Laszlo Illes Kaulics

PRAYER FOR THE DEAD FROM AMBROSE TO GREGORY

THE GREAT (THEOLOGY AND LITURGY)

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

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Budapest

May 2011

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by

Laszlo Illes Kaulics

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Examiner

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I, the undersigned, **Laszlo Illes Kaulics**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 23 May 2011

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Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCSL: Corpus Christianorum Series Latina

CSEL: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum

DR: *The Holy Bible, Douay–Rheims Version*

FC: Fathers of the Church Series

IGP: Inserted Gregorian Passage

MPL: Migne Patrologia Latina

NPNF: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers

O: Ordo 49 (Ordo qualiter agatur in obsequium defunctorum) in MS Rome, Vatican Library, Ottob. Lat. 312.

Ph: *Incipit de migratione animae* in MS. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, *Phillipps 1667.*

SC: *Sources Chrétiennes*

Vat: *Deus, apud quem (Commendatio Animae)* in MS. Rome, Vatican Library, Regin. Lat. 316.

Ver: *Sacramentarium Veronense,* MS. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 85.

INTRODUCTION

The prayer for the dead is closely tied to ecclesiology, which enables a mutual counter-active relationship between the living and the dead. The Church is the body of Christ[1], of which the living and the dead are also members. The pilgrim church on earth and the other beyond the boundaries of this life constitute a single entity – the *Communio Sanctorum* – which is united by the offering of the Eucharist and in which prayer works effectively in both directions. The prayers of the living in a mysterious way can help the dead waiting for judgement, however, similarly the intercession of the souls in heaven constitutes a great help for those struggling to live a virtuous life on earth.

The books of the New Testaments[2] profess that salvation is only possible through Christ. As baptism is the visible manifestation of one's belonging to Christ, it became an indispensable pre-condition for salvation and consequently also for the efficacy of the prayers for the dead. No dead person could benefit from prayers of the living members of the Church or the sacrificial offering of the Eucharist if he had not become a member of this Church body previously. One could be initiated either through conventional baptism by water or through the extreme case of baptism by blood, i.e., martyrdom.

The following prayer from the sixth-century Verona Sacramentary succinctly summarizes the reason for making supplications for the dead.

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[1] Col 1:18; Eph 1:22-23.

[2] "Jesus saith to him: I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but by me. Nobody can approach the Father except through me." Jn. 14:6: Jn 14:6: I use the 1899 edition of the Douay–Rheims Bible for the English quotations: *The Holy Bible, Douay–Rheims Version*. Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1899. http://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Douay-Rheims-1899-American-Edition-DRA-Bible/#books (last accessed 20 May 2011); For the Latin biblical quotations I use the 2007 edition of the Stuttgart Vulgata: *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, eds. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, 5th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007. http://www.academic-bible.com/start/wiss-bibelausgaben/vulgata/ (last accessed 15 May 2011)
"For by a man came death, and by a man the resurrection of the dead. And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive." 1 Cor. 15:21-22.
"For if by one man's offence death reigned through one; much more they who receive abundance of grace, and of the gift, and of justice, shall reign in life through one, Jesus Christ. Therefore, as by the offence of one, unto all men to condemnation; so also by the justice of one, unto all men to justification of life. For as by the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners; so also by the obedience of one, many shall be made just." Rom. 5:17-19.

O omnipotent and eternal God, who has conferred the remedy of life upon your faithfuls after death: grant, we beseech you, graciously and propitiously that the soul of this servant of yours should repose with his sins already expiated in the share of your redemption.[3]

The rationale behind is: Since the fall of Adam and Eve, humanity has been excluded from the heaven, which God has prepared for it. The all the patristic theologians acknowledged that the sin of the first parents had changed the course of history and stained the morally spotless human race. Nevertheless it was a debated question; whether to what extent the individual persons are responsible for the fall. Nevertheless, everybody agreed that people have an inclination to sin and "there is no man who sinneth not."[4] Another significant consequence of the fall was the appearance of death, after which everybody's soul was sent to the underworld. However, Christ by his incarnation, death and resurrection has redeemed the fallen human nature, namely He has brought the souls of the just from the underworld to the Bosom of Abraham and opened the closed gates of Paradise, although it is still not easy to enter them. Even though this goal should engage every Christian's mind all through one's life, people do not stop breaking the Laws of God, i.e. they continue sinning. As sinning is an open betrayal of God, consequently it takes away the possibility of receiving the heavenly reward, rather it drives one into eternal damnation. If God only wanted to do justice, everybody would go to hell, in order to pay for his or her sins. However, God is not only just, but merciful as well. Therefore in a mysterious way he grants salvation to some people, although no one would be eligible for it by himself or herself. Therefore, as this prayer indicates, living people wanted to help those, who had already died by beseeching God for the forgiveness of their sins and their entrance into heaven.

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[3] *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui contulisti fidelibus tuis remedia uitae post mortem: presta, quaesumus, propitius ac placatus, ut anima famuli tui illius[3] a peccatis omnibus expiata[m] in tuae redemptionis sorte requiescat* – Prayer 1138 in *Sacramentarium Veronense* in MS. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 85, ed Mohlberg, L. Eizenhoefer, P. Sifrin *Sacramentarium Veronense,* Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series major. Fontes, 1 (Rome, 1956)

[4] 1Kings 8:46

The biblical locus classicus

The prayer for the dead is not a unique feature of Christianity, since it was already present in second century Jewish culture. There is a reference to its use in the First Book of the Maccabees, which was incorporated into the Christian Canon of the Bible, but stayed at the level of apocryphal texts in Judaism. It narrates the Jewish nation's fight for independence led by the Maccabee brothers against the late Hellenistic usurpers of Palestine. Hence, after a battle against Gorgias the governor of Idumea, Judas Maccabeus, the commander of the Jewish army, ordered the bodies of the fallen to be gathered in order to be buried.

> And they found under the coats of the slain some of the donaries of the idols of Jamnia, which the law forbiddeth the Jews: Then they all blessed the just judgment of the Lord, who had discovered the things that were hidden. And so betaking themselves to prayers, they besought him, that the sin which had been committed might be forgotten. But the most valiant Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, forasmuch as they saw before their eyes what had happened, because of the sins of those that were slain. And making a gathering, he twelve thousand drachms of silver to Jerusalem for sacrifice to be offered for the sins of the dead, thinking well and religiously concerning the resurrection, (For if he had not hoped that the that were slain should rise again, it would have seemed superfluous and vain to pray for the dead,) And because he considered that the who had fallen asleep with godliness, had great grace laid up for them. It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from sins. (2Macc. 12: 40-46.)

The history of the prayers for the dead, as attested in theological and liturgical sources

This detailed account suggests that it was not an isolated practice in Jewish society; one cannot find any further examples in either the Jewish or Christian Bible.[5] Nevertheless, Mary Douglas' assertion that "Judaism has no form of cult of the dead"[6] is too far-fetched in view of the above passage. The first evidence for Christian prayers for the dead is tomb-

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[5] Some scholars take 2 Tim. 1:18 as a prayer for the deceased Onesiphorus, however, this was not considered as such in the Patristic period as it does not appear as a reference in the arguments for the efficacy of prayers for the deceased.

[6] Mary Douglas "An Anthropology of Afterlife" cited in G. Constable, "The Commemoration of the Dead in the Early Middle Ages" In *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith, (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 169-195.

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inscriptions and Tertullian's writings from the turn of the third century.[7] He attests that prayer (*oratio*) and the Eucharist (*oblatio*) are the two ways to help the deceased obtain salvation.[8] The same message was echoed in the writings of Cyprian of Carthage and Arnobius in the Latin-speaking world, and in the works of Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius of Salamis, Cyril of Alexandria, the Didascalia and the Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis in the Greek-speaking part of Christendom. There is nothing about it, however, before the end of the second century.

One consequence of Constantine's Edict of Milan in 313 was the rapid growth of Christianity in numbers, which was also detrimental to the quality of conversions. In many cases "newborn Christians" were motivated by other factors than faith. Therefore, while the Church of the first three centuries was strengthened by persecutions, by the end of the fourth century the morality of the Church was lacking its old exclusiveness. Consequently, the prayer for the (sinfully departed) dead became of great importance. The numbers of martyrs rapidly dropped in the new tolerant age, which also meant that fewer people were entitled to direct entrance into heaven,[9] therefore they were more in need of the prayers of the living after their death.

I have chosen to start my research with Ambrose, the first representative of Latin Christianity after 313 who has left posterity treatises dealing with this topic. Although I have decided to focus on sources from Italy, due to his unparalleled influence in Latin Christianity, Augustine of Hippo could not be omitted from this study. His impact can be also detected on the other two authors whom I consult on the subject, Peter Chrysologus, metropolitan of Ravenna, and Pope Gregory the Great. They are the only ecclesiastical authors from fifth –

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[7] Heikki Kotila, *Memorai mortuorum:Commemoration of the Departed in Augustine* (Rome: Augustinianum, 1992) 39-40.
[8] Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis* 11.1-2, cited in Kotila, ibid.,40.
[9] In the first centuries of Christianity only martyrs were believed go to heaven immediately after death: G. M. Lukken, *Original Sin in the Roman liturgy* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 96.

and sixth century Italy in whose writings one can find allusions to prayers for the dead.[10] While the first three authors interpret the prayers as supplications for the forgiveness of sins and one's salvation, Gregory's Dialogues introduce a completely new aspect, supplications for the lifting of purgatorial suffering.

Hand in hand with the development of notions about the prayer for the dead, beliefs about the afterlife also underwent a radical change between the fourth and seventh centuries. Originally, people were thought to wait in a "place" characterised by some sort of rest or anguish until their fate will be decided at the Last Judgment. It is important to note that this idea implied a communitarian event, the joint resurrection and judgement, the "communio sanctorum". The departed receive their bodies at the general resurrection together and they stand in front of the Judgement Seat of Christ together. Those, however, upon whom God had mercy and allowed them to enter heaven, first had to be purged of their remaining sins. Until Gregory the Great this was conceived of as an amnesty-like event, although it mingled with some notions of fiery purgation based on a Pauline image of the afterlife in 1 Cor. 3. However, this purgation was still conceived of as communal. Although some people suffered more than others, because they had more to be cleansed from, it was still a compulsory event for all, even for the most just. This theology is reflected in Ambrose, Augustine, Peter Chrysologus, and liturgical sources as well.

Gregory the Great was the first in the history of Christian theology to propagate the idea of an individual judgement for each soul immediately after death, followed by an individual purification by fire, where one suffered according to the number and weight of his/her sins, although grave sins continued to be considered irremissible.

Peter Brown has looked for the causes of this radical change in the field of political history. He thinks that the move from the concept of abundant, overflowing mercy towards

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[10] These are all the references from the secondary literature.

the community, to the notion of a juridical trial of the individual, which either ended with a sentence of damnation or prescribed a "certain dose of purgation" in the cleansing fire, reflects the weakening of secular power in the West. He believes that it was no accident that such a change did not take place in the East, where the Roman Empire survived for another millennium.[11] Nevertheless, his presentation of Augustine as an ideological companion of Gregory in making this shift is debatable. It is true that for Augustine the purgative fire of 1 Cor 3 was not the same as the "wise fire" of Origen and Clement of Alexandria, which "was a symbol of God's ability to transform every level of God's creation"[12]. Moreover, it is also true that he rather conceived it as a fire, cleansing the sins of the each person, for which one had a private responsibility. However, Brown seems to ignore that for Augustine it was more a communal, than an individual act and that he always maintained the notion of a communitarian salvation without any prior individual judgement. Last but not least, he did not propose prayers for the stopping of the pains in the cleansing fire, which play a crucial role in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.

Although these four authors' contributions to the subject are invaluable, they mostly represent the theoretical side of the issue;[13] one should not ignore the practical side either, namely the actual records of funerals and Masses for the dead. Therefore, I will look at four sources originating from Rome from the sixth to eighth centuries. Unfortunately, no liturgical MS survived from North-Africa, but still Augustine's comparison to the Roman liturgies is justified by his immense influence in the Latin-speaking world.

The state of research and the purpose of the present work

The most thorough research in this field has been undertaken in Francophone scholarship. The two fundamental studies are J. Ntedika's *L'évocation de l'au-delà dans la prière pour les morts* and D. Sicard's *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines a*

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[11] Peter Brown, *The End of the Ancient Other World*, 53
[12] ibid. 55.
[13] They contain not only theorizing, but some specific prayers and references to the rules of practice as well.

la reforme carolingienne. While the first concentrates on the patristic sources, the second emphasises the liturgical aspect of the subject. Furthermore, there are some studies on individual authors' treatment of the subject (mostly Augustine), however, there is a lack of a comparative survey of the two fields. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to look for common themes in the two types of sources and to see whether they carry the same message, or disagree on some points.

Moreover, many scholars have approached the Latin ecclesiastical (theological) authors anachronistically, analysing them in the light of the later doctrine of purgatory; thus, besides the exploration of the liturgical-theological connections, in this paper I also intend to study the ecclesiastical writers' teachings on the prayer for the dead in their proper historical context. Moreover, there is a need for the translation of little-known, but for this subject indispensable, Latin liturgical sources into English.

Crucial bible passages

Even though there are no bible passages on the prayer for the dead, except the story of the fallen Jewish soldiers in 2 Macc 12, there is a plethora of scriptural quotations in the New Testament, the angle of which primarily motivated the theological discussions on the structure of the after-life, and it offered a perspective to look afresh to Old Testament texts, too. Consequently they also formed part of the speculations on the prayer for the dead and appeared in the text of the prayers themselves.

The parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus in the Gospel of Luke gives a detailed description of the Hell and the Bosom of Abraham.

> There was a certain rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen; and feasted sumptuously every day. And there was a certain beggar, named Lazarus, who lay at his gate, full of sores, Desiring to be filled with the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table, and no one did give him; moreover the dogs came, and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom. And the rich man also died: and he was buried in hell. And lifting up his eyes when he was in torments, he saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom: And he cried, and said: Father

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Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, to cool my tongue: for I am tormented in this flame. And Abraham said to him: Son, remember that thou didst receive good things in thy lifetime, and likewise Lazareth evil things, but now he is comforted; and thou art tormented. And besides all this, between us and you, there is fixed a great chaos: so that they who would pass from hence to you, cannot, nor from thence come hither. And he said: Then, father, I beseech thee, that thou wouldst send him to my father's house, for I have five brethren, That he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torments. And Abraham said to him: They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. But he said: No, father Abraham: but if one went to them from the dead, they will do penance. And he said to him: If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they believe, if one rise again from the dead. (Lk 16:19-31)

The following Pauline passage on the purifying fire was already the focus of Ambrose's attention, but it was scrutinized more deeply in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. Then, for Gregory the Great it constituted the basis of his novel views on post-mortem fiery purgation. Finally, in the High Middle Ages it became the most important biblical reference for the doctrine of Purgatory.

According to the grace of God that is given to me, as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation: and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid: which is Christ Jesus. Now, if any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble: Every man's work shall be manifest. For the day of the Lord shall declare it, because it shall be revealed in fire. And the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide, which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any mans work burn, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire. (1Cor 3:10-15)

The Lucan story of the Good Thief at the crucifixion of Jesus gave material for long discussions on the necessity of baptism for the efficacy of prayers for the deceased, since Christ promised the thief to enter the Paradise, although he was not baptised.

And one of those robbers who were hanged, blasphemed him, saying: If thou be Christ, save thyself and us. But the other answering, rebuked him, saying: Neither dost thou fear God, seeing thou art condemned under the same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done no evil. And he said to Jesus: Lord, remember me when thou shalt come into thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him: Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise. (Lk 16:39-43)

Finally the Pauline passage on the resurrection of the dead also appeared in the some writings, most notably it was the topic of Augustine's Sermon 172.

> And we will not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them that are asleep, that you be not sorrowful, even as others who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again; even so them who have slept through Jesus, will God bring with him. For this we say unto you in the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them who have slept. For the Lord himself shall come down from heaven with commandment, and with the voice of an archangel, and with the trumpet of God: and the dead who are in Christ, shall rise first. Then we who are alive, who are left, shall be taken up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ, into the air, and so shall we be always with the Lord. Wherefore, comfort ye one another with these words. (1 Thess 4:12-17)

CHAPTER ONE

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD AS RECORDED IN LATIN PATRISTIC SOURCES

FROM THE FOURTH TO THE SIXTH CENTURIES

1.1. Ambrose of Milan

I think she should not be mourned but, rather, followed with prayer. I believe that you should not lament for her with tears, but commend her soul to the Lord by your prayers.[14]

Ambrose did not give this advice to Faustinus,[15] the addressee of the eighth letter in the second volume of Ambrose's correspondence (aka Ep.49.), as if he were a callous person without any sense of sorrow, but rather because he firmly believed in the resurrection of the dead and therefore his hope for God's mercy was greater than human feelings of loss. This was not only theorizing but a personal experience, as two decades before he had had to bury his own brother. On the other hand, he was not simply mourning his sister, but he apparently felt such sorrow that he abdicated his social responsibilities.[16] Therefore, Ambrose's advice had a practical side as well, to change his reckless behaviour.

1.1.1. Sources

Ambrose did not devote a separate treatise to the prayer for the dead, rather, he made only a few passing remarks in two homilies and in the letter to Faustinus quoted above. The earliest source is: *On the Death of Satyrus,*[17] the sermon on his brother's death, dated to 375.

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[14] *Itaque non tam deplorandam quam prosequendam orationibus reor nec maestificandam lacrimis tuis, sed magis oblationibus animam eius domino commendandam arbitror.* Ambrose of Milan, *Epistulae*, lib. 2, epist.8., ed. O. Faller, CSEL, Vol. 82, No. 1. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1968); English translation "73. Ambrose to Faustinus, greetings" *Letters,* trans. M. M. Beyenka, FC, Vol. 26. (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 416-419.

[15] The son of Eusebius, the bishop of Bologna: C. Favez, *La consolation Latine Chrétienne* (Paris: Vrin, 1937) 22.

[16] He withdrew from society and moved into a cave on a distant mountain while the orphans of his late sister were in need of a protector.

[17] Ambrose of Milan, *De excessu fratris Satyri*, ed. O. Faller, CSEL, Vol. 73. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1955), 209-325; English translation: Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose *Funeral Orations,* trans. John J. Sullivan and Martin R. P. McGuire (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1953) 161-262.

The present work is a combination of the funeral sermon (Book I) and a sermon delivered at the commemorative mass seven days later (Book II). While the first book, which has a particularly personal tone because of the close familial relation to the deceased, contains a few scattered short allusions to the prayers, the second source, a homily from 392 on the death of Emperor Valentinian II,[18] includes one separate paragraph. Finally, the third source, the "Letter to Faustinus," dated to the second half of 394[19] contains the quotation cited above.

1.1.2. Heaven, Hell, and the Interim State

Ambrose's hope of an afterlife was founded on an extensive, though not systematic, eschatological worldview. He was a Christian bishop, a learned exegete, and one of the increasingly few late-fourth-century Western bishops who had no linguistic problems preventing them from reading Greek theological treatises. Ambrose was a well-informed reader and he incorporated the teachings of his great Greek contemporaries into his own writings. He was not a systematic thinker, however, either concerning eschatology or other theological subjects. Therefore, one should not be surprised by the variety of his sometimes conflicting views on Heaven, Hell, and the Interim State.

Ambrose uses the Pauline allegory of purifying fire (1Cor. 3:10-15), though in very different contexts. In his homily on Ps. 1 he suggests that almost everyone is burnt after death except the saints and those who have already suffered on earth for their purification.[20] The rest of the people either suffer until the general resurrection and will then be saved or continue suffering even after the Last Judgement until their purification is completed.[21] This passage brings with it the Origenist concept of universal salvation and Ambrose speaks even more

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[18] Idem, *De obitu Ualentiniani*, ed. O. Faller, CSEL, Vol. 73. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1955), 329-367; English translation: Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose *Funeral Orations,* trans. Roy J. Deferrari (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1953), 265-302.

[19] Ambrose of Milan, *Letters,* trans. M. M. Beyenka, FC, Vol. 26. (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 416.

[20] The idea of earthly punishment for sins appeared in Peter Chrysologus and Gregory the Great as well.

[21] Ambrose, *Hom. in Ps 1*, cited in Brian E. Daley *The Hope of the Early Church* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 98-99.

boldly of such ideas in the homily on Ps. 39.[22] He does not deny the existence of Hell and the possibility of eternal damnation, but basing his argument on the Lucan narrative of the Good Thief, he expresses his hope that everyone can be saved by God's mercy.[23] Certainly this does not mean at all that he was an Origenist, but his God of mercy undoubtedly represents the opposite view to Augustine's theory of double-predestination, where God sends some people to damnation in order to keep justice. Ambrose repeats several times that only the sinful believers will be judged at the second coming and the martyrs and the greatest saints will have direct access to heavenly joy after death.[24] However, he is also equally ready to confess the opposite, namely, that every one will take part of the Last Judgement[25] and no one is entitled to enter heaven before that time.

In his third homily on Ps. 118 Ambrose gives a new interpretation of the fire metaphor. He thinks that every one, including the saints, before entering Paradise, must go through the cherub's flaming sword which God has placed at the entrance to the Garden after he expelled Adam and Eve.[26]? In his treatise *On Good Death,* Ambrose is silent about the saints' direct access to Heaven, rather he insists on the existence of an interim place which is divided, though obligatory for all. Accordingly, souls stay in these "storehouses" (*animarum promptuaria*) until the day of resurrection, psychologically anticipating their approaching fate: either eternal glory, or eternal suffering.[27]

When speaking about the eschatology of Ambrose one should note that he does not have a fully developed and consistent theory of salvation and damnation mechanisms in the next world, whether saints go to heaven immediately or stay in some place of repose.

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[22] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church,* 99.
[23] Ambrose, *Hom. in Ps 39.17*, cited in Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church,* 99.
[24] Ambrose, *Hom. in Ps 51.56.*; *Hom. in Luc 7:4f, Hom. in Ps 118.20.12*, cited in Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 98, 101.
[25] Ambrose, *Hom. in Ps 36.26*, cited in Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church* , 99. Ambrose is more faithful to the Pauline passage, namely, that everyone has to be tested in the fire for a shorter or longer or even for an everlasting period of time.
[26] *Hom. 3 in Ps 118*, cited in Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 98.; cf. Peter Chrysologus in *Sermo 123* interprets it as the flaming sword which Christ has removed from the entrance of Paradise. See: chapter 1.3.
[27] Ambrose, *De Bono Mortis 10.45-48*, cited in Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 100.

However, the most important for this paper is Ambrose's conviction that there is an interim place between Hell and Heaven, where the non-saintly souls stay in some sort of anguish, though not necessarily damned to eternal death in the end. This uncertain place of sorrow makes prayer for the dead efficacious.

1.1.3. *De excessu Satyri*

Ambrose did not follow the ancient rules of funeral oration as strictly as his Greek contemporaries, such as Gregory Nazianzen.[28] In his work, however, one can trace the signs of various genres including the *epitathios logos* defined by the Greek rhetorician Menander, the Latin *laudation funebris*, a private oration delivered by a close friend or relative of the deceased, and the *consolatio*, invented by Cicero.[29] However, his distinctive trademark was the constant use of biblical quotations and a particularly personal tone.[30]

McGuire defined the first sermon on Ambrose's brother as a mixture of consolatory speech and monody, i.e., a poem of lament. [31] It is a personal lamentation, praise of the deceased, and consolation for the living at the same time. In contrast, the second sermon follows the rules of the pagan consolation genre quite strictly, drawing a great deal from Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, especially from the lost *De consolatione*.[32] However, the main message is definitely Christian: the promise of bodily resurrection and a share of the Heavenly Kingdom for the saints.

Book I of *De excessu* is a sublime account of a lamenting Christian person's inner microcosm. It is not a dry theory imposed by an outsider ecclesiastic upon a mourning Christian describing the ideal way of handling the tragic situation, but a personal reflection from an insider who is a brother and a friend, on the one hand, and a bishop and theologian on

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[28] Martin R. P. McGuire "The Christian Funeral Oration' in Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose *Funeral Orations,* FC. Vol. 22 (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1953), xvii.
[29] ibid. ix-xix.
[30] ibid. xix.
[31] ibid. xx.
[32] ibid.

the other hand. The sermon describes the dichotomy of natural sorrow for the loss and the Christian hope of a future reward. In the first half of the oration he depicts his grief, which is primarily a personal loss. He describes the excellent qualities of the deceased, who will no longer be his joy and comfort. He was not only a friend, but a co-worker as well, whose loss Ambrose exemplifies with the powerful picture of an ox losing his yoke-mate.[33] He wishes he could give half of his remaining days to Satyrus so that they could die together.[34] However, his mourning is not desperate. He strongly believes in the hope of resurrection and the continuation of one's life after death. He feels that "I have not lost your enjoyment, simply I have changed it."[35] The second part of the sermon is concerned with this Christian hope.

Ambrose differentiates between his mourning and of the others around him. While his personal grief does not benefit either himself or the public, other mourners' sorrow "builds up faith and provides comfort."[36] The mourning of the wealthy indicates that treasures collected on earth[37] do not procure salvation. Through the process of mourning, elderly people become conscious of the shortness of life and that their children should not waste their time with bodily enjoyments, but the old should teach them how to live a virtuous life. The mourning of the young leads to a similar recognition of the shortness of life. However, the most striking description is that of the mourning of the poor, who:

> have mourned, and, what is much more valuable and fruitful, they have washed away his transgressions by their tears. These are ransoming tears, these are groans that conceal the sorrow of death, this is the grief which hides the feeling of former grief by the fullness of unending joy.[38]

Why does poor people's and not other groups' sorrow have such an effect? It seems to be a plausible solution that here one can note not only the consoling nature of tears, but also

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[33] Ambrose, *De excessu fratris Satyri I.8*.
[34] ibid. I.7.
[35] *Non enim perdidi usum tui, sed commutavi*, ibid. I.6. My translation.
[36] *vestrae autem lacrimae fidem adstruant, consolationem adferant*, ibid. I.5. Trans. Sullivan and McGuire.
[37] cf. Mt 6:19
[38] *Fleverunt et pauperes, et, quod multo est pretiosius multo que uberius, lacrimis suis eius delicta laverunt. Illae sunt lacrimae redemptrices, illi gemitus, qui dolorem mortis abscondunt, ille dolor, qui perpetuae ubertate laetitiae veteris sensum doloris obducat*, Ambrose, *De excessu fratris Satyri*. I.5. Trans. Sullivan and McGuire.

the commemoration of Satyrus' generous alms-giving to the poor while he was still alive. It is similar to the later Augustinian doctrine of merits gained on earth, necessary for one's entitlement to later propitiatory acts of the living, such as prayers, alms, and the Eucharist or in this case the tears of sorrow, in favour of the dead person. The ransoming grief of the poor, which brings the deceased to eternal joy, overshadows the previous sorrow over one's sins.

Even though Ambrose does not spare words of praise for his brother, he does not describe him as a typical Christian model for generosity, either. Even though he did distribute all his belongings to the poor,[39] as Jesus commanded,[40] he always wished to act in accordance with his bishop brother's advice, so that "they (the poor) be given as much as we (Ambrose) thought just."[41] He asserts that "While a funeral is that of a private individual, there is general mourning"[42], i.e., one's death has universal consequences for the whole *Communio Sanctorum*. However, this mourning cannot endure for a long time because it is "hallowed by the affection of all."[43]

Ambrose closes the sermon according to the classical standards of the *epitaphios logos*, i.e., with a prayer in which he asks that the Eucharist, which is both "a brotherly gift" (*fraternum munus*) and a "sacrifice of a priest" (*sacrificium sacerdotis*), benefit his deceased brother.[44]

1.1.4. *De obitu Ualentiniani*

On 15 May 392 Valentinian II died in Vienna. Arbogast, the powerful general of his brother, Theodosius', army declared it a suicide, however Ambrose rejected this explanation. In the funeral sermon over the emperor's dead body he cried murder and implicitly accused Arbogast of it. The sermon praises the virtues of the deceased in the usual manner of the

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[39] ibid. I. 60.
[40] Matt 19:21
[41] *non oblitus pauperum, sed tantum obsecrans esse tribuendum, quantum nobis iustum videretur*, Ambrose, *De excessu fratris Satyri* I.59. Trans. Sullivan and McGuire.
[42] *Itaque licet privatum funus, tamen fletus est publicus*, ibid. I.5. Trans. Sullivan and McGuire.
[43] *qui universorum est adfectibus consecratus*, ibid. Trans. Sullivan and McGuire.
[44] ibid. I.80. Trans. Sullivan and McGuire.

epitaphios logos, however, this hides the rather stormy relationship between the former emperor and the Milanese bishop. In 384-5 a fierce fight for power took place between the Catholic bishop and the young Valentinian with his Arian entourage, including his mother, Justina. However, by the time of his death the debates were over, so much so that Valentinian had recently requested Ambrose to visit him in Gallia and baptise him in the Catholic faith.

Hence, Ambrose does not mention Valentinian's Arian background in the sermon; on the contrary, according to Deferrari, he sees the emperor as the one who reconciled the court with the bishop.[45] He praises him and his late brother, Gratian (d. 383), together as faithful emperors (*fidelium imperatorum*) and pious princes (*piorum principum*), as champions of the true faith. He places them on an equal footing so he will not "separate the names of the devoted brothers nor (to) make a distinction in their merits."[46] The bishop assumes the regular role of the intercessor, who celebrates the Eucharist for the deceased Valentinian. However, this is a special case as he already anticipates a heavenly reward for the dead,[47] whose earthly life was exceptionally meritorious. Ambrose offers the Holy Eucharist for the departed, but unlike Satyrus' case, this is not a private action of the celebrant, but he orders the people to take part in the celebration with their own hands.[48] The action of the offering is accompanied by a petition for the rest[49] of the deceased, motivated by devoted love.[50] The oblations accompany the soul and "repay him for his desserts."[51]

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[45] Deferrari gives this interpretation to the following passage: *qui convertit animam meam et ad spem maximam de summa rerum desperatione revocavit*. Ambrose, *De obitu Ualentiniani,* 3. For Deferrari's English translation, see: Gregory Nazianzen and Saint Ambrose *Funeral Orations* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1953) 266: "who turned my soul and recalled it from the depths of despair to the highest hope."

[46] *numquam ego piorum fratrum separabo nomina, merita discernam*, Ambrose, *De obitu Ualentiniani,* 56. Trans. Deferrari.

[47] *et huic adhuc intercessionem adscisco, cui remunerationem praesumo*, ibid., 55.

[48] *date manibus sancta mysteria; extollite, populi, me cum manus in sancta*, ibid., 56.

[49] The "eternal rest" (*requiem aeternam*) is one of the most ancient prayer formulas, as it builds upon the notion of *sleep*, the most palpable metaphor of death. Jesus himself associates death with sleep at the resurrection of Lazarus. (Jn. 11:11). Paul also speaks of people fallen asleep in Christ (1 Cor. 15:18). The creation story of Genesis also ends with God resting from his work on the seventh day (Gen. 2:2): Bernard Botte *"Les plus ancienes formules de priere pour les morts"* in La *maladie et la mort du chrétien dans la liturgie* (Rome, 1975),87-88.

[50] *pio requiem eius poscamus adfectu*, Ambrose, *De obitu Ualentiniani,* 56.

[51] Ibid. Trans. Deferrari.

The deceased were not only commemorated at their funeral and on the most significant anniversary dates, but, according to Ambrose's account, every one should remember his or her most beloved deceased in private prayers. Ambrose promises to include Gratian and Valentinian from now on in his nightly prayers.[52] Moreover, he also promises to remember them in every Eucharist he offers. However, he vehemently argues against those, including Arbogast, who considered the emperor's death a suicide, thus refusing him any liturgical mention – "Who will prevent me from mentioning the innocent? Who will forbid my embracing you with continuous remembrance?"[53]

1.1.5. Summary

Ambrose attests three ways of offering supplications for the dead. These two funeral sermons were delivered in the middle of the Mass, which already indicates the significance of the Eucharistic offerings for the deceased. In Satyrus's case, at the end of the sermon,[54] in Valentinian's case in the middle of it,[55] he explicitly states how beneficial the offerings are for them. However, it seems that in Ambrose's time, at least in his geographical area, there were already two types of Eucharistic commemorations. On the one hand, there were Masses offered for deceased individuals (at the burial, after a certain number days or on the anniversary day), on the other hand, there was already an established place for a more general prayer for the dead in the canon of the Mass. Besides the Eucharistic offerings, Ambrose also attests the existence of private prayers for the dead.

Finally, he presents various ways of mourning. He thinks that Faustinus' mourning became so severe that turned into despair and depression, which is not only irreconcilable with the Christian hope of resurrection and salvation, but destroys one's earthly life as well. On the contrary, the weeping of the rich, young, and old "builds up faith and provides

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[52] ibid. 78.
[53] *quis prohibebit innoxios nominare, quis vetabit conmendationis prosecutione conplecti*? ibid. Trans. Deferrari.
[54] Ambrose, *De excessu fratris Satyri*, I.80.
[55] Idem, *De obitu Ualentiniani*, 56.

comfort" to the living. However, the tears of the poor are invaluable, because they cleanse the

deceased of his sins. This seems to be an implicit reference to the value of merits earned by

the deceased prior to his death.

1.2. Augustine of Hippo

> It is not to be doubted though, that the dead can be helped by the prayers of the
> holy Church, and the Eucharistic sacrifice, and alms distributed for the repose
> of their spirits; so that God may deal with them more mercifully than their sins
> have deserved.[56]

This quotation from Augustine's sermon on 1 Thessalonians 4:13 succinctly

summarizes his position on prayer for the dead. Even the most virtuous saints are not

completely without sin, and no one can achieve salvation on the basis of his own merits; one's

fate ultimately depends on God's mercy. Therefore, the primary aim of these supplications is

to ask for this undeserved grace of God. It is not indicated in the sermon when was it

composed, however, Ntedika, comparing it to other sources with similar argumentation, dated

it to the 420s,[57] the time of the Pelagian debate. However, how does one know whether God

can forgive one's sins even after death? Augustine found the answer[58] in the Gospel of

Matthew. Jesus, in his reply to the Pharisees who charged him with performing miracles with

the power of the devil, claimed: "And whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man,

it shall be forgiven him: but he that shall speak against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven

him, neither in this world, nor in the world to come."[59] Augustine concluded from this that the

remission of sins must be possible after one's death, so that prayers offered for this purpose

are not superfluous for those who are eligible for them. Augustine knew two other ways of

gaining God's mercy for the deceased besides prayers: offering the Eucharistic sacrifice and

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[56] *Orationibus uero sanctae ecclesiae, et sacrificio salutari, et eleemosynis, quae pro eorum spiritibus erogantur, non est dubitandum mortuos adiuuari; ut cum eis misericordius agatur a domino, quam eorum peccata meruerunt*. Augustine of Hippo, *Sermo 172.2*, MPL, vol. 38. 936-937. For English translation, see: Augustine, *Essential Sermons*, ed. Daniel E. Doyle, trans. Edmund Hill (Hyde Park: New City Press, 2007), 233.
[57] J. Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà dans la prière pour les morts*, 99.
[58] Augustine of Hippo, *De Civitate Dei*, CCSL, vol. 48, ed. B. Dombart, A. Kalb (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), XXI.24.
[59] Matt. 12:32.

almsgiving. When he was writing, he usually treated all three together,[60] but there are also examples where he concentrated on only one[61] or two aspects.[62]

If one studies the history of dogma in Latin Christianity, he/she will necessarily arrive at the conclusion that Augustine's influence on Western theology is unfathomable. This applies to, among other things, his impact on later eschatology,[63] where his teachings on the prayer for the dead were particularly important in shaping not only subsequent theological speculations, but liturgical formulae as well.[64] Studying Augustine is often feared because he is considered to be a source of contradictory teachings. Just to take the most famous example, during his forty-three-year career as a Christian he radically changed his mind on the nature of human free will. In his strongly neo-Platonist intellectual period he professed the concept of a completely free will, as he explained in *De libero arbitrio* (388). Then – hardened by the fights against the Manicheans and the Donatists – he entered the Pelagian debate in the 410s on the opposite side, i.e., attributing all meritorious acts to divine grace. Finally, in the next decade of his life he pushed his own tenets to such an extreme that he arrived at the idea of double-predestination. His opinions on the efficacy of prayer for the dead did not undergo such a radical change.

However, I do have to face another challenge which arises in every project on Augustine. During his long career he wrote on so many facets of Christian theology in his numerous works that at the end of his life these principles formed a complex cobweb of ideas. For researchers this means that if one starts to study a mall section of his work, one has to realize that each piece is connected to dozens of others. For example, the subject of supplications for the deceased is related to such topics as the problem of original sin and the

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[60] Idem*, De cura pro mortuis*, CSEL, vol. 41, ed. J. Zycha (Turnhout: Brepols, 1900), 22 ; Idem, *Sermo 172.2.*
[61] On the Eucharist, see: Idem, *De natura et origine animae*, CSEL, vol. 60. eds. C.F. Vrba, J. Zycha (Vienna, 1913), I.9, II.11, III.12; On prayers, see: Idem, *De Civitate* XXI.24.
[62] Eucharist and alms, see: Idem, *Enchiridion*, CCSL, vol. 46, ed. E. Evans (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 110.
[63] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 131.
[64] J. Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà dans la prière pour les morts*, 88.

theology of grace and merit. However, I have to be cautious not to diverge from my main theme because limited time and space only allows me short explanatory argumentative detours.

1.2.1. The sources

Augustine treats the subject of prayer for the dead in seven works, although none of them is exclusively dedicated to this topic. It is necessary to differentiate between two types of passages; some of them directly deal with this issue, while others only discuss relevant but not directly related topics, such as baptism − the necessary precondition for prayers − or the nature of the interim place where the souls wait for bodily resurrection.

The earliest source, dated to 397,[65] is Augustine's literary masterpiece, the *Confessions (Confessiones)*,[66] describing his spiritual journey from his childhood through his conversion to Christianity until his early years as a theologian. The relevant section here is the death and burial of Augustine's mother, Monica,[67] especially the prayer he offered for her salvation. This event marks a turning-point in the structure of the book; it puts an end to the first, autobiographical, part and opens the second part, which discusses theological and philosophical issues.[68] Gerald Bonner depicts it as a death of Augustine's youth, which was marked by a desperate search for the truth. In the meantime it is Augustine's rebirth to Christianity as well.[69] However, after writing the *Confessions* Augustine was silent on the topic for more than two decades.

He next encountered the problem in the course of a debate with a young layman from Mauritania, Vincentius Victor. Originally, this man had been baptized as a Donatist, but when

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[65] I use Peter Brown's chronology to date the sources: Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1967)

[66] Augustine Of Hippo, *Confessiones,* CCSL, vol. 27, ed. L. Verheijen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981). For an English translation, see: St Augustine *Confessions,* trans. Albert C. Outler, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955)

[67] Augustine Of Hippo, *Confessiones,* IX.29-37.

[68] Heikki Kotila "Monica's Death Augustine's Confessions IX. 11-13," *Studia Patristica*, vol. 27, ed. Elizabeth Livingstone, (Leuven: Peeter, 1993) 337.

[69] Gerald Bonner, *St. Augustine of Hippo: Life and Controversies* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1986), 103,cited in Heikki Kotila, "Monica's Death...", 337.

Augustine heard of him in 418 he had already joined the Catholic Church. It is known from the *Retractations*[70] that Vincentius first encountered a work of Augustine in the possession of a certain priest called Peter in Mauritania Cæsariensis. Subsequently, Vincentius wrote a two-volume refutation of Augustine's doctrines addressed to this same presbyter. Then, a monk from the same city, a so-called Renatus, forwarded these books to the bishop of Hippo. Augustine immediately recognized that many of Vincentius' doctrines, which he professed and taught, resembled Pelagianism – already condemned at that time – and some of them even superseded it in terms of heresy.[71] Augustine was especially annoyed by the boldness of his statements, as "he does not modestly say, I rather think; he does not say, I suppose; he does not say, I am of opinion; nor does he say, I at least would suggest, or mention—but he says, I give it as my decision"[72] and he failed to show any "submission to God's priests for instruction."[73] Hence, in 419, the bishop composed four works in reply. He wrote a book addressed to Renatus and a letter to Peter in which he expounded a strongly worded criticism of Vincentius' teachings. Then he addressed two more books to Vincentius himself, where, however, he used a much milder tone than before.[74] The documents of this debate are known today as the work *On the Nature and the Origin of the Soul (De natura et origine animae)*, which is a compendium of these four treatises, but keeping the style of the separate pieces so intact that one can identify the ironic change of tone between Books II and III. Augustine

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[70] Augustine Of Hippo, *Retractationes*, CCSL , Vol. 57, ed. A. Mutzenbecher (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984). 82. For an English translation, see: St Augustine, *The Retractations*, trans. Mary Inez Bogan (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1968). Augustine does not mention which one of his works Vincentius read, but scholarship has identified it as Ep. 190, to a certain Bishop Optatus: Albert C. de Veer "Aux origins du De natura et origine animae de saint Augustin," *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristique* 19 (1973): 122.

[71] Augustine, *De natura* I.9.

[72] Ibid. II.11. Trans. Peter Holmes, Robert Ernest Wallis and Benjamin B. Warfield, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, Vol. 5. (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887).
http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1508.htm (last accessed 10 April 2011).

[73] Ibid. III.12, trans. Holmes.

[74] "Nevertheless, I treated this young man with as much lenity as possible, not as one to be condemned too hastily, but as one to be further instructed," Augustine, *Retractationes*, 82, trans. Bogan.

pointed out eleven errors[75] in Vincentius' teaching, many of them concerned with the fate of non-baptized children and correct use of Eucharistic offerings for the deceased.

Two years later, in 421, Augustine wrote two works in which he gave further explanation for his opinion about the prayer for the dead. He addressed one of the treatises, *On the Care for the Dead (De cura pro mortuis)* to Paulinus, the great bishop of Nola. Previously, the Italian bishop had received a request from an aristocratic woman from his congregation, a so-called Flora,[76] to bury her deceased son in the basilica of Felix the Confessor next to the earthly remains of the martyr. Even though Paulinus had conformed to the wish he also sent a letter to Augustine asking for his general opinion on the efficacy of burying bodies next to the relics of martyrs. Thus, *De cura* was produced as a reply to this request.[77] Augustine concentrated primarily on what Paulinus asked for, namely, the efficacy of being buried next to saintly relics; however, as a closely related topic, in a few passages[78] he also touched upon the issue of the efficacy of prayer for the dead.

In the same year (421), Augustine composed a short compendium of the most essential Christian teachings at the request of Lawrence,[79] one of his admirers. The handbook is either referred to as *On Faith, Hope and Love* after the three main themes, or more commonly as *Enchiridion,* meaning "manual".

In 422 Augustine produced a response to eight questions raised by Tribune Dulcitius, the brother of Lawrence.[80] The book – entitled *The Eight questions of Dulcitius (De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus)[81]* – is a compilation of quotations from his previous works. Thus, in

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[75] Augustine, *De natura,* III.3-13.
[76] For more on her identity see: Yvette Duval "Flora était-elle africaine?" *Revue des etudes Augustiniennes* 34 (1988): 70-77.
[77] Augustine, *De cura*, 1.
[78] Ibid, 2-3.; Ibid. 22.
[79] Idem, *Enchiridion*, I.1.
[80] John Cavadini, "Enchiridion," in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald, John Cavadini (Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1999), 22-23.
[81] Augustine Of Hippo, *De octo Dulcitii quaestionibus,* CCSL, vol. 44A, ed. A. Mutzenbecher (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975).

his reply to Question 2[82] on offerings made for the deceased, Augustine repeated verbatim the relevant passages from both the *De cura* and the *Enchiridion.*

The sixth source is Sermon 172 on 1 Thessalonians 4:13.[83] There is no record of either the date or the location where the homily was preached.[84] In section two, Augustine proposed a teaching on prayer for the dead which is completely in line with the message of the other works from the 420s. This led Ntedika to the conclusion that it should be a composition from the same period.[85]

Chronologically, the last source is book XXI of the *City of God*, which Peter Brown has dated to 425. The grandiose vision of two opposing realms – the heavenly and the earthly cities – was a commonplace in theological discussions in North Africa.[86] Book XXI is part of the second half of the work, which deals with the origin, history, and destinies of the two cities. Being the second-to-last piece, it is concerned with the future of the earthly city. The key element for discussion here is chapter 24, which deals with the question of whether the prayers of the Pilgrim Church on earth can save all souls from eternal damnation or not. Besides this, to a lesser or greater degree, almost all the chapters from 12 to 27 are related to this discussion because they deal with such important themes as the state of souls after death, the necessary pre-conditions for salvation, and the fire metaphor of 1 Cor. 3. Even though the book as a whole is addressed to pagans in defence of Christianity,[87] these chapters primarily attack the so-called *compassionates* (*misericordes),* i.e., various lax Christian groups which tried to find a solution for the salvation of those whom many members of the mainstream, like Augustine, sent to eternal damnation.

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[82] "Whether an offering made for the dead is of any profit to their souls, since we evidently are relieved or weighed down by our deeds, if truly we read that in hell one can no longer confess to the Lord," Augustine "The eight questions of Dulcitius" in Saint Augustine, *Treatises on Various Subjects*, trans. M. Deferrari (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1953) 442.

[83] "For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again; even so them who have slept through Jesus, will God bring with him…"

[84] Introductory notes of Daniel E. Doyle to *Sermon 172* in Augustine of Hippo, *Essential Sermons,* 233.

[85] Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà,* 99.

[86] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 314.

[87] ibid. 302.

1.2.2. The primary condition of salvation: Baptism

The New Testament teaches that there is only one way to salvation, through Christ, and baptism is the mark of one's belonging. Therefore, baptism is indispensable for the deceased to be entitled to the prayers of the living. However, for Augustine this is only one part of the problem. The other part of the problem lies in Rom 5:18 – *igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem*. These words have received various interpretations since the dawn of Christianity. Augustine's reading, which became a cornerstone of Latin theology, is referred to as the doctrine of original sin.

Baptism, besides its initiatory nature, also functions as a rite cleansing one from one's sins. This can be easily defended at an adult baptism, where the catechumen is conscious of his own sins, the actions of his free will which are about to be cleansed by the sacrament. However, what is the case with new-born infants? Are they purged of sins, even though they are completely unconscious of their actions? Augustine, relying on Rom. 5:18, argues that indeed, all human beings, including the new-born babies are guilty of one sin, the sin of Adam. From this it follows that all infants dying without baptism will go to eternal damnation.

Thus, Augustine considered the teaching of Vincentius Victor on offering prayers and the Eucharistic sacrifice for non-baptized children, which is only known as far as Augustine presented it in the *De anima*, not only as ignorance of biblical teaching, but also as a violation of common logic. Since even though Vincentius accepted Augustine's doctrine of original sin, he did grant salvation to non-baptized children, for whom, by definition, the stain of Adam's sin had not been cleared. Augustine cynically remarks that even Pelagius was more consistent on this issue because he was ready to deny the premise of original sin in order to send

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children to paradise.[88] He found Vincentius' other proposition that the Eucharist could be offered for those who were not initiated yet similarly irrational.[89]

Among Vincentius' three main proofs for his theory, two are biblical stories and one is a martyrdom account. Augustine tries to refute them, although, in my view, at least in one case, he does not succeed. Vincentius argues that the story of the Good Thief crucified next to Jesus (Lk. 23:39-43) is a prime example of the possibility of entering paradise without having been baptized.[90] Augustine, referring to the authority of Cyprian of Carthage, interprets this passage as an example of baptism by the blood of martyrdom.[91] Then he brings two more, but much less powerful, arguments. On the one hand, he quotes an apocryphal tradition on the blood and water flowing from Jesus' side, which allegedly touched the thief, thus baptizing him in a literal sense. On the other hand, he suggests the simple, though completely unfounded, idea of the thief having been baptized in prison or even previously.[92]

Vincentius' second proof is taken from the North African *Passions of Perpetua and Felicity*,[93] an account of the martyrdom of these two women (Perpetua and Felicity) and three catechumens: Saturus, Saturninus, and Revocatus. The book is composed of Perpetua's (chaps. 3-10) and Saturus' (chaps. 11-13) prison memoires and an introduction and a conclusion composed by an eyewitness, previously thought to be Tertullian.[94] In chapter

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[88] "For this is what the heresy of Pelagius promised them: he neither fears damnation for infants, whom he does not regard as having any original sin, nor does he give them the hope of the kingdom of heaven, since they do not approach to the sacrament of baptism. As for this man, however, although he acknowledges that infants are involved in original sin, he yet boldly promises them, even without baptism, the kingdom of heaven. This even the Pelagians had not the boldness to do, though asserting infants to be absolutely without sin." Augustine, *De natura*, I.9, trans. Holmes.

[89] ibid. I.9. II.11. III.12.

[90] cf. Ambrose, *Hom. in Ps.* 39.17; he uses the example of the Good Thief to demonstrate that no one can be excluded from the mercy of God.

[91] *unde et latro ille non ante crucem domini sectator*, … a *cypriano sancto inter martyres computatur, qui suo sanguine baptizantur*, Augustine, *De natura,* I.9.

[92] Ibid.

[93] *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity,* Trans. W. H. Shewring (London: 1931) http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/perpetua.html (last accessed 17 May 2011)

[94] E. Hoade "Perpetua and Felicity, SS." in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2003) 130; Trumbower's main objection against Tertullian's authorship is that there is no reference to the text in Tertullian's works: J. A. Trumbower, *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity* (Oxford: OUP, 2001) 88.

seven, Perpetua recounts the story of her deceased little brother, Dinocrates', deliverance from underworld sufferings. She had a dream of the boy – who had died of cancer at the age of seven – residing in a dark place in a wretched condition. He was hot and thirsty, the deadly tumour still covered his face, and his clothes were ragged.[95] He was standing beside a water fountain which he could not reach. Having woken up, Perpetua prayed all day for his deliverance. Finally, her prayers were answered and in another dream she saw her brother, no longer in torment, but drinking from the refreshing water and playing joyfully.[96]

This story is strong support for Vincentius' argument because it is implicitly recorded in the legend that the boy had not been baptised.[97] Therefore, he took it as an authoritative source for the salvation of non-baptized children. Augustine proposes two counter-arguments, but neither of them is very convincing. First, he is trying to undermine the authority of the text by saying that there is no mention of the story in the canonical Scripture. This is certainly true, however, Church tradition held the legend in high esteem. It was read annually on their feast day,[98] it was quoted by Latin theological authors,[99] and even Augustine himself refers to it in his argument for the incorporeality of the soul.[100] Second, he invents a story that the boy was baptized, but later apostatized due to the malicious anti-Christian propaganda of his pagan father.[101] However, if this had been really the case, the author surely should not have passed over it as an unimportant detail.

Vincentius also tried to make use of 2 Macc. 12:40-46, the biblical *locus classicus* for prayers for the dead, to support his hypothesis. He thought that as the fallen Jewish soldiers were definitely not baptized, their case is biblical proof for letting non-baptized children enter

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[95] *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity,* 7.
[96] Ibid. 8.
[97] Perpetua had two brothers, but only one of them was a catechumen, who was put in prison with his sister, after their baptism: ibid. 2.
[98] Augustine, *Sermons 240-242*, cited in Trumbower, *Rescue for the Dead*, 135.
[99] Kotila, *Memoria Mortuorum*, 103.
[100] Augustine, *De natura* IV. 26, cited in Trumbower, *Rescue for the Dead*, 136.
[101] Augustine, *De natura,* I.10.

heaven.[102] However, Augustine reminds him that these people were not gentiles, but Jews whose election was signified by their circumcision. Hence, "circumcision was the sacrament of that period, which prefigured the baptism of our day;"[103] this passage gives no support for Victorinus' position.

1.2.3. The role of merits

Although Augustine strongly insists on the necessity of baptism for gaining the right to benefit from the prayers of the living and ultimately to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, he maintains that a "faith working through love"[104] is also indispensable. This means that one not only has to be baptised and believe in Christ, but this faith also has to be manifest in acts of mercy during one's earthly life, as Apostle Paul argued, "For we must all be manifested before the judgement seat of Christ, that every one may receive the proper things of the body, according as he hath done, whether it be good or evil."[105] In the *De cura*[106] and the *Enchiridion*[107] Augustine speaks of three groups of people whom he divided according to the merit they had earned prior to their deaths. Accordingly, prayers are neither effective for the very good (*ualde boni*) nor for the very bad (*ualde mali*). The first have lived such a virtuous life that they are not in need of supplications and the gates of heaven are open for them; the second have lived such a wicked life that no prayers can change their fate, which ultimately leads to their eternal damnation. Therefore, there is a third group of people, the not-so-good (*non ualde boni*), whose lives were neither so evil that they are automatically damned nor so meritorious that they have direct access to the heavenly reward, but who can benefit from prayers, sacrificial offerings, and alms from the living. In the *Enchiridion* Augustine also gives a second, somewhat positive, interpretation to the supplicant actions for all three

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[102] ibid. I.11; II.11; III.12.
[103] ibid. II.11, trans. Holmes.
[104] Gal. 5:6. cited in Idem, *Sermo 172.2.*
[105] 2 Cor. 5:10. (DR) cited in idem, *De cura*, 2
[106] Ibid.
[107] Idem, *Enchiridion,* 110.

groups; these acts can serve as thank offerings for the *ualde boni* and as consolation for the living relatives of the *ualde mali*.[108] In the case of the *non ualde boni*, prayers have a propitiatory effect, either they obtain full forgiveness (of sins) (*plena remissio*) or make damnation (in the interim place) more tolerable (*tolerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio*). Until who the *non ualde boni* are exactly is known, prayers should be offered for all the regenerate people (*pro regeneratis omnibus*). Certainly, it will not be beneficial for a great number of them, but Augustine urges the Church to offer some sacrifices superfluously rather than not making an offering for some who could benefit.[109] However, this only applies to the baptised people. The church prays for the wicked while they are alive, but as soon as they are dead, she stops praying for them, as those who "retain an impenitent heart even unto death, and so are not transformed from enemies into sons,"[110] so that if they have not converted to Christ while they were alive, i.e., were not baptized, are counted among the devil's fraction.[111]

1.2.4. Prayers in practice

Although, Augustine mostly discusses prayer for the dead on a theoretical level, in a few instances he lets the reader glimpse contemporary liturgical practices. He did not treat the issue extensively, as the liturgy was a living practice, with the words of Kotila: "liturgy was simply being the Church."[112] Nevertheless, the first time Augustine dealt with the prayer for the dead was motivated by a practical question of whether anything should be taken over from

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[108] Ibid.

[109] *Melius enim supererunt ista eis, quibus nec obsunt nec prosunt, quam eis deerunt, quibus prosunt*, Idem, *De cura 22*. English trans. H. Browne: "For better it is that these things shall be superfluously done to them whom they neither hinder nor help, than lacking to them whom they help" Augustine, *On the Holy Trinity, Doctrinal Treatises, Moral Treatises*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series I, Vol. III. (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co.) http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/augustine-onthecareofthgedeadnpnf1-03-39.html (last accessed 15 April 2011)

[110] *usque ad mortem habebunt cor impaenitens nec ex inimicis conuertentur in filios*, Augustine, De civitate Dei, XXI.24. Trans. R. W. Dyson: Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998)

[111] *quid ita, nisi quia in parte iam diaboli computatur, qui cum esset in corpore non est translatus ad christum?* ibid.

[112] Kotila, *Memoria mortuorum*, 96.

the pagan practices and, if so, what are the elements which are not appropriate for a Christian way of commemoration?[113]

The pagan funeral banquets (*conuiuia*)[114] celebrated at tombs had already posed a problem for Christians two centuries before. Both Tertullian and Cyprian showed an unsympathetic attitude towards them. Despite this, at the time of Augustine it was practiced by more Christians than ever before. Augustine recorded in the *Confessions* how the Milanese bishop prohibited Monica from having a banquet at martyrs' tombs. Instead, he advised her to pray and to give alms, which he considered to be good substitutes for the pagan practices.[115] Following Ambrose's example, in the first half of the 390s, Augustine decided to regulate the cult of the dead in Hippo.[116] He placed the cult of martyrs under the supervision of the church, he was ready however, to make a compromise concerning the family tombs. Thus, *conuiuia* at private tombs were still allowed, although drunkenness had to be avoided.[117] Nevertheless, he supported the three Christian alternates (Prayers, Eucharist and alms) for the remembrance of the dead.

The Augustinian corpus gives witness to a widespread Eucharistic commemorative practice for the deceased. First, a Mass was celebrated on the day of the burial, as happened in Monica's case.[118] Then, as is known from the letters exchanged between Augustine and Evodius, a third day of remembrance also existed.[119] Moreover, there was a tradition of

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[113] Ibid., 61.

[114] It is either referred to as c*onuiuia, laetitiae* or *refrigeria*: Kotila, *Memoria mortuorum*, 61.

[115] Augustine, *Confessiones*, VI.2.

[116] Kotila, *Memoria mortuorum*, 65.

[117] Ibid., 66.

[118] Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.32.

[119] Evodius in his letter to Augustine recounts the death of his clerk, mentioning that after a three-day vigil, there was a celebration of the sacraments of redemption: "Epistle 158.2" in *The Confessions and Letters of Saint Augustine. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, Vol. 1. Trans. J. G. Cunningham (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing, 1887) http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102158.htm (last accessed 20 April 2011)

celebrating the Eucharist on the seventh or ninth day after the burial. Augustine preferred the seventh day[120] for its biblical symbolism.[121]

The narrative on Monica's death also provides valuable information on the Christian rites at death. Augustine recounts that when his mother died, the slave Evodius took up the Psalter and started to sing Psalm 100,[122] with the whole household joining in the responses. It is not known whether this was an occasional choice or customary,[123] but the theme of a man longing for a sinless life is definitely not a random coincidence. Then, after the usual pre-burial rites,[124] they offered the Eucharist, the "sacrifice of our redemption"[125] with prayers for her, and some further prayers were recited at the grave as well.[126]

Augustine was struggling to find the appropriate Christian attitude towards his feelings of loss; however he was certain that tears shed for one's sinfulness are apt. These are the tears, "which flow from a spirit broken by the thoughts of the dangers of every soul that dies in Adam."[127] He acknowledges that Monica was definitely baptised, moreover, she lived a rather virtuous life full of meritorious acts. However, no one knows for sure, but it is highly probable that she did not live for decades after her conversion without committing a single sin.[128] Thus, the heavy words of the Lord that whoever says to his brother: "Fool!" is worthy of the fire of Gehenna[129] puts every single human being into real danger of damnation. Although merits can help one be included the possibility of salvation right away, ultimately every single person's fate depends on the mercy of God. Moreover, all human merits are

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[120] cf. Ambrose also delivered the second homily on the death of Satyrus on the seventh day: Ambrose, *De excessu* 2.2.
[121] Augustine, *Questionum in Heptateuchum libri* VII.1.172, cited in Kotila, *Memoria mortuorum*, 97.
[122] Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.31.
[123] Nevertheless, in the ancient *ordines* there is no record of the reading of Ps 100 at the death-bed: James J. O'Donnell, *Confessions, Augustine (a Commentary)* Vol.2 (Oxford: OUP, 1992) 142.
[124] He does not specify what these rites are exactly.
[125] *sacrificium pretii nostri* (lit.: the sacrifice of our price) Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.32.
[126] ibid.
[127] *quod manat de concusso spiritu consideratione periculorum omnis animae, quae in adam moritur*, ibid., 34. Trans. Outler.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Mt. 5:22.

nothing else but God's gifts. Thus, in the end, good deeds do not make anyone eligible for salvation, therefore Augustine starts his prayer this way: "Thus now, O my Praise and my Life, O God of my heart, forgetting for a little her good deeds for which I give joyful thanks to thee, I now beseech thee for the sins of my mother."[130] He offers his prayer to God through Christ, whom he calls the "Medicine of our wounds."[131] Although, he has just said that he wants to ignore the virtues of her mother, he returns to them and mixes a supplication with negotiation. On the one hand, he exclaims: "Forgive her, O Lord, forgive her, I beseech Thee," [132]i.e., he acknowledges and reinforces the transcendental difference between him, the creature, and God, the Creator. On the other hand, he tries to negotiate with God based on Monica's virtues. Since she forgave her debtors[133] and had mercy on others, as it was commanded,[134] thus God should also forgive the debts which she accumulated after her baptism, the water of salvation *(aqua salutis)*, and should be merciful to her. Augustine almost exacts the forgiveness of sins from God, by referring to his trustworthiness: "for thy words are true."[135]

Total dependence on God's mercy generates mixed feelings in Augustine. On the one hand, he has firm trust in his forgiveness; on the other hand, he also feels uncertain of the situation.[136] He continues listing her mother's virtues; she did not ask for a grand funeral or a beautiful monument.[137] She did not even request to be buried in her homeland, rather, she

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[130] *ego itaque, laus mea et uita mea, deus cordis mei, sepositis paulisper bonis eius actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meae deprecor te.* Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.35, trans. Outler.
[131] *per medicinam uulnerum nostrorum*, ibid. cf. While Christ is never referred to as "medicina" in the Bible, it is characteristic of the Confessions (5.16; 6.14; 6.20; 7.12; 9.18; 10.69; 10.4.): James J. O'Donnell, *Confessions*, Vol. 2, 145.
[132] Trans. Outler.
[133] Matt. 6:12. – It is extensively quoted throughout the Augustinian corpus, especially in the anti-Donatist works, James J. O'Donnell, *Confessions*, Vol. 2. 145.
[134] Matt. 5:7.
[135] *quoniam eloquia tua uera sunt*, Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.35. Trans. Outler.
[136] *et, credo, iam feceris quod te rogo, sed uoluntaria oris mei approba, domine*, Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.36. For the English translation see Outler: "Indeed, I believe thou hast already done what I ask of thee, but accept the freewill offerings of my mouth, O Lord."
[137] ibid. cf. Augustine in *Sermon 172.2* explicitly states that "funeral processions, crowds of mourners, expensive arrangements for burial, the construction of splendid monuments, can be some sort of consolation for the living, but not any assistance for the dead." (trans. Hill); *Proinde pompae funeris, agmina exsequiarum, sumptuosa*

"only desired to have her name remembered at thy altar"[138] where she served every day. Augustine warns that no one should separate Monica from her God's protection: the Eucharist, to which she attached her soul by the bond of faith. Augustine touches upon one of the classical aspects of prayer for the dead: protection from demons. However, he does not stay with the common image of death depicted as a fight between angels and devils for the soul of the deceased; rather, he interprets the event on a more sophisticated level. He is certain that unless the devil deceives her, she will confess that even though she was in sin, she was forgiven by the Saviour. Namely, she will deny neither her guilt nor the redeeming act of Christ.

Then, Augustine also brings Patricius, his father, into the prayer, asking for peace[139] for both him and his mother, although he stays a marginal figure whose possible merits are not presented; he acts as a mirror to reflect Monica's virtues such as loyalty and obedience. Then Augustine repeats the request of Monica, but this time as his own initiative. He invites his readers to remember Monica[140] and Patricius at the altar of God,[141] thus, confessing that communal prayer brings extra benefits to the private persons (his own), and that more people praying for the same cause is better. He re-evaluates his relationship to his parents, who are not only his earthly ancestors, but fellow brethren in the Church and fellow citizens in the Eternal Jerusalem, the desired final destiny of all.

Sermo 172 is the only place where Augustine's readers can get insight into the early fifth-century North African celebration of the Eucharist for the deceased. He claimed that it was a tradition received from the Fathers that the offerings were not done anonymously, but

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diligentia sepulturae, monumentorum opulenta constructio, uiuorum sunt qualiacumque solatia, non adiutoria mortuorum.

[138] *sed tantummodo memoriam sui ad altare tuum fieri desderauit*, Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.36. Trans. Outler.

[139] Peace seems to have a symbolic function for Augustine, as in this case it marks the end of the first part of the book, while in 13.35.50 *(pacem da nobis)* it indicates the end of the whole treatise. O'Donnell, *Confessions*, Vol. 2, 148.

[140] This is the single occurrence of her name in the Augustinian corpus: ibid.

[141] *ut quotquot haec legerint, meminerint ad altare tuum monnicae, famulae tuae, cum patricio, quondam eius coniuge*. Augustine, *Confessiones*, IX.37.

the congregation was informed in whose favour the Eucharist was celebrated. On the one hand, the celebrant had to mention the names at the sacrifice "in the usual place," i.e., there was a set place for the prayer for the dead in the canon of the Mass; on the other hand, it had to be stated explicitly that the sacrifice is offered for them.[142]

1.2.5. The purifying fire

According to Augustine, prayers can help a certain group of the deceased. They had to be baptised while they were alive and they had to perform acts of mercy. However, the question remained, where do these people reside after death? In the Enchiridion he does not provide them a separate place, rather a "secret place of shelter" (*abditum receptaculum*) for the souls of all deceased, where one enjoys rest (*requies*) or affliction (*aerumna*) depending on the merits he/she has earned on earth.[143]

He also depicts the after-life by using the Pauline image of purging fire. It is not clear whether the fire is the same as the "secret place of shelter." However, it is certain that every one, including the *ualde boni*, will take part in it.[144] However, those who built their houses of precious materials will survive the process without any harm; however, those, who used hay, wood, or stubble for the construction will see their work demolished. The sight of losing the things which they considered important and enjoyed while they were alive will cause them suffering. Nevertheless, the people will be saved, only the building will perish, as ultimately not the work itself, but the foundation is what really matters. If the foundation is Christ, one can be saved. Augustine argues that even though these people did not live a perfect life, if a persecutor interrogated them about their faith, they would definitely prefer death to apostasy. The little sins will be burned by the fire, though the grave ones cannot be healed after

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[142] *hoc enim a patribus traditum, uniuersa obseruat ecclesia, ut pro eis qui in corporis et sanguinis christi communione defuncti sunt, cum ad ipsum sacrificium loco suo commemorantur, oretur, ac pro illis quoque id offerri commemoretur.* Idem, *Sermo 172.2.*
[143] Idem, *Enchiridion*, 109.
[144] Idem, *De civitate Dei*, XXI.26.

death.[145] He also allows for the punishment of sins already in this life, and for some people that is all their suffering; some people will suffer in the purging fire, but will be saved; finally, some will suffer after death and continue suffering into eternity after the last judgement.[146]

1.2.6. Conclusion

Even though Augustine did not devote a separate treatise to the issue of prayer for the dead, he is by far the most productive Latin patristic author on the topic. His scattered remarks make up a quite clear mosaic of his views. He accepted the old Christian tradition of praying for the dead and put special emphasis on Eucharistic offerings on their behalf. First, he dealt with the issue connected to practical matters, namely, pagan food offerings for the deceased. He followed Ambrose's path in urging Christians to replace pagan practices with Christian alternatives. This debate was over by the turn of the fourth century. The next time he mentioned the issue was almost two decades later. Then he was treating the issue not from a practical, but from a theological point of view.[147] He set up a three-tier model of supplication by prayers, the Eucharist, and almsgiving.

Augustine named two preconditions for efficacy of supplications. On the one hand, the deceased had to be a member of the Church body; otherwise there was no connection to the living members. Practically, this meant that the person had to be baptised while he was still alive. The other benefit of baptism was being cleansed from sin, most notably from original sin, which was even present in new-born babies. Therefore, according to Augustine, children who died unbaptized necessarily went to eternal damnation and no prayer was useful for their sakes. This was the bone of contention between him and Vicentius Victor, against whom he wrote the *De natura*.

Augustine named a meritorious earthly life as the second precondition for the efficacy of prayers. Namely, having been baptized but living a wicked life was not a possibility. He

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[145] Ibid.
[146] Idem, *De civitate Dei*, XXI.13.
[147] Kotila, *Memoria mortuorum*, 104.

divided people into three groups. Some were very good (*ualde boni*), some very bad (*ualde mali*), and some not-so-good (*non ualde boni*), living a virtuous life in principle, but committing some minor sins. The prayers of the living can benefit the deceased who belong to this last group.

Concerning the dwelling-place of the souls between death and the last judgement, on the one hand, he speaks of a common "secret place of shelter" divided into two sections of rest and affliction, on the other hand, he also uses the Pauline image of purging fire, which everyone should suffer regardless of one's previous merits. However, while some people's work will survive and they will not be tortured, others will suffer from losing their earthly achievements. However, those who had Christ as their foundation, regardless the nature of the house, will be saved, while the others will suffer eternally.

1.3. Peter Chrysologus

So that what their sentence of condemnation refuses them, the Church may obtain, and grace may supply.[148]

Metropolitan Peter, during his two decades of episcopacy (c.431 – c.450) in Ravenna, heartened the people with homilies of such eloquent style that he earned the title Chrysologus. However, modern scholars are critical of the 183 sermons which have been transmitted to posterity. Van Paaseen[149] and Daley[150] agree that the homilies lack complex theological ideas; rather, they provide moral teaching. Chrysologus' homilies are primarily exegetic, just like Ambrose's, although they do not reach the same theological depths as the Milanese archbishop's. Chrysologus spoke little of prayer for the dead and was more concerned with

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[148] *ut quod sententia negat, ecclesia mereatur, praestet gratia. – Sermo 123, English translation…. "ut quod sententia negat, ecclesia mereatur, praestet gratia*. Peter Chrysologus, *Sermon 123*, CCSL Vols. 24, 24A, 24B, English translation: St Peter Chrysologus *Selected Sermons*, Vol. 3, trans. William B. Palardy (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005)

[149] J. Van Paaseen "Peter Chrysologus, St." in *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 2nd ed., Vol 11 (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2003), 185.

[150] Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 164.

the nature of the interim place. Most of the relevant passages are found in his four sermons[151] on the Lucan parable of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus.

The parable speaks of two opposing places, the bosom of Abraham and Hell; however, Chrysologus does not regard them as final destinies, rather as waiting places where people get a foretaste of what is waiting for them after the Last Judgement. Although Chrysologus refers to the Bosom of Abraham as a place of repose (*requies*),[152] which usually indicates an interim place; in homily 121 he undoubtedly equates it with heaven.[153]

Hell is described as a place of punishment (*poena*),[154] however, where the fire which tortures the rich man is not yet the fire of the eternal damnation, but of his own conscience, which condemns him. The present sufferings only prefigure the coming punishment, which, if it had already taken place, the rich man neither could lift up his eyes nor could speak to Abraham nor could he intercede for his brothers.[155]

He thought that there was one underworld composed of two different places with a great abyss between them. On the one hand, he asserts that the saints enjoyed some kind of rest in the upper part; on the other hand, he claims that Christ extinguished the flames of the underworld in the saints' part. Therefore, their rest must have been disturbed to some extent. They could not enter Paradise because, on the one hand, it was blocked by the flaming sword installed by God after the exile of Adam and Eve;[156] on the other hand, the underworld was "shut by bronze doors and iron bars."[157] This hopeless situation was overcome by Christ, who destroyed the "gates of Tartarus"[158] and broke open the prison of the saints by demolishing the bonds of Adam's debt so that the just were freed from the jurisdiction of the

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[151] Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones 121-124*.
[152] Idem, *Sermo 122*, CCSL. Vol. 24A.
[153] He refers to Abraham as a steward in "the very blessedness of heaven" – *in ipsa caelesti beatitudine fungitur dispensatoris officio*, Idem, Sermo 121.5. CCSL Vol. 24A; English translation: St Peter Chrysologus "Sermon 121" in *Selected Sermons*, Vol. 3, trans. William B. Palardy, 158.
[154] *queritur hic de poena*, Idem, *Sermo 122*.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Cf. Ambrose still considered it to be there: see Chapter 1.1.
[157] Idem, *Sermo 123.6*, trans. Palardy.
[158] ibid., trans. Palardy.

underworld.[159] Therefore, one would expect that they were transferred to heaven. However, Chrysologus only speaks of the rest and peace of the saints, not of their joy or bliss, with one exception, where he is ready to grant them the "crown of glory" and "delights which are not fleeting, but strong, firm and everlasting."[160] In *Sermo 96*, however he asserts that the saints' death is nothing more than a sleep,[161] which also implies that they do not enter eternal bliss immediately.

Examining the whole picture, one can assume that for Chrysologus the coming of Christ did not mark the entrance of all the just to heaven, rather a sure hope of that, although it was not available for all at that moment. He seems to have been hesitant about the status of the perfectly just people whom the Church already honoured as saints. He is undecided whether there is any possibility for them to enter heaven before the Last Judgement. However, for most people this is clearly not an option. The just are waiting for their reward in the Bosom of Abraham, while the rest wait for their punishment in Hell. However after the redemptive act of Christ, the strict separation of these places which Abraham attests in the Lucan parable[162] was loosened. Those who "have been redeemed by the grace of Christ" can be set free from Hell by the intercession of the Church,[163] although their deeds would necessarily bring them condemnation. It is probable that the "grace of Christ" here stands for baptism,[164] that is, the visible manifestation of one's belonging to the Church, which then is able to pray for her members. Regarding the fact that Chrysologus was active when Augustine had already achieved immense influence on Christian theology, it is probable that he was familiar with Augustine's doctrine on baptism as a necessity for salvation. However,

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[159] Idem, *Sermo 123.7.*

[160] Idem, *Sermo 129.* CCSL Vol. 24B.; English translation: St Peter Chrysologus "Sermon 121" in *Selected Sermons*, Vol.1, trans. George E. Ganss (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 213.

[161] Cf. Ambrose: Chapter 1.1.

[162] "Abraham told the rich man: And besides all this, between us and you, there is fixed a great chaos: so that they who would pass from hence to you cannot, nor from thence come hither." (Lk. 16:26)

[163] *Terret, fratres, terret nimis uocis huius auditus, quae ostendit post mortem et semel apud inferos poenali custodiae deputatos, ad sanctorum quietem non posse transferri, nisi christi gratia iam redempti ab hac disperatione sanctae ecclesiae intercessione soluantur.* Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo 123.8*, trans. Palardy.

[164] Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà,* 104.

Chrysologus does not enter into a detailed discussion on the issue, which suggests that he attributed less significance to it than his North African colleague.

Beyond the fact of baptism, Chrysologus does not specify what sort of people can be released by prayers. There is no mention of any Augustinian distinction between *valde mali* and *non valde boni*; however, if Christ freed only the just[165] when he descended to the underworld, it is probable that the *non iusti* will not be freed by prayers either. Thus, there should be a group of *non valde iusti*[166] who are suffering some sort of temporary punishment in Hell.

Beside this passage in Sermon 123, Chrysologus makes another short remark on the custom of prayers for the dead. He argues that by the sacred blood of the martyrs and by supplications, the Church "ushers from the mortal bier to everlasting life her only son, that is, the Christian people, whom so many ages bear off to their death."[167] Namely, he acknowledges that besides gathering the living flock of Christ, the Church has the duty to take care of the deceased members as well, who should finish their post-mortem journey in the *Communio Sanctorum*.

The redeeming act of Christ lies at the heart of Chrysologus' eschatology, for which the Lucan passage of the Rich Man and Poor Lazarus provides the conceptual framework. However, his reliance on the parable seems to be so strong that he fails to differentiate clearly between the cases when he applies it to the pre-redemption state and the post-Christ period. On the one hand, he argues that Christ has extinguished the fire on the saints' side of the underworld, i.e., Lazarus' rest in the Bosom of Abraham could not take place before that. On the other hand, while the unbridgeable abyss between Hell and the Bosom of Abraham are

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[165] *ut iustos, non iniustos, absolueret*, Idem, *Sermo 123.7.*
[166] The term is my invention.
[167] *nam per supplicantes ecclesia lacrimas fundit iuges, per martyres sacrum sanguinem sudat, donec unicum suum, hoc est, populum christianum, quem tot ad mortem ferunt tempora, recurrens christus de mortali feretro perpetuae uitae reddat in supernae matris gaudium sempiternum*. Idem, *Sermo 103*, CCSL Vol. 24A; English trans. Palardy, 126.

stressed in the gospel, Chrysologus emphasises the possibility of transfer from one place to the other by the prayers of the Church because Christ achieved it. Certainly, there are restrictions, so that only those who are members of the Church have the opportunity and do not belong among the greatest sinners.

1.4. Gregory the Great

If you wish to do something for me, then offer this bread to almighty God, and so make intercession for me, a sinner. When you come back and do not find me here, you will know that your prayers have been heard.[168]

1.4.1. The riddle of the *Dialogues*

So far, the authenticity of the writings which the present analysis deals with has not been questioned; however, the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great is a notable exception. The first doubts about their genuineness rose among the sixteenth century Protestant humanists, including Huldreich Köchlein. On the one hand, he argued on stylistic grounds that certain passages greatly differ from the style of the other works of Gregory; on the other hand, he denounced their contents as well, finding them too superstitious to be genuinely Gregorian.[169] Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Protestant scholars also focused on the "superstitious aspects" of the treatise, although they were ready to acknowledge its authenticity so that they could display the pope as a source of "superstitious medieval Catholicism."[170] The doubts about the authenticity re-emerged in the 1980s with Francis Clark's two-volume groundbreaking work: *The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues*. Since then, Clark has become a champion of his movement for the philological re-assessment of unquestioned authorship. He gained some supporters in the 1990s,[171] and with his second book – *The "Gregorian"*

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[168] Gregory the Great, *Dialogues, Tome III. (Livre IV)*, ed. Albert de Vogüé. SC. Vol. 265 (Paris: Cerf, 1980), chap. 57 ; English translation: Saint Gregory the Great, *Dialogues,* FC. Vol. 39. Trans. Odo John Zimmerman. (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977).
[169] Francis Clark "A Problematic Legacy: The Dialogues Ascribed to Gregory the Great." *Studia Patristica* vol. # (2006): 316.
[170] Ibid., 317.
[171] Such as Don Robert Gillet and Dom Henry Wansbrough, the latter claiming that the conclusions of the book were liberating for him especially because he was a Benedictine, ibid., 318.

Dialogues and the Origins of Benedictine Monasticism – he convinced even more scholars that he was right.[172]

Clark did not reject the book as a whole, rather he pointed to eighty-one passages (hereafter IGPs) which he considered authentic Gregorian incorporated into the rest of the book. He claims that the *Dialogues* is a pseudonymous composition probably from the late seventh century, but definitely later than the death of Gregory. The author was a notary from the Lateran secretariat who published Italian popular folklore under the protective pseudonym of the late pope. However, he did it in a rather "professional" way, inserting authentic Gregorian passages which he collected from unedited *reportata* of the papal notaries on Gregory's exegetical speeches. Therefore, it is not surprising that one can see numerous parallels between the authentic Gregorian writings, especially the *Moralia*, and these inserted passages. Nevertheless, Clark argues that in most cases there was not a direct interaction between them, rather both can be traced back to some common, though now lost, unpublished sources. Clark arrived at these conclusions by a detailed rebuttal of numerous, seemingly legitimate, counter-evidence.

First, he argued that the *Dialogues* was inserted much later into the list of Gregory's works, recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* soon after the pope's death. Second, some early seventh-century authors such as Isidore of Seville, Braulio of Saragossa, and Ildefonsus of Toledo refer to the *Dialogues* and claim Gregorian authorship for them. Clark is of the view that all the citations are later interpolations into the manuscripts.[173] Moreover, he also maintains that the so-called "Letter to Maximilian," which is traditionally thought to have been composed by Gregory in 593, is also a forgery, produced by the cautious dialogist in order to establish an unshakeable basis for his own composition.[174]

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[172] Such as Dom Benedict Hardy, ibid., 319.
[173] Ibid., 320.
[174] Ibid., 321.

Although his proofs are less convincing than the previous ones, Clark dates the composition of the *Dialogues* to the 670s based on some testimonies from the 680s to 690s. He thinks that the first genuine references to the work appeared in these decades in the writings of Aldhem of Malmesbury, Julian of Toledo, Adamnan of Iona, Defensor of Ligué, and the authors of the *Visio Baronti* and the *Passio Projecti*. Moreover, the first fragmentary manuscript of the *Dialogues* also appeared around this time. Therefore, he concludes that the work had to have been composed about a decade earlier.[175] Ann Kuzdale is right in her critique that these are insufficient proofs to set the 670s for the date of composition.[176] The 670s can maximum serve as a *terminus ante quem* if one leaves some years for the Europe-wide diffusion of the copies. Although this is a valid objection, it does not contribute to Kuzdale's efforts to maintain the authenticity of the work. The last, but equally important, group of arguments is based on the internal evidence of the text itself.[177]

Certainly, the debate is not over. Many scholars still believe in the genuineness of the whole work and heavily criticise Clark's theory. It is a common criticism that the author is biased against the Middle Ages. Ann Kuzdale is of this opinion, accusing Clark of conforming Gregory to "his standards of protestant idealism."[178] However, even if Clark really has a prejudice against medieval hagiographies and miracle stories, this does not shake

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[175] Ibid., 321.

[176] Ann Kuzdale, "Review of Francis Clark's The Gregorian Dialogues..." *Speculum* 79, No. 3. (2004): 749.

[177] (1) One of Clark's strongest arguments is based on the vocabulary and morphology of the *Dialogues*. He suggests that the demotic features of the text which Vogüé, one of his opponents, has pointed out, are proof of the different provenance of the IGPs than the rest of the work. Moreover, certain demotic words are only attested for the first time besides the Dialogues in mss originating decades after Gregory's death. (2) The juxtaposition of the two distinctive literary styles is also noticeable. On the one hand, the pseudo-texts lack the poetic rhythm so characteristic of the pope's compositions; rather, they follow the style of clerks. (3) Clark points to the "banal reasoning and limping logic" of the dialogist, which is otherwise alien to genuine Gregorian works. The most notable examples are the often missing logical links between the interrogations of Deacon Peter (pseudo-texts) and IGPs. (4) The dialogist's often self-congratulatory behaviour, "socio-religious snobbery" and "ecclesiastical elitism" are also atypical of the real Gregory. (5) The depiction of church life is also different from that in the age of Gregory. (6) The arguments which Clark based on the theological discrepancies in the work are especially important for the present paper as they touch upon the theme of the afterlife. It is generally notable that the pseudo-texts lack the biblical exegetical richness of the genuine passages. He finds some of the miracle stories doctrinally exceptionable, while those which Pope Gregory also utilized in his works to set a moral example, do not give any moral lessons in the dialogist's interpretation, but are quoted in order to entertain the reader. Moreover, the dialogist's habit of providing a source for each story seems to be constrained and alien to the pope's style: Clark "A Problematic Legacy," 323-329.

[178] Kuzdale, "Review," 750.

his solid philological argumentation. Maybe the comments he attaches to his findings are too biased, but they do not form an intrinsic part of his argumentation. Unlike Kuzdale, Marilyn Dunn agrees with Clark on the composite nature of the *Dialogues*, although she claims an Anglo-Saxon monastic provenance for it.[179] She is of the opinion that the genuine passages were inserted in order to educate the monks in theology, while the pseudo-texts were supposed to provide "a storehouse of vivid exempla" for Christianizing the still large number of pagans in Great Britain. However, while her positive arguments for the British Isles could be used for almost any other location in Europe, she cannot sufficiently explain how some one in Great Britain could obtain the little-known Gregorian manuscript from the Lateran archives. Therefore, her conclusions are groundless.

As the topic of this paper is not the debate over the authorship of the (Pseudo)-Gregorian *Dialogues*, I have to take a side even though one could only make a secure decision if he studied the whole Gregorian corpus. Thus, at this stage of my research, I agree with the basic assumptions of Clark; however, for this paper I will present the texts on prayer for the dead as well which he considers pseudonymous in order to point out how they represent a different world-view from the IGPs.

1.4.2. Supplications and the offering of the Eucharist

In the IGPs

The *Dialogues* contain many fewer references to prayer for the dead than the treatises of Augustine. Furthermore, if one separates the IGPs from the rest of the passages, the reader is left with few references. Still, it is apparent that Gregory was absolutely familiar with the practice of these prayers; he simply did not treat them in detail.

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[179] Marilyn Dunn, "Reading the Dialogues," *Studia Patristica* 39 (2006): 355-360.

In IGP 78 (chap. 59), Gregory argues, echoing the Augustinian doctrine, that the sacrifice of the holy oblations[180] only benefits the deceased if they did not die in irremissible sin.[181] Then he adds that, as another condition, the holy sacrifices only benefit those who are already dead who, during their earthly life did good deeds.[182] This seems to be a rather circular argument, as it neither says what kind of good things the living accomplish for the dead nor that what the dead were supposed to do while they were living in order to become eligible for these good things. Nevertheless, in the next chapter (chap. 60.) he gives some clues to solving this riddle. Namely, it is a safe strategy to do things while one is alive which he would like the others to do for him when he is dead. Although he does not say it explicitly, he was familiar with Augustine's teaching on the function of the merits of prayers and he probably even read the corresponding passage of the *De cura*.[183] Then Gregory returns to the opening of his argumentation and continues in completely another direction. Namely, he argues that it is much simpler to depart this life free of sin[184] than to die in sin, and then worry about how it will be purified.[185]

In the pseudo-texts

The pseudo-Gregorian texts are much richer in passages on prayers and Eucharistic offerings in favour of the dead. In chapter 42, the author of the *Dialogues* recounts the strange meeting of Paschasius, a deacon of the Roman Church, and Bishop Germanus of Capua[186] which allegedly took place in the early sixth century. Paschasius was living at the time of the conflict between Pope St. Symmachus (pontificate 498-514), who was ready to defend the

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[180] *victima sacrae oblationis*

[181] *insolubiles culpae*

[182] *Sed sciendum est quia illis sacrae uictimae mortuis prosunt, qui hic uiuendo obtinuerunt, ut eos etiam post mortem bona adiuuent, quae hic pro ipsis ab aliis fiunt.*

[183] "One says prayers for his close acquaintances, so that after his death, others should act on behalf of him similarly." Augustine, *De cura* 22, Trans. Brown.

[184] He suggests that one should despise this world and offer the sacrifice of tears and the sacrifice of the body and blood every day.

[185] He arrives at the same conclusion in the closing paragraph of the book: *et fidenter dico quia salutari hostia post mortem non indigebimus, si ante mortem Deo hostia ipsi fuerimus.* Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, IGP 80,chap. 62.

[186] St Germanus of Capua died circa. 540: A comment of Vogüé in Gregory the Great, *Dialogues, Tome III.* 153.

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interests of Rome against the Byzantine court,[187] and Antipope Lawrence (498-99; 502-506),[188] who followed a conciliatory approach towards the Byzantines. The first phase of the struggle ended with the victory of Symmachus, however, the fight was renewed in 502 and the schism lasted for four more years. Once the supporters of Lawrence controlled almost all the churches of the city except St Peter's, which remained in the possession of the legitimate pope. However, in 506, when King Theodoric the Great took the side of Symmachus for the second time in the debate,[189] most of the followers of Lawrence also changed sides. Nonetheless, according to the author of the *Dialogues*, this Paschasius remained loyal to Lawrence until his death-bed because he was convinced of his truth. Despite this error, the Dialogist emphasizes that Paschasius was leading an exemplary life, generously distributing alms among the poor. As a confirmation of his saintly life, a miracle took place at his grave soon after his death. Not long after this event, Bishop Germanus went to the baths, where he found Paschasius standing as an assistant. He explained that he was sent to this place of punishment in order to atone for his fault of supporting Lawrence against Symmachus. Then he asked the bishop to pray for him, so that the next time Germanus came to the bath he would not find Paschasius there, which would indicate that God had had mercy on him and exempted him from further punishment. The bishop prayed and, returning to the bath, he did not find Paschasius. The Dialogist draws two conclusions from the story. On the one hand, the prayer was beneficent because the deacon's sin was minor as it was carried out in ignorance. On the other hand, his previous practice of alms-giving entitled him to benefit from prayers after his death.

Both conclusions are accord with the teachings of the pope formulated in chapter 78. While the gravity of the sin as a determining factor in the efficacy of the Eucharistic offering

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[187] J. Chapin "Symmachus, Pope. St." in *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 2nd ed., Vol 13 (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2003), 672-673.

[188] J. F. Kelly, "Lawrence, Antipope" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 2nd ed., vol. 8 (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2003) 404.

[189] Ibid.

is explicitly mentioned, alms-giving can fit the category of virtuous life which also stands as a pre-requisite for the offering and forms a coherent part of Augustine's theology. Nevertheless, there are some signs which clearly mark this text from the IGPs. Beside the usual philological and stylistic differences, there are at least three theologically objectionable elements. On the one hand, there is a sign of the confirmation of the prayers: Paschasius disappears from the baths. Thus, the efficacy of the prayer does not remain a secret of God. Second, someone returning to the earth for post-mortem punishment is also far from what Gregory had in mind. However, what is more startling is that this punishment occurs to the same person whose sanctity God has already confirmed by a healing miracle! Thus, the reader stays with the question: Was he really a saint?

In chapter 57, the dialogist starts a cycle on the Holy Eucharist, which continues until the end of the treatise. In IGP 78 it re-appears, what he already established in 42 that the Eucharistic offering only works for people whose sins are pardonable. Therefore, he claims that the souls of the deceased often beg for the Eucharist to be offered in their favour. To illustrate his point, he presents two pseudo-Gregorian anecdotes. As with most of the pseudo-texts, a detailed description of the provenance[190] precedes the first account, which otherwise closely resembles Bishop Germanus' encounter with Paschasius. However, in this case the guest and not the bath-servant starts to act. In order to render thanks for the assistance of the unknown servant, the priest brings him two crown-shaped loaves of bread.[191] The servant refuses the gift and reveals his true identity, asking the priest to offer the bread for the forgiveness of his sins. The priest leaves and acts accordingly: he constantly beseeches God in tears and offers the Eucharist every day for a week, so that returning to the bath he does not find the man there, which marks the success of his supplications.

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[190] The author of the Dialogue specifies the agent, Bishop Felix, from whom he heard this story, and the original source, the priest of the Church of Saint John in a place called Tauriana, in the diocese of Centumcellis.
[191] *Oblationum coronas* are people's offerings for the Eucharist. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues, Tome III*, 187.

In the second anecdote (pseudo-)Gregory narrates the events in the first person singular, as the highest authority in "his own" monastery.[192] The story is divided into two parts; the first serves as a moral for the monks, the second is primarily concerned with the fate of the deceased monk's soul. A so-called Justus, the doctor of the community, a seemingly truthful monk, admitted on his death-bed that despite the strict monastic regulations[193] he had collected some money for himself which he kept in a secret place. Gregory ordered that no one should visit the monk on his death-bed as a sign of disapproval. Consequently, the man recognized his sin and died in penitence. However, Gregory had him buried into a dunghill with his illegally obtained money. It is odd that despite his repentance, the corpse of Justus was treated disgracefully, without a proper burial. Gregory's primary initiative was to set a deterrent for the brothers so that no one should act similarly. A lack of proper burial was already considered a punishment for the soul of the dead, but Gregory went further as he was reluctant to make the usual penitential offerings for the deceased. He accounted for this by saying that the monk should be left to suffer his due punishment. Then, thirty days after his death, the pope had mercy on him and decreed that the Holy Eucharist should be offered daily on his behalf for thirty days. When the thirty-day period was over, Justus appeared to one of the brothers, Copiosus, and gladly informed him about the end of his punishment. It became evident that the dead monk had avoided further punishments by the holy sacrifice.[194]

It is striking that how boldly Pseudo-Gregory decides about the future of one's soul. First, he is certain that, despite the repentance of the monk on his death-bed, he was sent to the place of punishment. Second, Gregory did not pray for Justus for thirty days, as he was absolutely sure that the man was not entitled to the felicity of the other-world which the

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[192] It is identified with his main monastic foundation: St. Andrew's; Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 153.
[193] cf. Acts 4.
[194] *quia frater qui defunctus fuerat per salutarem hostiam supplicium euasit*, Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, Chap. 57.

supplications could bring about. Perhaps, although he did not state it explicitly, this was another motivation for not burying him properly.

These motifs suggest that at the time of composition there was already an idea of a necessary time for expiation and certain rituals of penitence depending on the gravity of the sin. Justus failed to accomplish these because of the shortness of time between the awakening of his conscience and his death.[195] Therefore, Gregory provided the necessary time for the soul of the deceased to complete the minimal time in punishment for the expiation of his sins. This echoes the message of the previous story, where Paschasius did not wash away his sin with tears during his earthly life, thus he had to suffer in the next. Moreover, similarly to Paschasius and the un-named bath servant in chapter 57, the soul of Justus also rather oddly confirms the efficacy of the supplications.

1.4.3. Heaven, Hell and the Interim Place

Turning to the authentic texts, the authentic Gregory is more interested in the nature of purgation and the structure and functioning of heaven, hell, and the fiery place of purgation than in the actual efficacy of the prayers. Gregory's most significant step in theological speculation on eschatology was the invention of double judgement after death. He argues that after death the perfectly just souls immediately go to heaven, while the most wretched directly go to eternal damnation.[196] However, the just people who are not absolutely spotless will be "deferred from heaven" and will stay in various mansions.[197]

In chapter 41 (IGP 67) Gregory treats the purgative fire of 1 Cor. 3. Although he does not say it explicitly, the people suffering in this fire, should be the same as those who are deferred from heaven, as the perfectly just and the wicked people have already gone to their due places (heaven and hell). Consequently, the mansions of chapter 26 (IGP 57) should be

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[195] cf. The same initiative lies behind the second mass for a deceased layman in the Verona Sacramentary. See: Chap. 2.3.

[196] Gregory the Great, Dialogues, chap. 29 (IGP 60).

[197] Ibid. chap. 26, (IGP 57).

the places of the purgative fire. However, Gregory – not surprisingly – is silent about the precious materials of the Pauline image as they do not fit his idea of double judgement. Nevertheless, in some places[198] his work closely resembles Augustine's argument,[199] namely, when he uses Mt. 12:32 as a scriptural proof for the possibility of purgation from sins after death and the earthly merits that are necessary preconditions.

1.4.4. Conclusion

The Gregory of the inserted passages is completely in accord with Augustine concerning supplications for the dead. Even though only the Eucharist is mentioned in the IGPs as a possible way of helping the souls of the deceased, he must have been familiar with the practice of praying and almsgiving, which had been part of the Church tradition for a long time. Moreover, he should also have found them through reading Augustine. He also acknowledges such tenets of Augustine as the necessity of merits gained on earth and that only minor sins can be forgiven as the result of the Eucharistic offering. Although Gregory has rather conservative views on the Eucharist, he proclaims quite revolutionary ideas about the fate of souls after death. He is the first to introduce the notion of double judgement, while he maintains that the purgative fire of 1 Cor. only applies to the *non ualde boni*.

The author of the pseudo-passages seems to differ from the authentic Gregory on certain theological issues. Beside the fact that the characters of his stories come back to the earth to suffer, one of them is paradoxically a saint and a repentant at the same time, moreover, they notify the living about the result of their prayers. The most important issue for the history of prayers for the dead is the direct connection drawn between the prayers and the suffering. While prayers traditionally focused upon the forgiveness of sins and salvation of the soul, the characters of the three pseudo-Gregorian stories (Paschasius, the unnamed bath-servant, and Justus) ask for prayers to mitigate their suffering, and their wishes are fulfilled in

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[198] Ibid. chp. 41, (IGP 67).
[199] Cf. Augustine, *De civitate,* XXI.24.

all the cases. Hence, the adherents of the genuineness of the *Dialogues* have to answer the question: how could Pope Gregory the Great incorporate such theologically objectionable stories into his work?

CHAPTER TWO
PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD IN EARLY ROMAN LITURGIES

Having examined the theology of prayer for the dead in the early centuries of Christianity I now turn to the liturgical sources. A good way to discover the prevalent theology of an age is to look at official liturgical texts. Although theological treatises often introduce fresh ideas, it takes time for them to gain popularity and to find admittance into the official teaching of the Church, let alone to be included in the liturgy. On the contrary, liturgy is a source of solidity, having a tendency to conservativism. Liturgical formulas were chanted on a daily basis and could not be changed according to individual preferences.

The history of the Christian liturgy is an immensely complicated area of research, even if one works in limited geographical and time areas. Here I will deal with sixth- to eighth-century sources from Rome. However, the recovery of such texts is difficult in view of the fact that in most cases the existing manuscripts are later than their supposed ancestors and were produced elsewhere than in Rome, where their contents would connect them. This means that the Roman rite was not limited to the Eternal City. The apostolic see was influential in liturgical matters from the fourth century onwards, first in its closer region and later even beyond the Alps.[200] It is not an easy task for liturgists to set up a supposed date and provenance for the sources. They have to navigate through a jungle of manuscripts which form a vast cobweb of mutual dependence. The aim of this chapter is not to establish the umpteenth theory on the history of these manuscripts, but to analyze their contents. Therefore, after a short presentation of the scholarly debates I will focus on the doctrine formulated in the texts.

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[200] D. G. Dix *The Shape of the Liturgy* (New York: Seabury Press, 1982) 563; 565.

If one studies medieval liturgical texts, he/she needs to keep in mind some basic rules. For example, there is no clear periodization in the history of liturgical books. Old and revised versions or even completely new books co-existed and were kept in use not only in the same region, but even in the same city.[201] Moreover, if a book was copied at a certain time it means that it was still in use then;[202] i.e., it would be illogical to copy of a text no one intended to use again which had already been replaced by a new one. In the case of liturgical texts one rarely finds the author, as they are usually anonymous and the products of various hands. Authenticity is also relative; according to Cyrille Vogel, "what is authentic is what was actually used for divine worship."[203] In earlier liturgical scholarship there was a tendency to make too far-fetched conclusions concerning the primitive texts which allegedly served as literary sources for the extant manuscripts. Today, scholars are more cautious and take the advice of Louis Duchesne concerning the dangers of grandiose but poorly attested hypotheses: "I prefer solid ground: I would rather go less far and walk securely."[204]

I have selected four sources for this study. Two are instruction booklets, so-called *ordines*, on how to celebrate funerals. Both have Roman origins; *Ordo 49* is dated to the eleventh century and Phillipps 1667 to the ninth, although both reflect the practices of at least the eighth century, if not an earlier period. Hence, they are among the oldest Roman funeral *ordines*. The third source, the *Sacramentary* of Verona, contains a collection of Eucharistic prayers commemorating the deceased. It is the oldest manuscript of the four, dating back to the sixth century. The last source is a short funeral prayer from the so-called Old Gelasian Sacramentary from the mid-eighth century. Therefore, they cover the end of the patristic and the beginning of the Carolingian age.

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[201] C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, tr. W. G. Storey (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986), 63.
[202] Ibid. 62.
[203] Ibid. 63.
[204] Ibid.

2.1. The sources

2.1.1. Ordo 49 (Ordo qualiter agatur in obsequium defunctorum)

Ordo 49[205] (*O*) has only survived in one manuscript, the *Ottobonianus Latinus 312*[206] of the Vatican Library. The manuscript, which consists of 152 folios, originated from the region of Aquitania and is dated to the eleventh century. A copy of the *Dionysio-Hadriana,* an eighth-century book of canon law, occupies the first 136 folios, while the remaining part – fols.137v-152r – contains an extensive collection of Roman *ordines*. With the exception of two *ordines*, the collection can be found in various manuscripts, the earliest one, the *Codex 412* of the Montpellier Medical Faculty Library, dated to the ninth century. However, the collection can be dated even further back, to the eighth century.

O is one of the two *ordines* which are unique to this manuscript. Despite this uniqueness, Andrieu finds some support for a Roman origin. First, he argues that if *O* had not originated in Rome, then it would not have been incorporated into a collection produced for the propagation of the Roman liturgical practices in Gallican territories. Moreover, he points out a striking similarity between a funeral *ordo* in a twelfth-century pontifical from the Lateran and this *ordo*. He thinks that the complier of the pontifical found a copy of *O* in the papal archives and, despite its archaic language, he inserted it into the collection, exactly because he considered it to be an ancient Roman source.[207] An eleventh-century Ambrosian *ordo* from North Italy also takes over almost all the rubrics of *O*. This fits well into the eighth-century tendency to move Roman liturgical texts towards the northern countries.[208]

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[205] In the MS there is no numbering. It is the work of Andrieu, the editor of the 1956 critical edition.

[206] *O* can be found on folio 151v: D. Sicard *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines a la reforme carolingienne* (Muenster: Aschendorff, 1978), 3-4.

[207] Andrieu, M. *Les ordines romani du haut Moyen Age, IV,* Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 28. (Leuven, 1956), 524-525.

[208] Ibid.

2.1.2. *Incipit de migratione animae* in MS. *Phillipps 1667.*

The second *ordo* I examine here forms part of the Sacramentary of Berlin (MS. *Phillipps 1667)*, now kept in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.[209] It is a copy of the so-called "eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries." It was probably produced in the east of the Frankish Empire ca. 800.[210] Sicard discovered that an *ordo* entitled *Incipit de migratione animae (Ph)*, which can be found on fols. 173v- 174r of *Phillipps 1667*, closely resembles *O.*[211] He claims a Roman origin for the text on the basis of the expression: *in ecclesia dei militaret (Ph 4)*, which appears in the context of washing and dressing a corpse. The *ordo* tells that the body is dressed in the garment in which he has served as a soldier in the Church of God according to his proper ecclesiastical order. Sicard argues that this expression is a peculiarity of Roman sources such as the *Liber Diurnus Romanum Pontificium*, the *Liber Pontificalis*, the letters of Gregory the Great, and a Roman *ordo* for Maundy Thursday.[212]

2.1.3. Sacramentarium Veronense

Turning to actual prayers for the dead, my two sources are the so-called *Veronense (Ver)* and *Old Gelasian (Vat)* sacramentaries, even though the former is technically not a sacramentary, but rather a collection of *libelli missarum*. These *libelli* are leaflets, or small booklets, recording the celebrant's prayers at a single mass. Vogel described them as "the missing links between the period of freely composed prayers and … the *Liber Sacramentorum.*"[213] Unfortunately, no such booklets are left except the collection from Verona, which was mis-identified and called a sacramentary in the eighteenth century.[214] The

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[209] "Incipit de migratione animae" in MS. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1667; D. Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine*, 8.

[210] Andrieu, *Les ordines romani*, 525; Others, such as P. de Puniet and E. Bourque, date it to the turn of the ninth century, naming Trier as the place of origin: Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 7.

[211] Ibid. 6-7.

[212] Ibid. 9.

[213] i.e., the sacramentary; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy,* 38.

[214] Ibid.

MS (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 85)[215] was found in the library of Verona's cathedral chapter by the Italian writer and antiquarian Francesco Scipione, marchese di Maffei, in 1713.[216] Older scholarship traditionally referred to it as the *Leonine Sacramentary*, however, this was a mistaken title. In the eighteenth century Joseph Bianchini, the first publisher of the text, found some parallels between the collection and the writings of Pope Leo the Great. This was proven to be false, thus today scholars tend to use the title *Veronense*, in reference to the provenance.

There are some historical allusions in the text which helped scholars to find a rather well defined period for its composition. There are references to wars, probably the fights with the Ostrogoths in 537-38,[217] to a drought, probably in the exceptionally dry year of 538,[218] and to some struggles within the church, which can be also assigned to this period.[219] While both Lowe's and Bischoff's palaeographic researches have ended with a date circa 600 for the MS,[220] Chavasse argues for the period between Pope Vigilantius (d.545) and Pope John III (d.574).[221] Deshusses suggests that the prayers originated from the fifth and sixth centuries, but were compiled into one piece in the middle of the sixth century.[222] It was written in *cursus*, a rhythmic prose characteristic of the papal chancellery between the time of Pope Siricius (384-98) and Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), although it was used in liturgical writings for a longer period from the mid-forth to the mid-ninth century.[223] Hence, taking into

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[215] *Sacramentarium Veronense*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhoefer, P. Sifrin, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series major, Fontes 1 (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1956).

[216] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 240.

[217] D. M. Hope *Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (Oxford: OUP, 1971), 55.

[218] Ibid., 114.

[219] Ibid., 66.

[220] Ibid., 118.

[221] Ibid., 114.

[222] J. Deshusses, "Les sacramentaires. État actuel de la recherche," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 24 (1982): 25.

[223] Hope, *Leonine Sacramentary*, 154.

consideration all the available information, Hope suggests a late sixth-century origin for the MS.[224]

The prayers are definitely not the products of a single hand, rather the material ranges from the time of Cyprian of Carthage to the papacy of Gregory the Great.[225] Hope rejects Dix's argument for a clerical author, and sides with Probst, claiming that a great number of the prayers are simply misplaced in the ecclesiastical year, so that it could not have been composed by a cleric.[226]

The Roman origin can be easily reinforced by textual evidence. For instance, it commemorates many martyrs of the Roman Church. The name of the city is mentioned explicitly several times. There are even masses for the cathedrals of Rome.[227] However, the marginal notes suggest that the MS was already in Verona in the eighth century.[228] It is very unlikely that local Roman prayers, especially in such a disorganized order, were used in the church of another city, thus Hope concludes that it would have been a private collection.[229]

The 1331 prayers in the book are listed in chronological order corresponding to the secular year, although the first three months and half of April are missing. The prayers for the dead (sec. XXXIII –*Super defunctos)*[230] are collected under month of October. There is no logical reason why they were place here, thus Sicard argues that possibly there was an abundance of free space which led the compiler to put some prayers here even though they had nothing to do with the month October. However, this is the case for the two other groups of October. Sec. XXXII De Siccitate Temporis contains six masses celebrated at the time of the drought. In view of the climate of the Mediterraneum, which has some much drier periods than October when rainfall would be even more vital than in the autumn, Hope concludes that

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[224] Ibid., 118.
[225] Ibid., 117.
[226] Ibid., 118.
[227] Ibid., 132-134.
[228] Ibid., 118.
[229] Ibid., 139.
[230] Formulas 1138 – 1160 according to the numbering of Mohlberg.

this sec. XXXII is probably also misplaced, especially as that Mass III has a reference to Lent.[231] Finally, Sec. XXXIV *Sancti Siluestri* is also inappropriate here, as his feast is celebrated in December.

2.1.4. The *Commendatio Animae* in the MS *Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus 316*

While the Leonine is only nominally a sacramentary, the Old Gelasian is a real one. Sacramentaries were books designed for the celebrant bishops and priests of liturgical services, such as masses, Hours of Prayer, baptisms, ordinations, weddings, funerals, dedication of churches, etc. However, they did not contain the canon of the mass, the readings or the chants of the other participants in the services such as deacons, subdeacons, and the minor orders. The appearance of the *Missale plenum* (the full missal) in the thirteenth century marked the beginning of the sacramentaries' slow decline. There are many corresponding terms referring to sacramentaries: *Liber sacramentorum, Volumen sacramentorum, Sacramentorium, Sacramentarium, Liber missalis* or *Missalis*.[232] *The Gelasianum* is a popular name for a group of sacramentaries with the title *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae* (Book of Sacraments of the Church of Rome). All of them − falsely − are claimed to have originated from Pope Gelasius.[233]

Here I am dealing with the oldest MS of the Gelasians, popularly called the *Old Gelasian*.[234] Today the book is divided into two parts: the first and more significant part is the *Codex Vaticanus Reginensis latinus 316* (folios 3-245) of the Vatican Library, while the rest of the book forms part of the *Codex latinus 7193* (folios 41-56) of the French National

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[231] Hope, *Leonine Sacramentary*, 35.

[232] Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 64.

[233] The name, Gelasian, was given due to a misinterpretation of certain passages of the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Vita Georgii*. Ibid., 68.

[234] *Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193*; the critical edition*: Sacramentarium Gelasianum,* ed. L. C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhoefer, P. Sifrin. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series major, Fontes 4 (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1981).

Library, Paris. There have been heated scholarly debates on both the composition date and provenance of the MS,[235] but nowadays scholars tend to agree upon both of them: the date – ca. 750 – and the location – the nunnery of Chelles.[236] Even though it bears some signs of the local Gallican rite, it shows far fewer modifications than all the other Gelasian Sacramentaries, which cannot really be called Roman, but rather Gallico-Roman. Despite the rather exact data about the existing manuscript, little is known about the model from which it was copied. It is highly probable that it was composed from *libelli* used in seventh-century Rome.[237] Thus, it is not surprising that it shows many resemblances to the Veronense Sacramentary, which was probably composed from the very same *libelli*. The 14 masses (formulas 1628 - 1695) for the deceased in *Vat* incorporate 20 of the 26 prayers for the dead recorded in the *V*. They are not quoted verbatim, rather as Sicard put it: "Le Sacramentaire Gélasien a puisé dans le recueil léonien comme dans une carrière de matériaux liturgiques."[238]

Beside the funeral masses, there is also a large collection of 19 Gallicanised funeral *ordine*s[239] in the manuscript, with two special prayers for the commendation of the soul quoted after the last *ordo*. Chavasse has identified the second prayer (*Deus apud quem – Vat 1627)* as the prayer to which *O* refers simply as a prayer (*oratio*) after the psalmody at the departure of the soul, while *Ph* refers to it as the prayer for the commemoration of the soul.[240] It is the only surviving funerary prayer of the old Roman Rite.[241]

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[235] I am referring to both pieces, as they surely formed a single volume in the Middle Ages: Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 64.

[236] Ibid., 65.

[237] L. Douchesne, *Christian Worship* (1925) cited in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy,* 68.

[238] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 245.

[239] Book III. sec. 41.

[240] *Orationem animae commemorationis*, here *commemoratio* can be taken as *commendatio*: Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 79.

[241] A. Chavasse, *Le Sacramentaire gélasien* (Paris: Desclée, 1958), 59.

2.2. The Structure of the Funeral Rites

	O	Ph
Viaticum	1	4
The Passion is read	2	1
Chanting at the departure of the soul	3	5
Commendation of the soul	4	3
Washing of the body	5	6
Dressing the body		6
Chanting in the house	6	7
Procession to the church	7	8
Prayer service in the church	9	9
Vigils	10	
Procession to the grave	8	
Interment	11	10

Figure 1. The structure of the funeral rites.

There are some structural differences between the two Roman *ordines*, however one can still clearly perceive the common Roman origin of the two texts. *O* starts with the description of the *viaticum*, the Eucharist given to the dying person. This is followed by a reading of the Passion of Christ from the Gospel of John. The order of *Ph* is somewhat different, as it starts with the reading, followed by a psalmody, which in *O* is part of the procession to the church. The viaticum is only the fourth element in the sequence of the *Ph*.

According to *O*, when the point of death is approaching, Ps. 113 (*In exitu*) is sung with a response (*Subvenite*),[242] a verse (*Suscipiat te*),[243] and an antiphon (*Chorus angelorum*).[244]

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[242] In some ancient Roman *ordines*, including *O*, it functions as a response; in other cases it is used as an antiphon. *O* only contains the incipit, but the full sentence should have been very similar to the tenth-century

However, while in *O* the prayer for the commendation of the soul (*Commendatio animae)* only comes after this chanting section, in *Ph* the prayer comes earlier, even before the *viaticum,* and Ps. 113 is the last chanting piece at the time of death.

Ps. 113 formed part of the Jewish *Hallel* psalm circle (Ps. 112-118) read on the great feasts, especially during the Passover meal.[245] All three chants, the *Subvenite, Suscipiant*, and *Chorus angelorum* reflect the story of Poor Lazarus and the Rich Man, especially Lk. 16: 22a.[246] They invite the angels to take the soul of the deceased up to the bosom of Abraham, where it should rejoice in the company of Poor Lazarus. The same messages are reflected in *Vat 1627,* which led Chavasse to identify this *Commendatio animae* with the prayers of *Ph 3* and *O 4*.

When death has occurred, the corpse is washed and put on the bier.[247] Only *Ph* notes the dressing of the body. Then, another period of chanting follows (*O 6, Ph 7*), still in the house. The antiphon, *De terra formasti me*, was written under the clear inspiration of Ps. 118:73 and Job 10:8-11, both recalling God as the creator of man. Moreover, similarly to the *Commendatio animae*, it also makes use of Job 19:25, wishing for the resurrection on the last day.[248] This is followed by Ps. 92, praising God's kingship of the universe.

Next, the body is taken to the church in a procession, although the two *ordines* prescribe two different sets of chants (*O 7, Ph 8*). The first antiphon of *O 7, Tu iussisti nasci*

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records of the same antiphon. It can be reconstructed as: *Subvenite sancti dei: occurite angeli domini, suscipientes animam ejus, offerentes eam in conspectu altissimi*; Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort,* 66.

[243] It could be used as a verse of the *Subvenite,*or an antiphon of the psalm. *O* only contains its incipit; however, many other *ordines* record the full sentence. The ninth-century Sacramentary of Saint-Denys has: "*Suscipiat te christus qui creavit te et in sinum abrahae angeli deducant te,*" ibid., 66-67.

[244] In the Sacramentary of Saint-Denys the full antiphon reads: *Chorus angelorum te suscipiat et in sinu abrahae te collocet ut cum lazaro quondam paupere aeternam habeas requiem*, ibid., 70.

[245] Ibid., 75.

[246] "And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom." *factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus et portaretur ab angelis in sinum Abrahae* (Lc 16:22); I took all the parallels drawn between the passages of the four liturgical sources and of the Bible from Sicard.

[247] Both texts use the word *feretro*, meaning bier. However, Sicard notes that it should have been something portable, either a stretcher or even the coffin itself. Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort,* 112.

[248] Ibid., 124.

me, domine, refers to the first resurrection of the dead[249] as birth, thus asking God to count the deceased among the just who will rise and take part in the millennium reign of Christ before the day of the last judgement comes. This is followed by Ps. 41, in which the exile Levite is longing for the house of God.[250] The second antiphon, *In paradiso dei*, shows a close resemblance to *Subvenite*. It asks the angels to take the soul to the Paradise, where the saints will receive it. This is preceded by Ps. 4, an evening prayer, here associated with the end of one's day in the earthly life.

Ph also prescribes two antiphons. While *Audivi vocem de celo*,[251] i.e. "I heard a voice from heaven," is the incipit of Rev. 14:13a,[252] the *Haec diem*[253] resembles *De terra formasti* and *In Paradiso*, recalling the man of the earth. *Ph* orders Psalms 114 and 142 to be sung during the procession to the church. Ps. 114, which forms part of the *hallel*, is a psalm of thanksgiving, expressing the anguish of the psalmist, who asks for God's deliverance. Ps. 142 is an individual lamentation, the last among the seven penitential psalms.[254]

Some discrepancies have been already pointed out between the two sets of regulations, such as the different order of the viaticum and the commendation of the soul and the differences in the psalms and antiphons sung during the procession to the church; however, from this point onwards the confusion even gets deeper. It seems that *O 8* is misplaced, as it is an order for the procession from the church to the grave. Therefore, chronologically *O 7* is followed by the instructions of *O 9* and *O 10* on the church service. First there is the chanting of psalms or responses, followed by a mass (*missa*) or readings from the Book of Job. In the evening the vigils are celebrated with psalmody and the singing of antiphons, but without the

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[249] 1 Thess. 4:15

[250] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort,* 139.

[251] The tenth-century Antiphonal of Hartker provides the full antiphon: *Audivi vocem de celo dicentem : beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur*, ibid., 131.

[252] "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying to me: Write: Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord."

[253] The incipit is so corrupted that in the present form it is meaningless, thus Sicard tried to reconstruct not only the original incipit, but the whole antiphon based on other *ordines*: *Haec diem mortalem homo terrae quia de limo factus est, suscita domine animam eius in regno tuo cum sanctis tuis*, Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 132.

[254] J. S. Kselman and M. L. Barré, "Psalms" in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1993), 550.

Alleluia. It is a striking characteristic of the instructions that they do not order the celebration of mass, only provide it as an option instead of the readings from Job. Sicard seems to be right that here a *missa* should be interpreted simply as any kind of religious service.[255] *Ph 9* describes the ceremonial details,[256] but is less informative than *O* concerning the service itself, which only consists of antiphonal singing in the church. Still, the most striking feature of both *ordines* is that they do not refer to a burial mass at all.

Sicard thinks that even though there are numerous patristic references to the Eucharist celebrated for the deceased, as was indicated in the first chapter, none of them specifies that it takes place as part of the funeral. Either they are completely silent about timing or they refer to some specific dates, such as the day of death (not the burial), or some subsequent days.[257] The same applies to some Roman *ordines*[258] and *Ver* and *Vat* as well. There is no prayer in these sources which gives an explicit reference to a funeral Mass. *Ver 1161* seems to be the only exception, noting an offering at the burial of Pope Sylvester. However, this has to be taken as an anniversary of Sylvester's burial rather than the actual burial.[259] Thus, Sicard concludes that the origins of the funeral mass should be looked for somewhere else than Rome.[260] Probably Sicard's conclusions on the liturgical sources are right, however, as was pointed out in Chapter 1.1, the sermons of Ambrose on the death of Satyrus and Valentinian were delivered on the day of the funeral.

Ph does not provide chants for the procession to the grave; however, it hints that the church was situated in the cemetery.[261] *O 8* lists four antiphons and four psalms for the procession to the grave. The first antiphon *Qui posuit* is taken from Ps. 65 (Verse 9a), followed by Ps. 14. The second antiphon *Animam de corpore* is inspired by Rom. 7:24 or 2

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[255] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 149.
[256] A cross and candles should accompany the corpse and incense should be used.
[257] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 174.
[258] Although, they bear some Gallican signs. These are the Codex of Saint Martial of Limoges, MS 123 of the Cologne Cathedral, the Sacramentary of Rheinau 30, and *Ordo* 15; ibid., 182.
[259] Ibid., 242.
[260] Ibid., 183.
[261] *Deinde offeretur eum in ecclesia ubi sepeliendus est.*

Thess. 1:10[262] and its paschal joy counterbalances the lamentation of the following Ps. 50.[263]

This is followed by the antiphon *Vide, domine*, which is the eighteenth verse of the following

Ps. 24. The final antiphon, *In regnum dei,* is a compilation from the antiphons *In paradise* and

De terra, followed by Ps. 56. For the interment both *Ph* and *O* order the same antiphon,

Aperite mihi portas[264] and likewise Ps. 106.

2.3. The Structure of the Masses for the Deceased

Section XXXIII of *Ver* contains five masses for the deceased. The first three masses

are offered for laymen, the fourth for a bishop, and the last for a pope. The second mass is

concerned with a person who showed repentance and sought the remission of his sins, but for

some unknown reason was unable to obtain it during his life. The first half (1144-46) of the

third mass is either a variant of or a supplement to the second, while the second half (1147-

50) serves a similar function for Mass I.[265] The fourth asks Saint Lawrence to intercede for

the soul of a deceased bishop so that he can enter the community of saints. This might suggest

that he died in the octave of the saint,[266] or he was buried in the cemetery named after Saint

Lawrence.[267] The fifth account also asks for the help of Saint Lawrence to intercede for the

salvation of a deceased pope of Rome. If Saint Lawrence refers to the cemetery named after

him in Rome, there are only a few possibilities. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, only two

popes, Sixtus III (432-440) and Hilarius (481-468), were buried there. Therefore, the mass

was either composed for Sixtus III during the pontificate of Leo the Great (440-461) or for

Hilarius under subsequent pontiffs such as Simplicius (468-483), Felix III (483-492) or

Gelasius I (492-496).[268] Section XXXIIII bears the name of Pope Saint Sylvester. However,

only the first two (1161-62) of the following three prayers are addressed to him. *Ver 1163*

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[262] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 215.
[263] Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà*, 114.
[264] Ps. 117:19.
[265] Hope, *Leonine Sacramentary*, 35.
[266] Ibid., 37.
[267] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 242.
[268] Ibid.

names Pope Simplicius. Moreover, *Ver 1161* mentions Sylvester without the saintly title, referring to his burial although as was indicated above, Sicard took it as an anniversary of the burial. Sylvester died in 335 and Simplicius in 483, but Sicard finds both dates too early in the history of Western hagiography for canonizing people who did not suffer martyrdom. Hence, he concludes that both could have been composed at the beginning of the sixth century at the earliest.[269]

2.4. The theological contents

The prayers for laymen in *Ver* ask for God's forgiveness and for the salvation of their souls at the same time. These two wishes are stated explicitly or at least implied in all the prayers from 1138 to 1150. There are various formulas of supplication for the post-mortem forgiveness of sins, such as having sins expiated (*peccatis expiatam* – 1138), being cleansed of the sinful concomitants of earthly life (*quidquid terrena conuersatione contraxit* – 1140), absolution from sins (*ab omnibus absolue peccatis* – 1141), and remission of sins (*peccatorum ueniam* – 1142). There are similar petitions in the *ordines* as well. While the Antiphon *Vide, domine (O 8)* and Ps. 24 implore God to grant forgiveness in view of one's suffering, Ps. 50 is the penitential prayer par excellence. The *commendatio animae* supplicates God to cleanse the deceased from sins which he/she committed "in the mortal realm,[270] because of the deceiving devil."[271]

The second mass of *Ver* describes the problematic situation of some one dying without absolution from his sins. He did penance, but he could not enjoy its fruit on earth (1141). With a genuine act of repentance he started the process of reconciliation, however, he did not have the opportunity to make a confession or did not have the opportunity to make amends for his sins. Therefore, the celebrant of the mass supplicates God that the wish for penitence should be a sufficient basis for God's mercy. If the "offering of voice," i.e., his prayers, were

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[269] Ibid.
[270] It echoes Isa 9:2: "the region of the shadow of death" (*regio umbrae mortis*). Cited in ibid.
[271] e*t <si> quid de regione mortali tibi contrarium contraxit fallente diabulo, tua pietate ablue ibndulgendo*.

not sufficient (1143), God should count his ardent desire for penitence, as for Him wishes are equal to deeds (1144). As God is the source, the motivator of all the good wishes of the humans, He, the source of mercy, should grant pardon to the deceased (1146).

The desire for the forgiveness of sins is manifested in the divine attributes as well. The prayers address a God, who is merciful (*misericors* − 1141), who acts graciously and propitiously (*propitius ac placatus* − 1138) and grants forgiveness from the abundance of his compassion (*miserationum tuarum largitate* − 1140). He is omnipotent (*omnipotens* − 1141), so that all human conditions (*omnis humana condicio* − 1141), including the power to forgive sins, rest in his power. While Ps. 113 describes a true but fearful God, Ps. 92 praises the strong and wonderful creator of the universe.

The sincere wish for the salvation of souls is also expressed in a wide range of formulas. They ask that the deceased should have a share of God's redemption (*tuae redemptionis sorte* − 1138), rejoice in glory with the saints (antiphon *Animam de corpore* - O8) and be counted among those whom God has redeemed (1147). Some passages utilize biblical imagery. The antiphons recited at the moment of death (*Suscipiat* and *Chorus angelorum)* and the prayer for the commendation of the soul rephrase Luke 16:22a, so that the soul should be taken to the bosom of Abraham by the hands of angels. The wish to enter paradise (*In paradiso* − O7) and God's Kingdom (*In regnum Dei* − O8 and *Hec diem mortalis* − *Ph8*) refer to the conversation between the Good Thief and Christ on the cross.[272]

God is asked to open the doors of his house[273] in antiphon *Aperite mihi portas* (*O11*, *Ph10*), Ps. 14 (*O8)*, and Ps 41 (*O7*, *Ph2*). Both psalms sung at the procession from the house to the church (*Ph8*) implore God to return the soul to God's rest[274] and to bring him into the

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[272] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort,* 250.
[273] ibid.
[274] Ps 114: *revertere anima mea in requiem tuam*

right land.[275]   However, *Ver* 1149 goes the furthest of all the wishes for the layman's soul by asking that "eternal light may take possession of his soul."[276]

While supplication for the pardon of sins is one of the most important aspects of the masses for laymen in *Ver*, in the two masses for bishops there is not a single allusion to it; they only request salvation of the soul. Moreover, they often convey a strong emphasis on the communitarian aspect of the afterlife. The hope is that the bishops will enter into the fellowship of saints (*sanctorum tuorum consortiis* – 1151) and should be counted in the rank of those priests who are pleasing to God (1154).[277] The fifth mass for the deceased pope makes it clear that he did not enjoy a distinguished position in this life only, but he will be treated well in the heaven, too. He should take a heavenly (*caelesti sede gloriosa* -- 1159) and everlasting seat (*perpetua sede* -- 1160), he should join God's elected priests (*in electorum numero sacerdotum* -- 1156),[278] and he should be placed in the bliss of eternal light (1155).[279] The sharp contrast between the contents of the Masses for the deceased laymen and of the Masses for the dead bishops reflect an increasing clericalism.

The celebrant of *Ver* refers to the Eucharist as a service of appeasement and thanksgiving (*placationis officia and supplicatione* -- 1139), which cleanses from sins (1140; 1145; 1148), satisfies God (1142), and obtains rest (1152). It is important to note that *Ph* describes a viaticum under two kinds.

A significant aspect of the prayers is a firm belief in bodily resurrection**.** The author of the antiphon *De terra formasti me* (*O 6),* pleads with God to raise him up on the last day. The *commendatio animae* expresses a firm belief in the afterlife, so that by the grace of God all the mortals are still alive after death. This therefore does not signify a moment of eternal

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[275] Ps 142: *spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terra recta*
[276] *ut eam ... lux aeterna possideat*
[277] *in numerum tibi placentium censeri facias sacerdotum*
[278] Cf. 1154, the prayer for a simple bishop "only" refers to priests pleasing to God, while the pope is requested to reside with the elected priest.
[279] "*et animam famuli tui illius episcopi in beatitudinis sempiternae luce constitue*"

destruction of the body, because by the resurrection it will be altered into a better state than the present one.[280] The bosom of Abraham is already a place of surety, as the souls who stay there, "are bound to rise on the last day of the great judgement."[281] *Ver* 1148 conveys essentially same message, so that the deceased "may wait for the day of resurrection with the hope of sure joy."[282]

The psalms chanted at the moment of death (Ps. 113, Ps. 117, Ps. 41) depict death as the Pasch, a transition from the earthly life to a better one.[283] *Ver* 1140 also uses the same image, but in another context. It wishes the soul of the deceased to be liberated from the chains of death, exemplifying the heavy bond of sin, and to be transferred into (eternal) life (1140).[284]

One of the most striking features of the antiphons and the prayers of the Mass is that they do not refer to the virtues of the deceased at all. They humbly profess human sinfulness and total dependence on God's mercy. The only exception is 1161, where Sylvester's loyalty to God is presented as a virtue which should contribute to his salvation.

On the contrary, some of the Psalms do take private virtues into account. While Ps. 113 declares that God is the helper and protector of those who fear Him,[285] Ps. 41 presents the daily sufferings of the psalmist so that his reward should come soon from God who is his help and support. Ps. 14, chanted during the procession to the grave (*O8*), is the most outstanding of all. It does not mention God's mercy at all, but rather lists all the qualities which enable one to dwell in God's tabernacle and to rest on His holy hill.[286]

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[280] "*Deus, apud quem omnia moriencia uiuunt, cui non periunt moriendo corpora nostra sed mutantur in melius.*"
[281] *Resuscitandam in die nouissimo magne iudicii* echoes Job 19:25, "For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and on the last day I shall rise out of the earth," Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort*, 99.
[282] *resurrectionis diem spe certae gratulationis expectet*
[283] Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort,* 256.
[284] *ac mortis uinculis absolutis transitum mereatur ad uitam*
[285] Ps. 113:19.
[286] Ps.14:1.

Sicard took both the prayers for Sylvester (1161-62) and for Simplicius as prayers for already canonized saints. However, the contents of the prayers suggest something else. 1161 and 1163 are very different from prayer 1162, not only because they do not grant the title "saint" explicitly to the deceased, but their message is also different. The primary aim of 1162 is to profit the living and it only wishes the glory of eternal bliss for the saint in second place. On the other hand, the primary and only aim of 1161 is to request entrance for the bishop into the perpetual society of saints. It only differs from a prayer for an ordinary bishop in commemorating the faithful service, i.e., virtuous behaviour, of the deceased. The very same applies to prayer 1163. Thus, I would suggest that since the two prayers do not differ substantially from prayers for the ordinary bishops, they could have been composed soon after the death, or even already at the death, of the two popes. It seems possible that 1161 did form part of Sylvester's burial ceremony.

CONCLUSION

Having examined a number a characteristic texts I can probably conclude that the Latin patristic authors already in the fourth century were aware of the age-long Christian tradition of the prayers for the dead. The Church's belief, beside the doctrinal decisions, was primarily expressed in the liturgical practice. The precedence of the church tradition as manifested in the liturgy was wholly acknowledged by Augustine :

> In the books of the Maccabees we read of sacrifice offered for the dead. Howbeit even if it were nowhere at all read in the Old Scriptures, not small is the authority, which in this usage is clear, of the whole Church, namely, that in the prayers of the priest which are offered to the Lord God at His altar, the Commendation of the dead hath also its place.[287]

Augustine was probably the first person who presented a systematized picture of the prayer for the dead. When he started to deal with the issue in the end of the 410s, first he encountered the question whether to whom are the prayers beneficial? He argued that they cannot benefit either those who lived a perfectly virtuous life, or those who lived inherently wickedly on earth, but only those people who committed some sins, but ultimately had faith in Christ and did good deeds. Thus overall they were righteous people, but not to such an extent as the members of the first group. Beside the merits, Augustine considered baptism as another precondition for the prayer for the dead. This idea, originating from the gospel passages on the "salvation through Christ" and from Pauline ecclesiology, was also accepted by the other three authors in principle, although Ambrose seems to be more lenient than any of the others. On the one hand he is praying for Valentinian, in fact an Arian heretic; on the other hand he is quite optimistic about the salvation of all the people,[288] though he does not propagate prayers for them. Nevertheless, this stands in a strong opposition with Augustine's double-predestination, where he boldly asserts that most people necessarily go to Hell, so that

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[287] Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis* 3. Trans. Browne.
[288] Ambrose, *Hom. in Ps 39.17* cited in Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church,* 99.

God's justice might be manifested.[289] In fact, the story of Perpetua and Felicity is also a counter-example, even though Augustine was ardently trying to fit it into his rigid framework of "prayers only for the baptized". While Peter Chrysologus explicitly says that the "grace of Christ" i.e. baptism is necessary for the prayers, it is not mentioned in either the genuine or the pseudo-Gregorian passages, nevertheless there is no reason that we should doubt it. It is a similar case with the liturgical sources, which do not mention baptism as a necessity for prayers, although it is implied in all of them. The funeral *ordines* prescribe the viaticum, i.e. the Eucharist for the dying person, so that it is necessitated that he was previously baptized. Finally, the prayers in the Verona Sacramentary name the deceased as servants of God (*famuli tui*), which also suggests that the the prayer for unbaptized disappears.

One has to differentiate between two separate usages of merits in connection with the prayers for the dead. They could either simply mean that one is enabled to be remembered because of his merits, or that merits contribute to one's salvation. In most cases merits are only needed in the former sense, though there are some specific prayers, such as Augustine's prayer for Monica in the Confessions and Bishop Germanus's prayer for Paschasius in the Dialogues[290], which refer to virtues as things which should be counted at God's seat of judgement. Nevertheless, the prayers of the *ordines* and of the Verona Sacramentary, do not refer to merits, with the exception of certain psalms and formula 1161 for Saint Sylvester.

Unlike merits, the supplication for the forgiveness of sins and for gaining salvation are present in all prayer formulas from Ambrose to the *ordines*, with the exception of the Masses for bishops and for Saint Sylvester, where only salvation is mentioned.

With Pseudo-Gregory in the 7th c. a novelty is introduced into the prayers, namely the supplication for the stopping of one's sufferings in the purging fire. There is only one little

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[289] Augustine, *De Civitate*, XXI.12: He argues that even though everybody would deserve eternal damnation, some people are saved so that God's mercy may be manifested. However, in order to maintain justice as well, some people should not be freed, but suffer eternal punishment. In addition, "many more are left under punishment than are redeemed from it, so that what was due to all may in this way be shown." Trans. Dyson.

[290] Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, chap. 49.

allusion to a similar concept in Augustine[291], otherwise he is silent about it in all his other treatises. Liturgical sources also completely lack any references to it.

Augustine claims in the *De cura* that the living cannot know that who are saved by the prayers of the Church, whereas Pseudo-Gregory asserts the opposite. In his three stories on the efficacy of the prayers and the Eucharist offered for the dead, he not only claims that certain people came back to the earth after death to ask for the prayers of the living, but they even notify them of the success of their pious efforts. Besides him, the Passion of Perpetua and Felicity narrates a similar event, when Dinocrates visits her sister in her dreams.

Augustine maintained that the souls do not go to their final destinations immediately, but they reside in a "secret place of shelter", which is divided into two halves. People in the upper part wait for their salvation in a pleasant rest, while the habitants of the lower section anticipate their coming punishment. Peter Chrysologus suggests a similar dual description of the afterlife in his homilies on the Parable of Poor Lazarus and the Rich Man. He claims that the Bosom of Abraham constitutes the upper and the Hell the lower part of a waiting place. Thus, the suffering of the Rich Man only anticipates what will come for him after the day of the Final Judgement. On the contrary, Gregory the Great propagates a double-judgement for the soul thus eliminating the traditional notion of waiting places and claiming an immediate entrance to heaven or hell. The liturgical sources both express wishes for entering the waiting place and to the eternal bliss, although the two claims are not conflicting, since one state ensues the other. Thus, whoever gets to the Bosom of Abraham, will most probably get into heaven, though this will be only decided at the Last Judgement.

Some prayers closely resemble certain facets of Augustine's theology. Ps 92, recited during the burial rite between the washing of the corpse and the procession to the church, speaks of God's decrees, which are very sure. These words in the context of a funeral remind

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[291] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 109.

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one of Augustine's reference to God's promise to those who forgive their debtors.[292] In addition, the claim of 1146 that God inspires every good in the human heart echoes Augustine's doctrine of grace, namely that God's grace precedes one's personal merit.

Concerning the practicalities of the celebration of the services of the dead, one can see some important parallels between the patristic writings, the instructions and prayer formulas themselves. In Sermon 172 Augustine demonstrates that the names of the deceased are read out during the Mass, so that all attendants should know for whom are they offering the sacrifice.[293] The formulas of *Ver* and the prayer for the commendation of the soul also suggest the same practice. They use the pronoun *illius*, as a marker for the place where the name should be read. Although Sicard claims that Latin patristic sources do not attest the existence of a burial Mass, Ambrose most probably delivered both sermons on the death of his brother and of Valentinian at burial services, and Augustine also mentions the Eucharist celebrated on the day of Monica's death.[294] Nevertheless, Sicard's conclusion that the origins of the burial Mass should not be looked for in Rome, is still a valid, since both *O* and *Ph* are silent about the celebration of a funeral Mass.

Summing up, the Latin theological treatises of the fourth-sixth and the Roman liturgical sources from the sixth-eighth centuries profess similar basic tenets. They consider the prayers and the Eucharistic sacrifice (and the alms in certain patristic writings) as the effective ways of supplication for the dead. It is discernible that both the liturgy and the theology of this period justified themselves by biblical references, since both groups of sources built upon the same biblical passages. These are the two Lucan parables of Poor Lazarus and the Rich man[295] and the Good Thief[296] and 1 Thessalonians.[297] It is interesting,

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[292] Idem, *Confessiones,* IX.35.
[293] Idem, *Sermo* 172.2.
[294] Idem, *Confessiones* IX.32.
[295] *Subvenite, Suscipiant* and *Chorus angelorum (O3 and Ph5); Deus apud quem (Vat 1627); Peter Chrysologus, Sermones 121-124,*
[296] In Paradiso (O7); *In regnum Dei* (O8); *Hec diem mortalis* (Ph8); Augustine, *De natura*

however that 1Cor 3 the cornerstone of the theologies of the patristic writers, is completely missing from the liturgical texts, so that they do not allude to any kind of post-mortem fire. Nevertheless, the prayers of Ambrose and Augustine do not refer to the fire either, thus one can conclude that even though the fire-metaphor was a commonplace of the eschatological theology, it was not used in the prayers. It became more important when Gregory the Great turned it from a collective (Ambrose and Augustine) into an individual purgative event, and finally when Pseudo-Gregory made it the main aim of the supplications in the deliverance stories. If we assume that the Ps-Gregorian passages of the Dialogues were composed in the second half of the seventh century,[298] then there was a 100-150 years for their teaching to get into the prayers of *O* and *Ph*, still there is no sign of such a theology. Rather, all the four sources (*O*, *Ph*, *Ver* and *Vat*) emphasize the most important steps on the road to salvation, namely the forgiveness of sins and either the resurrection to eternal life or the entrance to the Bosom of Abraham or even the Paradise itself. These themes are perceivable in the theological texts as well, since they were already the main purposes of the prayers and sacrifices for the dead in the second century BC (cf. 2 Macc). Hence, I suggest that the theology and the liturgy of the fourth to sixth centuries held the same views on the prayer for the dead, which were there from the origins of the rite. A change of perspective came with Gregory the Great and especially the Pseudo-Gregorian parts of the Dialogues, the influence of which however, still cannot be detected in the two eighth-century Roman ordines.

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[297] Augustine, Sermo 172.; *Tu iussisti (O 7)*
[298] Clark, *The 'Gregorian' Dialogues,* 275-278.

APPENDIX

Ordo 49 **Ordo qualiter agatur in obsequium defunctorum**[299]	Ordo 49 **Regulations how to conduct the service of the dead**[302]
1. Mox ut eum videris ad exitum propinquare, communicandus est de sacrificio sancto, etiamsi comedisset[300] ipso die, quia communio erit ei defensor et adiutor in resurrectione iustorum. Ipsa enim resuscitabit eum.	1. As soon as you see him drawing near to death, he should take part in the holy sacrifice, even if he had eaten on the day itself, because the communion will be a protector and an assistant to him at the resurrection of the just. It will rise him up.
2. Post communionem percepta[301], legenda sunt passionis dominicae ante corpus infirmi seu presbiteri seu diaconi, quousque egrediatur anima de corpore.	2. After he received the communion, the passion of the Lord is to be read over the body of the sick presbyter or deacon, until the soul leaves the body.
3. Primitus autem ut anima de corpore fuerit egressa, dicitur: R). *Subvenite, sancti Dei.* V). *Suscipiat de Christus.* Ps: *In exitu israel.* A[nt.] *Chorus angelorum te suscipiat.*	3. First, when the soul is about to leave the body, it is said: Response: *'Help me, o saints of God!'* Verse: *'May Christ receive you.'* Psalm: *'At the departure of Israel'*[303] Antiphon: *'May the choir of angels take you up.'*
4. Dicit sacerdos orationem sicut in sacramentorum continetur et dicit tantum *oremus.*	4. The priest says the prayer as it is kept in the sacramentary and only says: *'Let us pray.'*
5. Postea lavatur corpus et ponunt eum in feretro.	5. Afterwards the body is washed and they are placing him on the bier.
6. Et cum in feretro positum fuerit, antequam de domo egrediatur, dicit a[ntiphonam]: *De terra formasti me et carnem induisti me, redemptor meus, d[omine], resusc[ita]me in novissimo die.* Ps. *Dominus renavit.*	6. After the body has been placed on the bier, until it leaves the house, he[304] says the antiphon: *'You have shaped me of the earth and you have put flesh on me, my redeemer, o Lord, raise me up on the last day.'* Psalm: *'The Lord has reigned.'*[305]

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[299] Ordo 49 (Ordo qualiter agatur in obsequium defunctorum) in MS. Rome, Vatican Library, Ottob. Lat. 312.; Sicard, D. *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines a la reforme carolingienne* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978) 3-4.

[300] in the codex: *comedisse*

[301] in the codex: *praecepta*

[302] My translation. The incipits of some psalms are taken from the *The Holy Bible, Douay–Rheims Version* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1899)

[303] Ps. 113.

[304] This ordo does not specify the agent. In other ordines one can read either priest or cantor. – Sicard, 113.

[305] Ps. 92.

7. Et postea ponitur in ecclesia interim[306]. A[nt.] *Tu iussisti nasci me, domine.* Ps. *Quemadmodum.*

A[nt] *In paradiso dei ducant te angeli[307] adventu suscipiant te martyres, perducant te in civitatem sanctam hierusalem.* Ps. *Cum invocarem.*

8. Dum ad sepulturam defertur. A[nt.] *Qui posuit animam tuam ad vitam.* Ps. *Domine, quis habitabit.*

A[nt.] *Animam de corpore quam assumpsisti, domine, fac gaudere cum sanctis tuis in gloria.* Ps. *Miserere mei, deus, secundum.*

A[nt.] *Vide, domine, humilitatem meam et laborem, dimitte omnia peccata mea.* Ps. *Ad te, domine, lev[avi].*

A[nt.] *In regnum dei deducant te angeli cum gloria, suscipiant te martyres in regnum tuum. Domine, de terra formasti eum et carnem induisti eum, redemptor meus, domine, resuscita eum in novissimo die.* Ps. *Miserere mei, Deus.*

9. Et cum in ecclesia positum fuerit, orent omnes pro ipsa anima sine intermissione, usque dum corpus sepeliunt. Psallant psalmos vel responsoria, missam vel lectiones de iob.

10. Et cum venerit hora vigiliarum, simul vigilia celebrent, psalmos cum antiphonis sine alleluia.

11. Sacerdos vero orat[308] dum canunt: A[nt.] *Aperite mihi portas iustitiae et ingressus in eas confitebor domino.* Ps. *Confitemini domino.*

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7. Thereafter it is laid down in the church, meanwhile, antiphon: *'You commanded me to be born, O Lord.'* Psalm: *'As [the hart panteth after]'*[309]

Antiphon: *'May the angels guide you into the paradise of God, may the martyrs receive you at your arrival, may they guide you into the holy city of Jerusalem.'* Psalm: *'When I called upon'*[310]

8. While it is being carried to the grave. Antiphon: *'Who has placed your soul into the life.'* Psalm: *'O Lord, who will dwell'*[311]

Antiphon: *'O Lord let, the soul of the body, which you have taken up, rejoice in glory with your saints.'* Psalm: *'Be merciful to me, O Lord, according to'*[312]

Antiphon: *'See, O Lord, my humiliation and my work, forgive all my sins.'* Psalm: *'To You, O Lord, I have lifted'*[313]

Antiphon: *'May the angels lead you into the kingdom of God with glory, may the martyrs receive you into your kingdom. O Lord, you have shaped him from the earth and you have put flesh on him, O my Redeemer, O Lord, raise him up on the last day.'* Psalm: *'Be merciful to me, O God'*[314]

9. When the body has been set up in the church, may all people pray for the soul without interruption, until they bury the body. They should sing the psalms or the responses, the Mass or the readings from Job.

10. And when the hour of vigils comes, likewise they should celebrate the vigils, the psalms with antiphons without Alleluia.

11. However, the priest is praying while the people are singing. Antiphon: *Open me the doors of justice and having entered them I will confess to the Lord.* Psalm: *'Confess to the Lord.'*[315]

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[306] Andrieu reads *interius*
[307] Andrieu adds *in tuo*
[308] Andrieu reads *Orationem dicit*
[309] Ps. 41.
[310] Ps. 4.
[311] Ps. 14.
[312] Ps. 50.
[313] Ps. 24.
[314] Ps. 56.
[315] Ps. 106.

Incipit de migration animae[316]	It starts from the departure of the soul[317]
1. Primitus enim ut adpropinquaret hora exitus, incipiunt legi evangelium iohannis de passione domini.	1. First, as the hour of death draws near, they start to read the gospel of John on the passion of the Lord.
2. Deinde incipiunt canere psal[mum]: *Quemadmodum*, cum anteph[ona]: *Tu iussisti nascere mi, domine.* Postea letania: *Christe, audi nos.*	2. Then they begin to sing the psalm: *'As [the hart panteth after]'[318]*, with the antiphon: *'You commanded me to be born, O Lord'.* Then the litany: *'Christ hear us'.*
3. Ipsa expleta, dicit sacerdus orationem animae commemor[ationis].	3. After it has finished, the priest says the prayer of the commemoration of the soul.
4. Inde vero antequam egrediatur a corpore, communicet eum sacerdos corpus et sanguinem illum, praevidentes ut sine viaticum non exeat : Hoc est corpus domini.	4. Right before the soul leaves the body, the priest should communicate him the body and that blood, foreseeing that he should not leave without the provision: this is the body of the Lord.
5. Dum autem fuerit anima egressa de corpore, incipiunt anteph[onam] : *Subvenite sancti dei.* Item alia anteph[ona] : Suscipiat [t]e c[hristus]. Psal[mus]: *In exitu israel.* Anteph[ona]: *Chorus angelorum.*	5. However, as soon as the soul leaves the body; they begin the antiphon: *'Help me, o saints of God!'.* Likewise another antiphon: *'May Christ receive you.'* Psalm: *'At the departure of Israel'.*[319] Antiphon: *'The choir of angels'.*
6. Hoc autem factum, abluunt aqua et induunt vestimentum sicut mos mortuorum, id est in quo habitu vel ordine in ecclesia dei militaret, eo vestimento induunt ut ponent in feretro.	6. Then having finished this, they wash (the body) with water and they put on the garment according to the custom of the dead, that is the dress or habit, in which he struggles within the church of God. They dress (him) up with the clothes so that they shall put (him) on the bier[320].
7. Interim vero choris psallentium sine intermissione psallantur anteph[onam]: *De terra formasti me.* Psal[mus] : *Dominus regnavit, decorem.*	7. However, meanwhile the antiphon *'You have shaped me from the earth'* should be sung without intermission by the psalm-singing choir. Psalm: *'The Lord has reigned, I am glorifying.'[321]*

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[316] *Incipit de migratione animae* in MS. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Phillipps 1667.; Sicard, D. *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines a la reforme carolingienne* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978) 8.

[317] My translation. The incipits of the some psalms are taken from the *The Holy Bible, Douay–Rheims Version* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1899)

[318] Ps. 41.

[319] Ps. 113.

[320] Sicard notes that it should be something portable. he reads it coffin or stretcher – sicard, 112.

[321] Ps. 92.

8. Anteph[ona] dum eum[322] portaretur : *Audivi vocem de celo.* Psal[mus] : *Dilexi quoniam.* Anteph[ona] : *Haec diem, mortalis[323] homo, ē terra.* Psal[mus]: *Domine, exaudi orationem meam, auribus.*	8. The antiphon, while he is carried: *'I heard a voice from heaven'*, the psalm *'I loved, because.'*[325] Antiphon: *'This day of death, the man of the earth'* Psalm: *'Hear, O Lord, my prayer: give ears'.*[326]
9. Deinde offeretur eum[324] in ecclesia ubi sepeliendus est cum crucis vel candelabra et accensis cereis, thimiamata, cum psallentes anteph[onas] de exsequiis mortuorum.	9. Then he is fitted in the church, where he is buried, with a cross or with candles attached to candlesticks, with incenses, while antiphons are sung from the funeral rites of the dead.
10. Cum autem ad portam atrii introierit, incipiunt anteph[onam]: *Aperite mihi portas.*	10. When he has entered the door of the atrium, they start the antiphon: *Open me the doors.*
11. Cum autem in ecclesia ingressi fuerint, orant omnes.	11. When they have stepped into the church, everybody should be praying.

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[322] Carrying the meaning of *is.*
[323] Carrying the meaning of *mortalem* – Sicard, 132.
[324] Carrying the meaning of *is.*
[325] Ps. 114.
[326] Ps. 142.

XXXIII. Super defunctos[327]	**XXXIII. Over the Deceased**[330]
1138. Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui contulisti fidelibus tuis remedia uitae post mortem: presta, quaesumus, propitius ac placatus, ut anima famuli tui illius[328] a peccatis omnibus expiata[m] in tuae redemptionis sorte requiescat: per. [329]	1138. O omnipotent and eternal God, who has conferred the remedy of life upon your faithfuls after death: grant, we beseech you, graciously and propitiously that the soul of this servant of yours should repose with his sins already expiated in the share of your redemption: through.
1139. Hostias tibi, domine, humili supplicatione deferimus, ut anima famuli tui illius per haec piae placationis officia perpetua\<m> misericordia\<m> consequatur: per.	1139. We are offering the sacrifices to you, O Lord, with humble thanksgiving, so that the soul of this servant of yours may gain eternal mercy by these services of the tender appeasement: through.
1140. Hanc igitur oblationem illius famuli tui, quam tibi offeret pro animam famuli tui illius, quaesumus, domine, propitiatus accipias, et miserationum tuarum largitate concedas, ut quidquid terrena conuersatione contraxit, his sacrificiis emundetur, ac mortis uinculis absolutis transitum mereatur ad uitam: per.	1140. Therefore, we beseech you, O Lord, receive graciously this offering of this servant of yours[331], which one presents to you for the soul of this servant of yours[332], pardon him from the abundance of your compassions, so that whatever he committed because of his earthly way of life should be cleansed by these sacrifices, and having been released from the chains of death he should deserve a transition to life: through.
1141. II. Omnipotens et misericors deus, in cuius omnis humana condicio potestate consistit: animam famuli tui illius, quaesumus, ab omnibus absolue peccatis; ut paenitentiae fructum, quem uoluntas eius optauit, praeuentus mortaliˉtate non perdat: per.ˋ	1141. II. O omnipotent and merciful God, every human condition rests on your power: we beseech you, absolve the soul of this servant of yours from all his sins, so that after his premature death he may not lose the fruit of penance, which his will desired: through.
1142. Satisfaciat tibi, domine, quaesumus, pro anima famuli tui illius sacrificii praesentis oblatio; et peccatorum ueniam quam quaesiuit inueniat: per.	1142. O Lord, we beseech you, that the offering of the present sacrifice for the soul of this servant of yours may satisfy you. May he also acquire the remission of his sins, which he strived for: through.
1143. Et quod offiˉciˋo uocis inplere non potuit, desideratae paenitentiae conpensatione percipiat: per.	1143. And what he could not satisfy by the offering of the voice, may he gain by taking into account the penitence which he desired: through.

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[327] *Sacramentarium Veronense* in MS. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, 85.; ed Mohlberg, L. Eizenhoefer, P. Sifrin *Sacramentarium Veronense,* Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series major. Fontes, 1 (Rome, 1956)

[328] *illius* here carries the meaning of *huius* . It stands for the name of the deceased.

[329] *Per Christum Dominum nostrum…* - Hope, 4.

[330] My translation.

[331] i.e. the offerer

[332] i.e. the deceased

1144. III. Omnipotens et misericors deus, aput quem uoluntas habetur humana pro factis: presta, quaesumus, ut animae famuli tui illius ad perfectum remedium consequendum paenitentiam desideranter uoluisse sufficiat: per.

1145. Animae famuli tui, quaesumus, domine, per haec sacrificia redemptionis aeternae remissionem tribue peccatorum; ut deuotio paenitentiae, quam gessit eius affectus, perpetuae salutis consequatur effectum: per.

1146. Deus, a quo inspiratur humanis cordibus omne quod bonum est: sicut animae famuli tui paenitentiam uelle donasti, sic indulgentiam tribue miseratus optatam: per.

1147. Deus cui soli conpetit medicinam prestare post mortem: presta, quaesumus, ut anima famuli tui illius terrenis exuta contagiis, in tuae redemptionis parte numeretur: per.

1148. His, quaesumus, domine, sacrificiis, quibus purgationem et uiuentibus tribuis et defunctis, animam famuli tui benignus absolue; ut resurrectionis diem spe certae gratulationis expectet: per.

1149. Presta, domine, quaesumus, animae famuli tui misericordiam sempiternam inmensam, ut eam mortalibus nexibus expeditam lux aeterna possideat: per.

1150. Fidelium, deus, animarum conditor et redemptor, famulo tuo cunctorum remissionem tribue peccatorum, ut quam semper optauit indulgentiam consequatur: per.

1151. IIII. Beati martyris tui Laurenti, domine, quaesumus, intercessione nos protege, et animam famuli tui illius episcopi sanctorum tuorum iunge consortiis: per.

1144. III. O Omnipotent and merciful God, before whom human wishes are counted as deeds: grant, we beseech you, that it might be sufficient for the perfect remedy which the soul of this servant of yours aimed at, that he eagerly wished for repentance: through.

1145. Grant, O Lord, we beseech you, to the soul of your servant the remission of his sins by this sacrifice of eternal redemption, so that the zeal of penitence, what his love governed, may gain the result of perpetual salvation: through.

1146. O God, by whom every good in the human hearts is inspired: as you bestowed the wish for penitence to the soul of your servant, thus compassionately grant the pardon, what he wished for: through.

1147. O God, to whom only it belongs to offer medicine after death: grant, we beseech you, that the soul of this servant of yours detached from the earthly bonds, may be counted in that part which you have redeemed: through.

1148. We beseech you, O Lord that by these sacrifices, by which you are granting purification to the living and the dead, absolve favourably the soul of your servant, so that he may wait for the day of resurrection with the hope of sure joy: through.

1149. Grant, o Lord, we beseech you, boundless everlasting mercy to the soul of your servant, so that eternal light may take possession of his soul, which has been loosened from human restraints: through.

1150. O God, creator and redeemer of the faithful souls, grant to your servant the remission of all his sins, so that he may gain pardon, which he always desired: through.

1151. IIII.O Lord, we beseech you, protect us by the intercession of your blessed martyr Lawrence, and unite the soul of this bishop, servant of yours to the fellowships of your saints: through.

1152. Oblationes nostras, domine, quaesumus, propitiatus intende, quas et ad honorem sancti martyris tui Laurenti nomini tuae maiestatis offerimus et pro requiem famuli tui illius episcopi suppliciter immolamus: per.

1153. Uere dignum: qui nos sanctorum tuorum et commemoratione refoues et oratione defendes: per.

1154. Hanc igitur: et in numerum tibi placentium censeri facias sacerdotum: per.

1155. V. Adiuua nos, domine deus noster, beati Laurenti martyris tui praecibus exoratus, et animam famuli tui illius episcopi in beatitudinis sempiternae luce constitue: per.

1156. Memento, domine, quaesumus, animae famuli tui illius episcopi, et quem in corpore constitutum sedis apostolicae gubernacula tenere uoluisti, in electorum numero constitue sacerdotum: per.

1157. Suscipe, domine, quaesumus, hostias pro animam famuli tui illius episcopi, ut cui pontificale donasti meritum, donis et praemium: per.

1158. Hanc igitur: ut qui beati Petri apostoli sedem uicario secutus officio, tuae quoque gratiae largitate perpetuam dignitatis apostolicae percipiat portionem: per.

1159. Presta, quaesumus, domine, ut anima famuli tui illius episcopi, quam in hoc saeculo commorantem sacris muneribus decorasti, caelesti sede gloriosa semper exultet: per.

1160. Deus, qui inter apostolicos sacerdotes famulum tuum illum fecisti uigere pontificem: presta, quaesumus, ut eorum perpetua quoque sede potiatur: per.

1152. Graciously turn to our offerings, o Lord, we beseech you, which we are offering to the name of your majesty and to the honour of your holy martyr Lawrence and we are humbly sacrificing for the rest of this bishop, servant of yours: through.

1153. It is truly meet: as you restore us due to the commemoration and you will defend us because of the prayer of your saints: through.

1154. Therefore, this: and you should let him counted into the rank of the priests who are pleasing to you: through.

1155. V. Help us, O Lord, our God, after you were pleaded by the prayers of your blessed martyr Lawrence, and place the soul of this bishop, servant of yours into the bliss of the eternal light: through.

1156. Remember, O Lord, we beseech you, the soul of this bishop, servant of yours, whom you wished to be appointed in flesh to uphold the governance of the apostolic seat, place him in the rank of your elected priests: through.

1157. Receive, O Lord, we beseech you, the sacrifices from the gifts for the soul of this bishop, servant of yours, as you gave him the pontifical merit and reward: through.

1158. Therefore, this: who has attained the seat of the blessed apostle Peter in the vicarious office, may also gain eternal share of the apostolic dignity from the abundance of your grace: through.

1159. Grant, we beseech you, O Lord, that the soul of this bishop, servant of yours, which you have honoured, while he was staying in the holy offices in this world, he may always exult in the glorious heavenly seat: through.

1160. O God, as you rendered this servant of yours to excel as high priest among the apostolic priests: grant, we beseech you, that he may also acquire their everlasting seat: through.

XXXIIII. Sanctu Siluestri	**XXXIIII. Saint Sylvester**
1161. Deus, confitentium te portio defunctorum, praeces nostras, quas in famuli tui Siluestri episcopi depositione deferimus, propitiatus adsume; ut qui nomini tuo ministerium fidele dependit, perpetua sanctorum tuorum societate laetetur: per.	1161. O God, you who are the share of the deceased who are confessing you, graciously receive our prayers which we are offering at the burial of bishop Sylvester, the servant of yours, so that he who paid a faithful service to your name, may rejoice in the perpetual society of your saints: through.
1162. Hanc igitur oblationem, quaesumus, domine, placatus intende, quam in sancti Siluestri confessoris et episcopi tui commemoratione suppliciter immolamus; ut et nobis proficiat huius pietatis affectus, et illum beatitudo sempiterna glorificet: per.	1162. Therefore O Lord, we beseech you, look propitiously at this offering, which we are suppliantly offering in the remembrance of your confessor and bishop Saint Sylvester, so that firmness of this piety may profit us and the eternal bliss may glorify him: through.
1163. Maiestatem tuam, domine, supplices exoramus, ut animam famuli tui Simplici episcopi ab omnibus, quae humanitus adtraxit, exuta in sanctorum censeatur sorte pastorum: per.	1163. We are suppliantly begging your majesty, o Lord, that the soul of bishop Simplicius, the servant of yours having been stripped from all things, which he attracted in the way of humans, may be enumerated among the ranks of the holy shepherds: through.

Deus, apud quem[333]	**God in the presence of**[334]
1627. ITEM ALIA. Deus, apud quem omnia moriencia uiuunt, cui non periunt moriendo corpora nostra sed mutantur in melius, te supplices deprecamur, ut suscipi iubeas animam famuli tui *illius* per manus sanctorum angelorum deducendam in sinu amici tui patriarchae Abrahae, resuscitandam in die nouissimo magne iudicii; et <si> quid de regione mortali tibi contrarium contraxit fallente diabulo, tua pietate ablue indulgendo: per.	1627. (*in like manner another one*) God, in the presence of whom all mortals are alive, for whom our bodies do not perish by death, but are altered into a better state, we are suppliantly imploring you to order that the soul of *this* servant of yours be taken up by the hands of the holy angels and that it should be led to the bosom of your friend, Patriarch Abraham, bound to rise on the last day of the great judgement; and if he committed anything against you in the mortal realm because of the deceiving devil, wash them away by your goodness exercising forbearance: through.

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[333] *Deus, apud quem (Commendatio Animae)* in MS. Rome, Vatican Library, Regin. Lat. 316.; ed. L.C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhoefer, P. Sifrin *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Acclesiae ordinis anni circuli,* Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series major. Fontes, 4 (Rome, 1960) 238.

[334] My translation.

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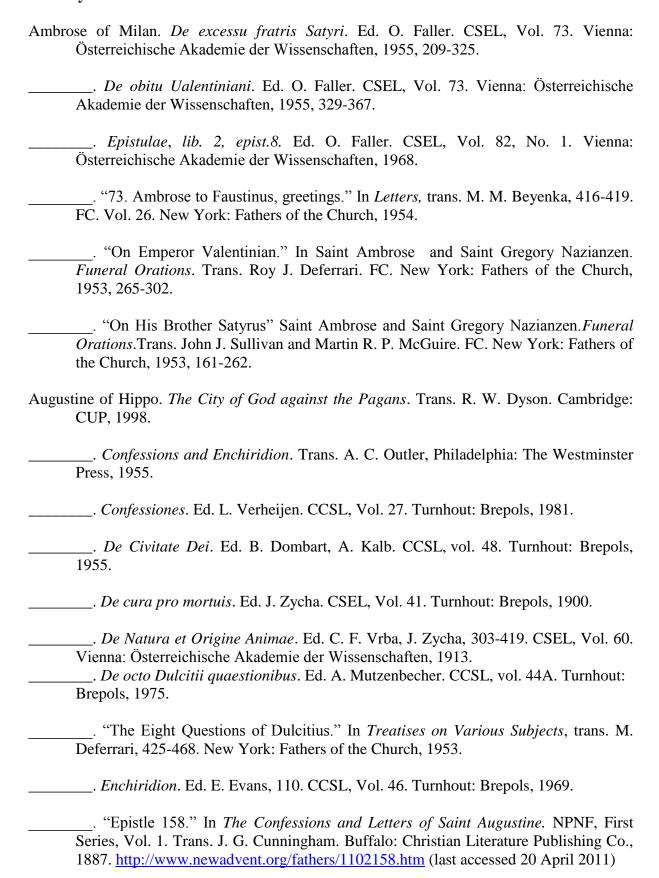
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