

Silent Witness: The Use and Limitation of Archaeological Research in the Problems of Early Christianity.

By W. H. C. FREND

Some thirty years ago, the late, esteemed Professor Enrico Josi, the excavator, with Engelbert Kirschbaum, of the cemetery beneath the Vatican, and discoverer of the Shrine of St. Peter (the Aedicula) in the famous Red Wall, reviewed the work of three centuries of archaeologists of Christianity in a lecture to the Pontifical Academy. In this, he welcomed the role of the archaeologist in adding to an increasingly accurate understanding of Christian origins, and pointed out that their studies had touched nearly all aspects of Church history, including the development of its mission, the background to its doctrine, and the growth of its liturgy¹. Today, while the flood of new archaeological evidence continues to rise, it may be useful in a conference devoted to Methods of Study, to take stock of the situation by examining the nature of the archaeologist's work and consider how far he has brought about change in traditional ideas of early Christian history, while at the same time testing the strengths and weaknesses of his methods.

The early discoveries that changed the course of Biblical scholarship belong to the romance of archaeology. The decipherment of the Rosetta Stone in the 1820's and of the texts of the Behistun monument in the 1840's opened the way towards understanding much of what had hitherto been obscure in the Old Testament. There can be nothing but unstinted admiration for the early pioneers, such as Rawlinson and Layard who took their lives in their hands in pursuit of knowledge, and brought a new dimension to the study of the Bible through comparative material evidence.

The comparative element supplied by these early discoveries together with the opportunities they provided for testing accounts of events given in the Bible, was not to be neglected by the new, more critical generation of Biblical scholars.

By the 1880's fresh areas for archaeological discovery were opening up in western Asia Minor, Greece and the Greek islands, and North Africa, where discoveries were to have a more controversial impact on theology. The decline of the Turkish empire on the one hand, and the French conquest of Algeria on the other, provided European scholars with the chance of exploring the vast range of Classical and early Christian sites in those areas. Largely because of the nomadic character of the Arab conquest and consequent Moslem occupation of much of Anatolia and Algeria, many abandoned Greco-Roman and Byzantine sites had not been destroy-

ed, but simply had stood ruined and desolate for some 1300 years. Early travellers were amazed at the wealth of visible remains that greeted them. In Algeria, the French, especially after the foundation of the Société historique algérienne by Adrien Berbrugger in 1856, carried out almost yearly archaeological missions, notably in the 1890's by H. Graillot and S. Gsell². In the Turkish empire the Germans, British and above all, the Austrians also began to gather a rich harvest of inscriptions, and other evidences of the Classical and early Christian civilisations. Josef Keil and Georg von Premerstein were as firmly linked in the late-Victorian scene as their contemporaries, Gilbert and Sullivan. They were tireless travellers, keen observers and collectors of epigraphic evidence and for their day, skilful archaeologists. With Wilhelm Heberdey, their excavations at Ephesus uncovered the great theatre on the hillside overlooking the ancient harbour, where almost certainly in A. D. 53 Paul faced his accusers. At Ephesus too, they recovered the site of the temple of Diana, and from the quantity of the effigies of the goddess they found, they could point to the origin of her cult in the remote past, among the fertility cults of Anatolia, and also, to its association by the end of the 1st century A. D. with the imperial cult. He who threatened "Diana of the Ephesians" threatened the ancestral beliefs of the inhabitants and also seemed set to undermine their loyalty to the emperor. He took his life in his hands.

These and similar important discoveries were not destined to remain confined to the pages of scholarly journals. The beginnings of scientific archaeological research on eastern Mediterranean sites coincided with the era in the half century leading up to the First World War of intensive literary and historical criticism of the New Testament and early Christian literature. This in itself was the product of the deepening rift since the latter part of the pontificate of Pope Pius IX between lay and clerical, liberal and traditionalist and even agnostic and Christian. Increasing knowledge of Hellenistic and native mystery cults was meat and drink to the rising Religionsgeschichtliche Schule of New Testament critics³. Was not Tarsus the meeting point of the Greek and Semitic worlds and Baal-Tars lord of Tars, a fertility deity whose rites revolved round beliefs in his annual death and ascent into heaven? Was not this and the Sandan/Heracles cult part of Paul's religious heritage? For Charles Guignebert as for Alfred Loisy, the mystery religions and resulting syncretism of religious ideas provided the most significant clue to the origins of the religious universalism to which Paul's preaching was the heir⁴. Without the element of the Hellenistic mystery the Gospel could not have survived.

Archaeology, even in its infancy as a science, had been drawn into theological debate in support of radical theories of Christian origins. Such use carried its risks, and not surprisingly, many of the assumptions of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule have been overturned by subsequent and better understood archaeological discoveries. As the Christian Apologists them-

selves had conceded (e. g. Justin I Apol. 66), analogies existed between Christian and pagan, particularly Mithraic, sacramental liturgies but no evidence has emerged of borrowing by the Christians. Though some of the affinities indicated by Loisy were real enough⁵, much of the mysticism of the early Christian cult could have been mediated through Hellenistic Judaism. Many Jewish sarcophages which have been found, have included figurative designs, such as Victories with crowns, the Seasons, the Zodiac, the mixing cup and wine, and these designs were later to be found on Christian sarcophagi and mosaics. Dionysiac symbols may have formed common ground between Jewish and Hellenistic mystery religion and thence entered the thought-world of early Christianity⁶. On the other hand, the *mysterion* of the Pauline epistles would seem to be taken direct from current Jewish thought perhaps influenced by ideas akin to those prevalent among the Covenanters of Q'mran. Even so, the comparative approach to religious beliefs assisted by archaeological discoveries as the work of Cumont and Goodenough, Marrou and Hanfmann have shown, is one of the most stimulating as well as one of the most relevant fields for research into Christian origins.

Other work by archaeologists in Asia Minor, however, was pioneering lines of research destined to contribute towards a less disputable basis for understanding Christian origins. Sir William Ramsay undoubtedly embarked on his travels in western Asia Minor with the idea of proving that the author of Luke/Acts was "a great historian", a contemporary of the events he was describing, and of affirming against J. B. Lightfoot, that the "south Galatian" theory of Paul's missionary journey was correct⁷. In the event, his discoveries added little to either hypothesis, but they confirmed beyond doubt the impression left on any reader of Acts 13-19 that Judaism occupied an important place in all the main cities of southern and western Asia Minor. Wherever Greek inscriptions were to be found so were Jewish, including inscriptions in Hebrew. The presence of John the Baptist's followers at Ephesus (Acts 19¹) would not have been incredible. Ramsay also was able to suggest through a careful observation of formulae used on funerary inscriptions from some Phrygian urban sites, in particular Eumeneia, that during the 3rd century Christianity appeared to be gaining the upper hand among the inhabitants. The formula "let him give an account to the living God" (eis ton theon zōnta) aimed against would-be disturbers of the tomb, was the sole ostensible point of difference between a pagan and a non-pagan burial, for the nomenclature and symbolism could be the same on both. The increased use of the formula, however, referring to "the living God" suggested a gradual but lasting transfer of allegiance from paganism to Christianity⁸. The message of contemporary texts, particularly those preserved in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, Bks. 8 and 9, was confirmed⁹.

For the countryside also, discoveries made by J. G. C. Anderson and W. M. Calder, Ramsay's pupils, on sites on the imperial estate that covered

part of the Tembris valley in northern Phrygia also corroborated what could be suspected from existing literary evidence. A series of inscriptions dating between 249 and 304 showed that Christianity had taken root among the colonate on the imperial estate. These were not downtrodden peasants, but men and women who could express themselves reasonably in Greek, were proud of their trades as shown by the representatives of ploughs and weaving combs on their tombstones, but prouder still of their Christianity. The proclamation, "Christians for Christians" (*Christianoi Christianois*) accompanied sometimes by the description of the deceased in militant Christian terms corresponded to the Montanist aspirations of the Phrygians described in Eusebius and Epiphanius¹⁰. Archaeological discoveries had added significant details about the spread of the sect to the inhabitants of an imperial estate by the mid-3rd century. They had also displayed the passion of the peasant's convictions resulting in their open proclamation of their faith, contrasted with the quieter and less provocative attitude of their urban contemporaries. The religious and cultural division between town and countryside in Asia Minor, with orthodoxy predominating in the former and schism in the latter was shown to be not altogether an historian's speculation¹¹.

In North Africa, two generations of French archaeologists, of whom Stéphane Gsell, André Berthier and Louis Leschi are representative, were achieving a similar if more detailed pattern of results. There also, historical horizons were being expanded and a deeper and more accurate understanding of the abundance of existing texts achieved. The *Acta* of the North African martyrs, Tertullian, Cyprian, Optatus and Augustine, not to mention less prolific authors, give a picture of the development of the life, theology and divisions within the North African fuller than for any other provinces in the Roman empire. Without archaeology, however, involving the recovery of inscriptions and survey and excavation of sites, arguments about the interpretation of texts would have reached a point where no further progress was possible. Were the cellae round which the Circumcellions were said to dwell, barns or martyr's shrines? Was theirs an economic and social as well as religious movement?¹² Were the Donatists themselves at odds with the Catholics solely over the nature of the Church? Why did the North African Church fade so rapidly with the onset of the Arabs in the seventh century? Only work on the ground could throw further light on these and similar questions. The discoveries made by a succession of young scholars from the *Ecole française de Rome*, together with the intensive local survey of an area of central Numidia (eastern Algeria) in the 1930's have provided data whence more precise conclusions can be drawn.

To take a single instance, – whatever its strength in the North African towns which was real enough, Donatism was revealed as the religion of the overwhelming majority (perhaps even the totality) of the inhabitants of the imperial and private estates that dominated the plains between the coastal

Atlas and the Aures mountains. Villages, mostly around 9–10 hectares in area, but some extending over 30 hectares formed a stereotype in central Numidia in the fourth and later centuries¹³. No traces have been found of public buildings in them, like those found in native oppida of the province of a century before. The communal buildings were confined to strongly built stone granaries and churches¹⁴. Where the latter can be identified as dating to the fourth and early fifth centuries they were carefully built in rustic style, with mud and stone compacted walls whitewashed inside and out, and a beaten earth floor. Beneath the altar, which stood in an enclosure in front of a raised apse at the east end would be either a tomb of a saint (or martyr) or a stone trough or pots containing martyr's relics. Inscriptions where found, would relate to martyrs and occasionally give the Donatist watch-word, "Deo laudes". The side-chapels might contain silos for storing grain, and perhaps also for feeding a roving band of Circumcellions. In the nave or along the walls of the chapel would be tombs, sometimes containing the remains of large numbers of deceased buried in as close association as possible with the martyr whose remains were housed in the church¹⁵. The villages might contain as many as half a dozen churches, evidence not so much of rivalry between Catholics and Donatists, as of devotion to different martyr cults. Here also, archaeological research has corroborated contemporary texts, for these churches could hardly be other than the "basilicas non necessarias" that in c. 365 the Catholic, Optatus of Milevis in Numidia, charged his Donatist opponents with building¹⁶.

A grisly reminder of the accuracy of Augustine's description of Donatist suicides by throwing themselves over cliffs has come from three sites in central Numidia, where, at the base of cliffs, stones have been found inscribed by the name and date of the death (the *redditio*) of individuals whom it was obviously desired to commemorate¹⁷.

In addition, survey and excavation revealed facts which could not have been ascertained from existing texts. The social life of the community seems to have revolved round family holdings indicated by the presence of buildings housing a single olive press and grain silo. Churches too, were often associated with, and even formed part of granaries¹⁸. The picture of economic conditions on an imperial estate in late Rome North Africa was emerging, inviting new questions concerning the relationship between Donatism and the land in late-Roman Numidia.

Corroboration or otherwise of existing textual evidence has been only one contribution by archaeological discoveries to the study of early Christian history. Leaving the Scrolls on one side, the veritable avalanche of discoveries during the last fifty years has widened beyond belief our knowledge of the great non-orthodox traditions of Gnosticism, Manichaeism, and Monophysitism and also thrown light on the life, artistic achievement and mission of the Church in a way not so much as hinted at in surviving records. For Christianity in Roman Britain in particular, the discoveries of

Christian occupation of villas, such as Lullingstone¹⁹ and Hinton St. Mary's²⁰, and the Water Newton treasure²¹ have begun to fill the gap in knowledge caused by the absence of any outstanding figure in the Romano-British Church.

To take the non-orthodox traditions, before 1930 the problem facing a would-be historian of early Christianity was that these had to be studied almost wholly through the mirror – sometimes distorting – of their orthodox opponents. Too many non-orthodox works had gone the way of those of Porphyry and Nestorius, condemned to burning by Theodosius II²². Not surprisingly, Church history in the reported words of the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford in the 1930's, Canon Claude Jenkins, was "a dull subject for second-rate men", and so it could remain, if the task of the historian was confined to mapping the triumph of orthodoxy and ensuring that historical truth and higher truth always coincided. Such attitudes lowered the credibility of Church history as a scholarly study, and indeed even today, account for strong though residual suspicion of its practitioners among some Classical scholars and secular historians.

Any justification for such attitudes, however, has been corrected dramatically in the last fifty years by a combination of truly amazing chance finds coupled with the results of patient survey and digging in areas threatened by major public works. These works have been caused in their turn by the rise of populations especially in Mediterranean countries, such as Egypt and Tunisia.

The discovery of the original works of Manichaeus (Mani) and the psalms and hymns used by his followers in 4th century Egypt was sensational by any standard²³. It was a sheer coincidence that in 1930 led Professor Carl Schmidt, the papyrologist in the services of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin to find himself on a purchasing expedition to Cairo on behalf of the museum, at the same time as his friend Karl Holl was preparing his edition of Epiphanius' Panarion. Schmidt had offered to read the proofs and had reached the long chapter 68 on Manichaeism. When he met the Cairo dealer, the latter offered him a large thick wad of almost indecipherable papyrus. Schmidt noticed however, the fine writing of the copyist and then, his eye lighted on the words "And then the Illuminator said". . . , and in addition, the word Kephalaion (chapter). He remembered the text of Epiphanius he had been correcting. This was a Manichaean document, perhaps a writing of the heresiarch himself. The bargain was struck, and the scholarly world given not only a text of Mani's Kephalaia and *Epistola Fundamenti*, but more than two hundred psalms and hymns of his followers in Egypt. The historian's perspective of the religious situation in the time of Athanasius was altered overnight. Manichaeism was a movement that had caught the imagination of Coptic ascetic communities. The vital importance of Athanasius' gaining the friendship of Antony and Pachomius, representing the anti-Manichaean monks became obvious, as well as one of the

reasons for his unyielding defence of the Creed of Nicaea. He could do no other, for loss of monastic support could have cost him his episcopate and perhaps his life, and would have divided Alexandria from Coptic Egypt for all time. The stakes for which Athanasius and his opponents played were high indeed.

Fifteen years later, the equally chance discovery of the Gnostic library at Nag-Hammadi had a similar effect on the horizons of historians of the Church in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. In this case, the bickerings of interested parties prevented the full extent of the find being made available to scholars for more than thirty years after their initial discovery. Now, however, the surviving 52 texts from the library enable Gnostics to speak for themselves²⁴. Though their views challenged the millenarist outlook of their orthodox contemporaries in the second century and also the hierarchical structure of the "Great Church", they show themselves as self-consciously Christian, despising much of pagan philosophy and treating Judaism as a mere half-way house to Christianity²⁵. Theirs was an attempt to fuse all existing religious knowledge into a new revelation focussed on a mystic understanding of the divine Saviour, Christ. It was the first attempt at an authentic Gentile Christianity to which the Christian Apologists of the second and early third centuries attempted to find an answer.

Enormously important though these finds have been, they have suffered one serious disadvantage. Their chance nature has involved a lack of associated discoveries that would enable the archaeologists to set them in their historical context and date them accurately. How strong was the Manichaean community who possessed the Medinet Madi papyri? What was, if any, the relationship between the Nag Hammadi cemetery, where the Gnostic texts were found, and a Pachomian monastery not far away? On these questions our witnesses are silent^{25a}.

More precise has been the archaeological evidence derived from the surveys sponsored by UNESCO in the last twenty years to "Save Nubia" and "Save Carthage". In both areas there was time for a thorough preparatory survey and the assembly of international teams of skilled archaeologists. The element of luck that attended the excavations at Faras and Q'asr Ibrim in Nubia was no more than that which Napoleon would have thought essential in a good general. At Faras, the harvest of discoveries from the cathedral amounted to 169 frescos and 400 inscriptions, including a list of 27 bishops who ruled from 827 to 1169, recording the length of their episcopate in years, together with the month and day of their death²⁶. This in itself was of the greatest importance, for it provided a firm chronological framework for three and a half centuries of Nubian history into which other information could be fitted. The archaeologist in this case was anticipating the work of the historian. Some fifty miles to the north, at the Nubian fortress of Q'asr Ibrim my former colleague, Professor J. M. Plumley had seen in Feb. 1963 what looked like a Coptic wooden panel serving

as a skirting-board at the level of the floor of a mosque that had been built inside the large stone church. Instinctively, he realized that the floor of the latter must lie at some depth below, and this site would be worth a British team's attention. So it was, for the subsequent excavations revealed, apart from other important discoveries, part of the cathedral library containing fragments of the liturgy of St. Mark and St. James in Greek with more than 100 Nubian scriptural and liturgical documents²⁷. The documents fitted exactly into the pattern of fresco and text found at Faras, and more light had been thrown on the Nubian-Monophysite civilization that had prospered to the south of Moslem Egypt during the European Middle Ages. Other sensational documentary finds included the title deeds of Bishop Timotheos dated 1372 which had been attached to the bishop's thighs when he was buried below the vault that spanned the entrance to a disused crypt of the church²⁸, and leather scrolls recording legal transactions dated to 1464, in the reign of King Joel of Do-Tawo (Lower Nubia)²⁹. Together, these showed how this outpost of Byzantine civilization had survived as a Christian kingdom to within twenty years of the Portuguese rounding the Cape of Good Hope.

In Carthage too, where the international "Save Carthage" projects continued until 1979, information was gained about the obscure final phase of Christianity in the seventh century. Evidence for declining living standards suggested by the outbuildings of a church being turned into squalid domestic quarters, of the disuse of the harbour, and abandonment of the mosaic or even cement pavement as the normal means of flooring left no doubt as to the decline of material standards³⁰. The reasons await further work. However, long before the Arabs finally conquered the city in 698 Christianity was a shadow of its former glory.

From the foregoing, the use of archaeology must be clear enough. Material finds provide means of objective judgement of events in ecclesiastical history. The Gallio inscription, and epigraphic evidence for "politarchs" and "Asiarchs" in the first century A. D. must enhance greatly the credibility of the account of Paul's career given in Acts. Moreover, at any time, the lucky find of an inscription honouring Statius Quadratus, Proconsul of Asia and providing the date of his governorship would end the century-old discussion about the date of Polycarp's martyrdom. Did he die a centenarian, or a stripling of 86 and the earliest recorded witness of infant baptism?

Similarly, the dating by comparative style of handwriting of the fragments of John's Gospel (18³¹⁻³³ and 18³⁷⁻³⁸) preserved on Rylands Papyrus 457, to the early part of the 2nd century A. D. must terminate any discussion over a possible second century date for John, – quite apart from the imagery shared by John with the writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls³¹. Again, the discovery of 2nd/3rd century Jewish inscription near the sites of early Christian churches outside the walls of Carthage suggest a stronger contemporary Jewish element in the background of Carthaginian Christianity

in Tertullian's time than Professor T. D. Barnes of Toronto University and his disciples would allow³². Without first-hand knowledge and understanding of archaeological evidence, theologians and Ancient Historians who venture into the study of early Christian history are liable to pitfalls. As Professor Josi reminded his audience, archaeology has affected assessments of nearly every aspect of early Christian life and thought³³. If the witnesses are silent, they have enabled long lost, neglected or merely obscure traditions of Christianity to be studied anew. Gnostics, Montanists, Manichees, Donatists and others can be heard as never before, and new means acquired of understanding better the controversies that arose from their clashes with orthodox representatives. Fresh life has been breathed into the pages of Migne's *Patrologia*.

Risks and abuses, however, are not to be underestimated. Archaeological method is by its nature destructive. Layers once removed can never be replaced. Thus, stratigraphy, accurate recording of evidence, and the study of associated objects are all-important, as are also the methods of preservation and protection of discoveries once made. The international teams working in Nubia had the advantage that techniques of preservation and restoration were so advanced that the separate layers of frescos at Faras could be preserved, with a corresponding increase in our knowledge of each phase of Nubian Christian art. On the other hand, the tragedy for Christian archaeology has been that until very recently the importance of accurate stratigraphy was not fully realized. In Carthage, one looks in sorrow at Père Delattre's excavations of important Christian sites, such as the *Damous el Karita* and *Basilica Majorum*. The churches have been cleared, the thousands of inscribed fragments collected, and outstanding finds with their vibrant christianity noted, but no record has survived of their respective levels or association with other objects. Evidence has been irrevocably lost. Even in the last decade, the abandonment of the stratigraphy worked out in the first season of excavations at Q'asr Ibrim has meant that many of the important Christian manuscript finds were inadequately recorded, and in addition, the different phases of the Christian period and of the pagan Nubian "X" group culture that preceded it have been less clearly defined than they might have been. Similarly in Algeria, it is still almost impossible to judge from photographs and reports of sites excavated during the 1930's and 1950's what can be attributed to late-Roman and what to Byzantine occupation. Without continuous observation of each site, backed up by intelligent photography, archaeological evidence can become as speculative and liable to error as any literary text. Even then, the archaeologist cannot tell us what his subjects, be they the owners of pots or decorated sarcophagi really thought. Without literary evidence, his verdicts can only approximate to the truth.

That said, however, archaeology has transformed the study of early Christian history by its discoveries, its methods and the attitude of mind it

encourages. Horizons have widened dramatically, old controversies have been settled and new lines of research opened up. The shade as well as the light of early Christian history, its disasters as well as its triumphs can be studied objectively, and perhaps a better understanding of the meaning of Ecclesiastical History arrived at. The Christians in the first centuries, being mainly artisans and members of the non-official classes, formed sub-literate communities, articulate in sculpture and painting, and using durable utensils ideal for archaeological study. For another fifty years, perhaps longer, the yearly harvest of new discoveries will continue, providing more first-hand evidence of the beliefs and lives of the early Christians. It is no accident that *Antike und Christentum* remains after half a century one of the "growing points" of European scholarship. It is one in which I hope C. I. H. E. C. will become increasingly involved, not least in the United Kingdom. The stones, meantime, do not take sides. They are the tools of the pragmatist. They favour no historical or social theory. They lend their patronage to no one Christian tradition. Their role is to answer some of the historian's questions of when, where, and how. From these answers the human imagination can hope to add a little to that truth that we all seek in our different Christian traditions, the truth that shall make you free.

¹ *E. Josi*, "Il contributo dell'Archaeologia alla Storia della Chiesa antica", in: *AnGr lxx* (1954) 3-17. I have used this survey in my earlier, "The Archaeologist and Church History", in: *Antiquity* 34 (1960) 259-65.

² See in particular, their reports published in the *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 13 and 14 (1893) and (1894).

³ For an interesting account and assessment of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule" see *M. Simon*, "The Religionsgeschichtliche Schule, fifty years later", in: *Religious Studies*, 11 (Cambridge 1975) 135-44.

⁴ *C. Guignebert*, *The Christ* (Eng. tr., *P. Ouzts* and *P. Coopman* (New York 1968) 182-88, and compare, *A. Loisy*, *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien* (Paris 21930) 312. The preface to the first edition is dated Jan. 1913.

⁵ *Loisy*, 292. Loisy explicitly discounts borrowing by the early Christians of pagan rites. "Les rites mêmes n'avaient pas été empruntés au paganisme par le christianisme naissant. . .". There was however, a "close affinity" between, for example the eucharist and the sacred meals in the Mithraic cult.

⁶ See in particular, *A. D. Nock's* discussions in *Early Gentile Christianity* (= pp. 109 ff. of "Essays on Religions and the Ancient World, ed. *Z. Stewart* (OUP 1972) and in his reviews of *E. R. Goodenough*, *By Light, Light* = *ibid.*, 459-68, and his three essays on "Religious Symbols", concentrating on *Goodenough's* Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period i-iv *ibid.*, 877-918).

⁷ *W. M. Ramsay*, *St. Paul, the traveller and the Roman Citizen* (London 1896) Ch. i and especially p. 14, "Our hypothesis is that Acts was written by a great historian".

⁸ *W. M. Ramsay*, *Cities and Bishoprics, in Phrygia* (London 1897) Ch. xii and Appendix. The formula could, however sometimes be Jewish, and in view of the discovery of vigorous Jewish communities in Sardes and elsewhere in western Asia Minor during the third century, this possibility should not be dismissed.

⁹ Thus, for Nicomedia and western Bithynia see, *Eusebius*, *H. E.* ix. 9, and for "whole cities" in Phrygia as Christian, *ibid.*, viii, ii, i; and compare *Lactantius* (ed. *S. Brandt*, *CSEL.* xix) *Div. Inst.*, v. ii.

¹⁰ *W. M. Calder*, "Philadelphia and Montanism", in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* vii (1923) 309-345, and "The Epigraphy of the Anatolian Heresies", in: *Anatolian Studies in honour of C. H. Buckler* (Manchester 1923) 59 ff. Some of Calder's results have been disputed by *E. Gibson* in her "The Christians for Christian inscriptions of Phrygia; Greek Texts, Translation and Commentary" (= *Harvard Theological Studies* 32) (Missoula 1980). I am inclined to think some of Dr. Gibson's criticisms err on the hypercritical side. No "Christian for Christians" inscription has been found in an indisputably Catholic setting, while several are obviously Montanist.

¹¹ Though Montanism could also be strong in towns, e. g. Thyateira. See, *Epiphanius, Panarion* 51.33.

¹² For a summary of these discussions which began with Pastor *W. Thümmel's* dissertation, *Zur Beurteilung des Donatismus* (Halle 1893) see my "Circumcellions and Monks", in: *JTS. N. S.* xx (1969) 542-49.

¹³ See, *A. Berthier* and colleagues, *Les Vestiges du Christianisme dans la Numidie centrale* (Alger 1942) 16-38.

¹⁴ See, my paper, "A Note on religion and life in a Numidian village in late Roman times", *Bulletin archeologique du C.T.H., N.S.* 17 B (Paris 1984) 261-271.

¹⁵ See, *L. Leschi*, "Basiliques et cimetières de Numidie (Ain Ghorab)", in: *Revue Africaine* 78 (1936) 27-42.

¹⁶ *Optatus, De Schismate Donatarum* (ed. *C. Ziwsa*, CSEL. 26) iii. 1.

¹⁷ *Optatus, De Schismate* iii. 4; *Augustine, Contra Gaudentium* 1.28.32, and see *L. Leschi*, "Les épitaphes funéraires chrétiennes de Djebel Nif-en-Nisr", in: *Revue Africaine* 82 (1940) 30-35.

¹⁸ Such as at Kh. Baharous, see note 14.

¹⁹ See *E. W. Meates*, *Lullingstone Roman Villa*, Ch. 12 (London 1955).

²⁰ *J. M. C. Toynbee*, "A New Roman Pavement found in Dorset", in: *JRS* 54 (1964) 1-14.

²¹ *K. S. Painter*, *The Water Newton early Christian Treasure*, The British Museum (London 1977).

²² *Codex Justinianus* 1.1.3 (Feb. 448).

²³ *C. Schmidt*, *Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Aegypten* (Stuttgart 1933).

²⁴ The story how these documents eventually came to be published as a collection rather than in isolated parts is told by *J. Dart*, *The Laughing Savior* (Harper and Row 1976) Part i. A complete English translation has been published by *J. M. Robinson*, *The Nag Hammadi Library* (Harper and Row 1977).

²⁵ A good example is to be found in *The Gospel of Philip*, 52 = (ed.) *Robinson* (Note 24) 132.

^{25a} Though not quite silent; for evidence that some at least of the codices may have been copied with loving care by monks of the Pachomian monastery, see *Robinson* (Note 24) 16-20.

²⁶ See, *S. Jakobielski*, "La liste des évêques de Pachoras" (= *Travaux du Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des Sciences* 3) (Warsaw 1966) 152, giving the rather higher figure of "about 500" frescos. The lower estimate is that of Professor *W. Y. Adams*.

²⁷ See, *W. H. C. Friend* and *I. A. Muirhead*, "The Greek Manuscripts from the Cathedral of Q'asr Ibrim", in: *Le Muséon*, 89 (1976) 43-49.

²⁸ *J. M. Plumley*, *The Scrolls of Bishop Timotheos*, *Egypt Exploration Society* (London 1975).

²⁹ Found by the writer in the ruins of a Christian house built over the forecourt ("Podium") of the great temple at Q'asr Ibrim. To be published by *J. M. Plumley* for the *Egypt Exploration Society*.

³⁰ See, *S. Ellis*, "The Ecclesiastical Complex: Stratigraphic Report 1976", in ed. *J. H. Humphrey*, *Excavations at Carthage 1976* conducted by the University of Michigan, Vol. iii (Ann Arbor 1977) 41-69.

³¹ See, *C. H. Roberts*, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*. Schweich Lectures 1977 (Oxford 1979) 12 ff.

³² *T. D. Barnes*, *Tertullian, a historical and literary study* (Oxford 1971) 64, 273-75 and 282-84. See in reply my "Jews and Christians in third century Carthage", = 185-194, in: *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme, Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon* (Paris Boccard 1978).

³³ *Josi* (Note 1).