

THE AFRICAN RITE.

It seems to be an accepted opinion with many ritualists that the African Liturgy and other services were akin to those of the Roman rite rather than to the Gallican or Mozarabic services; I need cite only Le Brun (*Exposition de la Messe*), Palmer (*Origines Liturgicæ*), Mone (*Lateinische und griechische Messen*), Mgr Duchesne (*Origines du Culte chrétien*), and Mr C. Atchley (*Ordo Romanus Primus*). And yet it appears to me that the point has been very inadequately argued. I had hoped for a full discussion of the subject in Dom Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, and I must confess to a feeling of disappointment at finding that the learned author of the articles on *Afrique* (*Liturgie d'*) considers that the time is not yet ripe for a settlement of the question.

Before applying ourselves to the point at issue it will be necessary to have a clear idea as to what we mean by an ancient rite or liturgy. We must form some conception of the actual condition of the services as they were used at the time when they flourished, and as they appeared to those who used them. Any conception that we may form will doubtless be imperfect and possibly even partially erroneous (at least in some details); but we cannot advance a step without drawing upon the 'scientific imagination' so far as to frame a working hypothesis.

The first point to be noticed is that there was no conscious division of the worship of Christendom into different rites. For the Eucharist in particular it was understood that all Christians everywhere used a service of the same fundamental character, and, whatever differences in detail there might be in different localities, it was never thought that these differences were only 'in character' in their own localities, or that any incongruity would result from the borrowing of any of these peculiarities of detail from a different locality, or from the introduction of the peculiarities of one locality into the services of another locality or church. The streams of liturgical devotion were at first in a fluid state, and could mix freely. Later on, as different rites began to form themselves, liturgical elements from different springs mixed only imperfectly; till finally, a liturgical element introduced from one rite into another refused to mix at all with the no longer fluid stream, but remained in it as a foreign and incongruous element.

Secondly, the services were traditional, but subject to free modification.

There was nothing like deliberate and intentional alteration of character. The modifications which took place (no doubt continuously) appeared to the men who made them as natural improvements which made no difference in the essential nature of the service.

Thirdly, there were always two tendencies at work, which may be designated as 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' respectively. The former was a tendency in the direction of uniformity. Besides whatever amount of uniformity descended from the common origin of all rites, there would always be the tendency throughout the area within the influence of any great centre to copy the customs of the central city. In the early centuries there was constant communication between the several churches of the Christian world; a continual communication between the smaller cities and the great centres to which they looked up and upon which they were often in a relation of dependence, especially Rome, Alexandria, Antioch; and a continual stream of communication between the great centres themselves. All this naturally tended towards uniformity in each area of influence of the great centres, and (in a different degree) towards an agreement between the great centres themselves.

But along with this tendency to uniformity there existed a continual tendency to variation. The natural improvements which suggested themselves to the church of one city are not likely to have been identical with those that suggested themselves to those of all other cities: and in particular, when the chanting of Psalms became more frequent and elaborate, such musical compositions passed with difficulty from one 'schola' to another, since there was then nothing approaching to a written musical notation; and consequently all musical compositions had to be learnt by heart and transmitted by memory.

The existence of the centripetal tendency justifies (in some degree) the combining of testimonies from different cities in the same area in the attempt to realize, for example, the African rite: the existence of the centrifugal tendency bids us use any such combinations of different testimonies with caution.

In proceeding to consider the African rite let us begin with the Liturgy, properly so called. In every Liturgy there are four elements to be considered. First, there is the *general order* of the service—e.g. lessons, dismissals, prayers of the faithful, the great thanksgiving, the Lord's Prayer, communion and thanksgiving. Secondly, there is a certain *traditional framework*—the traditional framework of the deacon's litany (if such was used), the priest's versicles and stock conclusions of the prayers, and the responses. Thirdly, the *cycle* according to which the variable lessons and chants were chosen and arranged for the days

of the liturgical year. Fourthly, the wording of the bishop's (or officiant's) *prayers*. These were the last element of the liturgy to become fixed. At first each bishop seems to have composed an individual *libellus*, containing a set of prayers for his own use; and these prayers he would use at every mass, though no doubt each bishop's *libellus* was usually only a variation on that of his predecessor, and followed the same general lines: afterwards the feeling of reverence for a great bishop or martyr would cause his successor to continue to use his predecessor's *libellus* with little or no variation; and thus a traditional 'liturgy' would be established, the term 'liturgy' being here used in the sense in which we speak of 'the liturgy of St Basil' and 'the liturgy of St Chrysostom', meaning thereby the sets of prayers for the priest attributed to these fathers and intended to be fitted into the traditional order of the service which was used at the great church of Byzantium with its traditional *diakonika*, versicles, and framework generally. It must be noticed that the general order of a local rite would become practically settled over a considerable area, and the verbal framework settled also, while each bishop still used his own *libellus*.¹

It seems probable that the first idea of using different 'liturgies' or 'masses' (in the restricted sense of the word) arose from the circumstance that one bishop borrowed the *libellus* of his predecessor, or of neighbouring bishops on occasions. It may well be also the fact that in certain cases the rites of two cities or areas were deliberately combined, and the traditional prayers of each city fitted to the combined rite as separate liturgies; in other cases the bishop's prayers of one rite seem to have been imported into another rite—with necessary modifications.

In the West there grew up the plan of composing different 'masses' for special days, each mass having reference to the particular day in

¹ In *Ancient Church Orders* p. 38 the Bishop of Moray says, 'The first part to be crystallized into a written form was probably from the *Sursum corda* to the end of the Invocation or Epiclesis. In other portions such as the Deacon's Ectene or Litany, the proanaphoral prayers, the Intercession for the Church, the prayers at the dismissal of the catechumens and the communion of the people this process followed a little later.' While I am prepared to accept this opinion so far as concerns a written form, it appears to me that the deacon's part and the framework of the service had assumed a definite shape, whilst it was still open to the bishop to compose new prayers for his own part, though no doubt these would naturally and usually follow a traditional outline. For example, the *diakonika* of the Clementine liturgy probably follow the traditional character of the *diakonika* of Antioch, while the officiant's prayers are the composition of the compiler, though following (to some extent) a traditional outline. Again, we can hardly refer any one mass of the Mozarabic rite to the fourth century, and certainly not to an earlier date; while (as will be seen below) the prayers of the people almost certainly date from the third century.

question ; but this custom was evidently an innovation upon the earlier type of mass, still retained in the East, the wording of which was suitable to any day or occasion.

When we assert that the African Liturgy (e.g. that of St Augustine) was akin to the Roman or identical with it, what do we mean exactly ? Do we mean only that the bishop's *libellus* was identical with or similar to the Roman Canon of the Mass ? Or do we mean that the general order of the service was similar to that of the Roman rite ; or that such details as the cycle of the lessons, the formulae of dismissal, the prayers of the faithful were identical with those of the Roman rite and differed from the corresponding formulae in other rites ?

Proceeding to the consideration of the African Liturgy¹ let us take first the *general order* of the service ; secondly, the *framework* of the devotional elements ; thirdly, the character of the *cycle of lessons* ; fourthly, the character of the various *chants* ; and fifthly, the few indications as to the character of the celebrant's *prayers*. I will begin with the Liturgy of St Augustine, on account of the numerous allusions to the details of it in his writings.

The general order of the service, as used by St Augustine, seems to have been as follows :—

Pax (*or* Dominus) vobiscum *and* Response.

Lesson from O. T. (often, but not always).

Epistle.

Psalm, *sung as a* Respond.

Gospel (*with* Alleluia *in Eastertide*).

Sermon.

Dismissal of Catechumens.

Prayers of the Faithful.

Diptychs *and* post nomina.

Offertory *with* Psalm.

Oratio super oblata.

Great Thanksgiving, *including* Sanctus, *words and actions of* Institution *and* (?) Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

Fraction.

Paternoster.

Pax.

Benediction.

Communion *with* Psalm.

Thanksgiving (*and* Dismissal ?).

Prayers of the Faithful.

Offertory *with* Psalm.

Diptychs.

Oratio post nomina = super oblata.

¹ The materials for the reconstruction of the African Liturgy are given at length at the end of this article.

Most of these elements of the service may be easily verified from the quotations given below, but a few points demand investigation. In St Augustine's time there were no longer *two* O. T. lessons—from the Law and the Prophets (cf. *Serm.* cccxli 1 'Dominus noster Iesus Christus *tribus* modis intelligitur et nominatur, quando praedicatur sive per legem et prophetas, sive per epistolas apostolicas, sive per fidem rerum gestarum quas in Evangelio cognoscimus').

From Nos. viii–xi we see that immediately after the dismissal of the catechumens (No. viii) there was an intercessory devotion (No. ix) apparently styled 'preces' (No. xxxiii a), 'precatio' (No. xxxiii), or 'deprecatio' (Nos. x, xxiv a). This consisted of a bidding (or biddings) said by the bishop, followed by a 'communis oratio' led by the deacon (No. x), and concluded by a prayer said by the bishop (No. ix).

What is meant by the words 'communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur' (No. x)? If we may rely on two passages from St Caesarius of Arles (Nos. x a, b) we shall understand that the reference is to the custom of the deacon calling 'Flectamus genua' (or some similar phrase) and after an interval for prayer 'Levate'. This reminds us naturally of the *Orationes sollemnes* of the Roman rite now used only on Good Friday but thought by many (according to the brilliant suggestion of Mgr Duchesne¹) to be the original *preces fidelium* which were used at every mass. It may be that St Augustine's *preces fidelium* consisted of a similar series of biddings and collects with a pause for private prayer by the people after each bidding; and this idea would fit in very well with the language of No. ix; but there is an alternative possibility. The *preces fidelium* of the Mozarabic rite consist of a bidding by the officiating bishop or priest (*Missa*) followed by the deacon's proclamation 'Flectite genua Deo', and the deacon's litany 'Ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam in orationibus in mente habeamus, ut eam Dominus fide et spe et caritate propitius ampliare dignetur. [R. Praesta aeternae omnipotens Deus.] Omnes lapsos captivos infirmos atque peregrinos in mente habeamus, ut eos Dominus propitius respicere redimere sanare et confortare dignetur. R. Praesta aeternae omnipotens Deus.' It was observed by Lesley in his notes to the Mozarabic Missal that the original litany (of which we possess only the remains) is at least as old as the middle of the third century,² for a plain quotation from it was

¹ Mr Cuthbert Atchley calls my attention to the fact that this idea was anticipated by Fleury (*Les mœurs des Chrétiens*, Paris 1682, p. 137).

² This quotation from the Acts of St Fructuosus suggests at the same time that the clause *ab oriente usque ad occidentem diffusam* was in the original text of the Mozarabic litany, but has been omitted in process of condensation. It is evident that the present text exhibits a severely compressed version of the original. The inscriptions (No. xii b) might suggest that a similar litany was used in the liturgy of Naples and possibly even of Rome. The cosmopolitan character of the Roman

made by St Fructuosus of Tarragona, who on his way to martyrdom said, 'In mente me habere necesse est Ecclesiam Catholicam ab oriente ad occidentem diffusam.'¹

It appears (from Nos. xii a and b) that allusions to a similar litany are to be found in the works of St Cyprian; hence we conclude that a similar litany was used in the African Church in the third century. And if this be so, it may well be that the same litany is alluded to by St Augustine (No. xii); but in the case of this quotation the correspondence is not sufficiently definite to be convincing by itself. There is also a passage in St Augustine (*Serm.* cclxxiii 2) which very possibly indicates that by his time the wording 'in mente habeamus' had been changed into 'Orate pro'.² In this passage Augustine apparently quotes this very passage from the Acta of St Fructuosus, but he gives it in the form 'me orare necesse est pro Ecclesia catholica'; and thus it would appear possible that the wording of the litany had been altered by this time.

There is another point to be considered. The present Mozarabic *preces fidelium* consist of only one bidding by the bishop together with the deacon's litany and the concluding collect; and the passage (No. ix) which describes the bishop's bidding certainly fits in much better with a series of biddings (by the bishop) similar to the *Orationes Sollemnes* of the Roman rite (though it is not clear that there was more than one collect) than with a single bidding such as exists in the present Mozarabic liturgy. But on reflexion it will be noted in the passage (No. ix) that the series of biddings would be biddings for unbelievers and for catechumens, &c., as well as for the faithful, while in the Mozarabic liturgy the biddings for the faithful alone remain, as is natural. Now it is intrinsically probable that (in this as in other rites) there were originally prayers for catechumens and for penitents if not Church would bid us receive the latter idea with caution; if it should be justified by further evidence, it would mark another point in which the Roman rite has lost elements that were originally common to it with the rest of the Western Church.

¹ *Acta Fructuosi (Acta Sanctorum, Jan., ii p. 340)* Qui cum se excalceasset accessit ad eum commilito frater noster nomine Felix, et apprehendit dextram eius, rogans ut sui memor esset. Cui S. Fructuosus, cunctis audientibus, clara voce respondit 'In mente me habere necesse est ecclesiam catholicam ab oriente usque in occidentem diffusam'.

² It has been suggested by a friend that the form of St Augustine's quotation may give the original text of the passage in the Acta, in which case the ordinary text must be an alteration; and attention is called to the fact that the whole passage is absent from one MS (fourteenth century) of the Acta. This does not appear intrinsically probable. St Augustine says (*Serm.* cclxxiii 2) Audistis persequentium interrogationes, audistis contentium responsiones, cum sanctorum passio legeretur. Inter caetera quale erat illud beati Fructuosi episcopi? Cum ei diceret quidam et peteret eum in mente haberet, et oraret pro illo, respondit 'Me orare necesse est pro ecclesia catholica ab oriente ad occidentem diffusa'. St Augustine's mention of the incident disposes of any idea that the whole passage in the

for unbelievers; nay more, when we turn to the Mozarabic service for Good Friday¹ we find devotions which may very well be the actual prayers for the penitents, or at least a particular form of them; and we may assume that the prayers for catechumens were of a similar character. These prayers for penitents consist of a series of biddings beginning 'Deprecemur Dominum' followed by a kind of litany and a collect; consequently it seems very probable that in their original form the primitive Mozarabic devotions corresponded exactly with the African devotions; and the close correspondence as to style and language between the Mozarabic prayers for penitents and the passage in St Augustine (No. xi), which seems either to be itself a liturgical formula for these devotions, or at least a very close paraphrase of such a formula, can hardly escape observation. The verbal correspondence of the passage from St Augustine with the Mozarabic is certainly striking, while there does not appear to be any definite correspondence with the wording of the Roman *Orationes sollemnes*.²

Acta is an interpolation: and his use of 'quidam' shews that he is quoting loosely. He witnesses to the use of the phrase 'in mente habere', but he transfers it from St Fructuosus's reply to Felix's petition. This carelessness about giving the exact wording seems, however, to shew that the formulary quoted by St Fructuosus had passed out of use in St Augustine's time, as it is less likely that St Augustine would have altered the wording of a quotation from a familiar formulary. There can be no question as to which is the older phraseology; it would be natural to alter the phrase 'in mente me habere in orationibus' into 'orare' for the sake of those unaccustomed to the former phraseology, but it would not be necessary to alter 'orare' for the sake of those who were accustomed to the other expression, as 'orare' would be equally familiar and equally intelligible.

¹ Poenitentes orate. Flectite genua Deo.

Deprecemur Dominum Deum nostrum ut indulgentiam criminum et remissionem peccatorum nobis donare dignetur. Erigite vos.

Poenitentes orate. Flectite genua Deo.

Deprecemur Dominum Deum nostrum ut lapsis manum porrigat et praesidium quod ab eo requisitis clementer impertiat. Erigite vos.

Poenitentes orate. Flectite genua Deo.

Deprecemur Dominum Deum nostrum ut reminiscentes mala quae gessimus deinceps vitemus insidias inimici; ut quos diabolus persuasione sua ab altario Dei subtraxerat patrona revocet effusio lachrymarum. Erigite vos.

Completa oratione vestra, omnes pari voce indulgentiam a Domino postulemus . . .

The petition for the *lapsi* seems to indicate a very high antiquity for (at least part of) these biddings.

Of course the suggestion that a relic of the original Mozarabic dismissal-prayers is to be found in these Good Friday services is only an hypothesis; but the same may be said of the suggestion that the original Roman *preces fidelium* are to be found in the *Orationes sollemnes*; and the two hypotheses are strictly parallel.

² A word must here be said as to a suggestion of Mr Edmund Bishop's, that the original form of the Roman Litany may possibly be found in a kind of litany entitled 'Deprecatio quam Papa Gelasius pro universali Ecclesia constituit canendam esse' (*Thomasii Opera*, ed. Vezzozi, ii p. 571). It would be delightful to discover the original Roman Litany, but, until Mr Bishop gives us his reasons for

In Nos. xviii–xxi we have allusions to the recitation of a list of names of the martyrs and deceased *sanctimoniales* who are commemorated but not prayed for. Nos. xxv–xxvii shew us a commemoration of others of the faithful departed, who are prayed for ‘*tacitis nominibus*’. These notices imply a list of names of the martyrs, since with this is contrasted the commemoration of the ordinary faithful in which there is no list of names. The other passages shew the existence of a list of deceased virgins, and also one of bishops, and finally a prayer for the rest of the faithful but without any list of names. This bears a palpable resemblance to the diptychs of the departed in the Mozarabic liturgy. A list of names of the living seems to be implied in No. xvi.

Comparing Nos. xvii sq., xv a, and noting the phrase ‘*una ecclesia catholica per totum orbem terrarum diffusa*’, or some similar wording implied in several passages of St Augustine (*Epp.* xlix 2, lii 1, lxxxvii 1, cxlii 2; *Serm.* xxv (al. xix) 7; *Enarr. in Ps.* xxvi 13), it appears almost certain that both St Augustine and St Optatus used the same traditional formula, which is very similar to the usual opening formula in several rites:—Mozarabic, ‘*Offerunt Deo Domino oblationem sacerdotes nostri*’; Stowe Missal, ‘*Cum omnibus in . . . sacerdotibus offert senior noster N. pro totius ecclesiae coetu catholicae*’; Roman, ‘*imprimis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica*’; St Chrysostom, ‘*Ἐπι προσφερόμέν σοι . . .*’; St James, ‘*προσφερόμέν σοι . . .*’ (In the case of the Roman rite we must remember that this part of the Canon is really ‘the Names’ and probably belonged originally to the Offertory.)

The curious point to be noticed is that the allusions in both St Optatus and St Augustine clearly imply the word ‘*offero*’ (the common text ‘*offerimus*’ is a mistake) as used by the bishop, and not ‘*offerunt*’ said by the deacon. I venture the suggestion (though with great diffidence) that in the African rite the ‘Names’ of both dead and living were recited by the bishop instead of by the deacon. This would fit in with the allusions given from St Augustine and St Optatus, and would also explain the passage in St Cyprian (No. xxiv a).¹

believing this Litany to be of Roman *provenance*, it seems to me that we must *prima facie* consider it a ‘Gallican’ document. It is one of a number of similar litanies (see pp. 570, 572 of Thomasius, and the Stowe Missal), and is allied apparently to the Good Friday deprecations in the Mozarabic Missal, all of which documents are non-Roman. Again, there is practically no trace of any connexion with the Roman *Orationes Solemnnes* or with the present Roman litany. Is it credible that any one (say St Gregory) should have so entirely altered the Roman Litany that all trace of the original should have vanished completely?

¹ If the above hypothesis be accepted it may throw a reflected light on the original form of the ‘Names’ in the Roman rite, as tending to shew the possibility that these also were originally recited by the priest, and introduced by some such a formula as ‘*Tibi offerimus pro ecclesia*’ instead of, or in addition to, a formula such as ‘*Offerunt Papa noster, sacerdotes nostri*’ said by the deacon.

What of the existence of diptychs, i.e. lists of names (whether recited by the deacon or by the priest), in the time of St Cyprian? The passages given below (Nos. xvi a, xxiv a) are not sufficient to demonstrate with certainty the existence of lists of names in his liturgy; but, in default of certainty, what is the most probable devotional element alluded to in these passages? No. xxiv a shews that certain dead persons were customarily named in the bishop's prayer. How could a person be mentioned by name in the prayers of the Church? We know of only three ways: (1) In a list of names read by the celebrant or the deacon, such as the list in the deacon's diptychs of various rites, or the parallel list in the Great Intercession of the priest in these rites or in the Roman Canon; (2) In a deacon's litany, as during Lent in the Ambrosian rite; (3) In a collect or collects, as in the present masses for the dead in the Roman rite. The words 'in sacerdotum prece' do not fit in with (2); and (3) does not suit the case of several names (No. xvi a) which would necessitate a list of some sort; moreover, we may take it for granted that the inclusion of names in collects is later than their inclusion in a list recited by priest or deacon.

No. xvi a seems to necessitate the mention of a list of names of those for whom the sacrifice was offered, and this in connexion with the offertory; and No. xxiv a seems to imply the inclusion of Victor's name in the deacon's litany (*deprecatio*)¹ and also its inclusion in some prayer of the bishop (*sacerdotum prece*), which a comparison of Nos. xvi a, xix a shews to have been connected with the offertory in the liturgy of St Cyprian as well as in that of St Augustine.

A contrast in respect of the 'Names' may be noted between St Cyprian's time and that of St Augustine. In the earlier age prayers were offered for the martyrs (No. xix a, which passage does not, however, refer directly to any list of martyrs' names); in St Augustine's time a sharp distinction was drawn between the martyrs and the rest of the faithful departed, and prayer for the martyrs was carefully avoided. Now a similar change of custom is witnessed to by the diptychs of the Mozarabic and Stowe Missals; from a comparison of the two it seems clear that both forms were developed from one original, and that the original of the clause in question was something like this: 'Item pro . . . gradu venerabilium patriarcharum prophetarum apostolorum et martyrum N. N. N.,' and that this has been altered in different ways in these two missals in order to avoid the asking of prayer for the saints.²

¹ The passage 'Dum . . . illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen . . .' (Admann *Vita S. Columbae* iii 12 quoted Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* p. 106) would seem to apply the term 'deprecatio' to the diptychs.

² See an article on the Mozarabic Mass in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1908.

From this it would appear that these (Mozarabic and Celtic) diptychs must be older than St Augustine's day; and if on other grounds (as will appear from this article) it seems probable that the African rite of St Cyprian's time resembled the Mozarabic, there would appear to be no sufficient ground for excepting the lists of names of persons commemorated from the features common to both rites—with the exception that in the African rite the names were apparently read by the bishop. Dom Cabrol thinks that the passage, No. xxviii, points to the use of a list of names at a point in the service close to the communion; the idea is ingenious and not impossible, but the passage is hardly definite enough to prove the point without further support.¹

There seem to be allusions to a prayer *Post nomina*, which is distinguished from the diptychs. No. xxxiv shews that there was a prayer immediately before *Sursum corda*, which might be either this *Post nomina* or another prayer *Super oblata*; and somewhere between the prayers of the faithful and the prayer *Super oblata* we have to find room for the offertory (No. xxx sq.) and the accompanying psalm (No. xxxii). We have therefore a choice between the order—Prayers of the faithful, Offertory with psalm, Diptychs, *Post nomina* (= *Super oblata*), *Sursum corda*; and the order—Prayers of the faithful, Diptychs with *Post nomina*, Offertory with Psalm, *Super oblata*, *Sursum corda*.

The Great Thanksgiving—called by St Augustine *oratio* (No. xxxiii), but *præfatio* by the Council of Milevis (No. xxxiii a), was preceded by *Dominus vobiscum* and its response (No. xxxv), and the usual versicles (Nos. xxxiv, xxxv). We may presume that it contained the *Sanctus*, as this is attested by Tertullian (No. xxxiv c), and by Perpetua (No. xxxiv d), although St Augustine does not mention it. The words and actions of Christ were closely followed at the consecration, and St Augustine seems to attribute the consecration to the words of institution as repeated by the priest. In *Serm.* ccxxxvii he says, 'Panis ille quem videtis in altare

¹ Mr Edmund Bishop in his Appendix to Dom Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, presents us with a most illuminating criticism on the diptychs, shewing us how little we have of positive knowledge about them. It is very useful and salutary to be brought to book and forced to examine the foundations of accepted opinion; but it has always to be remembered that in matters of this kind if the evidence is often insufficient to prove the existence of a given usage at an early date, it is also insufficient to prove that their existence did not reach back to that period. In such a case it is as perilous to conclude that the usage in question is *not* earlier than the earliest positive evidence for it, as it is to accept doubtful allusions as conclusive evidence of its earlier existence. I cannot agree with the learned writer that lists of names are not witnessed to by St Augustine; the evidence might not be sufficient to convict a criminal at the Old Bailey; but it appears sufficient at the least to support a very high probability of their existence in his day; and the general circumstances of the case seem to point to the probability of the existence of lists of names at an earlier period.

sanctificatus per verbum Dei corpus est Christi; calix ille, immo quod habet calix, sanguis est Christi.' Here the words 'verbum Dei' might refer not to the words of institution as spoken by the priest, but (as in St Chrysostom) to these words as spoken by Christ at the original institution; but the passage (No. xxxv) seems clearly to refer to the words as spoken by the priest in the prayer of consecration. On the other hand, in one passage (No. xxxvi) St Augustine appears to allude to the consecration as effected by some prayer of the nature of an invocation, and in another (No. xxxvii) he speaks of the consecration as wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost. Now Optatus (No. xxxvi a) and Fulgentius (Nos. xxxvi b, c, d) bear clear testimony to the use of an invocation of the Holy Ghost; hence it appears probable that a similar invocation was used in the liturgy of St Augustine, although No. xxxvii would not be sufficient by itself to prove the existence of an explicit invocation of the Holy Ghost in his liturgy.

The consecration was followed closely by the Lord's Prayer (Nos. xxxiii-xxxv), probably with an introduction '. . . audemus dicere' (No. xxxix). This was followed by the Pax (Nos. xxxiii, xxxv); and a Benediction (No. xxxiii)¹ preceded the Communion. It seems quite uncertain whether the fraction (*comminutio*) preceded or followed the Lord's Prayer: the order in which it is mentioned in No. xxxiii suggests the former, while the words 'quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit', suggest the latter alternative.

General Framework of the Liturgy. A good many of the fixed versicles and proclamations and responses of the people which constitute what may be called the framework of the service² have been treated of in connexion with the order of the various parts of the service—e.g. 'Dominus vobiscum' with its response 'Et cum spiritu tuo', some form of a call for silence, the use of such words as 'Dominum deprecemur fratres carissimi', or 'Conversi ad Dominum' as the opening words of the bishop's bidding; the deacon's proclamation 'Flectamus genua' or 'Flectite genua Deo', with the succeeding 'Levate'; the framework of the prayers of the people, '. . . in orationibus in mente habeamus: ut Dominus . . . dignetur'—probably in the liturgy of St Cyprian, possibly also in that of St Augustine; the opening phrase of the *nomina* 'Tibi offero Domine pro ecclesia una [Catholica] quae in toto orbe terrarum diffusa est'; the opening versicles of the illation 'Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum cor[da]. Habemus ad

¹ In the Liturgy used by St Optatus the benediction seems to have preceded the Lord's Prayer (No. xli a). In the liturgies both of St Optatus and of St Augustine the benediction seems to have possessed the character of an absolution.

² Several phrases which may be liturgical are given by Dom Cabrol in the articles referred to.

Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Dignum et iustum est': which last implies 'Vere dignum' &c. The formula of the Pax was 'Pax vobiscum', with the response, in St Augustine's time, 'Et cum spiritu tuo,' but in the earlier age, apparently, 'Deo gratias.' The formula of administration was 'Corpus Christi', and probably 'Sanguis Christi', with the response 'Amen' to each. To these may be added several doxologies from St Augustine's writings which would naturally be of a character similar to those with which he concluded the prayers. Dom Cabrol gives the following:—

'Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus pro nobis crucifixus et resuscitatus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

'Quia tu es summa intelligentia, essentia summa, vita summa, Pater Filius et Spiritus sanctus, unitas triplex infinita et sine fine unus Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

'Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum cui est honor et gloria et potestas una cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum Spiritu sancto nunc et semper et per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.'¹

Prayers of the celebrant. Although this part of the liturgy was the part most open to variation (as it depended on the will of the celebrant) and so the part in which it was most easy for a bishop to introduce forms of prayer from another rite, and was the last part of the liturgy to crystallize into a fixed form of words, at least in the case of most liturgies, yet for convenience I will mention this point before the lectionary and chants; more especially as there is little to be said about it. We have no complete prayer of the celebrant, as used in the liturgy, actually remaining, unless the passage with which St Augustine was wont to conclude his sermons is actually a *praefatio* or a *missa*. These as well as other passages given at length in Dom Cabrol's articles have at least so striking a resemblance to liturgical compositions that they almost certainly shew us the general character of the priest's prayers.²

¹ 'Dominus vobiscum' is Roman (and Alexandrine); the Mozarabic form being 'Dominus sit semper vobiscum'.

St Cyprian gives the form 'Sursum corda' (No. xxxiv a); St Augustine several times quotes the formula, but always with the singular, 'Sursum cor.'

Other doxologies may be gathered from the writings of Tertullian and others, and a critical distinction in their use (quite in the style of the mediaeval service-books) is found in Fulgentius, as quoted by Dom Cabrol. See next note.

² Aug. *Fragmentum* iii (Migne P. L. xxxix 172) 'Benedictiones, fratres mei, benedictiones nostras quas super vos facimus, evacuamus, exinanimus, elidunt. Auditis me, credo, fratres mei, quando dico "Conversi ad Dominum benedicimus nomen eius, det nobis perseverare in mandatis suis, ambulare in via recta eruditionis suae, placere illi in omni opere bono, et caetera talia".' *Serm.* cclxxii 'Conversi ad Dominum Deum Patrem omnipotentem puro corde ei, quantum potest parvitas nostra, maximas atque veras gratias agamus: precantes toto animo singularem mansuetudinem eius ut preces nostras in beneplacito suo exaudire dignetur

The Dominical Year and the Kalendar. As regards this there is very little of definite import. In the *Calendarium Carthaginense* (of the early sixth century) we find, as is natural, a number of days of local saints and a few festivals (such as the Nativity of St John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, &c.), which, though originally Roman, had been adopted almost everywhere. On Aug. 1 the Maccabees are commemorated—a non-Roman festival¹; but St John the Evangelist is commemorated on Dec. 27 and the Innocents on Dec. 28—both Roman dates. There are no saints' days between Feb. 16 and April 19: this custom of keeping no saints' days in Lent is Mozarabic and Ambrosian, but it is possible that in early days it was common to Rome as well. The Epiphany (for St Augustine) is nothing but the festival of the Magi—which is a definitely Roman idea, as contrasted with that of the whole of the rest of Christendom; but on the other hand Victor Vitensis (*Hist. Pers. Vandal.* ii 47²) informs us that Baptism was administered on the Epiphany, which is unintelligible unless the Baptism of our Lord was commemorated on that day—at least in the locality in question.

For St Augustine Lent began exactly forty days before Easter; Holy Week has a special character, and especially the last two days. This, so far as can be seen, resembles the original Roman and Ambrosian division; the Mozarabic Lent was divided into two equal portions of three weeks each, though of course Holy Week had a special character of its own.

The blessing of the Paschal Candle is not of Roman origin; but *Sermones inediti* i shews that such a blessing was in use in St Augustine's

inimicum quoque a nostris actibus et cogitationibus sua virtute expellat: nobis multiplicet fidem, mentem gubernet, spirituales cogitationes concedat, et ad beatitudinem suam perducat: per Iesum Christum Filium eius. Amen.'

This formula is given also at the end of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, but with the ending, 'Per Iesum Christum Filium suum Dominum nostrum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.' See also Nos. xi, xi a. Reminiscences of the celebrant's prayers may be found in the following passages:—

Enarr. in Ps. lxx 15 'Fecisti hominem, dedisti ei liberum arbitrium, in paradiso collocasti, praeceptum imposuisti, mortem si praeceptum violaret iustissimam denunciasti': *De Civ. Dei* vii 31 'Quod nos oneratos obrutosque peccatis et a contemplatione suae lucis aversos, ac tenebrarum id est iniquitatis dilectione caecatos, non omnino deseruit misitque nobis Verbum suum qui est eius unicus filius quo pro nobis in adsumpta carne nato atque passo, quanti Deus . . .' Dom Cabrol quotes a prayer from the writings of Verecundus (first half of sixth century) which reads like a Roman collect:—'Illumina, Domine, nostri cordis obtutus, ut quae digna sunt videamus, quae autem indigna vitemus (*Spicilegium Solesmense* iv p. 48).

¹ 'Sermo de Machabeis Leoni ascriptus Augustino restituitur.' Quesnel.

² Referred to by Duchesne *Origines du Culte Chrétien* p. 283 n. 1.

diocese; and the prose *Exultet* is traditionally ascribed to St Augustine.¹

The Rogation Days before Ascension Day are not a Roman observance, and certainly had not been adopted at Rome in St Augustine's day; but Augustine speaks of their observance in his own rite and day.²

The Lectionary. Passing now to the consideration of St Augustine's Lectionary, as it may be gathered from his sermons and a few allusions in his other writings, we find that Genesis was read in Lent, except chap. xxii, which was reserved for Holy Week; Acts was begun on Easter Day and read throughout Eastertide. Lessons were read from the following chapters, or including the following verses, on the days given below:—

	<i>Serm.</i>
Christmas Day. Ps. xcv Lk. ii 26–30 . . .	clxxxix, cxc, cxci, cxvi
St Stephen. Acts vi, vii Jo. xii 26 . . .	cccix
Conversion of St Paul. Acts ix (Rom. x?) .	cclxxviii, cclxxix
Epiphany. 'Prophetias de Christo.' Mt. ii	cxcix–cciv
On one day before giving in names for	
Baptism. Jo. vi 55	cxxxii
In Lent. Jo. ix	cxxxvi
" i Jo. ii 8, 9	ccxi ³
Saturday after Mid-Lent Sunday. (? Joel ii,	
Rom. xi.) Mt. vi 1	lvi
Shortly before Easter. Gen. xxxii	v
Good Friday. (Gen. xxii?) Mt. xxvi, xxvii	ccxxxii
(No Passion read on any other day.)	
Easter Day. Apoc. i Ps. cxviii Acts i	
Mt. xxviii ⁴	ccxxvii, ccxxxii, ccxlvi

¹ A passage in *De Civ. Dei* xv 22 appears to refer to the Paschal Candle 'Quod in laude quadam cerei brevibus versibus dixi:—

Haec tua sunt, bona sunt, quia tu bonus ista creasti,
nil nostrum est in eis, nisi quod peccamus amantes
ordine neglecto pro te, quod creditur abs te.'

² S. Aug. *Serm.* clxxiii *de tempore*: 'Sine dubio peccatorum suorum vulnera diligit, qui in istis tribus diebus, ieiunando, orando, et psallendo medicamenta sibi spiritualia non requirit.'

³ For several of these references I am indebted to the Rev. F. E. Brightman.

⁴ From *Sermons* ccxxxii and ccxxxix it appears that the Resurrection from St Matthew was read on the first day of Easter week, that from St Mark on the second, that from St Luke on the third; and from *Serm.* ccxxxi and ccxli it may be inferred that the Resurrection from St John was read on a succeeding day of the same week. This scheme does not agree with that given above; and neither scheme agrees with the Roman, which was definite and clear. At Rome the Resurrection from St Matthew was read in the Easter Vigil (originally the only mass of Easter Day): that from St Luke on Monday and Tuesday; that from

	<i>Serm.</i>
Easter Monday. Acts ii Lk. xxiv	ccxlvii
Easter Tuesday. Ps. cxlvi Mk. xvi.	ccxlvii
Easter Wednesday. Jo. xx 1-18	ccxlvii
Easter Thursday. Jo. xx 19-31	ccxlvii
Easter Friday. Jo. xxi 1-14	ccxlviii
Easter Saturday. Jo. xxi 15-28	cclliii
Low Sunday. Jo. xx 19-27	ccclxxvi
Ascension Day. Apoc. v Ps. lvi Acts i Lk. xxiv or Jo. xiv	cclxii-v
Pentecost. Acts ii Mt. ix 17 <i>sqq.</i>	cclxviii <i>sqq.</i>
Nativity of St Jo. Bapt. Is. xl 3-8 Lk. i	cclxxxix ²
The Sunday after. Jo. iii	ccxciv
St Peter and St Paul. 2 Tim. iv 6-8 Ps. xviii 5 Jo. xxi	ccxcviii <i>sq.</i>
St Lawrence. Mt. v and Lk. xxi 19	cccii <i>sqq.</i>

Besides the foregoing, lessons were read on other days from Prov. x 10 (*Serm.* lxxxii 8), Eccclus. xxv 2 (*Serm.* ccclix 1), Is. lxvii 13 (*Serm.* xlv), Jer. x 11 (*Enarr. in Ps.* xcvi), Ezek. xxxiv 1-16 (*Serm.* xlvi), Mic. v 6-8 (*Serm.* xlvi), xi 6-8 (*Serm.* xlvi and xlix), Hagg. ii (*Serm.* 1), Prov. x 10 (*Serm.* lxxxii 8), Eccclus. xxv 2 (*Serm.* ccclix).

During those parts of the year which were without any special observance it may be inferred from many sermons that there was no fixed cycle of Gospel or other lessons, nor even a series of Gospel-lessons picked out and labelled 'cottidiana'. From his sermons on St John, it appears that St Augustine preached these every day for many weeks and arranged the lessons to suit his expositions.

On festivals of martyrs it was customary to read their Acta, apparently in place of the prophetic lesson (*Serm.* cccxiii and cclxxxv; cf. Canon xvi of the African code).

The Liturgical Chants. This point does not appear to be of first-rate importance for determining the kinship of any liturgy; for, as noted St John on the following days of the week. That from St Mark was not read at all originally, but when a second mass on Easter Day became a necessity, this Gospel was utilized for the purpose. (The Gospel of St Mark does not appear to have been used in the Mozarabic lesson-system originally.)

From *Serm.* ccxxxii we see that the Matthew Passion was read on Good Friday, and that the Passions from the other Evangelists were not read at all! This is a striking point in strict agreement with the Ambrosian and (original) Mozarabic custom, but irreconcilable with the Roman. Again, the original Roman Gospel for Christmas was that from St Matthew, the Mozarabic that from St Luke; the Roman Gospel for Ascension Day that from St Mark, the Mozarabic that from St Luke. Only on Epiphany does St Augustine's lectionary agree with the Roman as against the (original) Mozarabic custom. Genesis in Lent and Acts in Easter-tide are both characteristically Mozarabic, as against Roman, custom.

above, a set of chants would belong originally to a single 'schola', although the chant-book of that schola might contain material borrowed from other sources. In St Augustine's rite the *Responsorium Graduale* was ancient, while the Offertory and Communion were recent and the Introit had not yet been introduced; in the Roman rite, on the contrary, while the Gradual was primitive, the Offertory was the next chant introduced, and the Introit and Communion were later: indeed on certain occasions the Communion-Psalm was only a continuation of the Psalm of the Introit.

In St Augustine's rite the Graduals were taken usually in the order of the Psalms (*Serm.* clxxvi), though the psalm was chosen by the celebrant when he pleased: Dom Cabrol states that the Communion-anthem was not variable like the Roman, but always or usually consisted of part of Ps. xxxiii (Nos. xlvii-xlix). Alleluia was sung during the fifty days of Eastertide, and on all Sundays (Nos. vi and vii).

The Baptismal Ceremonies. Tertullian and Cyprian give most valuable information about the ceremonies of Baptism, but nothing sufficiently definite to mark their rite as distinctly allied to either the Roman or the Mozarabic, except the administration of a mixture of milk and honey to the newly baptized. This is a custom characteristic of Rome, Alexandria, and Africa as opposed to Spain and Gaul.

In St Augustine's sermons we find a good many details. The candidates were anointed at the beginning of the preparation (*Tract.* xlv in *Ioan.* 2: this is not Roman but may be Spanish; Isidore *De Eccles. Officiis* II xxi 2; Ildephonsus *De Cognitione Baptismi* cxxix); they were given salt, apparently frequently (*Concil. Carthag.* III Canon 5), they were exorcized (*Ep.* cxciv 46)¹; we may feel fairly confident that there was no Tradition of the four Gospels, which would be quite out of place in any rite but the Roman, since in that rite alone were the catechumens dismissed before the Gospel; the Tradition of the Creed took place on the Saturday three weeks before Easter Even; the Tradition of the Lord's Prayer with the Repetition of the Creed took place on the following Saturday, and the Lord's Prayer was repeated on the next Saturday, and the Creed on Easter Even (*Serm.* lviii). A reasonable inference from these particulars is that there were no Scrutinies except on Saturdays, as in the Ambrosian rite. The tradition of the Creed three weeks before Easter agrees neither with Roman nor with Ambrosian or Mozarabic custom; the Tradition of the Lord's Prayer before Baptism agrees with the Roman custom as against Mozarabic and Ambrosian; and it seems certainly probable that in the

¹ Also *de fide et operibus* vi 9 'Quales sunt ipsis diebus quibus catechizantur, exercizantur, scrutantur' and other passages.

original Roman rite the Gospels, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer were delivered not at one Scrutiny, but at three successive Scrutinies. We have no mention of the *effetatio* in the African rite, and it seems very possible that in the Mozarabic rite this ceremony is an importation from the Roman. There was an exorcism of the water, which was not a Roman custom. The font was blessed, and a passage of St Optatus (given by Dom Cabrol) contains apparently a reminiscence of the Roman benediction of the font (*De schism. Donatist.* iv 6).¹ The baptismal formula (in some localities at least) contained the words *in remissionem peccatorum*,² which are found also in the *Missale Gothicum*. (A somewhat parallel addition 'ut habeas vitam aeternam' is both Mozarabic and Gallican.) Lastly, St Augustine bears witness to the existence of the custom of washing the feet of the newly baptized (a custom which was Ambrosian and Gallican, and had probably existed also in Spain); in certain localities this was put off to the third or the eighth day after baptism, and by some had been rejected or dropped altogether.³

So far as can be gathered from these allusions the baptismal ceremonies at Hippo seem to have resembled those of Milan as much as those of Rome or Spain, and (like the Ambrosian) to have had an individuality of their own, combining ceremonies in use at Rome with those in use in Spain, but differing from one or both in certain points.⁴

¹ 'O aqua . . . super quam inter ipsos natales mundi sanctus Spiritus ferebatur . . . quae lavasti terram. O aqua quae sub Moyse ut naturalem amaritudinem perdes indulcato ligno tot populorum pectora suavissimis haustibus satiasti.'

² *Codex canonum Ecclesiae Africanae* cx. Item placuit ut quicumque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat, aut dicit in remissionem quidem peccatorum eos baptizari, sed nihil ex Adam trahere originalis peccati quod lavacro regenerationis expiatur, unde fit consequens, ut in eis forma baptismatis *in remissionem peccatorum* non vera sed falsa intelligatur, anathema sit.

³ *Ep. lv ad inquisitiones Ianuarii* xviii 33 De lavandis autem pedibus . . . Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum baptismi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitaverunt. Aliqui autem ut hoc et sacratiore tempore commendarent, et a baptismi sacramento distinguere vel diem tertium octavarum . . . vel ipsum octavum ut hoc facerent elegerunt.

⁴ The following passage from Ferrandus (*Ep. ad Fulgentium*) shews baptismal rites closely agreeing with those of St Augustine: 'Hic ergo . . . sacramentis ecclesiasticis imbuendus ad ecclesiam traditur; fit ex more catechumenus: post aliquantum nihilominus temporis propinquate solemnitate paschali inter competentes offertur, scribitur, eruditur: universa quoque religionis catholicae veneranda mysteria cognoscens atque percipiens, celebrato solemniter scrutinio, per exorcismum contra diabolium vindicatur; cui se renuntiare constanter sicut hic consuetudo posebat auditorus symbolum profitetur. Ipsa insuper sancti symboli verba memoriter in conspectu fidelis populi clara voce pronuncians, piam regulam dominicae orationis accepit. Simulque iam et quid crederet et quid oraret intelligens, futuro baptismati parabatur, cum subito violentis invaditur febribus.' See also references in the article 'Catèchumenat' in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*.

Conclusion. What is the general result of this comparison of the African rite with the Roman and the Mozarabic? As regards the liturgy proper it seems that the evidence preponderates very largely in favour of the opinion that the African Liturgy resembled the Mozarabic rather than the Roman. The one important feature in which the African Liturgy certainly resembled the Roman was the position of the *Pax* after the consecration; but the evidence for this is confined to the writings of St Augustine. (It is a mistake to draw any similar conclusion as to the position of the *Pax* from the allusions in Tertullian; though these are perfectly consistent with such a position, yet they do not necessarily demand it.) Besides this, the prayers of the faithful (in St Augustine's liturgy) may possibly have been of a character similar to the *Orationes Sollemnes*, which are supposed to have been the original 'prayers of the faithful' in the Roman rite; and the 'names' of both living and dead who were prayed for may possibly have been set in a framework which resembled the framework of the names in the original Roman rite; but both these points are extremely uncertain.

Against this have to be set the following features of the African rite, in which it agrees with the Mozarabic as against the Roman. (I defer the mention of the Lectionary.) (1) The dismissal of the catechumens after the Gospel instead of before it. (2) The Mozarabic 'prayers of the faithful' are actually quoted by St Cyprian; we may therefore conclude that the same or a very similar litany was used for this purpose at Carthage in his day; and even in St Augustine's liturgy it is by no means certain that the 'prayers of the faithful' did not consist of a similar litany with *praefatio* and *collectio* as in the Mozarabic rite. (3) St Augustine's liturgy, that of St Optatus and that of Milevis contained a solemn benediction after the consecration, which was apparently of a character similar to that of the solemn benedictions in the Mozarabic liturgy. (4) The 'post-communion prayer was a thanksgiving. (5) There is evidence of the existence of an invocation of the Holy Ghost in the liturgies of several African fathers, although in the case of St Augustine the evidence is uncertain. (This is another point in the same direction, unless it be conceded that the Roman Liturgy also possessed originally an invocation of the Holy Ghost which has been subsequently eliminated.) There are, moreover, several less important features which are probably to be considered neutral, because it seems probable that in the time of St Augustine the Roman Liturgy agreed much more closely with the Mozarabic than it does at present; e. g. the African mass began with the salutation ('*Pax tibi*' or '*Dominus vobiscum*') and the lessons, without any preliminary chants—as the Mozarabic still does on weekdays in Lent; the frequent use of an Old Testament lesson along with the Epistle and Gospel; the proclamation

of silence before the lessons ; the lists of names (*a*) of martyrs, (*b*) of other departed Christians, at least of bishops. (Such diptychs as those of the Mozarabic Liturgy would satisfy every allusion to the 'names' in African writers.)

The cycle of festivals is of slight importance ; every diocese was always ready to borrow a popular festival from the Kalendar of a neighbouring church. The cycle of lessons is, on the contrary, a matter of very great importance. There can be no question that the lectionary of St Augustine, so far as it had crystallized into a fixed cycle (and *Serm.* ccxviii, and the beginning of the sermons on St John's Gospel, shew that certain parts of it at least had, by reason of long-standing custom, become practically unalterable), agreed very closely with the Mozarabic cycle (as did the Ambrosian), and was markedly different from the Roman. Now, it is simply unthinkable that any liturgy which had originally a Roman lectionary should at this period have deliberately changed it for the Mozarabic lectionary ; and it is still more improbable, if possible, that any liturgy should have consisted originally of a Spanish *Missa Catechumenorum* with a Roman *Missa Fidelium* ; consequently the existence of a lectionary similar to the Spanish is a conclusive proof that the original liturgy was in general similar to the Spanish liturgy ; and if the *Missa Fidelium* was in some points similar to the Roman, the overwhelming probability must be that the original rite has been altered in the direction of the Roman Liturgy, —without, however, excluding the possibility that in a liturgy generally similar to the Spanish some details may have originally agreed with the Roman. The character of the Mass-chants is by no means a criterion of the first importance. The series of Mass-chants might be entirely local, even if the rest of the liturgy were purely Roman or purely Mozarabic. Nevertheless, if we can depend on the fact that the offertory-anthem had reference to the temple services, and that the stock Communion-anthem was taken from Ps. xxxiii,¹ these will furnish two points in favour of the Mozarabic rite, in addition to other differences between the African chant and the Roman.

Little can be concluded about the prayers of the celebrant, except the versicles and the conclusions of the prayers, details which belong to

¹ There is no ground for supposing that the use of Psalm xxxiii as the stock Communion-anthem was a Roman custom also. St Jerome's mention of it (*in Is.* ii 5, 20) cannot refer to Rome : and though it occurs as the Communion-anthem for one of the Sundays after Pentecost, yet there is nothing in the music to justify Wagner's suggestion that this is the one original Communion-anthem, to which others have been added subsequently : the music of all seems to be of the same period. Cassiodorus mentions the use of this Psalm as the Communion-anthem, but his experience was not of Rome, and it is very unlikely that he is writing of Roman custom.

the 'framework' of the service: but No. xxxiii a shews clearly that in A.D. 402 there was no general use of any fixed set of the celebrant's prayers, and therefore *a fortiori* no general use of the Roman Canon of the Mass.

The conclusion which seems most in accordance with the facts is (1) that the African Liturgy or Liturgies were originally (so far as can be known) of a character similar to the Mozarabic, though it is quite possible that this similarity did not extend to every detail; (2) that it is quite possible that St Augustine's liturgy had been modified in certain points in the direction of the Roman rite—the most important of which is the position of the *Pax*. It is by no means incredible that at so early a period a Western Liturgy should have already suffered alteration by the adoption of Roman features and the imitation of Roman practices, for the book *De Sacramentis* (attributed to St Ambrose) shews the very same phenomenon in another locality, and at the same period. In it we find an adaptation of the Roman Canon for use in connexion with a rite which was originally not Roman, but either Ambrosian or very closely allied to that rite. Moreover, both the Celtic and the Ambrosian rite shew us how naturally the introduction of the Roman Canon drew after it the Roman position of the *Pax* after the consecration. The apparent alteration in the wording of the litany in the people's prayers, and the possible change in the response to *Pax vobiscum*, point in the same direction: and the various forms of the doxologies have rather the character of doxologies non-Roman in origin but modified in the Roman direction.¹

If, on the contrary, it is still maintained that the African rite was similar to the original Roman, this can only be done by ascribing to the original Roman Liturgy a character practically identical with the Mozarabic, except in the position of the *Pax* and possibly in the fact that the 'names' were said by the celebrant instead of by the deacon. This early Roman mass contained, of course, neither Introit nor *Kyrie* nor *Gloria in excelsis*, but it frequently had lessons from the O. T. as well as the Epistle and Gospel; in it the catechumens were dismissed after the Gospel instead of before it; it contained prayers of the faithful, not like the *Orationes Sollemnes*, but like the Mozarabic litany, elaborate diptychs, an invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Canon, a long benediction, and a post-Communion thanksgiving. The lectionary used, moreover, differed from the most ancient Roman lectionary that we know in almost every crucial feature, and agreed with the Mozarabic instead: and the series of chants used appears to have been quite

¹ The commemoration of the Magi on the Epiphany, in St Augustine's time, may (as in the present Mozarabic rite) have been an imitation of Roman custom, replacing the original commemoration of our Lord's baptism.

different from those used at Rome. It becomes, in fact, practically necessary to maintain that the present Mozarabic Liturgy is a faithful representative of the original Roman Liturgy, except in a few details, and that the Roman Liturgy of all known ages has departed from its pristine form so utterly that its identity can no longer be recognized.

MATERIALS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AFRICAN LITURGY.

I give the principal passages from St Augustine's writings, adding below passages from other African writers. The greater number of these have been collected with great diligence by other writers—Mone, Atchley, Cabrol, and others—but nearly all of them have been verified, several by the kindness of Mr T. Thompson of St Anselm's House, Cambridge, and a few added which appeared to be of sufficient importance to justify inclusion. Two references have been kindly given me by Dr Srawley, and others by the Rev. F. E. Brightman. For convenience of reference I have numbered these passages consecutively.

THE LESSONS.

I. *De Civitate Dei* xxii 8 (near the end): St Augustine tells how on entering the church on Easter Day: *Plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum . . . salutavi populum . . . facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solemnna. Ubi autem ventum est ad mei sermonis locum. . . .*

II. *Ep.* xlii 31: *Sacrificant in dissentione et schismate et pacis nomine populos salutant . . . De codicibus non tantum nostris sed etiam eorum recitamus ecclesias quarum nomina hodie legunt et quibus hodie non communicant: quae cum recitantur in conventiculis eorum lectoribus suis dicunt Pax tecum.*

III. *Ep.* liii 3: *Quid autem perversius et insanius quam lectoribus easdem epistolas legentibus dicere Pax tecum et ab earum ecclesiarum pace separari quibus ipsae epistolae scriptae sunt?*

For O. T. lessons see pp. 263, 264.

IV. *Serm.* cxlv 1: *Apostolum audivimus, Psalmum audivimus, Evangelium audivimus.*

V. *Serm.* lv 1: *Sancti evangelii capitulum quod modo cum legeretur audivimus (cf. *Serm.* xlv 1, clxxvi 1, &c.).*

VI. *Serm.* cclii 9: *Consuetudinem antiquae traditionis tenet ecclesia ut per istos quinquaginta dies Halleluia dicatur (cf. *Enarr. in Pss.* cvi and cx).*

VII. *Ep.* lv *ad Ianuarium.* *Omnibus diebus Dominicis Alleluia cantatur.*

IVa St Optatus *de schism. Donat.* vi 6: *Illic prophetae et sancta evangelia recitata sunt.* VIIa Victor Vitens. *de persecutione Vandal.* i: *Audiente et canente populo Dei lector unus pulpito sistens alleuyaticum melos canebat.*

DISMISSALS AND PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL.

VIII. *Serm.* xlix 8 : Ecce post sermonem, fit missa catechumenis ; manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis.

IX. *Ep.* ccxvii *ad Vitalem* 1 : Exsere contra orationes ecclesiae disputationes *tuis*, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem ; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret ; et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt eius munere perseverent ; vel ipsum [i. e. sacerdotem] clara voce orantem, ut incredulos gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis *Amen* ?

X. *Ep.* lv. 34 : Quando autem non est tempus . . . sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur aut antistes clara voce deprecatur aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur ?

XI. *Serm.* ccclxii 31 : Conversi ad Dominum, ipsum deprecemur pro nobis et pro omni plebe sua astante nobiscum in atriis domus suae : quam custodire protegereque dignetur. Per Iesum Christum Filium eius Dominum nostrum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen. (Cf. *Serm.* cclxxv and ccclxi and also cxvii 10 ; see also p. 261 n. 2.)

XII. *Serm.* clxxiii 1 : Quando celebramus dies fratrum defunctorum *in mente habere debemus* et quid sperandum et quid timendum est.

Xa S. Caesarius Arel. *Serm.* cclxxxvi 1 (S. Aug. *Opp.* v append.) : Rogo et admono vos, fratres carissimi, ut quotiescunque iuxta altare a clericis oratur aut oratio diacono clamante indicitur, non solum corda sed etiam corpora fideliter inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter sicut oportet et diligenter attendo, diacono clamante *Flectamus genua*, maximam partem velut columnas erectas stare conspicio.

Xb Id. *Serm.* cclxxxv 1 : Supplico, fratres carissimi, et paterna pietate commoneo, ut quotiescunque oratio indicitur, qui forte pro aliqua infirmitate non potest genua flectere, et dorsum incurvare, vel cervicem humiliare . . . non differat.

XIa S. Fulgentius *Serm.* x (Migne *P. L.* lxxv 750) : Conversi ergo ad Dominum pariter eius misericordiam deprecemur ut nobis suam gratiam largiatur qua possimus in nobis ipsius iudicium rectum tenere, iustitiam caeteris exhibere et diligentes misericordiam non opprimere pauperes sed fovere : ut in conspectu Dei cui misericordiam iudiciumque cantavimus, superexaltantem iudicio misericordiam invenire possimus.

XIIa S. Cyprian *Ep.* lxii 5 : Ut autem fratres nostros ac sorores, qui ad hoc opus tam necessarium prompte ac libenter operati sunt, ut semper operentur, *in mente habeatis orationibus vestris* et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus repraesentetis, subdidi nomina singulorum, sed et collegarum quoque et sacerdotum nostrorum, qui et ipsi cum praesentes essent, ex suo plebis suae nomine quaedam pro viribus contulerunt, nomina addidi et praeter quantitatem propriam nostram eorum quoque summulas significavi et misi, quorum omnium secundum quod fides et caritas exigit *in orationibus et precibus vestris meminisse debetis*.

XIIb Id. *Ep.* lxxix : Et Deo Patri omnipotenti per Christum eius gratias egimus et agimus quod sic confortati et corroborati sumus per tuam allocutionem, petentes de animi tui candore, ut nos adsiduis *orationibus tuis in mente habere digneris*, ut

XIII. *De Civ. Dei* xxi 24: Nam quid maxime pro eis [*sc.* poenitentibus] orat, nisi *ut det illis Deus*, sicut dixit Apostolus, *poenitentiam, et respiscant de diaboli laqueis a quo captivi tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem*. . . .

XIV. *De dono perseverantiae* 63: Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit *Da illis Domine in te perseverare usque in finem*; non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere; ac non potius super eius talem benedictionem, et corde credente et ore confitenti respondit *Amen*?

THE NAMES (OF THE LIVING).

XV. *Ep.* xlix 2: Quoniam ecclesiam Dei, quae catholica dicitur, . . . per orbem terrarum diffusam videmus. Cf. *Serm.* ccxliii: Interrogo Ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam: *Serm.* cclxviii: Ecce et hic unitas Ecclesiae Catholicae commendatur toto orbe diffusa.

XVI. *Contra epistolam Parmeniani* iii 6 (c. 400 A.D.): Non erunt qui nomina principum furoris sui recitent ad altaria, vel quae ab unitate Christi dividerunt, vel quae sub nomine Christi contra ecclesiam Christi erexerunt.

THE NAMES (OF THE DEAD).

XVII. *de Civitate Dei* viii 27 § 1: Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum assistens altari aliquando dixit *Offero tibi, Petre*, aut *Paule*, aut *Cypriane*?

XVIII. *Serm.* cclxxiii 7: Advertite, in recitatione ad altare Christi loco meliore recitantur [*sc.* martyres], non tamen pro Christo adorantur. Quando audistis dici apud memoriam sancti Theogenis, a me vel ab aliquo fratre et collega meo, vel [ab] aliquo presbytero *Offero tibi, sancte Theogenis*, aut *Offero tibi, Petre*, aut *Offero tibi, Paule*?

confessionem vestram et nostram quam Dominus in nobis conferre dignatus est suppleat. The phrase 'in mente habere' is found in two Christian epitaphs of the third and fourth centuries respectively, and in a Pompeian inscription—'Sante Suste in mente habeas in horationibus Aureli Repentini' (*sic*)—quoted by Cabrol. Cp. Northcote and Brownlow *Roma Sotterranea*.

XIVa. Arnobius *adv. nat.* iv 36: Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari? Cur immaniter conventicula dirui in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus et resolutis corporum vincione?

XVa. S. Optatus *Contra Parmenianum* ii 12: Nam quis dubitet vos illud legitimum in sacramentorum mysterio praeterire non posse? Offerre vos Deo dicitis pro Ecclesia quae una est. Hoc ipsum mendacii pars est unam te vocare, de qua feceris duas; et offerre vos dicitis Deo pro una Ecclesia quae sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa.

XVIa. S. Cyprian *Ep.* xvi 2: [Lapsi] nunc . . . nondum restituta ecclesiae ipsius pace, ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomine eorum, et nondum poenitentia acta, nondum exomologesi facta, nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita, eucharistia illis datur.

XIX. *Serm.* clix 1: Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina quod fideles noverunt, cum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oretur: pro caeteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. (See also *Serm.* cclxxxiv 5, cclxxxv 5, ccxcvii 3.)

XX. *Serm.* cccxxv 1: Sic enim nobis sanctorum Viginti Martyrum series recitata est. Coepit ab episcopo Fidentio, clausit ad fidelem foeminam sanctam Victoriam.

XXI. *De sancta Virginitate* xlv 46: Fidelibus notum est, quo loco martyres et quo defunctae sanctimoniales ad altaris sacramenta recitentur.

XXII. *De civitate Dei* xxii 10: Uni Deo et martyrum et nostro sacrificium immolamus, ad quod sacrificium sicut homines Dei qui mundum in eius confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur.

XXIII. *Collatio Carth.* (*Opp. S. Aug.*, Antw. 1700, ix app. c. 43): In ecclesia sumus in qua Caecilianus episcopatum gessit et diem obiit. Eius nomen ad altare recitamus, eius memoriae communicamus tanquam memoriae fratris.

XXIV. *Serm.* ccclix 6 (Sirmond. xxxvii) referring to Caecilian of Carthage: Inventus sit prorsus reus, hominem anathemo . . . deinceps eum ad altare inter episcopos, quos fideles et innocentes credimus, non recitabimus.

XXV. *Liber de cura gerenda pro mortuis* i 3: Non parva est universae ecclesiae . . . auctoritas, ubi in precibus sacerdotis quae Domino Deo ad eius altare funduntur, locum suum habet etiam commendatio mortuorum. (See also *de Civ. Dei* xxi 24 § 5 and *Serm.* clxxii 2.)

XXVI. *ib.* 4: Non sunt praetermittendae supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus eorum, sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia.

XXVII. *Liber de anima et eius origine* ii 15 § 21: Etiam eorum, nominibus tacitis, quoniam nesciuntur in Ecclesia Christi, . . . offerendum corpus Christi esse censebit.

XXVIII. *De Civitate Dei* xx 9 § 2: Neque enim piorum animae mortuorum separantur ab Ecclesia [*scilicet* separantur ab animis martyrum]. Alioquin nec ad altare Dei fieret eorum memoria in communicatione corporis Christi.

XIXa S. Cyprian *Ep.* xxxviii 3: Palmas Domini et coronas illustri passione meruerunt. Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quotiens martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

XXIVa S. Cyprian *Ep.* i 2: Neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece, qui ab altari sacerdotes et ministros voluit avocari. Et ideo Victor . . . non est quod pro dormitione eius apud vos fiat oblatio aut deprecatio aliqua nomine eius in ecclesia frequentetur.

XXIX. *Ep.* lxxviii 4 : Et nunc si vobis placeat ut nomen eius non recitetur . . . quid enim obest homini quod ex illa tabula non vult eum recitari humana ignorantia, si de libro vivorum non eum delet iniqua conscientia?

THE OFFERTORY.

XXX. *Ep.* cxi 8 : Sic enim sunt illae in terra captivatae suae quomodo erant illi in ea terra ubi nec sacrificare more suo poterant Domino, sicut nec istae possunt vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei vel invenire ibi sacerdotem per quem offerant Deo.

XXXI. *Enarratio in Psalm.* cxxix 7 : [Christus] accepit abs te quod offerret pro te : quo modo accipit sacerdos a te, quod pro te offerat quando vis placare Deum pro peccatis tuis. (See also *Ep.* cxi 8.)

XXXII. *Retractionum lib.* ii 6 : Morem, qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem coeperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmodum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribuere populo quod fuisset oblatum.

XXXIII. *Ep.* cxlix ad Paulinum 16 : Eligo in his verbis [1 Tim. ii 1] hoc intellegere quod omnis vel paene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut *precaiones* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici ; *orationes* cum benedicuntur et sanctificantur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit . . . *Interpellationes* autem (sive ut vestri codices habent *postulationes*) fiunt cum populus benedicuntur ; tunc enim antistites velut advocati susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimae offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento, *gratiarum actio cuncta* concludit.

(See No. XXXIV.)

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING, &c.

(See No. XXXIII.)

XXXIa S. Cyprian *De opere et eleemosyna* 15 : Locuples et dives Dominicum celebrare te credis, quae corban omnino non respicis, quae in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quae partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis ?

XXXIb Victor Vitens. *De persecut. Vandal.* ii : Proceedit ad altare cum Eugenio (sicut mos est) qui fuerat caecus, suae salutis oblationem Domino redditurus : quam episcopus accipiens altari imposuit.

XXXIIIa *Concil. Milevitan.* c 1 (A. D. 402) : Placuit enim . . . ut preces vel orationes seu missae, quae probatae fuerint in concilio, sive praefationes, sive commendationes ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliae omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quae a prudentioribus tractatae vel comprobatae in synodo fuerint. (Here I think *preces* = *preces fidelium* ; *missa* = Gallican *praefatio* or *collectio*, or both ; *praefatio* = *illatio* ; *commendatio* = *benedictio*.) Cf. also III *Concil. Carthag.* c. xxiv (A. D. 397).

XXXIV. *Serm.* ccxxvii: Tenetis sacramenta ordine suo. Primo post orationem admonemini *Sursum* habere *cor* . . . Respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum* . . . ideo sequitur episcopus vel presbyter qui offert, et dicit, cum responderit populus *Habemus ad Dominum sursum cor, Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro* . . . et vos attestamini *Dignum et iustum est* dicentes . . . Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii Dei . . . dicimus Orationem Dominicam . . . post ipsam dicitur *Pax vobiscum*, et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto.

XXXV. *Sermones inediti* vi (ed. Denis): Hoc quod videtis in mensa Domini panis est et vinum; sed iste panis et hoc vinum accedente verbo fit corpus et sanguis Verbi . . . Post salutationem quam nostis, id est *Dominus vobiscum*, audistis *Sursum cor* . . . Ideo cum audieritis a sacerdote *Sursum cor* respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum* . . . Sequitur sacerdos et dicit *Domino Deo nostro gratias agamus* . . . et inde iam [succedunt] quae aguntur in precibus sanctis, quas audituri estis, ut accedente verbo fiat corpus et sanguis Christi. Nam tolle verbum, panis est et vinum: adde verbum et iam aliud est. Et ipsum aliud quid est? Corpus Christi et sanguis Christi. Tolle ergo verbum, panis est et vinum: adde verbum et fiet sacramentum. Ad hoc dicitis *Amen* . . . Deinde dicitur Dominica Oratio, quam iam accepistis et reddidistis. Quae ante dicitur quam accipiat corpus et sanguis Christi . . . Post hoc dicitur *Pax vobiscum*.

XXXVI. *Sermo* cclxxii: Quod ergo videtis panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant: quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi.

XXXIV a S. Cyprian *De Dom. Oratione* xxxi: Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, praefatione praemissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo *Sursum corda*.

XXXIV b S. Fulgentius *Ep.* xiv 44: Ideo in ipso sacrificio corporis Christi a gratiarum actione incipimus.

XXXIV c Tertullian *De Oratione* 3: Cui illa angelorum circumstantia non cessant dicere *Sanctus sanctus sanctus*. Proinde igitur et nos angelorum, si meruerimus, candidati, iam hinc celestem illam in Deum vocem et officium futurae claritatis ediscimus.

XXXIV d *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* xii (Saturus is telling his vision) Et introivimus et audivimus vocem unitam dicentem: Agios, agios, agios: sine cessatione.

XXXIV e S. Cyprian *Ep.* lxiii 17: Passionis eius mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus. . . . Scriptura enim dicit ut quotienscunque calicem in commemorationem Domini et passionis eius offerimus, id quod constat Dominum fecisse faciamus.

XXXIV f S. Fulgentius *contra Fabianum frag.* 28: Cum tempore sacrificii commemorationem mortis eius faciamus.

XXXVI a S. Optatus *contra Parmen.* vi 1: Altaria Dei . . . in quibus vota populi et membra Christi portata sunt, quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit, quo postulatus descenderit Spiritus sanctus.

XXXVI b S. Fulgentius *Fragmentum contra Fabianum* 28: Agnosce igitur quid

XXXVII. *De Trinitate* iii 4 § 10 : Illud tantum [corpus et sanguinem dicimus] quod ex fructibus terrae acceptum et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritualem in memoriam pro nobis Dominicae passionis : quod cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducatur, non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum sacramentum nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei.

FRACTION.

XXXVIII. *Ep.* xxxvi 28 : fracturus panem sicut frangitur in sacramento Corporis Christi.

(See No. XXXIII.)

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

(See Nos. XXXIII-XXXV.)

XXXIX. *Serm.* cx 5 : quod audemus quotidie dicere *Adveniat regnum tuum.*

XL. *Serm.* lviii 10 : Ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista Dominica oratio et audiunt illam fideles.

XLI. *De dono perseverantiae* 23 § 63 : Cum aliud in ipsa Oratione Dominica non orant fideles, dicentes maxime illud *Ne nos inferas in tentationem*, nisi ut in sancta obedientia perseverent.

XLII. *Serm.* clxxxi 6 : Ecce veniet hora orationis : oratura est tota ecclesia et tu quidem foris es : veni ad Orationem Dominicam, veni ad trutinam. Veni, dic *Pater noster qui es in coelis.*

(See also *Serm.* xvii 5, cccli 6 : *Ep.* cclxv 8 : *De dono persev.* 23.)

THE PAX.

XLIII. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxiv 10 : Quibus respondetur, cum dixerint *Pax vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo.*

in offerendis sacrificiis agit, ut exinde intelligas quare ibi adventus sancti Spiritus postuletur.

XXXVIc *Ibid.* 24 : Sancta ergo Ecclesia dum in sacrificio corporis et sanguinis Christi mitti sibi precatur Spiritum sanctum.

XXXVI d *Ad Monimum* ii 6 : Iam nunc etiam illa nobis est de Spiritus sancti missione quaestio revolvenda, cur scilicet, si omni Trinitati sacrificium offertur, ad sanctificandum [al. sacrificandum] oblationis nostrae munus sancti Spiritus tantum missio postuletur ; quasi . . . ita Spiritus sanctus ad consecrandum Ecclesiae sacrificium mittendus est, tanquam Pater aut Filius sacrificantibus desit.

XXXVI e S. Firmilian's letter to S. Cyprian (*S. Cyp. Ep.* lxxv 10) can hardly be cited as evidence of the use of an invocation in Africa : and there is nothing to shew whether the invocation parodied was an invocation of the Holy Spirit.

XLI a S. Optatus *contra Parmen.* ii : Etenim inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi Dominicam Orationem praetermittere non potestis.

XLIII a *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* xii (Saturus tells his vision) Et introeuntes cum admiratione stetimus ante thronum : et quattuor angeli sublevaverunt nos : et osculati sumus illum, et de manu sua traiecit nobis in faciem. Et ceteri seniores dixerunt nobis : Stemus. Et stetimus et pacem fecimus. Et dixerunt

(See also *in Ps.* cxxi 13: *contra Petilian.* ii 53: *Epp.* xlii 31, liii 3. See Nos. XXXIV, XXXV.)

THE BENEDICTION.

(See No. XXXIII.)

XLIV. *Ep.* clxxxix 4: His itaque disputationibus perversis et impiis non solum contradicitur orationibus nostris quibus a Domino petimus quidquid sanctos petiisse legimus et tenemus, verum etiam Benedictionibus nostris resistitur quando super populum dicimus, optantes eis et poscentes a Domino, ut eos abundare faciat in charitate invicem et in omnes et det eis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per Spiritum eius et impleat eos omni gaudio et pace in credendo ut abundant in spe et potentia Spiritus sancti.

COMMUNION.

(See Nos. XXXIII, XXXV.)

XLV. *Serm.* cclxxii: Quomodo est panis corpus eius, et calix (vel quod habet calix) quomodo est sanguis eius? Audis enim *Corpus Christi* et respondes *Amen*.

XLVI. *Serm.* clxxi 8: Nostis fideles quale testimonium perhibeatis sanguinis quem accepistis: certe enim dicitis *Amen*.

COMMUNION ANTHEM.

(See No. XXXII.)

XLVII. *Serm.* ccxxv: Cum veneris ad bibere, accede et illuminare: *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini*. (Quoted by Dom Cagin *Palaeographie Musicale* v p. 24.)

XLVIII. *Enarr. in Psalm.* xxxiii 2 § 10: Nos ad eum accedamus ut corpus et sanguinem eius accipiamus . . . nos manducando crucifixum et bibendo illuminamur: *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini* . . . § 12 Aperte modo de ipso sacramento vult dicere . . . *Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus*. Nonne aperit se psalmus? (Cagin *u. s.*)

XLIX. *Enarr. in Psalm.* cxviii 7 § 2: Sic enim illud dictum est, *Deus habitat lucem inaccessibilem*, et audimus tamen *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini* (Cagin *u. s.*).

THANKSGIVING.

(See No. XXXIII.)

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nobis seniores: Ite et ludite. Et dixi Perpetuae: Habes quod vis. Et dixit mihi: Deo gratias, ut quomodo in carne hilaris fui hilarior sum et hic modo.

XLVa. *Test. de Spectaculis* 25: Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei in diaboli ecclesiam tendere, . . . ex ore quo *Amen* in Sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, *eis alôvas ân' alôvos* alii omnino dicere nisi Deo et Christo?