heavens, and to say, Our," &c. (Trollope, 99). This *Ἐκφώνησις* appears in abridged forms in the derived liturgies of St. Basil (Goar, 174), St. Chrysostom (80), and the Armenian (Neale's *Introd.* 622). In St. Mark, the priest concludes his secret prayer thus, "That with the holy disciples and apostles, we may say unto Thee this prayer, Our," &c. (Renaud. i. 159.) Then he says aloud the form above given from St. James, and the people say the Lord's Prayer. In the Syro-Jacobite liturgies there is also a secret prayer, which leads up to the Lord's Prayer thus,—"That we may dare to invoke Thee . . . and pray, and say, Our," &c. (Renaud. ii. 39, 131, &c.). In the Egyptian (Renaud. i. 20, 37, 60, 75, 116) and Nestorian (ii. 595) liturgies, the Lord's Prayer is introduced in a similar manner at the end of the prayer of Fraction.

IV. St. Augustine's expression, "All the faithful hear it" (see above), seems to imply that in Africa the people did not repeat the Lord's Prayer themselves in his time. When Gregory introduced it at Rome, he did not assign it to the congregation. "Among the Greeks, the Lord's Prayer is said by all the people, but among us by the priest alone" (*Epist.* u. s.). Yet elsewhere in the Latin church they said it. That it was so in France in the 6th century is clear from a story in Gregory of Tours. A dumb woman "on a certain Lord's day stood with the rest of the people. But it came to pass that, when the Lord's Prayer was said, she also opened her mouth and began to sing that holy prayer with the rest" (*Mirac. S. Mart.* ii. 30). In the Mozarabic Liturgy the people responded "Amen" at the end of the first clause, and the first three petitions: after "Give us this day our daily bread," they responded, "for Thou art God": after the two following petitions, "Amen": and after "Lead us not into temptation," they concluded with "But deliver us from evil" (Leslie, 6). In all the Eastern rites, as in their sources, St. James and St. Mark, this prayer is said by the people. In the Egyptian (Ken. i. 76, 77) and Syro-Jacobite (ii. 40, 131) they begin at "Hallowed be," &c. In the Nestorian, they say it all (Badger, *Nestorians*, ii. 237; Renaud, ii. 595).

V. St. Augustine more than once alludes to a custom of beating the breast when the words "forgive us our trespasses" were said in the liturgy: "If we are without sin, and we beat our breasts, saying, Forgive, &c., in this very thing at least we sin, even gravely; as no one can doubt; seeing that we lie while the very sacraments are being celebrated" (*Serm.* 351, 3, § 6. Similarly, *Serm.* 388, § 2). To what extent this custom prevailed does not appear.

For the form which followed the Lord's Prayer in every ancient liturgy, see EMBOLISMUS.

[W. E. S.]

LORD'S SUPPER (*Coena Domini, Coena Domini, Δείπνον Κυριακόν*). I. The primary notion was of the Last Supper of our Lord, at which the eucharist was instituted. That, says Hippolytus, A.D. 220, was the "first table of the mystical supper" (in *Prov.* ix. 1, *Fragm.*). St. Chrysostom, A.D. 398, commenting on 1 Cor. xi. 20, says that St. Paul, by using the words "Lord's Supper," takes his hearers back to that "evening in which the Lord delivered the awful mysteries" (*Hom.* 27, in Ep. 1, ad Cor. § 2). With this view, he argues, the apostle called τὸ ἄριστον δεῖπνον, that which in practice was taken early in the day by the name commonly given to the meal which was eaten last (*ibid.*). Somewhat similarly Pseudo-Dionysius (probably about 520): "The common and peaceable participation of one and the same bread and cup . . . brings (us) to a sacred commemoration of the most divine and archetypal (ἀρχισυμβόλου) supper" (*Ecol. Hierarch.* c. iii. Cont. iii. § 1). Maximus, the commentator on this book, A.D. 660, here explains that "the mystical supper of the Lord is said to be ἀρχισύμβολον, in relation to the divine mysteries now celebrated" (*Solutio in loc.*). The "Lord's Supper" was, therefore, in the conception of the early ages of the church, in the first instance and emphatically, that supper of which our Lord partook

Himself with His disciples the night before His death, and of which the first reception of the holy eucharist was conceived a part.

II. For some length of time the eucharist was celebrated in connexion with a meal taken by the faithful in common, in resemblance of the Last Supper [AGAPE]. It is probable that at first the whole rite, agape and communion, was called the supper, or the Lord's Supper, partly to veil the sacrament from unbelievers, and partly owing to the language of St. Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 20 being so understood. To illustrate this, we may mention that the word agape itself in one passage appears to cover both the meal and the sacrament. "It is not lawful either to baptize or to make an agape apart from the bishop." This is found in the epistle of St. Ignatius to the church at Smyrna (c. 8), one of those mentioned by Eusebius, and the passage itself is cited by Antiochus Monachus, A.D. 614 (*Hom.* 124; Migne, No. 89, col. 1822). Now when the compiler of the twelve epistles of Ignatius came to this passage, he expanded the words *ὄφει ἀγάπην ποιῆν* thus: "Nor to offer, or bring a sacrifice, or celebrate a feast" (*δοξῆν*). See Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, 109. Tertullian in 198 describes the agape under the name of a supper: "our Supper shews its nature by its name. It is called that which love is among the Greeks" (*Apol.* 39). At a later period, when the agape was celebrated with the eucharist on one day of the year only, viz., Maundy Thursday, in commemoration of the institution of the sacrament on that day, it was still called the Lord's Supper. *E.g.* the council of Carthage, A.D. 397, decrees that the "sacraments of the altar be celebrated only by men fasting excepting on that one day in every year on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated" (can. 29). Three years later St. Augustine, speaking of the custom of bathing at the end of Lent, says that "for this purpose that day was rather chosen in which the Lord's Supper is yearly celebrated" (*Epist.* 54, vii. § 10). Again, "We compel no one to break their fast (prandere) before that Lord's Supper, but neither do we dare to forbid any one" (*ibid.* § 9). In 691 the council of Constantinople (can. i. 29) cites the canon of Carthage, as given above, and abolishes the permission which it left.

III. The eucharist was the chief part of the Lord's Supper, whether that name was applied to the occasion of its institution or to the united observance of the first period after Christ. Hence it was almost inevitable that when the unessential part of that observance was dropped, the name should adhere to the sacrament. Some of the Fathers, indeed, thought, as we shall see, that St. Paul applied it directly to the eucharist in 1 Cor. xi. 20; so that the designation had a double origin. It is necessary to bring many testimonies to the extent of this usage, because it has been rashly denied, in a polemical spirit (by Maldonat, Suarez, and others), that the sacrament was called the "Lord's Supper," or a "supper," however qualified, in the early church. Our earliest witness is Tertullian, who paraphrasing the words of St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. 21, says, "We cannot eat the supper of God and the supper of devils" (*de Spect.* 13). When Hippolytus, as above, calls the institution "the first table of the mystical supper," he

implies the night before His the first reception of the received a part.

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thus: "Nor to offer, celebrate a feast" (ὁμοίαν) Ignatianus, 109. Terse

the agape under the "our Supper shows its It is called that which reeks" (Apol. 39). At a

the agape was celebrated one day of the year only, day, in commemoration the sacrament on that day,

the Lord's Supper. Ep. the A.D. 397, decrees that the altar be celebrated only by on that one day in every

rd's Supper is celebrated" ars later St. Augustine, n of bathing at the end of this purpose that day was

which the Lord's Supper is p. 54, vii. § 10). Again, break their fast (prandere)

upper, but neither do we " (ibid. § 9). In 691 the ple (can. i. 29) cites the given above, and abolishes t left.

was the chief part of the r that name was applied institution or to the united st period after Christ.

inevitable that when th t observance was dropped, e to the sacrament. Some thought, as we shall see, t directly to the eucharist

that the designation had a necessary to bring many ent of this usage, because

ent in a polemical spirit ez, and others), that the "Lord's Supper," or a

qualified, in the early witness is Tertullian, who ds of St. Paul in 1 Cor.

not eat the supper of God devils" (de Spect. 13).

above, calls the institution he the mystical supper," he

LORD'S SUPPER

implies that any subsequent celebration may be so called. Dionysius of Alexandria, A.D. 254, says that Christ "gives Himself to us in the mystical supper" (Tract. c. Samos. R. ad Qu. 7). St. Basil, A.D. 370: "We are instructed neither to eat and drink an ordinary supper in a church, nor to dishonour the Lord's Supper (by celebrating it in a house" (Regulae brevis tract. 310). St. Augustine, A.D. 396, expressly says that St. Paul "calls that reception itself of the eucharist the Lord's Supper" (Ep. 54, v. § 7). Again, "He gave the supper to His disciples consecrated by His own hands; but we have not reclined at that feast, and yet we daily eat the same supper by faith" (Serm. 112, iv.). In the regions of the East most do not partake of the Lord's Supper every day" (In Serm. Dom. ii. 7, § 25). Judas "drew near to the Lord's Supper equally" (with the other apostles) (Tract. 50 in St. Joan. Ev. § 10). "He permitted him to partake of the holy supper with the innocent" (Epist. 93, iv. § 15; Sim. Psalm, c. Part. Dom. di. 16; c. Litt. Petil. ii. 23, § 53; 106, § 243; Enarr. ii. in Pa. xxi. (xxii). § 27). St. Chrysostom, A.D. 398, he says again, "As oft as ye eat it, ye do shew the Lord's death; and this is that supper" (of which St. Paul speaks) (Hom. xxvii. in Ep. i. ad Cor. § 5). "As to draw near at random is perilous, so not to partake of those holy mystical suppers is famine and death" (ibid. § 8). "Believe that even now this is that supper at which He Himself reclined" (Hom. 405 in St. Matt. xiv. 34-36). Pelagius, A.D. 405: "The Lord's Supper ought to be common to all, because He delivered the sacrament equally to all His disciples who were present" (Comment. in Ep. i. ad Cor. (xl. 20); inter Opp. Hieron. v. ii. 997). Cyril of Alexandria, A.D. 412: "Let us run together to the mystical supper" (Hom. x. tom. v. ii. 371, and commonly). Theodoret, 423: "He (St. Paul) calls the Master's mystery the Lord's Supper" (Comment. in Ep. i. ad Cor. xi. 20). St. Nilus, 440: "Keep thyself from all corruption, and be every day partaker of the mystical Supper; for thus the body of Christ begins to be ours" (Paracleticus n. 120). Anastasius Sinaita, 561: "On the 5th day (of Holy Week) He gave the mystic supper which absolves all sin" (in Hexameron v.). Gregory of Tours, 573: "The day on which the Lord delivered the mystic Supper to the disciples" (de Glor. Mart. 24). Hesychius, 601: "The thanksgiving, that is, the oblation which holds the chief place in the Lord's Supper" (in Levit. p. 146 c.). The sacrament is frequently called by this author the mystical or the divine "Supper" (ibid.). Since the time of Justinian the Second, A.D. 688 (Leo. Allat. de Domin. Graec. xxi.), the choir have sung on Maundy Thursday in the Liturgy of St. Basil, "Make me this day, O Son of God, a partaker of Thy mystic Supper" (Goar, Euchel. 170). The foregoing testimonies appear to give an ample sanction to the usage of the Church of England, and to the statement of the Catechism of Trent, that "the most ancient Fathers, following the authority of the apostle, sometimes called the sacred eucharist also by the name of supper" (P. li. de Euch. v.).

IV. In the 8th century we first find the name 'Coena Domini' given to Maundy Thursday, but generally then with some addition or explanation. ANT.—VOL. II.

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nation. The earliest example known to the writer occurs in a document of the year 519, "Quinta feria, hoc est, Coena Domini" (Exempl. Supp. 2ae Germani, inter Epp. Hormisdas, Labbe, Conc. iv. 1488). Gregory of Tours, A.D. 573, uses the phrase "Day of the Lord's Supper" (Hist. Franc. ii. 21), and calls its rites "Dominicane Coenae Pascae" (ibid. viii. 43). The first council of Mâcon, 581, "Coena Domini usque ad primum Pascae" (Can. 14). Isidore of Seville, 610, calls it Coena Domini in the heading of a chapter, but explains, as if the usage were not familiar, "This 'Supper of the Lord' is the fifth day of the last week of Lent" (de Eccl. Off. i. 28). The Besançon sacramentary, written later in the 7th century, gives an "Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians to be read on Coena Domini" (Mus. Ital. i. 315). The Gallican Lectionary also gives "Lessons for Coena Domini at Matins" (Liturg. Gallic. 128). In the first Ordo Romanus, probably about A.D. 730, the day is called both Feria quinta Coenae Domini, and Coena Domini (Mus. Ital. ii. 19, 30-33). A law of Carloman, in 742, says, "On Coena Domini let him (the presbyter) always seek fresh chrism from the bishop" (c. iii. in Capit. Reg. Franc. 147. So a law of Charlemagne in 769, col. 192). In 744 a chapter of Pepin ordered "every presbyter always on Coena Domini to give to the bishop a statement of the method and order of his ministry" (c. 4; u. s. i. 158). In the capitularies of the French kings is an order that "the presbyter on Coena Domini take with him two ampullae, one for the chrism, another for the oil to anoint catechumens and the sick" (L. i. c. 156). See other instances (coll. 824, 865, 953, &c.). It is evident that this singular designation of a day had quite established itself by the end of the 8th century. See MAUNDY THURSDAY. [W. E. S.]

LORD'S TABLE. I. For more than three hundred years after the institution of the sacrament the altar is but once called a table in the genuine remains of Christian writers. The exception occurs in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 254) to Xystus of Rome. He speaks of a communicant as "standing at the Table" (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. vii. 9). The next instance is a full century later, viz. in the commentary of Hilary the deacon, 354: "When he partakes of the table of devils, he outrages the Lord's Table, i. e. the altar" (Comm. in 1 Cor. x. 21). The explanation in the last words implies that the same remark applies to a passage in the Disput. c. Arvanos ascribed to Athanasius, but certainly later. The table in Prov. ix. 2 is there understood of "the Table" prepared by Christ, "That is, the holy altar" (c. 17; App. Opp. Athan. iii. 164). The usage was never general in the West, and the examples found in the Greek writers of the 4th and 5th centuries, considering how much they have left, are not really numerous. The following are from every great division of the church:—St. Basil, A.D. 370, says that the orthodox in the district of Gangra "overthrew the altars" of the heretic Basilides and "set up their own Tables" (Epist. 226). Paulinus in Italy, 398: "There is every where one cup and one food of the Lord, and one Table and house of God" (Poema 17). Pru-

dentius in Spala, A. D. 405, "calls the altar dedicated to God" poetically, *illa sacramenti donatrix Mensa (de Coron. Hymn. 9)*. St. Augustine in Roman Africa, writing probably in 416: "The sacrament is prepared on the Lord's Table (in Dominica Mensa), and is taken from (de) the Lord's Table" (*Tract. 26* in Joan. Ev. § 15). Cyril of Alexandria not many years later speaks of the "holy Table" (*adv. Nestor. 4; vii. 116*). Socrates, 439, relates of Alexander the bishop of Alexandria that in the distress caused by the apparent triumph of Arius, he "entered the altar-place and prostrated himself on his face beneath the sacred Table" (*Hist. Eccl. i. 37*). At a later period the name of Mensa was, in the Latin church, generally given to the slab alone, while the whole structure was called an altar. In the east on the other hand, the latter name became infrequent; the phrases "holy Table" (*ἅγια τραπέζα*) or "sacred Table" (*ἱερά τρ.*) being used instead. It will be sufficient to refer here to the rubrics of some ancient liturgies. That of St. James has, "When the priest sets the cup on the holy Table" (Trollope, 111). St. Basil, "The holy mysteries being removed from the sacred Table" (Coar, 175); "the setting down of the divine gifts upon the holy Table" (164). St. Chrysostom similarly has both "sacred" (82) and "holy (72, 73, 74, &c.) Table." The Armenian, "holy table" only (Neale's *Introd.* 582, 594, &c.). The rubrics of SS. Basil and Chrysostom do not employ the word "altar"; but it occurs in those of the earlier St. James (p. 36), St. Mark (Renaud. *Liturg. Orient.* i. 141) and St. Clement (*Constit. Apost.* viii. 12), the two latter using no other. We find it also in the Armenian rubrics (394, 432), in those of the Coptic St. Basil (Renaud. i. 4, 5, &c.); the Greek Alexandrian of St. Gregory (*Ibid.* 91), the Ethiopian (500), the Syrian *Ordo Communis* (with "table of life") (*ibid.* ii. 42), and the Nestorian (*Ibid.* 566, &c.). "Table" does not occur in the Nestorian rubrics. We cannot ascribe them to the age of Nestorius, but the fact witnesses to the early usage of the churches which became infested with his heresy. They adhered to the tradition of Ignatius and the sub-apostolic period, while the Syro-Jacobites, who separated from the church later, reflect the language of a later age.

II. We have cited a poem of Paulinus, in which he calls the altar "the table of God." That such language was not usual in Italy in his time appears certain from the fact that the same author in a prose composition gives the name of the "Lord's Table" to a table, as it is thought, in the Gazophylacium on which were set the gifts brought for the use of the poor. "Let us not suffer the Lord's Table to be left void for ourselves and empty for the poor" (*Serm. 34, § 1*); "Thou wilt know how much more profitable it is to put money out to increase on the Lord's Table" (§ 2). Our inference will hold, if Paulinus by the "Lord's Table" means a chest in the treasury, or even if it be a figure for the alms themselves.

III. The phrase "Lord's Table," "mystical Table," &c., are frequently used by ancient writers to denote not the structure (the use of which is, however, implied in them), but the Holy Communion itself. This usage may have arisen from the language of St. Paul (1 Cor. x. 21); it would certainly be fostered by it. For while

some, as Hilary the deacon (*Comm. in loco*, "Mense Domini, i. e. altari"), understood "the Lord's Table" of the altar, others, as Theodoret (*in loc.*), supposed the sacramental feast to be intended. Thus the latter paraphrases, "How is it possible for us to have communion with the Lord through His preclous body and blood, and with the devil-toe, through the food that has been offered to idols?" This use of those terms is, however, common without any reference to 1 Cor. x. 21. Thus Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 374: "Reverence the mystic table to which thou hast come; the bread thou hast received, the cup of which thou hast partaken" (*Orat. 40, de Baptismo*, l. 660). St. Ambrose, 374: "The mystical table is prepared for by fasting . . . That table is attained at the cost of hunger, and that cup . . . is sought by a thirst for the heavenly sacraments" (*de Elia*, x. § 33). St. Augustine, 396: "Thou hast sat down at a great table (*Proc. xxiii. 1*) . . . What is that great table, but that from which we receive the body and blood of Christ?" (*Serm. 31, § 2*; *Sim. S. 304, § 1*; 328, § 1; 332, § 2; *Tract. 47*, in St. Joan. Ev. § 3.) On the words "the poor shall eat and be satisfied" (*Ps. xxii. 30*), "for they have been brought to the table of Christ, and received of His body and blood" (*de Gratia*, N. T. 27, § 66). Again, after speaking of a "life-giving feast" which "Christ gave to His church, "satiating us with His body, inebriating us with His blood," he says, "the church exults, fed and quickened by this table, against them that trouble her" (*Serm. 367, § 6*). St. Chrysostom, 398: "With a pure conscience touch the sacred table, and partake of the holy sacrifice" (*Hom. vi. in Pomic. ii. 326*). "On the festivals they come anyhow to this table" (*Hom. vi. de Philog. i. 499*). St. Hilary, 430: "There is a table of the Lord from which (ex qua) we take food, to wit, of the Living Bread . . . There is also the table of the Lord's lessons, at which we are fed with the meat of spiritual teaching" (*Tract. in Ps. 127, § 10*). Anastasius Sinaita, 561: "Many never trouble themselves about the self-cleansing and repentance with which they come to the sacred table; but with what garments they are adorned" (*de Sacra Synaxi*; Migne, 120. 89, col. 830). As the lay communicants did not "sit at," "touch," or even "come to" the material table or altar (see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 361, 702, ed. 2), the foregoing passages cannot be understood of that. There are many, however, which must be understood of it, though from the inappropriate epithets employed, they appear at first sight to speak of the sacrament, e. g., "I am not worthy to look towards this thy sacred and spiritual Table." This occurs in a prayer or preparation said before the priest places himself at the altar in the liturgy of St. James (Trollope, p. 27). [W. E. S.]

LOT. [SORTILEGE.]

LOUTIERN is invoked in the Breton liturgy given by Haddan and Stubbs (ii. 82). [C. H.]

LOVE-FEAST. [AGAPÆ.]

LUBENTIUS, presbyter and confessor of Treves, commemorated Oct. 13 (Usuard. *Act. Boll. Acta SS. Oct. vi. 202*). [C. H.]

encon (*Comm. in loco*, "Men-
1"), understood "the Lord's
others, as Theodoret (*in loc.*),
mental feast to be intended.
phrases, "How is it possible
union with the Lord through
d blood, and with the devil's
that has been offered to
of these terms is, however,
reference to 1 Cor. x. 21.
lanzen, A.D. 374: "Rever-
to which thou hast come to
received, the cup of which"
(*Orat.* 40, *de Baptismo*),
rosa, 374: "The mystical
of fasting . . . That table is
by hunger, and that cup . . .
for the heavenly sacra-
(33). St. Augustine, 398:
at a great table (*Proo-*
at that great table, but that
ive the body and blood of
§ 2; *Sim. S.* 304, § 1; 320,
47, in St. Joan. Ev. § 3.)
oor shall eat and be satis-
"for they have been brought
it, and received of His body
ia, N. T. 27, § 66). Again,
"life-giving feast" which
church, "satiating us with
us with His blood," he
ults, fed and quickened by
em that trouble her" (*Serm.*
rysostom, 398: "With a
in the sacred table, and puri-
fice" (*Hom. vi. in Pocat.*
festivals they come anyhow
i. vi. *de Philog.* i. 499).
St. re is a table of the Lord
we take food, to wit, of the
ere is also the table of the
which we are fed with the
aching" (*Tract.* in Ps. 127,
sinaita, 561: "Many never
about the self-cleansing
which they come to the
with what garments they are
Synaxi; Migne, 120. 89, col.
communicants did not "sit
in "come to" the material
Scudamore, *Notitia Eucha-*
2), the foregoing passages
of that. There are many,
to be understood of it, though
e epithets employed, they
to speak of the sacrament,
y to look towards this thy
Table." This occurs in a
n and before the priest
e altar in the liturgy of St.
77). [W. E. S.]

[E.]

oked in the Breton liturgy
1 Stubba (ii. 82). [C. H.]

[AGAPAE.]

resbyter and confessor of
ed Oct. 13 (Usuard, *Auct.*
i. 202). [C. H.]

LUBERCUS

LUBERCUS, martyr of Caesarea in Spain,
commemorated April 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Lu-
bertus occurs for this day in the *Auctaria* of
Bede. [C. H.]

LUCANIA, martyr in Africa, commemorated
Dec. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCANUS (1), African martyr, commemorated
April 28 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(2) Bishop of Sabiona, commemorated at Be-
lunum July 20 (*Acta SS. Jul. v. 70*). [C. H.]

LUCAS (1) (ST. LUKE), evangelist, com-
memorated generally on Oct. 18. At Jerusalem,
March 15 was set apart to him and to St. James
the Apostle; at Aquileia, Sept. 3 was observed
for the "ingressio reliquiarum" of St. Andrew,
St. Luke, and St. John; in the city "Piralice,"
St. Luke's natalis was kept on Sept. 21 (*Hieron.*
Mart.). In the *Auctaria* of Bede, and in the
Ethiopic Calendar, October 19 is assigned to
St. Luke. The relics of St. Luke, with those
of St. Andrew and St. Timothy, are said to have
been transferred by order of the emperor Con-
stantinus to Constantinople, and there deposited
in the church of the Apostles [ANDREW, p. 82].
(*Hieron. cont. Vigilantium: Patrol. Lat.* xxii. 345;
Basil. *Menol.* Oct. 18). St. Luke's translation
was observed "in Oriente" on Oct. 18 (*Hieron.*
Mart.), and his natalis on the same day (Usuard,
Mart.; Bede, *Mart.*). His commemoration gen-
erally is given under Oct. 18 in Basil, *Menol.*
and *Cal. Byzant.* See also *Boll. Acta SS.* Oct. viii.
310.

The sacramentary of Gregory (p. 136) has a
collect for St. Luke's natalis, which is assigned to
Oct. 18; it prays the Lord for St. Luke's
intercession; but the festival is omitted in some
MSS. Kræmer (*de Liturgiis*, 497) states the
general belief that St. Mark and St. Luke are
not mentioned in the Roman canon in the prayer
Communicantes because of the uncertainty as to
the fact of their martyrdom. Ciampini (*de*
Sacr. Aedif.) does not mention any churches
dedicated to St. Luke, but he cites various
authors explaining why the vitulus of the Apoc-
alypse was assigned as the symbol of this evan-
gelist (*Vet. Mon.* i. 192). [EVANGELISTS IN
ART, l. 633.] [C. H.]

(2) Deacon at Emesa, martyr with bishop Sil-
vanus and the reader Mocius; commemorated
Feb. 6 (Basil, *Menolog.*; Jan. 29 (*Byzant.*)).

(3) Called "our father Lucas," of Sterion in
Greece, commemorated with "our father Parthe-
nius," bishop of Lampascus, on Feb. 7 (*Cal.*
Byzant.).

(4) Bishop, martyr of Caesarea in Cappadocia,
commemorated March 2 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(5) Bishop and martyr at Nicomedia, com-
memorated March 15 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(6) Martyr in Africa, commemorated March
20 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Deacon and martyr at Cordula, commemo-
rated April 22 (Usuard, *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*;
Bede, *Mart.*). The name in Bede is Lucus.

(8) Martyr at Milan, commemorated Nov. 27
(*Hieron. Mart.*).

(9) Stylite, commemorated Dec. 11 (TAKSAAS,
15), (*Cal. Aethiop.*). [C. H.]

LUCIANUS

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LUCIA. [LUCIA.]

LUCELLA (1) Martyr at Nicomedia, com-
memorated Feb. 16, Mar. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr in Africa, commemorated May 7
(*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr at Rome, commemorated May 10
(*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr, commemorated Aug. 10 (*Hieron.*
Mart.) [C. H.]

LUCELLUS, martyr in Africa, commemo-
rated March 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCERNAE. [LIGHTS.]

LUCERNARIA, virgin, commemorated July
30 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCERUS, martyr, Jan. 18 (Aengus), ap-
pears as Luricus in the *Mart. Hieron.* Perhaps
the name should be Glycerus. [E. B. B.]

LUCETELLA, martyr, commemorated Mar.
13 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIA (1) Virgin, commemorated Feb. 19
(*Cal. Aethiop.*).

(2) Virgin, martyr at Thessalonica, com-
memorated June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Boll.*
Acta SS. June, i. 48).

(3) Virgin, martyr at Rome, commemorated
June 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*), and on June 25 (*Vet.*
Mart. Rom.).

(4) Virgin, martyr in Campania, commemo-
rated July 6 (Basil, *Menol.*).

(5) Noble matron at Rome, martyr, com-
memorated with SS. Geminianus and Euphemia
on Sept. 16 (Usuard, *Mart.*; Bede, *Mart.*; *Vet.*
Rom. Mart.; *Boll. Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 286). In
Gregory's Sacramentary Sept. 16 is assigned as
a festival to Lucia and Geminianus, neither of
whom are named in the collect, though Euphemia,
who is also separately commemorated on that
day, is (Greg. Mag. *Lb. Sac.* 130). The
"natalis" (no day being named) of Euphemia,
Lucia, and Geminianus, occurs in the Antiphona-
rium, but their names are not in the collect
(Greg. Mag. *Lb. Antiph.* 710). Basil's Meno-
logy assigns Sept. 17 to Lucia, widow, and
Geminianus jointly.

(6) [St. Lucy of Anglican Calendar] Virgin,
martyr at Syracuse under Diocletian, com-
memorated on Dec. 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bede, *Mart.*;
Usuard, *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Cal. Byzant.*).
She is one of those mentioned in the canon
(Greg. Mag. *Lb. Sac.* 4, 290 n.) occurring in
connexion with Agatha and Agnes. There is
a special service for her day and vigil (day of
the month not mentioned) in the *Liber Respons-*
alis (842). In the *Liber Antiphonarum* (654)
the festival of "St. Lucia, virgin," occurs be-
tween the second and third Sundays in Advent,
but the collect does not contain her name.

(7) Virgin, martyr, commemorated at Antioch.
Dec. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIANA (1) Martyr in Africa, commemo-
rated Feb. 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr at Constantinople, commemorated
May 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr in Lucania, commemorated Oct.
29 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIANUS (1) Bishop and confessor at

Leontium in Sicily, commemorated Jan. 3 (*Acta SS.* Jan. i. 136).

LUCIANUS (2) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Jan. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*).

(3) Presbyter of the church of Antioch, martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Jan. 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; Usuard, *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 357). The *Mencology of Basil* and Daniel (*Cod. Lit. iv.* 371) place him under Oct. 15.

(4) Martyr at Beauvais, called both presbyter and bishop (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard, *Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Jan. i. 459).

(5) Martyr with Paula and others; commemorated Jan. 19 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 220).

(6) Martyr at Ravenna, commemorated Feb. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(7) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Feb. 22, and another at the same place, Feb. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Feb. 24 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. iii. 460).

(8) Martyr in Campania, commemorated Mar. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(9) Martyr at Caesarea in Spain; commemorated April 15; also a bishop and confessor of the same place, on the same day (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(10) Martyr in Pontus, commemorated April 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*). Bede's *Auctaria* mentions him on the same day, at a place unknown.

(11) Martyr in Africa, commemorated April 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(12) Martyr at Terni, commemorated May 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(13) Martyr in Sardinia, commemorated May 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Usuard, *Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(14) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(15) Martyr at Caesarea in Cappadocia, commemorated June 7 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* June, ii. 8).

(16) Martyr in Africa, commemorated June 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart.*; *Acta SS.* June ii. 678).

(17) Martyr with Peregrinus at Dyrrachium; commemorated July 7 (Basil, *Menol.*).

(18) Martyr at Antioch, commemorated July 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(19) Martyr in Africa, commemorated July 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(20) Martyr at Ancyra in Galatia, commemorated Aug. 31 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(21) Martyr in Cappadocia, commemorated Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(22) Martyr at Florence, commemorated Oct. 25 (Bede, *Mart. Auct.*).

(23) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated Oct. 26 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(24) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Oct. 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(25) Martyr at Caesarea, commemorated Nov. 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*).

(26) Martyr, commemorated Nov. 25, but no place mentioned (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(27) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Dec. 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

LUCIANUS (28) Martyr at Tripoli, commemorated Dec. 24 (Usuard, *Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIDEUS, Martyr in Africa, commemorated Jan. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIFERUS, bishop in Sardinia, commemorated May 20 (*Acta SS.* May, v. 187,* vii. 819). [C. H.]

LUCILLA (1) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Mar. 19 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(2) Martyr at Nicea, with 400 others, commemorated Mar. 25 (Bed. *Mart. Auct.*).

(3) Daughter of deacon Nemesius, martyr at Rome, commemorated Aug. 27 (Florus ap. Bed. *Mart.*), but Oct. 31 according to Usuard. [C. H.]

LUCILLIANUS, aged martyr at Byzantium, commemorated June 3 (*Cal. Byzant.*; Basil, *Menol.*; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg.* iv. 260; *Acta SS.* June, i. 274). [C. H.]

LUCINA, Roman matron, "discipula apostolorum," martyr at Rome; commemorated June 30 (Usuard, *Mart.*; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* June, v. 533). [C. H.]

LUCINA. In the *Diurnum Romanum*, i. 7, c. 17, we find: "Sed dispensator qui pro tempore fuerit in eadem venerabili diaconia (i.e. quando lucina perficitur in eadem diaconia pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum), omnes diaconites et pauperes Christi, qui ibidem conveniunt Kyrie elaison exclamare student." Deaconess supposes lucina here either to be synonymous with **LUCERNA**, the lamplighting, or to be a mistake for **LITANIA**. But in another instance that he quotes, "quantum vix in undecim lucinia laborare poterant," where he supposes it to mean simply 'days,' it would be more natural to take it for some special occasion of busy labour. Whether a great baptism day, or a great almsgiving day, or what else might be meant by it, and whether the name be taken from the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, or the church named from the office, must be matters of pure conjecture. [E. B. B.]

LUCINUS (1) Martyr "in Afrodiris," commemorated April 30 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Two martyrs of this name at Rome were commemorated on May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr at Rome, commemorated July 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIOLA, two martyrs of this name, one in Africa, the other it is not said where, were commemorated March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIOSA (1) Martyr, it is not said where, commemorated Feb. 25 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(2) Martyr at Thessalonica, commemorated Feb. 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Martyr, it is not said where, commemorated Mar. 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(4) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUCIOSUS, martyr at Constantinople, commemorated May 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bede, *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]

LUCIUS (1) Confessor at Alexandria, commemorated Jan. 11 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

martyr at Tripoli, com-
 mended. *Mart.*. [C. H.]
 r in Africa, commemo-
 rted. [C. H.]
 in Sardinia, commemo-
 SS. May, v. 197,* vii.
 [C. H.]
 r in Africa, commemo-
 t. *Auct.*.
 with 400 others, com-
 i. *Mart. Auct.*.
 on Nemesius, martyr at
 Aug. 27 (Florus ap.
 according to Usnard.
 [C. H.]
 ed martyr at Byzantium,
 (Cal. *Byzant.*; Basil,
 turg. iv. 260; *Acta SS.*
 [C. H.]
 atron, "discipula apo-
 Rome; commemorated
 rt.; *Vet. Rom. Mart.*;
 [C. H.]
Dionium Romanum, i. 7,
 ensator qui pro tempore
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 em Diaconia pro remis-
 rum), omnes diaconites
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 eant by it, and whether
 m the church of San
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 era of pure conjecture.
 [E. B. B.]
 r "in Afrodiris," com-
 mended. *Mart.*.
 this name at Rome
 May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 commemorated July 10
 [C. H.]
 tyrs of this name, one
 s not said where, were
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 [C. H.]
 r, it is not said where,
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 alonica, commemorated
 said where, commemo-
 rted. *Mart.*.
 commemorated June 2
 [C. H.]
 at Constantinople, com-
 mended. *Mart.*; Bebe,
 [C. H.]
 or at Alexandria, com-
 mended. *Mart.*.

LUCIUS

LUCIUS (2) Two martyrs of this name were
 commemorated Jan. 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (3) Martyr at Tarragona, commemorated
 Jan. 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (4) Martyr at Apollonia, commemorated Jan.
 27 (*Hieron. Mart.*). An African martyr of
 this name was commemorated the same day
 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii. 768).
 (5) Martyr in the city of Augusta (London)
 in Britain, commemorated Feb. 7 (*Hieron.*
Mart.).
 (6) Martyr, commemorated Feb. 8, but it is
 not said where (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (7) Bishop, martyr at Hadrianople, commemo-
 rated Feb. 11 (*Acta SS.* Feb. ii. 519).
 (8) Martyr at Interamna, commemorated Feb.
 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (9) Martyr, commemorated March 2, but it
 is not said where (*Hieron. Mart.*). A bishop
 and martyr of this name at Caesarea in Cappa-
 docia was commemorated on the same day (*Acta*
SS. Mar. i. 130).
 (10) Pope and martyr, commemorated on
 Mar. 4 (*Vet. Rom. Mart.*; Bebe, *Mart. Auct.*; *Acta*
SS. Mar. i. 301). Two martyrs of this name at
 Rome, but without any designations, are men-
 tioned in the *Mart.* of Jerome under this day.
 Florus (ap. Bebe *Mart.*) gives the bishop and
 martyr of Rome under Aug. 25.
 (11) Martyr in Nicomedia, commemorated
 March 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (12) Bishop and martyr in Cappadocia, com-
 memorated March 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*). The
Acta SS. (Mar. ii. 391) say that Cappadocia
 should be Nicomedia.
 (13) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated
 March 21 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (14) Of Cyrene, commemorated May 6 (*Acta*
SS. May, ii. 99); the Menology of Basil makes
 him martyred at Cyprus, Aug. 21.
 (15) Martyr of Alexandria, commemorated
 May 13 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (16) Martyr in Africa, commemorated May
 23 (Bebe, *Mart. Auct.*). *Hieron. Mart.* names
 him Lucus.
 (17) Martyr in Sardinia, commemorated May
 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (18) Martyr at Navedunum (Nyoon), com-
 memorated June 6 (*Hieron. Mart.*). The *Acta*
SS. (June, ii. 632) mention Lucius and Aman-
 tius, martyrs of Parma, under this day, but leave
 the period uncertain.
 (19) Martyr in the city of Dorostorum, com-
 memorated June 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (20) Senator, martyr in Cyprus, commemo-
 rated Aug. 20 (*Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 28).
 (21) Bishop and martyr in Africa, commemo-
 rated Sept. 10 (Usnard. *Mart.*).
 (22) Martyr with Chaeremon and others at
 Alexandria, or perhaps elsewhere in Egypt, com-
 memorated Oct. 4 (*Acta SS.* Oct. iv. 329).
 (23) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Oct.
 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 344).
 (24) Martyr with Tertius at Antioch, buried
 at Alexandria, commemorated Oct. 19 (*Vet.*
Rom. Mart.).
 (25) Martyr at Nicomedia, commemorated
 Oct. 20 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bebe, *Mart. Auct.*).

LUDI SACERDOTALES 1063

LUCIUS (26) One of four "soldiers of
 Christ," martyred at Rome under Claudius, com-
 memorated Oct. 25 (Bebe, *Mart.*).
 (27) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Oct. 27
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (28) Martyr, but it is not said where, com-
 memorated Oct. 28 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (29) Martyr in Lucania, commemorated Oct.
 29 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (30) Martyr at Rome, commemorated Dec. 1
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (31) Martyr, commemorated Dec. 14 (Daniel,
Cod. Liturg. iv. 277).
 (32) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Dec.
 15 (*Hieron. Mart.*; Bebe, *Mart. Auct.*). [C. H.]
 LUCOSA, martyr at Antioch, commemorated on
 Mar. 5 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]
 LUCRATIVE TAX (*Descriptio Lucrative-*
rum, and also *unioae* and *denarismus*). A pay-
 ment made to the *Curiales* of a city by the
 inheritors of an estate bequeathed to any one
 not a member of the *Curia*. Property left to
 the church was exempted from this payment by
 a law of Justinian. [IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES
 OF THE CLERGY, sect. ii. § 8; I. 826.] [S. J. E.]
 LUCRE. [COVETOUSNESS.]
 LUCRETIA, virgin and martyr at Emerita
 (Merida), commemorated Nov. 23 (Usnard.
Mart.). [C. H.]
 LUCRITUS, martyr in Africa, commemo-
 rated on Jan. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]
 LUCROSA, martyr at Augustodunum
 (Autun), commemorated on Sept. 24 (*Hieron.*
Mart.). [C. H.]
 LUCUS (1) Martyr in Greece, commemo-
 rated Jan. 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (2) Martyr in Africa, commemorated Jan. 18
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (3) Martyr with Musas, both deacons at
 Cordula, commemorated April 22 (Bebe, *Mart.*).
 (4) Martyr in Africa, commemorated April 24
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (5) Martyr at Constantinople, commemorated
 May 8 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (6) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated
 May 18 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (7) Martyr in Africa, commemorated May
 23 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (8) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 2
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (9) Martyr at Rome, commemorated June 12
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (10) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated
 Aug. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (11) Martyr at Alexandria, commemorated
 Aug. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 (12) Martyr in Mauritania, commemorated
 Oct. 17 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]
 LUCUSA, martyr at Rome, commemorated
 May 10 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]
 LUDDULUS, martyr, it is not said where,
 commemorated Oct. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]
 LUDI SACERDOTALES. A law of the
 Emperor Theodosius the younger (*Cod. Theod.*

lib. vii. tit. 13; *de Tironibus Leg.* 22) releases certain persons in the proconsular province of Africa from payment of the tax known as *aurum tironicum*, a sum of money levied in lieu of the contingent of recruits to the legions which every province was liable to render. And these persons are denominated *sacerdotes*. The question arises, what class of persons are denoted by this term? There are two theories; the one that the persons intended were heathen priests, who were obliged by their office to exhibit *ludos* to the people at great expense; whence the reason for their exemption (Gothofred, *Comment. in Cod. Theod. in loc.*) The exhibition of *ludi* was no doubt a very expensive charge. But there appears to have been no kind of these games which the priests were bound to exhibit at their own expense (see *DICTIONARY OF GR. AND ROM. ANTIQ. s. v. Ludi*), whilst those few in which they and not the aediles took the chief place, for the most part belong, as e.g. the *Liberalla*, to the class of *feriae stativae*, and entailed little trouble or expense in their celebration. Apart therefore from the difficulty of supposing a Christian emperor to be founding a special exemption for the benefit of the heathen priesthood, which the Christian clergy were not to share, the reasons adduced appear not to be conclusive. Tertullian (*Apol. c. ix.*) mentions incidentally the absolute prohibition by law of the sacrifices to Saturn throughout this very province of Africa, in the reign of Thierius.

The other theory, maintained by Petit (*Variar. Lect.*), regards the Christian bishops as being the persons thus exempted. It is hardly probable that bishops should be classed with the heathen priests under the common title *sacerdotes*, a course which both parties would have resented as an insult. And it is not clear what in the case of bishops could have been the "majoribus expensis," which are alleged as the reason for this exemption. Yet this is perhaps to be preferred as the solution of an obscure question.

[S. J. E.]

LUGIDUS (LUANUS), abbat of Cluinfernt in Ireland, commemorated Aug. 4 (*Acta SS.* Aug. i. 339).

LUGLIUS and LUGLIANUS, brothers, martyred at Lillierum in Artois and Mondiderium in Picardy, see. vii., commemorated Oct. 23 (*Acta SS.* Oct. x. 117).

[C. H.]

LUGO, COUNCIL OF (*Lucense Concilium*), held at Lugo, in Gallicia, by order of king Theodemir, A.D. 569, to lay down the bounds of the different sees in his dominions, with a view of curtailing any that were too large, which was accordingly done; Lugo thus itself becoming a metropolitan see. We find from the sees enumerated that his dominions extended into Portugal. The last named is called that of the Britons, and had thirteen churches belonging to them, and one monastery, given to it. A second council is supposed, by Mansi and others, to have taken place A.D. 572; the only real foundation for it being, that Martin, bishop of Braga, transmitted the collection of canons approved at Braga that year in a letter to the metropolitan of Lugo, with this address: "Nitigesio episcopo, vel uni-

verso concilio Lucensis ecclesiae;" which need not imply that any council was then sitting, or about to sit. (Mansi, ix. 815, et seq., with the later divisions appended there, and 845.)

[E. S. F.]

LUGUSTA, martyr in Africa, commemorated May 19 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

[C. H.]

LUKE, ST., THE EVANGELIST (IN ART). [See *EVANGELISTS*, I. 633.] Martigny refers to Borgia (*De Cruce Veliterna*, p. 133) for an engraving of a brazen cross, probably of the 8th or 9th century, which bears on its extremities busts of the four evangelists in person, instead of the symbolic creatures. Here St. Luke, like the others, bears a closed book in one hand and points to it with the other. It has been supposed that the evangelists are also personally represented on sarcophagi, as in that of Probus and Proba (Bottari, *tav. xvi.*; and at pl. cxxxi. in particular). In this last example, three figures hold the volume or roll, and stand in all probability for St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Mark. But the roll or book is frequently placed in the hands of all or any of the apostles. However, in a sepulchral urn, No. 36, in the Museum of Art, the apostles are represented with books rolled up, and the remaining four with them unfolded: the names are written on the rolls; St. Luke's as *LYCANVA*. The non-apostolic evangelists are, however, seldom added to the number of the twelve.

M. Perret (in *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. ii. pl. lxvi.) publishes a greatly damaged fresco from an arcosolium in the cemetery of Saint "Zoticus," wherever that may be. However, the fresco represents four standing figures, each of whom has at his feet a "seriunum" full of rolls. The two letters MA are legible near one of them, which may be St. Matthew or St. Mark. St. Luke must be one of the others. He is also represented among the four evangelists in the mosaics of the baptisteries of Ravenna (Ciampini, *Vet. Monumenta*, tab. lxxii. A.D. 451). Four figures holding books cannot well be other than the writers of the Gospels, though Ciampini expresses some doubt as to the subject of the painting.

The earliest representation of St. Luke as a painter is in the Menologium of Basil II., A.D. 980. See D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xxxi., where the Virgin is sitting to him in a pleasant garden scene (perhaps on a house top), which reminds us of some of Fra Angelico's works. [R. St. J. T.]

LUKE, ST. [LUCAS (1).]

LULUS, archbishop of Mainz, commemorated Oct. 16 (*Acta SS.*, Oct. vii. pt. 2, p. 1083).

[C. H.]

LUMINARE. [CATACOMBS, I. 311.]

LUMINOSA, virgin, at Pavia or Pavia, in Italy, commemorated May 9 (*Acta SS.* May, ii. 460).

[C. H.]

LUMINUM DIES. [EPIPHANY.]

LUPATUS, martyr at Rome, commemorated Sept. 16 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

[C. H.]

LUPENTIUS, abbat of Catalaunum (Châlons-sur-Marne), commemorated Oct. 22 (*Acta SS.* Oct. ix. 609).

[C. H.]

eclesiae:" which need
 nail was then sitting, or
 ix. 815, et seq., with
 added there, and 845.

[E. S. F.]

in Africa, commemorated
 [C. H.]

EVANGELIST (IN
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 orks. [R. St. J. T.]

(1.)

o of Malnz, commemo-
 SS., Oct. vii. pt. 2, p.
 [C. H.]

ACOMBS, I. 311.]
 at Papia or Pavia, in
 ay 9 (*Acta SS.* May, ii.
 [C. H.]

[EPHIPPANY.]

at Rome, commemorated
 [C. H.]

of Catalaunum (Châlons-
 Oct. 22 (*Acta SS.*
 [C. H.]

LUPERCIUS

LUPERCIUS or LUPERCULUS, martyr
 at Elusa (Eause), commemorated June 28
 (*Acta SS.* June, v. 351). [C. H.]

LUPERUSS, one of the eighteen martyrs of
 Saragossa, commemorated April 16. (Usuard.
Mart.) [C. H.]

LUPIANUS, confessor, commemorated July
 1 (*Acta SS.* July, i. 32). [C. H.]

LUPICINUS (1) Bishop of Lyon, commemo-
 rated Feb. 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Acta SS.* Feb. i.
 360).

(2) Martyr, it is not said where, commemo-
 rated March 3 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(3) Abbat, martyr, in the territory of Lyon,
 commemorated March 21 (Usuard. *Mart.*;
Acta SS. Mar. iii. 262).

(4) Martyr, at Rome, commemorated April 12
 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(5) Martyr in Lydia, commemorated April 27.

(6) Hermit and confessor in Gaul, commemo-
 rated June 24 (Greg. Tur. *Vit. Pat.* cap. 13,
Patrol. Lat. lxxi. 1084; *Acta SS.* Jun. iv. 817).

(7) Bishop, martyr at Vienne (*Hieron.*
Mart.; *Bed. Mart. Auct.*) [C. H.]

LUPRANPODUS, martyr in Cappadocia,
 commemorated Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*). [C. H.]

LUPUS (1) Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne
 commemorated Jan. 27 (*Acta SS.* Jan. ii.
 776).

(2) Martyr at Militana in Armenia, com-
 memorated May 2 (*Hieron. Mart.*)

(3) Bishop of Limousin, commemorated May
 22 (*Acta SS.* May, v. 171).

(4) Martyr at Rome, commemorated May 31
 (*Hieron. Mart.*)

(5) Martyr at Thessalonica, commemorated
 June 1 (*Hieron. Mart.*).

(6) Bishop of Troyes and confessor, his depositio
 commemorated at Troyes July 29 (*Hieron.*
Mart.; Usuard. *Mart.*; *Bed. Mart. Auct.*;
Acta SS. July, vii. 51).

(7) Bishop and confessor at Sens, commemo-
 rated Sept. 1 (Usuard. *Mart.*; *Bed. Mart. Auct.*;
Acta SS. Sept. i. 248).

(8) Bishop and confessor, his depositio com-
 memorated at Lyon Sept. 24 (*Hieron. Mart.*).
 Usuard calls him bishop and anchorite, and
 places him under Sept. 25; as also *Acta SS.*
 Sept. vii. 81.

(9) Martyr with Aurelia at Cordova, com-
 memorated Oct. 14 (*Hieron. Mart.*; *Bed. Mart.*
Auct.; *Acta SS.* Oct. vi. 476).

(10) Bishop of Angers, confessor, commemo-
 rated Oct. 17 (*Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 104).

(11) Bishop of Soissons, commemorated Oct.
 19 (*Acta SS.* Oct. viii. 448). [C. H.]

LURICUS v. LUCERUS.

LUSOR, youth at Bourges, confessor, his
 depositio commemorated Nov. 4. (*Hieron. Mart.*;
Bed. Mart. Auct.) [C. H.]

LUSTRALIS COLLATIO (so called because
 it was paid at the end of every *lustrum*; also

LUXURY

χρυσάργυρον, *chrysargyrum*, because the pay-
 ment was made in gold and silver coins). A
 trading or licence tax, exacted from all who
 carried on any kind of trade. The inferior
 clergy were at first exempted from it. (See
 IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF THE CLERGY,
 sect. ii. par. 3.) [S. J. E.]

LUTICIANUS, martyr at Antioch, com-
 memorated Dec. 9 (*Hieron. Mart.*) [C. H.]

LUTRUDIS (LUTRUDE, LINTRUDE), virgin
 in Gaul, commemorated Sept. 22 (*Acta SS.*
 Sept. vi. 451). [C. H.]

LUXURIUS, martyr in Sardinia, commemo-
 rated Aug. 21; presumably the same as LUXURUS,
 martyr in Sardinia, Sept. 26; both in *Hieron.*
Mart. He is called Laxorius, and assigned to
 Aug. 21, in *Acta SS.* Aug. iv. 414. [C. H.]

LUXURUS or LUXURIUS, martyr in Sar-
 dinia, placed under Aug. 21 and Sept. 26.
 [C. H.]

LUXURY (*Luxuria*). The original signifi-
 cation of the word *luxuria* was that of an over-
 flow or excess of fertility in crops or fields;
 thence it had the meaning of wantonness and of
 luxury generally; in mediæval ecclesiastical
 Latin it expresses sins of uncleanness, "luxuria
 concubinatine, luxuriosos vel adulteros luxu-
 riam explere cum consanguinea sua." (See Du-
 cange, s. v.)

The church from the very first assumed an
 attitude of antagonism to luxury in every form.
 Simple and comely dress, plain food, an active,
 not an idle life, and a disregard of riches, were
 the outward marks of a Christian profession;
 and the circumstances of the early Christians
 were obviously such as to restrain any tendency
 to self-indulgence. So soon, however, as the
 church obtained any toleration in the empire
 and wealthy members joined her ranks, the case
 was altered. Even as early as the 2nd century
 Tertullian has frequent denunciations against
 intemperate "voluptates." He will not allow
 the public shows to be frequented by Christians.
 "The state of faith," he declares (*de Spectac.*
 c. 1), "the argument of truth and the rule of
 discipline bar the servants of God from the
 pleasures of the public shows." The outrageous
 immodesty of the theatre, no less than the con-
 tagion of idolatry in the whole apparatus of the
 shows, was held to render them inconsistent with
 the renoucements which were made at bap-
 tism. (For the words of renunciation, see BAP-
 TISM, I. 160; RENUNCIATION.) What the church
 opposed was not festivity in itself, but the vice
 inseparable from the exhibition of the public
 plays. Cyprian, for example, writing to Donatus
 (c. 7), inveighs with severity against the shows;
 yet he dates his own treatise on the fest of
 the vintage (*ad Donat.* c. 1), which he implies
 that he was himself observing. An instance of
 the corruption which then prevailed in theatrical
 representations appears from the play which
 was called *Maius*, a part of which consisted in
 the exhibition of naked women swimming in
 water. This disgraceful display was the subject
 of no less than eight imperial laws, and was not
 finally prohibited till the time of Arcadius (*Cod.*
Theod. XV. vi. 2).

The tendency to luxury in the adornment of the person in the 2nd and 3rd centuries is apparent from the exhortations of Tertullian (*de Cultu Fœminæ*), and Cyprian (*de Habitu Virginis*), in the West, and of Clement in the East (*Stromata*, ii. 10). They could not tolerate that Christian women should exhibit the same immodesty in their apparel, and should deck themselves with the same meretricious arts as were common in the depraved society of the heathen world. Cyprian treats of what is becoming in dress and behaviour in a consecrated virgin, but his treatise also exhibits the fashions which beguiled women generally in that age. He warns them (*de Habitu Virginis*, c. 7) against exposing their face and figure in public from want of modest clothing; he asks (c. 9) if it is God's wish that their ears should be scarred and traversed with costly earrings, or that a circle of black should be drawn round the eye; he cautions them against tampering with what God has formed, whether with "yellow dye or black powder or rouge;" and as the sum of the matter he gives them his fatherly advice, "be what you were fashioned by your Father's hand, remain with your countenance simple, your shoulders let alone, your figure natural, wound not your ears, circle not arm or neck with precious chain, fetter not ankles with golden bonds, stain not your hair, and keep your eyes worthy of seeing God." All such lascivious arts he regards, in common with other Christian fathers, as having been taught mankind by the apostate angels (*ibid.*, c. 9). Closely allied to immodest dressing is wantonness of manners. Cyprian (*ibid.*, c. 10) rebukes those of his flock who make no scruple when they attend marriage parties of abandoning themselves to revelry, "they interchange unchaste speeches, hear what is unbecoming and say what is unlawful, and are exposed to view, and countenance with their presence shameful language and convivial excess." The wedding-feasts very frequently formed an excuse for riot; and the lascivious singing and promiscuous dancing practised on these occasions were brought under canonical censure. The clergy more than once were forbidden (*Conc. Venet.*, c. 11; *Conc. Agath.*, c. 39) to sanction such gatherings by their presence. With respect to bathing, that luxury was not altogether prohibited, but the public baths were to be used with a regard to that honour which the doctrine of the Incarnation teaches is due to the human body. As a proof of the need that the church should regulate the use of the baths, Cyprian found it necessary to exhort even the virgins to abstain from bathing in company with men (*de Habitu Virginis*, c. 11). For a fuller account of these various developments of luxury, see BATHING, DANCING, DRESS, HAIR.

Part of the subject of over-indulgence in the pleasures of the table is treated under the heading of DRUNKENNESS. It remains to notice the efforts of the church to check luxury in food. The sumptuous meals, the pains and expense lavished in obtaining rare delicacies, the unbridled indulgence of the appetite which prevailed among the wealthy classes of the Roman empire are matters of notoriety. It was a primary duty of a society, one of whose fundamental moral precepts was the restraint of fleshly appetites, to make a stand against such

flagrant abuses. Tertullian (*Apolog.*, c. 39) contrasts the simplicity of the Christian agapæ, in which the guests eat as much as hungry men desire, with the Apurtrian and Bacchanal festivals, for which a levy of cooks is ordered; and asks his opponents which is most likely to propitiate heaven in time of calamity (*ibid.*, c. 40), the heathen daily fed to the full and about forthwith to dine, or the Christian dried up with fasting and pinched with every sort of abstinence. The simplicity of the agapæ did not long survive, and some allowance must be made for Tertullian's rhetorical language, and his own habits of rigid self-denial; but after these deductions sufficient remains to shew that Christian meals in the 2nd century were a standing protest against luxury and excess in matter of food. Clement of Alexandria inveighs (*Paedagog.*, ii. 1) against the lavishness and gluttony of heathen meals, and exhorts Christian converts to be satisfied with plain fare; he urges that meat should be eaten without sauces and boiled rather than roast, but recommends in preference such food as olives, herbs, milk, cheese, fruit, and honey. Among more specific directions of a later date the fourth council of Carthage, A.D. 398 (c. 15), requires the African bishops to maintain a frugal table. The plea that bishops should be free in entertaining magistrates and others in office that they might thus obtain reader access to them to intercede for criminals, is rejected by Jerome (*Ep. ad Nepotian.*, cc. 3, 4). Judges, he says, will shew greater respect to frugal clergy than to luxurious ones. He adds, in the same epistle, that a clergyman who takes every opportunity of going to the entertainments to which he is invited soon sinks in estimation. By the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ii. 4) widows who are brought to want from gluttony or idleness are not to receive relief from the church. The directions in the Rule of Benedict, which was practical rather than ascetic in its aim, give the diet which was considered sufficient for all the purposes of an industrious life in Italy at the beginning of the 6th century. Each monk was allowed 1 lb. of bread daily, but flesh only in case of illness. At dinner two dishes of cooked *pulmentaria* were to be placed on the table, and a third dish of fruit and salad when it could be got (*Regula*, cc. 39, 40). The composition of these "pulmenta" or "pulmentaria" was various. Grain and vegetables cooked in different ways were their ordinary ingredients. Eggs, fish, cheese, and even fowls, if the flesh was minced, were admitted into them. One definition states that they were made *ex mediæ qualitatis materiâ*; another, that they included any ordinary food except bread and meat. (See DUNCEAN, s. v.) As we advance into the middle ages the ecclesiastical injunctions regarding food take the form of prohibitions of gluttony rather than of luxury. Gross feeding was one of the particular vices of the barbarian tribes which were being gradually incorporated into the church. The council of Autun, A.D. 670 (*Labbe, Concilia*, vi. 1888), forbade any priest who had overreached himself to touch the sacrifice. In the *Penitential of Gildas*, which probably contains the earlier canonical rules of the British church, it is enacted that if a monk is sick from too much food on a day when he has received the sacrifice, he shall go without his supper and keep seven additional fasts (c. 7);

ullian (*Apolog.* c. 39) con- of the Christian agapae, in as much as hungry men turian and Bacchian fest- y of cooks is ordered; and hich is most likely to pro- of calamity (*Ibid.* c. 40), o the full and about forth- Christian dried up with h every sort of abstinence. agapae did not long sur- cease must be made for Ter- guage, and his own habits ut after these deductions ew that Christian meals were a standing protest xcess in matter of food, inveighs (*Paedagog.* li. 1) and gluttony of heathen Christian converts to be are; he urges that meat ed sauces and boiled rather mends in preference such milk, cheese, fruit, and e specific directions of a later il of Carthage, A.D. 398 rican bishops to maintain es that bishops should be magistrates and others in thus obtain readier acces r criminals, is rejected by an. cc. 3, 4). Judges, he respect to frugal clergy . He adds, in the same an who takes every oppor- entertainments to which s in estimation. By the s (li. 4) widows who are gluttony or idleness are from the church. The e of Benedict, which was aetic in its aim, give the ered sufficient for all the rious life in Italy at the century. Each monk was daily, but flesh only in ner two dishes of cooked e placed on the table, and e and salad when it could 40). The composition of "pulmentaria" was va- tables cooked in different ry ingredients. Eggs, fish, if the flesh was minced, m. One definition states ex mediae qualitatis ma- ney included any ordinary meat. (See Ducange, s. v.) middle ages the ecclesi- arding food take the form ny rather than of luxury, of the particular vices of hich were being gradually church. The council of *Concordia*, vi. 18th), forbid eretaten himself to touch entential of Gildas, which earlier canonical rules of is enacted that if a monk h food on a day when he sifies, he shall go without ven additional fasts (c. 7);

on any other day he shall keep one fast and be severely chided (c. 8). Similar injunctions are found in the early ecclesiastical documents of the Anglo-Saxon church. Theodore in his *Penitential* (l. i. 8) imposes a penance of three days on any one making himself ill by gluttony, with an additional penance (c. 9) if the offence is committed after receiving the sacred elements. In these rules he is followed by Archbishop Egbert, who moreover inflicts different sentences on different orders. Thus a 'clericus' overeating himself is to fast forty days (*Penitent.* xi. 7), a monk or deacon sixty, a priest seventy, a bishop eighty (*Ibid.* *Penitent.* vi. 3, 4). Theodore (l. i. 4) made an exemption in favour of any one who had been fasting a long time, and then at Christmas or Easter, or any of the saints' days eat moderately, but did not make allowance for the weakness which succeeds a long fast, and causes sickness on eating.

The eating of unclean food frequently comes under notice in the Penitential Books of the 7th and 8th centuries. The existence of these decrees points to some remote influence of the Mosaic Law in the mediæval church, and also indicates the lingering of barbarous habits among the converts to Christianity in the remote corners of Europe. The *Canones Hibernenses* (Wasserschleben, *Die Zussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche*, p. 136) inflict (c. 13) four years on bread and water on any eating horseflesh; a severity which was probably called for by some local practices. For the same canons only impose (cc. 14, 15) forty days on those who eat flesh which dogs have torn or which has died from natural causes. By the *Penitential* of Theodore (l. vii. 6) it is no canonical offence if carrion is eaten from necessity. In the case (cc. 8, 9) of food which has been contaminated by a mouse or weasel having been drowned in it, if there is a small quantity it must be thrown away; but if there is much, it will be sufficient to sprinkle it with holy water. A goat or deer found dead in the forest (li. xi. 1), unless there is some appearance of its having been slain by the hand of man, must be thrown to the swine or dogs, on no account be eaten. Birds or beasts strangled in nets or slain by hawks (c. 2) must also be rejected, because the *Capitula* in the Acts of the Apostles prohibit the using of things strangled. Fish, however (c. 3), caught in a net may be eaten, because they belong to another order. The direction with regard to horse-flesh (c. 4) differs from the Irish canon. Theodore does not forbid it, but states it is not customary to eat it. Hares are allowable (c. 5), their flesh is said to be good for dysentery, more particularly the gall mixed with pepper. The *Confessio* of Pseudo-Egbert adds that it is a remedy for face-ache. Bees (c. 9) stinging a man to death must be killed, but their honey may be kept. It is not necessary to reject either swine or fowl (c. 7) which have fed on carrion or human blood; but any which have fed on human flesh must not be eaten (c. 8) till the meat has been soaked. Bede (*Penitential.* vii.) lays down the same injunctions in the main about unclean food. In these he is followed by Egbert, with some curious varieties of penance. Any one (Egbert, *Penitential.* xiii. 4) knowingly eating or drinking what has been polluted by a cat or dog shall chant 100 psalms, or fast three days; if the offence is

committed unknowingly the penalty is halved. So any secular (c. 5) deliberately drinking any liquor in which a mouse or a weasel has been drowned, shall do seven days' penance in a monastery and chant 300 psalms. The penalty of eating food half raw was three days' penance, or chanting the psalter.

Luxuria in the middle ages was used in ecclesiastical language to signify lust, more particularly such indulgence of the passions as was not included under ADULTERY, FORNICATION, or INCEST. The lascivious desire which stopped short of overt act was not generally brought under canonical censure; the rule of discipline being that the church judges actions only, and of actions those alone which create scandal. Secret thoughts, intentions, and desires were left to spiritual remedies. So the council of Neocaesarea, A.D. 314 (c. 4), merely states that any man who desires to sleep with a woman and does not accomplish it, has fallen from grace. No mention is made of penance. Even the Penitentials which pursue offenders into the minutest details, either assign no penalty to a desire, or a very slight one. The British canonical book which bears the name of the Penitential of Vianianus (Wasserschleben, p. 108) states that if a man has meditated uncleanness but checked himself, although the sin is the same, the penance may be light. And Theodore (l. ii. 21, 22) only bids such a man seek pardon from God; but if he has proceeded to wanton words, then he must be a penitent for seven days. Kissing a woman per desiderium was punished with twenty days (l. viii. 2). Rape was severely visited, both by civil and ecclesiastical law. One of the laws of Constantine (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xxiv. 1) condemned to the flames not only any one who committed a rape on a virgin, but even carried her off with her own consent against the will of her parents. This severity was a little modified by Constantius (*Ibid.* c. 2); the crime was still a capital one, but only slaves guilty of it were to be burned. Under Jovian the scope of the law was extended (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xxv. 2), not only was it a capital offence to ravish a consecrated virgin, but even to solicit her to marry against the rule of her profession, whether she was willing or not. The offence was also brought under canonical discipline. The Apostolical Canons (c. 66) expel a virgin not espoused to him, and prohibits his marrying any one but her however poor she may be. Basil assigns (*ad Amphilo.* c. 22) four years' penance to one carrying off a virgin espoused to another man; and directs (*Ep.* 244) that not only shall the man himself suffer, but all his accomplices shall be censured, even to his family and the inhabitants of his village. The proof of the widespread existence of unnatural crime during the decay of the empire is too strong to be questioned (Clement Alex. *Pædagog.* ii. 10; Cyprian, *cont. Donat.* c. 8). And no serious efforts were made by the heathen emperors to put an end to it (see the authorities quoted by Bingham, *Antiq.* XVI. ix. 11). In the Christian imperial code, however, it was treated with extreme severity. Constantine ordered (*Cod. Theod.* IX. vii. 3) that offenders should be executed; and Theodosius (*Ibid.* c. 6) that they should be burned. The decrees of the church on the subject shew that even Christians were not

altogether clean. Tertullian (*de Pudicit.* c. 4) states that offenders were kept not only from the porch of the church, but from contact with any part of the building, for such sins were not "delicta" but "monstra." The council of Elvira, A.D. 305 (c. 71), denies them communion even at death. By a canon of Ancyra, A.D. 314 (c. 18), those guilty before the age of twenty were to do penance as prostrators fifteen years, and then to be permitted to join in the prayers only for another five years before being admitted to full communion; if they are older than twenty, ten years are to be added to the penance; and if they exceed fifty years, then they are to be granted communion only at death. Basil (cc. 7, 62, 63) fixes their penance at either twenty or thirty years. The Penitentials which represent the ecclesiastical code of races which had not yet cast off the vices of barbarism, abound, as might be expected, with injunctions against unnatural lusts. In the British code the Penitential Book of Gildas (c. 1) lays down in curious detail the punishment of a presbyter or deacon who had sinned. His penance was to extend over three years, every hour of which he was to beg pardon, and every week he was to add an extra act of penance (superpositionem) except on the fifty days after Easter: on the Lord's day he might eat bread without stint, and some dish fattened with butter, but on other days he was to take only a British *formella* of dried bread (paximatum) and vegetables and a few eggs. His allowance of drink was to be a Roman *hemina* of milk to recruit his strength, but if he had work to do, he was to be given a Roman *sextarius* of skimmed (tenuclae vel bolthutae) milk: his bed was to be made without much grass; and if at the end of a year and a half he showed deep repentance he might receive the eucharist and sing the psalms again with the brothers. By the Penitential of Theodore (I. vii. 1) boys polluting themselves were to be flogged; and an offence against nature combined with any other *ortimen capitale* was to be expiated only by seclusion in a monastery for life. For further particulars on a matter which does not admit of detail, but where the details are only too numerous, the reader is referred to these early Penitential Books (Theodor. I. ii. vii.; Bed. iii.; Egbert. iv. v.) [G. M.]

LYCARION, monk, martyr with Martha and Mary, commemorated Feb. 8 (Basil, *Menol.*).

[C. H.]

LYDIA (1) Purple-seller of Thyatira, commemorated Aug. 3 (*Acta SS.* Aug. i. 199).

[C. H.]

(2) Wife of Philetus, a senator, martyr, commemorated March 27 (Basil, *Menol.*).

[C. H.]

LYING. It does not appear that the mere uttering of a falsehood, apart from any injury it might inflict, was brought under ecclesiastical censure. Tertullian, writing after he had joined the Montanists, and not likely therefore to err on the side of laxity, contrasts (*de Pudicit.* c. 19) the deadly sins which were visited with excommunication with those lighter offences of daily incursion of which discipline took no cognizance; and among these latter he enumerates thoughtlessly speaking evil, rash swearing, the breaking of a promise, and the telling of a lie from shame

or necessity. This list does not include perjury, which was treated as a grave canonical offence. [OATHS.] Whether and under what circumstances it was held pardonable by any of the fathers to tamper with the truth, is a matter difficult to decide absolutely. Passages may be adduced which support a strict adherence to veracity at all times; and at all hazards: on the other hand there are passages which seem to countenance equivocation or economy. What is beyond question is that they did not attempt to build up a system of accurate casuistry. That is the production of a later age. A collection of quotations bearing on the subject will be found in Jeremy Taylor (*Ductor Dubitantium*, III. ii. 5). One of the tenets which Augustine charges (*contra Mendac.*) the Priscillianists with upholding is, that they were at liberty to forswear themselves in order to conceal their secret doctrines.

On false witness the imperial code, following the early Roman law, affixed a heavy penalty. The false accuser was to undergo the same punishment (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xxxix. 1, 2, 3; XVI. ii. 21) which his accuser, had it been substantiated, would have brought upon the accused. This law of retaliation was to hold good (*ibid.* IX. i. 9, 14) whether the false charge attacked another's reputation or property or life. The frequent mention of the same offence in the canonical law shews that the evil was widespread in the church. The council of Elvira, A.D. 305 (c. 74), sentences a false witness to five years' abstention from communion; the kindred but, in the circumstances of the early church, far graver offence of "delatio" was visited by a lifelong exclusion (c. 73). [INFORMER.] The council of Agde, A.D. 506 (c. 37), puts false witnesses in the same category with murderers, and excommunicates them in general terms till they repent (cf. *Conc. Venet.* c. 1; IV. *Conc. Carthay.* c. 55). The legislation with regard to libel occupies a chapter of the Theodosian Code (IX. xxix. *de famosis libellis*). [LIBEL.] [G. M.]

LYONS, COUNCIL OF (*Lugdunensis Concilii*). Of the councils of Lyons, several have been misnamed and misnumbered.

1. Snid to have been held A.D. 197, because this seems to have been the year in which St. Irenaeus addressed a letter, in the name of the brethren in France, over whom he ruled, to pope Victor, on the disputed question of keeping Easter, and because Eusebius speaks in general terms of synods and meetings of bishops having been held in connection with it (E. H. v. 23-4, comp. Mansi, i. 715 and 726).

2. A.D. 475, when a priest named Lucidus is said to have retracted his errors on predestination. But the only record of this is found in a work of Faustus, bishop of Riez, who was himself a semi-Pelagian.

3 and 4. A.D. 501 and 516, in which St. Avitus, of Vienne, is supposed to have taken part. But the first was a mere conference between the orthodox and the Arians (Mansi, viii. 241, comp. Pagi ad Baron. A.D. 501, n. 4), and to the second he refers himself but casually (*Ep.* xxviii. comp. Mansi, vi. 537).

5. A.D. 517, where Viventolus, bishop of Lyons, with ten others, passed and subscribed to six canons. In the first of these, the twentieth

does not include perjury, a grave canonical offence, and under what circumstances pardonable by any of the truth, is a matter of duty. Passages may be found that show a strict adherence to the law at all hazards; or the passages which seem to be on or economy. What is it that they did not attempt to curate casuistry. That after age. A collection of the subject will be found in *Dubitantium*, III. II. 5). which Augustine charges the schismatics with upholding at liberty to forswear and conceal their secret doc-

imperial code, following affixed a heavy penalty, to undergo the same code. IX. xxix. 1, 2, 3; accusation, had it been brought upon the acclamation to be held good whether the false charge of property or life. The council of Elvira, as a false witness to five communion; the kindred of the early church, far as it was visited by a life- [INFORMER.] The council (7), puts false witnesses with murderers, and in general terms till they c. 1; IV. *Cona. Carthay.* with regard to libel ecclesiastical Code (IX. xxiv. [G. M.]

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canon passed at Epone respecting incestuous marriages, was reaffirmed with special application to Stephen, an official of king Sigismund, whose possible displeasure may have dictated the second and third. St. Avitus is also thought to have taken part in this council, but he is not named among those who subscribed to it. The title given to it of the first council of Lyons is misleading; and several canons are cited by Burchard and others as of this council, for which there would seem to be no foundation (Mansi, viii. 567-74).

6. Held A.D. 567, by command of king Guntram, and called the second council of Lyons, in which two bishops, named Salonius and Sagittarius, were condemned; eight bishops and six representatives of absent bishops subscribed to its canons, six in number; the bishop of Vienna subscribing first, and of Lyons second. Canon 2 decrees that the wills of the departed should be religiously maintained and carried out, even when they ran, or seemed to run, counter to the civil law. Canon 4 decrees that persons suspended from communion are to be restored only by him who suspended them. Canon 6 is of a piece with the second and third of Gerona, (Mansi, ix. 785-90, comp. *Conc. Gerund.*)

7. Held A.D. 589, under king Guntram, and called the third council of Lyons. Here the bishop of Lyons subscribed first, and of Vienna second, of eight present bishops, and twelve who subscribed through their representatives. Once

more the number of canons passed was six; in most cases for giving effect to former canons. By the sixth lepers are to be sufficiently fed and clothed by the bishop of the diocese to which they belong, and not allowed to be wanderers (Mansi, ix. 941-4). [E. S. Ff.]

LYRE. The lyre is borne by the mystic Orpheus (see Aringhi, vol. I. pp. 547, 563, both pictures from vaultings of the Callixtine catacomb, and Faesco, I. 898), and is held to represent the attractive power of the Lord. Aringhi quotes St. John xi.: "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men to Me," and proceeds to reflect on the lyre of Orpheus, "qui dulcisonis et concinnatis ad plectrum vocibus feras pertrinebat." Eusebius makes ingenious use of the simile in his oration *de Laudibus Constantini Imp.*, where he speaks of the Lord's saving all, "by the instrument of the human body with which He invested Himself; not otherwise than Orpheus the singer, who makes known his skill in art by his lyre, so that, as it is said in the Greek tales, he could tame all kinds of beasts with his singing; and by touching the strings of his instrument with the plectrum, could soften the wrath of merciless wild beasts."

Clemens Alexandrinus (*Paedag.* lii. 11, p. 246 D) includes the lyre among the symbols permitted to be used as signs. [GEMS, I. 712, 716.] For a curious illustration of the symbolic lyre of the passions or bodily nature, see CALF, I. 258. [R. St. J. T.]

