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genuine. In like manner, if Deuteronomy is genuine, it gives us not only the personal narrative of Moses, but also the implied and concurrent testimony of the people who were eye-witnesses of the marvels recorded. "Your eyes have seen what the Lord did because of Baal Peor." "The Lord made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us—even us who are all of us here alive this day. The Lord talked with you face to face in the Mount out of the midst of the fire." It is clear that if this is a genuine discourse spoken under the circumstances implied, the confirmation it affords is of the highest possible kind, for it gives us the consenting evidence of eye-witnesses. And it is preposterous and absurd to say that it is immaterial whether it is genuine or not; for if it is not genuine, not only have we no concurrent testimony of eye-witnesses, but we have no personal narrative of the chief actor in the history, and consequently no trustworthy history at all. And then we shall be driven to discover or invent some other origin for the *Decalogue* than that which we have received; and then, as a matter of fact, it will not matter two straws whether J or E or P, whether X, Y, or Z, was the author of Exodus or Numbers—whether some very ingenious but unscrupulous priest in the time of Manasseh or Josiah was the incubator of Deuteronomy; for in any case the work was a romance and the history a fiction. But then the revelation which it was supposed we had received straight from heaven, and which was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator was no revelation at all, except so far as it revealed itself to the mind and was concocted in the brain of the unknown inventor; and then the so-called revelation is verily of the earth earthy, instead of being, as we believed the work of the Lord from heaven.

STANLEY LEATHES.

ART. II.—NOTES ON EARLY CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS.

IF appeal be made to the statements of "ancient authors" as to the rites and usages of the early Christian Churches, it is natural to suppose that those who make that appeal have made themselves acquainted with the statements of their authorities. Yet it is very difficult for a layman and an Orientalist, regarding such questions from a purely antiquarian standpoint, to understand how such reading can lead to the conclusion that rites and dogmas peculiar to the Church of Rome are thereby shown to belong to the primitive ages of

Christianity. If by "ancient authors" we may understand the great Fathers of the Church who wrote during the first four centuries of the Christian era—such as Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen—it is not difficult to become acquainted with their writings,[1] or to compare their statements with the results of Oriental archæology and the inscriptions of Syria and of Italy, which still bear witness to the actual facts of early Church history.

In so speaking of the Fathers, it is not intended to refer to their theology, but only to their incidental allusions to Christian practices and rites, which naturally come under the notice of any Orientalist who studies this period. As regards doctrine, there was very great difference of opinion among the Fathers, and not one of them has escaped the charge of heresy in some particular in which each differs from the teaching of the Latin Church. Irenæus, the most orthodox of all (being a Bishop of Gaul), believed that Christ lived to the age of fifty years.[2] Clement of Alexandria, who considered the ministry to have lasted only one year[3] (which Irenæus refutes), held views which almost denied the human body of Christ.[4] He was an Athenian philosopher, who had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries[5] before he became a Christian, and a believer in the perpetual virginity of Mary.[6] Justin Martyr, who held the belief in a millennial reign of Christ on earth,[7] also taught that the Jordan caught fire at the Baptism.[8] He also believed in magic.[9]

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[1] Consult, for instance, Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library."

[2] Book II., xxii. 5, 6. This would have been regarded as heresy in the Middle Ages on account of Luke iii. 23. Irenæus based his view on a rather forced understanding of John viii. 57.

[3] Stromata I., xxi.

[4] Stromata vi. 9. In which he states that Christ did not really require food for His sustenance.

[5] Cohortatio ii.

[6] Stromata vii., iv.

[7] 2 Apol. lxxx. He says many good Christians think otherwise. *The Millennium.*—Justin Martyr (2 Apol. lxxx.), while believing in a millennial reign of Christ, shows great tolerance in the remark that "many who belong to the pure and pious faith, and are true Christians, think otherwise." He held that after the resurrection Jerusalem would be rebuilt and adorned and enlarged, and be the royal city for one thousand years. He was himself a native of Shechem. Papias (as quoted by Eusebius, H. E., iii. 39) at a yet earlier age spoke of the wondrous wheat and wine of the millennial age in words very like those found in the Talmud (T. B. Ketuboth, iii.*b*). Irenæus also speaks of the renewal of the earth and rebuilding of Jerusalem (V. xxxv.).

[8] 2 Apol. lxxx.

[9] 1 Apol. xviii. Tertullian is explicit also, Apol. xxii., and speaks of exorcism by Christians in his own time, Apol. xxxvii.

Tertullian, whose doctrine of the Trinity may be called Arian,[1] on the other hand denied the Roman dogma of the perpetual virginity,[2] and finally became a Montanist heretic.[3] Origen was heretical in at least four of his beliefs, including the final salvation of devils and the corporeal nature of the soul.[4] There is little doubt that if any of these Fathers had written twelve centuries later than the time in which they lived, they would have all been burned at the stake by the popes unless they had recanted. Jerome is, perhaps, one of the most venerated of Christian writers in the eyes of Romanists; yet he was, perhaps, the first to apply the name of the "Scarlet Lady" to the Church of Rome.[5] It is not, however, with such doctrinal questions that the present paper is concerned.

If we take, for instance, the names of the three orders of the clerical hierarchy—bishops, presbyters, and deacons—it is remarkable to note how little attention appears to be paid to the archæology of the subject.[6] The term *episcopos*, or "over-

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[1] Adv. Prax. viii., ix. He quotes John xiv. 28.

[2] "De Carne Christi," xxiii.

[3] Such, at least, is the statement of his translator (Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. vii., p. xiii., where the date is given as 199 A.D. and that of Tertullian's death as 220 A.D.). He was converted to Christianity in 185 A.D., and married about 186 A.D.

[4] See Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. x., p. vii. Tertullian agreed with Origen as to the corporeal nature of the soul ("De Anima," v.), and says that he agrees with the Stoics on this subject. He says also that this mystery was revealed to a Montanist sister (ch. ix.), who actually saw a human soul.

[5] "Paula et Eustochium," ch. v.

[6] For the following paragraph see the learned note by Waddington, "Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie," Paris, 1870, pp. 474, 500:

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.—The term *episcopos*, as meaning a civil functionary, occurs in various early texts in Palestine, and the verb occurs (Waddington, No. 1,911) in connection with Gallionanus as consular legate of Arabia, about the end of the third century A.D. at Bostra. See Waddington's Inscriptions, Nos. 1,989, 1,990, 2,361 2,298. The latter text begins with the pagan invocation *Agathe Tyche*, and gives a list of five *episcopoi*. They have Arab names taken from native divinities, including Saeros (*Sa'ir*) and Rabbelos (*Itubb Ba'al*), which could hardly have been owned by baptized Christian bishops. Another of these texts (2,412*f*), also with the invocation *Agathe Tyche*, makes use of the participle *episcopountōn* in 253 A.D. at the city of Canatha in Bashan. Clement of Rome (Epistle to Church of Corinth about 95 A.D., ch. xlii.) derives the origin of the names bishops and deacons from the Greek translation of Isaiah lx. 17, answering to the Hebrew words rendered "officers" and "exactors" in the English version.

The first of these words is from a root meaning "to take care of," or "overseer." The second word is better rendered "rulers." Neither are words used of priests or synagogue ministers. Clement of Rome believed that the Apostles chose *episcopoi* and *diaconoi* from among their first converts, after having "proved them by the Spirit," and that later officers of the Church were chosen by these; but he does not say that

seer," whence the word "bishop" is derived, is not of Christian origin. Before the Peloponnesian war the Athenians so called the officials whom they sent to tributary cities. Even in the time of Constantine the jurist Charisius (Dissert. i. 4, 18) applies

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the bishops were first ordained as deacons. St. Chrysostom believed that in the early ages of the Church bishops differed only from presbyters in having the exclusive power of ordination (Homily on 1 Tim. xiii. 1; on Philip. i. 1); but he does not mention the "laying on of hands" by the presbyters in the case of Timothy himself (1 Tim. iv. 14).

The Syrian inscriptions which mention Christian bishops are all apparently later than the time of the establishment of the faith, and are marked with the Greek cross. In No. 2,235 of Waddington's Collection, from Nela in Batanæa, we find the tombstone of Diocles, an unknown bishop of 492 A.D.; and not far off, at Bosana, that of Bishop Menas (No. 2,250) in 575 A.D. At Abila, north of Damascus, is the tombstone of the "most holy Bishop John" in 563 A.D. (No. 1,878); and at Chalcis, near Aleppo, another bishop of 805 A.D. is commemorated (No. 1,832). The early bishoprics appear to have been small, but the division of the Eastern Church into seven dioceses was older than any of these texts. Julian, Archbishop of Bostra in Bashan, is commemorated in 512 A.D. (No. 1,915), and a "most holy archbishop" of the same metropolis in the reign of Justinian (No. 1,913*a*), besides others undated.

As regards presbyters, the text found at Pella is unfortunately undated. A text from Tharba in Batanæa may be early, as it has no cross on it (No. 2,203, Waddington), but the earliest dated example is that at Deir 'Aly (No. 2,558, Waddington), when the Marcionite Paul calls himself presbyter in 318 A.D., or before the Council of Nicæa. At Amra in Batanæa is the monument of the presbyters Kaianos, Donēsos, and Elia (No. 2,091), also undated, but clearly not very early. In this the "steward" (*oikonomos*) Sergius is mentioned, and such stewards are noticed in other texts. Thus at Eitha, in the same region, in the year 354 A.D., a text which speaks of the "most holy presbyter and archimandrite Eulogios," and of the presbyter Dōeros, and *diaconos* Elia, mentions Sabinianos as "deacon and steward" (No. 2,124). Waddington remarks that an archimandrite might be either deacon or priest, being, in fact, the abbot of the monastery. The "stewards" were responsible for expenses to the bishops (Waddington, *op. cit.*, p. 500). In 550 A.D., at Amra, other presbyters are noticed (No. 2,089), and the *labarum* occurs on this text. There are several other undated texts which mention presbyters.

A text in which deacons are mentioned, in 368 A.D., occurs at Shakka, in Batanæa (No. 2,158), but, as would naturally be expected, the Christian texts before the Council of Nicæa cannot be distinguished, though there are many hundreds of Greek texts in Syria and Palestine dating both before the Christian era and in the first and second centuries A.D. The Christians concealed their creed until it was tolerated, and were afraid to use distinctive emblems. Perhaps the oldest Christian text which is plainly distinguishable, as yet known, belongs to the year 331 A.D., and comes from Khatûra, in Northern Syria (No. 2,704, Waddington). In this the name of Christ is still spelt (as in the Deir 'Aly text) with the letter *eta* for *iota*. The short mottoes, "Christ help," "One God alone," and the fact that "Thalasis erected it," are followed by a line in a different handwriting with the words, Ὅσα λέγ(ε)ις φίλε κε (for καὶ) σοι τὰ δίπλᾶ. After this comes the date 380

the term to civil functionaries—the "*episkopoi,* who are in charge of the bread and other saleable things, which are the daily food of the people of cities." In the island of Rhodes an *episcopos* is mentioned, in a non-Christian inscription, as an official of one of the brotherhoods or clubs, of which there were so many in the Roman dominions in the first century A.D. In Bashan, where a great many Greek inscriptions of the second and third centuries have been discovered, these civil officials are mentioned, and some of them have pagan Arab names. The term was adopted for an "overseer" of the Christian Churches; but the charge of early bishops was that, not of a province, but rather of a parish, and even as late as the time of Chrysostom in Antioch, when every country town and village had its *episcopos.*[1] The bishop was then an elder chosen from among the baptized, and in the fourth century forbidden to leave his parish,[2] as were also the presbyters and deacons.

Among the earliest of Christian Churches was the little community of Pella, in the Jordan Valley. According to Eusebius, it was to Pella that the Christians fled just before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The site of the town has been explored, and a Greek inscription there found gives one of, perhaps, the earliest notices of a Christian *presbuteros,*

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of the era of Antioch (331 A.D.) and the invocation, "Come, O Christ." Curiously enough, the same formula given above occurs at the same place on a pagan text in honour of Zeus (No. 2,702). There are texts supposed, but not certainly known, to be Christian, in Syria of much earlier date; and in later times, from the fourth to the seventh centuries, quotations of the Psalms, from the Septuagint version, were carved over the doors of churches and houses.

Although only "bishops and deacons" are mentioned alike by Clement of Rome and in the "Teaching of the Apostles," at the close of the first Christian century, the antiquity of the word "presbyter" will not be disputed. It seems natural to suppose that the distinction of bishops and presbyters was slight. St. Chrysostom says that a bishop, writing to a presbyter, subscribed himself, "Your Fellow Presbyter," and to a deacon, "Your Fellow Deacon" (in Phil., Homil. i. 1). The duties of presbyters and deacons are laid down in the Epistle of Polycarp to the Ephesians (ch. v., vi.). See Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. i., pp. 72, 73.

[1] *Early Bishoprics.*—There was considerable dispute in the fourth century as to the organization of the churches in the East (see Reland, "Palestina Illustrata," i., p. 206; Robinson, Bib. Res. i., p. 380); but at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. Palestine was represented by sixty-eight bishops, and these bishoprics continued to exist in later times. The towns were on an average not more than ten miles apart, and the bishopries not more than large parishes. Nevertheless, the power and wealth of the bishops, after 326 A.D., is attested by the writings of Chrysostom, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzen, etc. Stanley ("Christian Institutions," pp. 188, 191) says the same.

[2] Stanley, "Christian Institutions," p. 192.

or "elder." These presbyters are mentioned in many other early texts of the Christian age in the same region, whereas the word "archbishop" only occurs in those which date from the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Thus at Eitha, in Southern Bashan, a church was built in 354 A.D. by "Eulogios the holy," who calls himself "presbyter and archimandrite."

The term *diakonos*, or deacon—that is to say, "servant"—as used by Justin Martyr, appears to refer to humble ministrants to the congregation. It occurs also very early in the Greek texts of Palestine; for Kabbeos the "deacon," who has left an inscription at Harran, near Damascus, writes *Chrēstos* instead of *Christos*—a spelling which was not unusual in the second century, and which concealed the Christian name under the form of a word which meant only a "good man."[1]

No student of such antiquities, or of the early Fathers, would doubt that the early organization of the Church, under its "overseers," "elders," and "servants," was very different to that of the fifth and sixth centuries, when the wealth and power of the bishops increased with the increased area of their charges.

The history of Churches is similar; and there are no extant remains of any Church known to be older than the time of Constantine's toleration of the Christian faith. The Christians of the Apostolic age were content to pray in the open air beside a river[2] (Acts xvi. 13); and even as late as 180 A.D. we find Tertullian ("To the Gentiles," xiii.; and "On Fasts," xvi.) describing the *proseuchæ*, or praying-places, beside streams or on the seashore. For in his time, and even in that of Chrysostom, it was a custom with Oriental Christians to per-

[1] *Chrēstos.*—The spelling Χρηστός is mentioned more than once in the Fathers. Theophilus (sixth Bishop of Antioch 168-188 A.D.; Eusebius, H. E., iv. 20) refers to it in writing to Autolicus (I. xii.). Justin Martyr (1 Apol. iv.) says: "As far as one may judge from the name we are accused of, we are most excellent people," thus playing on the word. Tertullian says much the same (I., "To the Gentiles," iii.). It is therefore interesting to find this spelling on still extant early Christian inscriptions in Palestine, including those above noticed (Waddington, Nos. 2,558-2,704), and that at Harrân, where the text, though Christian, is not marked with the cross and may be early. It runs as follows:

Χάριτας πλ(ε)ίστας ὁμολογῶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χρηστῷ αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ κάββεος διάκονος τῷ βοηθήσαντι, εἴ μ(οι) ἐτελίωσε τὴν προσφορὰ(ν) τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ οἴκου τούτο(υ).

At the same place is another text (No. 2,465) by Aumos, "a holy man," in which the word presbyter occurs, and which is marked by the Labarum and ends with *alpha* and *omega*. A third short text from Harrân (2,467) refers to a Bishop Theodorus.

[2] "And on the Sabbath day we went forth without the gate by a river side, where we supposed there was a place of prayer" (Revised Version, following the earlier MSS.).

form ablutions before prayer,[1] much as the Moslem now does when praying on the banks of a stream.

The earliest chapels built by Constantine's mother, Helena, were at Bethlehem and on Olivet.[2] The story of her discovery of the cross is not mentioned by Eusebius, or by any writer till a generation after the time of her pilgrimage; and the cross is first noticed by Cyril of Jerusalem twenty years after the date of her visit.[3] The present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church —which, far from being "without the gate" (Heb. xiii. 12), is within the walls of ancient Jerusalem—was settled by Constantine and the Bishop Macarius.[4] After pulling down a

[1] See Chrysostom's "Picture of the Religion of his Age," p. 24 (S.P.C.K., 1876). Tertullian speaks of washing at every prayer ("On Prayer," xiii.).

[2] Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," Book III., ch. xli.-xliii. See "Churches of Constantine," Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891.

[3] "Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem" (Parker's "Library of Fathers," Oxford, 1838): "The whole world is filled with portions of the wood of the cross" (iv. 10); "Distributed from hence piecemeal to all the world" (xiii. 4). The cross is not noticed by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.). The earliest account is in the "Travels of St. Silvia" (385 A.D., Pal. Pil. Text Society, 1891, pp. 63, 64). St. Paula (382-385 A.D.) also mentions the cross (vi.). See translation in above series, p. 5.

[4] *The Holy Sepulchre.*—This question has some importance in connection with the more general question of the growth of Christian institutions. The full translation of the contemporary accounts (from Eusebius's "Life of Constantine," Book III., ch. xxv. to xliii.) has been published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891. The western end of the second wall was excavated in 1886, almost exactly in the line laid down by Dr. Robinson in 1838. The account given by Josephus states that it began at the Gennath gate of the first wall, "and encircling only the tract on the north, it extended quite to Antonia" ("Wars," v., iv. 2). All attempts to draw the wall so as to exclude the hilltop on which the traditional site of Calvary is found have failed to satisfy the meaning of the Greek word κυκλούμενον, "encircling," and involve carrying the line through a wide valley more than 100 feet deep, instead of along the higher ground. But too much importance is attached to the question of the "second wall." It is universally allowed that the "third wall" nowhere passed less than a quarter of a mile *outside* the position of the traditional site of Calvary. It was commenced by Agrippa ("Antiq." XIX., vii. 2; "Wars," V., iv. 2), or even earlier, if we are to understand from the former passage that he "repaired it." Agrippa died in 44 A.D., and the city cannot have grown extensively in the few years intervening between the crucifixion and the death of Agrippa, for it was not a time of great prosperity; and there is reason to suppose that Jerusalem extended north of the Temple even in 63 B.C., the time of Pompey's siege ("Ant." XIV., iv. 2).

Eusebius, while stating that the site of the sepulchre was occupied by a temple, and was discovered, "contrary to all expectation" ("Life of Constantine," ch. xxviii.), gives no intimation of the reasons which led to the identification, nor does any other writer until the next century, when Rufinus (about 410), Theodoret (about 440) and Sozomen (about 450 A.D.) relate the famous story of the "Invention of the Cross"

temple of Venus on the spot (as Eusebius states), the emperor caused the mound on which it stood to be levelled, and, as Eusebius says, "beyond all hope" they discovered an ancient tomb, which they concluded, without any known reason, to have been that of Christ. It was more probably the tomb of the early kings of Israel, which was still known (Acts ii. 29) in the time of the Apostles, and which, according to the early Rabbis (Tosiphta, "*Baba Bathra*," i.) was inside the city. Only a few years ago the remains of the "second wall," which fortified Jerusalem on this side at the time of the Crucifixion, were excavated, and found to be in such a position as to have certainly included the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre within the city.

The true site of Mount Calvary is probably the hillock north of Jerusalem, which, according to the Jewish tradition (Mishrah Sanhedrin, vi. 4), was the old place of execution; but the actual position of the tomb of Christ is still unknown, though it is fairly certain that it lay north of Jerusalem. It should be a satisfaction to Christians to think that the traditional site, which has so often been desecrated by the massacres of the Middle Ages, and by the incredible abuses of later superstitious customs, and of pretended miraculous descent of "holy fire," is not in reality the site of the "tomb in the garden."

Before the toleration of Christianity it does not appear that any buildings bearing the name of "church" existed. Services were conducted at gatherings in private houses, and were conducted secretly, in consequence of the fear of persecution. In the second century there were a great number of small

(Robinson, Bib. Res., i., p. 374). In writing to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, Constantine says (Eusebius, "Life of Constantine," Book III., ch. xxx.): "For that the token (γνώρισμα) of that most holy passion, long ago buried underground, should have remained unknown for so many cycles of years," etc. He thus refers to the "monument of our Saviour's resurrection become visible" (ch. xxviii.), and it would appear that the site was quite unknown, and, as above urged, it was impossibly located when the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 12) are taken into account. The "Garden Tomb," which some now regard as the real Holy Sepulchre, cannot be accepted by any who are familiar with the history of rock-cut tombs in Palestine. It is pretty certainly a Byzantine tomb of a later age, and has not the form of the sepulchres hewn about the Christian era. The crosses found on its walls are Latin patriarch's crosses, which cannot have been painted before the twelfth century; and the Greek inscription of a deacon found near dates certainly later than the time of Constantine's *Martyrion* of the *Anastasis*, which is mentioned in the said text. The expression "buried near his Lord," which this deacon uses, must refer to the traditional site, which was universally accepted by all Christians after it had been decreed by Constantine to have been discovered. Doubts on the subject did not arise till 1738 A.D.

heretical sects, and perhaps the earliest building now known to exist which was set apart for Christian worship is that at Deir 'Aly, on Mount Hermon; and this belonged to an heretical sect. The inscription still existing at this place[1] bears the date 318 A.D. (not, of course, in that form, since the Christian era was first determined—and fixed four years wrong—by the Italian monk Dionysius Exiguus in 532 A.D.): the text is a dedication of the year 630 of the era of the Seleucidæ. The building is said to be a "synagogue of the Marcionites," according to this Greek inscription—"for the worship of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Chrēstos" (for Christos), "erected by Paul the presbyter." The Marcionites are well known to have been numerous in Palestine down to the middle of the fourth century, and were followers of Marcion, a heretic who believed in two gods of equal power, and against whom Tertullian wrote a book about 187 A.D.

The early churches and chapels were modelled on the plan of a Roman *basilica*, or hall of justice, and were not built in the shape of the cross.[2] They ended on the east in an apse, which was enclosed with curtains.[3] The holy table stood in the apse, and the bishop sat behind it, facing the congregation,

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[1] Waddington, No. 2,558, "Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie."

[2] *Basilicas.*—The Roman basilica, or hall of justice, had an apse in which the judge sat, and before him was the "pavement" brought from Rome. Such a basilica still exists at Gerasa, beyond Jordan, with its apse to the east, close to the main street of the city. The word is used in a text from Auwas (No. 2,044, Waddington), dating 330 A.D., and in connection with Constantine's churches at Jerusalem and Hebron ("Life of Constantine," III., ch. xxxvi., liii.). Another word used early for churches on particular sites was *Marturion*. It occurs as late as 568 A.D. on the bilingual Arab and Greek text of the Marturion of St. John, built by an Arab Christian at Harrân (No. 2,464, Waddington). The term "synagogue," as above shown, was, however, applied much earlier to Christian places of worship. The word *ecclesia* occurs in inscriptions of the fifth century, such as that at *Sâla* in Batanæa, dating 574 A.D. (Waddington, No. 2,261), or that at *Kuteibeh* in the Haurân, 575 A.D. (No. 2,412*i*, Waddington). The expression "Catholic Church," applied to the Greek, not to the Roman, Church, is found in a text at *Kereim* in Trachonitis (No. 2,519, Waddington). Out of the very numerous churches and chapels of the Byzantine age which have been explored in Palestine and Syria, not one is cruciform. They all adhere to the old basilica form, with the apse invariably on the east. The Crusaders preserved the same plan in Palestine, and only one twelfth-century church in that country is cruciform: namely, that of *Nebi Samwîl*, north of Jerusalem. Stanley, "Christian Institutions," p. 179, makes the same statement; and the opinion is borne out by the extant ruins of churches and basilicas in Palestine.

[3] Mentioned, for instance, at Bethlehem (Eusebius, "Life of Constantine, III., ch. xliii.). See also Chrysostom (Homil. xlv. 4; lxxiv. 3).

with his face to the west.[1] The curtains were only drawn back when all unbaptized persons had left the church, and the bread and wine were then both distributed to the faithful by the deacons[2]—such was the Church and such the rite as observed in Palestine in the time of Constantine.

It is extraordinary to note that the pretentions of the Church of Rome, as summed up in the proud motto—*Quod semper quod ubique quod ab omnibus*—are accepted by some as representing the real history of the Christian Church, in utter forgetfulness of the fact that the large majority of Christians down to the fourth century were to be found in Asia, and these never acknowledged the authority of the Bishop of Rome in any age down to the present.[3] In the year 190 A.D. at least a tenth of the population of Carthage was Christian, according to Tertullian[4]; but in 250 A.D. the Roman Church, according to Eusebius,[5] numbered only 46 priests, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, and 52 exorcists and readers, supporting 1,500 widows and poor persons. When Constantine recognised the faith, perhaps half of his subjects in Antioch were Christians,[6] while in Italy the believers were probably only a small minority. The title of Pope, which in the East applied to any parish priest, was not given to a

[1] In the service of the Russian cathedral at Jerusalem the traveller may still see the bishop standing behind the table facing west. The Pope in like manner stands facing the people at Mass behind the altar.

[2] Chrysostom threatened not to administer the Eucharist to the baptized if they were addicted to swearing (Hom. xx. 5) or to the theatre ("Homily against Games and Theatres").

[3] *The Eastern and Western Churches.*—Perhaps the earliest note of differences between these Churches is to be found in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (95 A.D.), in which the deposing of certain bishops and deacons is reproved with the words, "Your schism has led many astray." The differences were still more marked when the question of Easter Day arose. The earlier belief recognised that the Last Supper was a celebration of the Passover; but in the Church of Rome the custom of celebrating the resurrection in such a manner that the day of the crucifixion should fall on that of the Passover appears to have been as ancient as 120 A.D. (Irenæus, quoted by Eusebius, H. E., v., xxiv. 14). But for the intervention of Irenæus, a severance between the Churches would have occurred as early as the second century, and it was only prevented by leaving the Asiatic Christians to observe their own customs.

[4] Ad Scap. 5.

[5] H. E., VI., xliii., 11, 12. It should be added that Origin speaks of Syrian Christians as "very few" as late as 240 A.D. ("Against Celsus," viii. 69), but as "not a few" in another passage ("Against Celsus," i. 26).

[6] Chrysostom ("Homily on the Martyr St. Ignatius") speaks of the population of Antioch as 200,000 males, and he speaks of the Christians as 100,000 in all (On Matt., Hom. lxxxv. § 4). If he means males in the second case, half the population was Christian; but if he includes females then about a quarter.

Roman bishop before the time of Marcellus in 275 A.D., and was not finally adopted till the fourth century.[1] The tradition that St. Peter was martyred in Rome does not appear to have existed till Tertullian's time, though Clement of Rome speaks of that Apostle as having visited the great city.[2]

It appears to be clearly deducible from a study of the Fathers, and of classic writers, as well as from the inscriptions and antiquities of Italy, that many of the peculiar rites and dogmas which distinguished the Roman Church in early times, and which were often not adopted by the Greek or any other Oriental Church, had their origin, or at least their parallel, in the paganism which survived in Italy down to the latter part of the fourth century; and writers like Justin Martyr (in Palestine) and Tertullian (in Africa) have pointed out some of these similarities. At the time when the first Christian communities were struggling in Italy against the fierce pejudices of the established religion of the State, as represented by the Pontifex Maximus, the Flamens, and other officials, the worship of many foreign gods was popular among all classes. The worshippers of the Egyptian Isis, and those who adored the Persian god Mithra, were especially numerous in Rome in the first and second Christian centuries, as we gather from the writings of Roman poets and historians of the age. The frescoes of Pompeii show us the processions of Isis, who was represented to be a virgin goddess nursing the infant Horus. Beardless and tonsured priests of this cultus are represented, wearing the alb or white robe. The rites included sprinkling with holy water, fasts, confessions, and hymns to the goddess at eve, when the feet of the image were kissed. Among women especially this mystic worship was usual.[3]

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[1] Stanley, "Christian Institutions," p. 212. Dean Hook says ("Church Dictionary") that it was "usurped" by Gregory VII. When Chrysostom wrote to Innocent in 404 A.D. he appears to have addressed him only as "Bishop of Rome."

[2] *Peter at Rome.*—The authorities usually cited are the Canon of Muratori (180 A.D.), l. 36, 37; Clement of Rome (95 A.D.), "To the Corinthians," i., v.; Tertullian (180 A.D.), "Præsc," 36, "Adv. Marcion," iv. 5, "Scorpiace," 15; and Eusebius (fourth century A.D.), H. E., ii. 25. Irenæus enumerates the successors of Paul at Rome (III., iii. 3), twelve in all, down to his own time. The argument in favour of Peter's having gone to Rome can hardly be called a strong one. The Muratorian Canon says that his martyrdom was not recorded by Luke because he spoke only of his own knowledge. Clement of Alexandria (Stromata, vii. 11) believed that Peter's wife was martyred with him. The famous story of the crucifixion of Peter comes, however, from a much later work —"Acts of Peter and Paul."

[3] Renan has given a brilliant sketch of this cultus, "Marc Aurèle," p. 570. A black statue, apparently of Isis, was an object of superstition in the Abbey of St. Germain down to 1514 A.D. (*Journal Royal*

The rites of Mithra were still more sensational. Mithra was the Persian god of light, adored all over Asia Minor in the time of Pompey[1]; and the cultus was brought to Rome by Pompey's soldiers before the Christian era.[2] It was specially prevalent in Europe about 375 A.D., and Mithraic chapels occur not only in Rome (where the old church of St. Clement was built over one of these underground cave chapels),[3] but also in Germany, and even in England. The rites included terrible ordeals, and actual baptisms of blood, secret signs, flagellations, fasts of fifty days, unctions, love feasts, baptism, and a kind of Eucharistic celebration. The priests were tonsured and wore the mitre. The parallel to Christian rites is thus noticed by Justin Martyr (1st Apol. lxvi.), speaking of the Eucharist:

". . . which wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same things to be done. For that bread and a cup of water are placed, with certain incantations, in the mystic rites of initiation you either know or can learn."

The rite in question was that of the preparation of the sacred *homa* drink, which was from the earliest time part of the Mithraic ceremonial. The idea of transubstantiation was attached to this ceremony, and *homa*—adored as a god—was at once the juice of the plant used, and the spirit which was supposed to inspire those who drank it. Any student of the Persian sacred books will know this statement to be correct. It was pointed out by Haug in 1862 A.D.; and hymns to the Homa have been translated into English.[4]

Asiatic Society, ii. 564). The Eastern Churches, after a long struggle, put down the worship of images, and even the Empress Irene, in 787 A.D., only succeeded in restoring the use of pictures, and forbade representations of the Deity.

[1] His name occurs in the Greek texts of Nimrûd Dagh shortly before Pompey's time (Humann, "Reisen in Klein Asien," 1890); that is to say, west of the Euphrates.

[2] Plutarch, "Pompey," 24. See King's "Gnostics" (p. 49, first edition). The rites, as usual in Rome, are described by Renan, "Marc Aurèle," p. 576.

[3] "Les Évangiles," p. 337.

[4] See "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xxiii.

The Homa Worship.—This Persian rite, which is of the same origin with the Soma worship of the Vedas, dates back to prehistoric times. In the later days of which we now speak the Soma, or Homa, was a plant (*Asclepias acida*), which was pounded in a mortar and the juice strained into a cup of water, such as Justin Martyr describes (see Haug's "Essays on the Parsees," pp. 166, 239). The ancient Yast, or hymn in its honour, is probably older than the Christian era. Homa, as a good spirit, is mentioned in other Yasts equally ancient ("Gos Yast," iv. 17): "To her did Homa offer up a sacrifice;" and as an offering ("Bahram Yast," xviii. 57): "I offer up Homa, who is the protector of my body, as a man who shall drink of him shall win and prevail." By drinking the Homa in the last days

Nothing could be a greater contrast to this mysticism than the accounts given by "ancient authors" of the early Christian commemorations of the Last Supper in Western Asia and in Africa. In Pliny's letter to Trajan about 112 A.D. (the genuineness of which Renan admits[1]) we read a non-Christian account of the practices of the Christians of Pontus on the Black Sea shores:

"That they were wont, on a stated day, to meet together before it was light, and to sing an hymn to Christ as to God, and to oblige themselves by an oath" [or sacrament] "not to do anything that was bad . . . after which it was their custom to depart, and to meet again at a common but innocent meal: which they left off upon that edict which I published at your command, and wherein I had forbidden any such conventicles. These examinations made me think it necessary to inquire by torments what the truth was, which I did of two maidservants called *deaconesses*,[2] but yet I found nothing more."

CHARLES CONDER, Major R.E.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—RECENT CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH AND ITS RESULTS.

IN the February number of the *Church Sunday School Magazine* there is a review of Mr. Spencer's able work, "Did Moses Write the Pentateuch after all?" The review states that though there is much in that volume well worthy of attention, and that it is calculated to make men pause before accepting all the conclusions of the negative criticism, it does not "face the principal argument" of the critics, "that the historical books give a picture of life in Israel which is inconsistent with the existence of a law so full and detailed as that of Leviticus." The writer of the review very justly regards Professor Robertson Smith's book as by far the ablest statement of this view of the Jewish history. He appears to have been "reassured," and to wish others to be reassured, against the "assumed hostility" of this representation of the actual

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the faithful were to become immortal. Professor Darmesteter ("Sacred Books of the East," iv., p. lxix.) says: "Homa, the Indian Soma, is an intoxicating plant, the juice of which is drunk by the faithful for their own benefit and for the benefit of their gods." It is evidently to this mystic rite that Justin Martyr refers. The sacred bread, *Darun*, forms part of the offerings of the same rite (Haug, p. 241).

1 "Les Évangiles," p. 476.

2 "Ancillæ quæ ministræ dicibantur." Tertullian refers to this letter, "Apologeticus," 2.