

PRIMA LECTIO QUAE RECITATA EST. THE LITURGICAL PERICOPE IN LIGHT OF SAINT AUGUSTINE'S SERMONS

In this study we wish to bring together a number of facts about the liturgical pericopes that were read in Hippo, the see of Saint Augustine¹. In our research we are particularly interested in the development of a reliable method using implicit and explicit evidence in Augustine's sermons, from which conclusions can be drawn regarding the question which liturgical readings were used. In this study, by way of example, we will pay attention to Augustine's Christmas sermons.

AUGUSTINE'S WORK AS A PREACHER

Augustine was ordained a priest at Hippo². Valerius, who was then bishop of the city and who himself spoke Latin poorly, assigned to him the task of preaching, a task in those days reserved to the bishop³. By the time Augustine himself became a bishop, his fame as a preacher had already been well established⁴. Because of this Paulinus of Nola († 431) could write to their common friend Romanianus that he was happy not only because Augustine had become a bishop but also because the churches of Africa would now be able to hear the heavenly words of Augustine's mouth⁵.

¹ I would like to thank Piet van der Heijden and Sister Bernard Marie O.S.C. for help with the translation.

² A harbour on the North African coast with 40.000 inhabitants.

³ "... narrabat, ut sibi divinitus homo concederetur talis, qui posset verbo Dei et doctrina salubri ecclesiam Domini aedificare, cui rei se homo natura Graecus minusque Latina lingua et litteris instructus minus utilem pervidebat" (POSSIDIUS, *Vita*, 5,2).

⁴ Augustine himself describes the obligations and necessary skills a preacher should possess in his *De Doctrina Christiana* IV.

⁵ "Non autem tantum hoc scribimus gratulandum, quod episcopatum Augustinus acceperit, sed quod hanc Dei curam meruerint Africanæ ecclesiae, ut verba caelestia Augustini ore perciperent" (*Ep.* 32,2-3, Letter from Paulinus of Nola and his wife Theresa to Romanianus, in the year 396).

For almost 40 years Augustine as bishop delivered his sermons⁶, every Saturday⁷ and every Sunday⁸, as well as on feast days, during the celebration of the Eucharist⁹. He also delivered his sermons during other services, both in his own diocese and elsewhere¹⁰, sometimes even preaching in several churches on the same day. The Eucharist was usually celebrated in the morning and in the evening a prayer service was held. Scholars have estimated the total number of sermons delivered by Augustine at about 7000. More than twelve percent of these estimated 7000 sermons have been preserved.

Augustine's sermons reveal several genres: 205 *Enarrationes in psalmos* as conferences¹¹; 124 tractates on the Gospel of Saint John¹²

⁶ "Praedicabat ... libris confectis et repentinis sermonibus" (POSSIDIUS, *Vita* 7,1).

⁷ "Vacat nobis, matutina coepimus, hora prandii non urget; ad istum diem, id est sabbatum, maxime hi assolent convenire, qui esurient verbum dei" (S. 128,4,6).

⁸ "Saepius enim ista lectio repetitur in auribus vestris, quam noster de illa tractatus. Nam si legatur quando sabbatum non est, aut quando dies dominicus non est, sermo de illa non redditur" (S. Mai 125,1 in: *Miscellanea Agostiniana. Sancti Augustini sermones post maurinos reperti*, ed. G. MORIN. Roma, 1930, tom. I, p. 353 = MA I, 353).

⁹ The Eucharist was probably celebrated every day by Augustine. "Ceterum peccata si tanta non sunt, ut excommunicandus quisquam homo iudicetur, non se debet a quotidiana medicina dominici corporis separare" (Ep. 54,3,4). "Veniet enim lupus, non homo, sed diabolus, qui plerumque fideles apostatos esse persuasit, quibus quotidianum ministerium dominici corporis defuit" (Ep. 228,6). "Huius rei sacramentum, id est, unitatis corporis et sanguinis Christi alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in dominica mensa praeparatur, et de mensa dominica sumitur" (Tract. Joh. Ev. 26,15). "Cuius rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit ecclesiae sacrificium, quae eum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum discit offerre" (De Civitate Dei 10,20). For more extensive textual fragments see: T. VAN BAVEL, *Dagelijkse eucharistieviering? Een oud antwoord*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie* 57 (1973) 123-129.

¹⁰ In Hippo 146 sermons, 109 sermons in Carthago, about a dozen elsewhere, 188 sermons without any reference.

¹¹ In print the term *enarratio* is used for the first time in Erasmus' edition of Augustine's *Opera*, see: *Espozizioni sui Salmi* (Opere di Sant'Agostino 25). Roma, 1967, I, p. VII-VIII. "Quosdam enim psalmos Augustinus sermonibus ad populum exposuit, alios scriptis explicavit, sive breviter verba commentando, sive fusius penitusque psalmi sententias explanando, interdum in formam sermonis ficti. Quosdam etiam psalmos bis explicuit, semel nempe singulis supra memoratis modis" in: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos, I-L* (CC 48). Turnhout, 1956, p. V. A. WILMART, *La tradition des grands ouvrages de saint Augustin*, in: MA II, 299 (p. 257-315).

¹² J. HUYBEN was the first to make a distinction between sermons actually given and tractates that were composed in his study: *De sermoenen over het evangelie van Johannes. Bijdrage tot de chronologie van Augustinus' werken*, in: *Miscellanea Augustiniana*. Rotterdam, 1930, p. 265-267 (p. 256-274). F. BERROUARD gives a *status quaestionis* of the problem and follows the conclusion of A.-M. La Bonnardière "... des exposés faits devant un petit groupe de moines ou de prêtres et qui auraient été accompagnés ou suivis d'une mise par écrit d'un texte destiné à ceux qui prêcheraient

and 10 tractates on the Epistle of Saint John as exegetical commentary; and finally more than 540 popular sermons¹³.

Augustine was skilled in preaching sermons on special occasions such as the consecration of a church or the anniversary celebration of his episcopal ordination or that of a colleague. This occurred for example when Aurelius of Carthage († 430) invited his friend Augustine to preach. In Carthage the bishop of Hippo regularly treated themes, discussed at the African ecclesiastical councils relating to the controversy with Donatism and Pelagianism. In those instances he often used a psalm verse as starting point for his sermon¹⁴.

In the offices of the diocese of Hippo there existed an almost complete collection of Augustine's sermons. With this collection at hand the *Indiculum librorum* was compiled and copies of the sermons were sent to those requesting them. African bishops fleeing from the invading Vandals brought their collections of Augustine's sermons with them to Europe. There, in Europe, the sermons led a life of their own in Italy, South-Gaul and Spain. In Campania Quodvultdeus († 454) was the greatest advocate of Augustine's sermons, imitating even Augustine's style of preaching¹⁵. Fulgentius of Ruspe († 527/533) quoted from Augustine's sermons in his letters¹⁶. Also Cassiodorus († ca. 580) cited parts of Augustine's sermons in his letters¹⁷. But the conservation and spread of Augustine's sermons was mainly due to Caesarius of Arles († 452), who distributed numerous collections of sermons to be read in the Gallic

devant le peuple", in: *Homélies sur l'évangile de Saint-Jean, LV-LXXIX* (Bibliothèque augustinienne 74A). Paris, 1993, p. 14.

¹³ POSSIDIUS gives in the *Indiculum*, probably drafted by Augustine himself, the contents of 278 sermons. See A. WILMART, *Operum S. Augustini elenchus a Possidio eiusdem discipulo Calamensi episcopo digestus*, in: *MA* II, 158 (p. 149-233). During the 4th century the term *sermo* became the general term for a sermon. The term *popularis* indicates the pastoral intention.

¹⁴ For example: S. 23 on the celebration of the ordination as bishop of Aurelius of Carthage, held in Carthage on January 20th in 413; S. 105 after the sacking of Rome in 410; S. 339 on the occasion of the celebration of Augustine's own ordination as bishop; S. 357 at the beginning of the great meeting between Catholics and Donatists in 411.

¹⁵ D. FRANCES, *Die Werke des heiligen Quodvultdeus*. München, 1920; A. DI BERARDINO, *Patrology*, vol. IV. Westminster (Maryland) 1986, p. 501-503.

¹⁶ M. PONTET, *L'exégèse de saint Augustin, prédicateur*. Paris, [1944], p. 7-13; C. MOHRMANN, *Sint Augustinus. Preken voor het volk*. Utrecht, 1948, p. XVIII; H. DIESSNER, *Fulgentius von Ruspe als Theologe und Kirchenpolitiker*. Stuttgart, 1966.

¹⁷ M. PONTET, o.c., p. 10: Cassiodorus in *De Incarnatione*, c. 7 and in *Complexiones in Psalmos*.

churches. In this way about 30 of the old collections of Augustine's sermons are preserved¹⁸.

PREPARATION FOR A SERMON

Augustine often selected his own readings for the liturgy, unless local tradition had already assigned specific readings to that day. After a short preparation in prayer and meditation, Augustine improvised his sermon during the liturgy. Very often wealthy people commissioned their *notarii* to write down his sermon¹⁹.

The texts of the sermons that were delivered by Augustine in Carthage are written remarkably more carefully than those delivered elsewhere; possibly because of more capable *notarii*²⁰. Their writings, perhaps corrected by the preacher himself, could then be copied and distributed by the *librarii*²¹. In this way the sermons were already familiar to a large audience during Augustine's own lifetime. The sermons delivered within his own circle were in many cases corrected by the

¹⁸ The collection of CAESARIUS that was most spread is the *Quinquaginta Homiliae*. Also important is the *Codex Sessorarius* from the 9th century, which included a collection of sermons from Africa and was kept in Campania. See A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de saint Augustin*, in: *Casinensia*. Monte Cassino, 1929, I, 217; A. WILMART, *La collection tripartite des sermons de saint Augustin*, in: *Miscellanea Augustiniana*. Rotterdam, 1930, p. 418 (p. 418-449); A. WILMART, *La tradition ... a.c.*, in: *MA II*, '295-315. The first printed collections of sermons were published in Cologne in 1470 and in Augsburg in 1475. See C. MOHRMANN, *Preken ... o.c.*, p. XX. For a practical overview of Augustine's oeuvre, especially his sermons, we refer to H. VAN REISEN, *Met Augustinus aan de slag. Beknopte handleiding bij de studie op Augustinus*. Eindhoven, Augustijns Instituut, 1994, 62 pp.

¹⁹ "Et quisquis, ut voluit et potuit, notarios adhibentes, ea quae dicebantur excepta describentes" (POSSIDIUS, *Vita* 7,3). "... quandoquidem placuit fratribus non tantum aure et corde, sed et stilo excipiendi quae dicimus; ut non auditorem tantum sed et lectorem etiam cogitare debeamus" (*En. in Ps.* 51,1).

²⁰ On Augustine's preaching and style, see C. MOHRMANN, *Preken ... o.c.*, p. XXVII-XLVII.

²¹ R. DEFERRARI, *St. Augustine's method of composing and delivering sermons*, in: *American Journal of Philology* 43 (1922) 97 and 193 states that Augustine never checked these writings. On the other hand, the bishop himself was in any case in possession of similar writings: "antequam epistulas atque sermones ad populum, alios dictatos, alios a me dictos, retractare coepissem" (*Retractationes* II,67). See also *Ep.* 224,2 to Quodvultdeus: "Restabant epistulae, deinde tractatus populares quos Graeci homilias vocant". H. MARROU, *La technique de l'édition à l'époque patristique*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 3 (1949) 205-224.

bishop himself. This, for example, is the case with the *Enarrationes in psalmos*.

The way Augustine prepared himself appears clearly from his conference on Psalm 138: "I had prepared myself for a short Psalm and had arranged for the lector to sing it"²². Elsewhere he even hints at the fact that he was not planning on delivering a sermon at all: "We had not prepared a sermon for Your Grace, for it was not we who told the lector to sing that Psalm, but he decided in his youthful heart what he considered beneficial to let you hear"²³. And once, when he was in Carthage, Augustine, to his dismay, was commanded by bishop Aurelius to deliver a sermon spontaneously on Psalm 86²⁴.

CLOSING PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON

Many of Augustine's sermons end with the words *Conversi ad Dominum*, some were also followed by a prayer. Augustine in this way invited the congregation after the sermon to turn to the east in order to pray to God, since the people listening to the sermon in the Basilica Pacis in Hippo always stood facing the west. The prayer after the *Conversi ad Dominum* seems to have been, at least according to its phrasing, a prayer that terminated the sermon; it cannot be compared with the general intercessions (the prayers of the faithful) or to the *oratio communis*²⁵.

Although the terms *general intercessions* or *prayer of the faithful* occur nowhere in Augustine's works, one can, however, deduce from them the actual existence of such a prayer within the liturgy of Hippo. Zwinggi situates the closing prayer immediately before the dismissal of the catechumens, although in the prayer itself the catechumens are not specifically mentioned. While the closing prayer after the sermon mentions only those present, the general intercessions also pay attention to those

²² "Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore, sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus alterum pro altero legit" (*En. in Ps. 138,1*).

²³ "Unde cum sermonem ad vestram caritatem non praeparavimus, hinc nobis esse tractandum Domino imperante cognovimus. Volebamus enim hodierna die vos in ruminatione permittere ... Neque enim nos istum psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus; sed quod ille censuit vobis esse utile ad audiendum, hoc corde etiam puerili imperavit" (*S. 352,1*).

²⁴ "Hic nobis, quantum Dominus donare dignatur, cum vestra caritate tractandus, modo est propositus a beatissimo praesente patre nostro. Repentina propositio me gravaret, nisi me continuo proponentis oratio sublevaret" (*En. in Ps. 86,1*).

²⁵ "... aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur" (*Ep. 55,18,34*).

who are not present. The general intercessions take place at the altar, before the offertory and the eucharistic prayer. It seems very likely, therefore, that the prayer after the sermon is intended as a prayer for the catechumens and the other participants before sending the catechumens away²⁶.

PREACHING AND HOLY SCRIPTURE

The way in which Augustine preached differs in more than one aspect from that of our time. Characteristic for him is the fact that he lived by Holy Scripture in such a way that a word-association would suffice for him to place unexpectedly a deeply concealed, not very evident, word of the Bible at the center of attention²⁷.

In the complete works of Augustine two thirds of the terms and subjects can be found in Holy Scripture²⁸. In Augustine's sermons, however, many of these scriptural quotations are a repetition of the same passage. The total number of differing quotations is relatively few. From the book of Isaiah a few verses only are repeatedly quoted, and the same applies to almost all the books of the Prophets, except the book of Job, from which many texts are used repeatedly. The quotations from Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, on the other hand, are rare²⁹.

²⁶ "Ecce post sermonem sit missa catechumenis: manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis" (S. 49,8); cf. A. ZWINGGI, *Der Wortgottesdienst bei Augustin*, in: *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 20 (1970) 104-112; F. DOLBEAU, *Sermons inédits de saint Augustin prêchés en 397*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994) 72-76; P. DE CLERCK, *La prière universelle dans les liturgies latines anciennes* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 62). München, 1977. Testimony from Augustine's letters on the existence of general intercessions: "... aut communis oratio voce diaconi ..." (Ep. 55,18,34); "... ut preces accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in domini mensa, incipiat benedici" (Ep. 149,2,16); "... pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus et his, qui in sublimitate sunt ..." (Ep. 149,2,17); "... quando audis sacerdotem dei ad altare dei exhortantem populum dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt eius munere perseverent ..." (Ep. 217,1,2). Cf. P. DE CLERCK, o.c.

²⁷ D. RANDOLPH, *Augustine's theology of preaching*. Boston, 1962 (diss); A. POLMAN, *Het woord Gods bij Augustinus*. Kampen, 1955, p. 125-188; F. SCHNITZLER, *Zur Theologie der Verkündigung in den Predigten des heiligen Augustinus*. Freiburg, 1968.

²⁸ C. MOHRMANN, o.c., p. XLVIII; H. VOGELS, *Die Heilige Schrift bei Augustin*, in: *Aurelius Augustinus. Festschrift der Görres-Gesellschaft*, hrsg. M. GRABMANN - J. MAUSBACH. Köln, 1930, p. 413 (p. 411-421).

²⁹ M. PONTET, o.c., p. 581-583.

From the Song of Songs Augustine chooses some verses to clarify the unity of the Church³⁰.

Augustine focuses his attention especially on the book of Psalms. It is possible that the bishop limited himself deliberately within these confines in view of the little knowledge of Scripture he presumed his audience to have³¹. The New Testament is quoted more often than the Old Testament, but also large parts of the former remain unmentioned, while a relative few number of passages occur time and again. The section *De scripturis* of the edition in which the Maurini published Augustine's sermons on Holy Scripture consists of 50 sermons on the Old Testament and 123 sermons on the New Testament.

Augustine favoured preaching under guidance of the liturgical readings. There is no sermon in which he does not establish some connection with the Epistle, the Psalm, the Psalm response, or the Gospel³². Sometimes Augustine comments on all three readings in his sermon³³, as for example in sermon 165: "We heard from the Apostle, we heard the Psalm, we heard the Gospel; all these divine readings agree in their invitation to us not to found our hope upon ourselves but on the Lord"³⁴. Augustine often selected the three readings in such a way that they would provide texts on one theme³⁵.

In regard to Augustine's flexibility to actualize Scriptural texts, the Church father apparently possessed a great capability to adapt himself. He liked to address actual problems in his sermons and chose applicable

³⁰ According to some authors, the two books of the Maccabees are absent in the sermons. But in sermon 300, on August 1st during the celebration of the Maccabean martyrs, 2 Macc. 7:27 is quoted, which appears to have been part of the scriptural reading.

³¹ C. MOHRMANN, o.c., p. XLVIII-XLIX.

³² W. ROETZER, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als liturgisch-geschichtliche Quelle*. München, 1930, p. 303. "In memoria retinentes pollicitationem nostram, congruas etiam ex evangelio et apostolo fecimus recitari lectiones" (S. 362,1); "Beati apostoli epistola cum legeretur de constituendis episcopis, commemoravit nos sine dubio respicere in nos" (S. 178,1).

³³ "Primam lectionem audivimus apostoli ... Deinde cantavimus psalmum ... Post haec, evangelica lectio ... Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis; et quantum conari possumus ... non in aliqua earum sic immorantes, ut aliis duabus impedimentum afferamus," (S. 176,1), which deals with 1 Tim. 1:15, Ps. 94:6 and Lk. 17:32.

³⁴ "Apostolum audivimus, psalmum audivimus, evangelium audivimus. Consonant omnes divinae lectiones, ut spem non in nobis, sed in Domino collocemus (Eph. 3:14)" (S. 165,1).

³⁵ F. VAN DER MEER, *Augustinus de zielzorger. Een studie over de praktijk van een kerkvader*. Utrecht, 1947, p. 367.

liturgical readings. Augustine wanted to educate and arm his listeners with the readings from Sacred Scripture for the discussions with the heretics and the pagans³⁶.

Pellegrino doubts whether all of the listeners could grasp fully the contents of Augustine's sermons³⁷. Mohrmann, on the other hand, thinks they could. Augustine's sermons were characterized by every day examples and by a great feeling for concreteness, which ordinary people could easily grasp³⁸.

Augustine wanted to recall to his listeners those passages from the Old and the New Testament which most accurately describe the history of salvation, and which most clearly illustrate the way to the Kingdom of God. Because of this, it becomes possible to reconstruct Augustine's pastoral Bible from his liturgical Bible.

NUMBER AND ORDER OF THE READINGS

In Augustine's time the liturgy of Hippo did not yet include an introitus. Immediately after the entrance procession the liturgy began with the readings³⁹. Before the beginning of the service, it could be quite tumultuous in church. In order to quiet the churchgoers, the readings began with a greeting by the celebrant: "The Lord be with you"⁴⁰.

The readings were read by lectors, the Psalms sung by youths with a clear voice⁴¹. In Rome, as well as in Hippo, the reading of the Gospel was a prerogative of the deacon. Augustine, as a bishop, never himself read the scriptural texts. On the other hand, it happened that he repeated a

³⁶ A. ZWINGGI, a.c., p. 98.

³⁷ An excellent introduction to the sermons of Augustine in: *The works of Saint Augustine. A translation for the 21st century*, intr. M. PELLEGRINO, transl. E. HILL. New York, 1990, part III: Sermons, vol. I, p. 13-137, especially p. 84-96.

³⁸ C. MOHRMANN, o.c., p. LIX-LXVIII.

³⁹ For this part we consulted: W. ROETZER, o.c.; F. VAN DER MEER, o.c.; A. ZWINGGI, a.c., p. 92-113; A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *La Bible liturgique de saint Augustin*, in: *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin*, ed. C. KANNENGIESSER. Paris, 1975, p. 147-160.

⁴⁰ "Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia ... nemine tacente hanc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta sollemnia" (*De Civitate Dei* 22,8); "Quod autem audistis ad mensam Domini 'Dominus vobiscum', hoc et quando de abside salutamus dicere solemus, et quotienscumque oramus hoc dicamus" (*S. Guelf.* 7,3. MA I, 463).

⁴¹ E. PAOLI-LAFAYE, *Les lectures des textes liturgiques*, in: *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, ed. A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE. Paris, 1986, p. 59-74.

part of the scriptural text read during the liturgy at the beginning of his sermon⁴².

Already Justin Martyr testified that during the celebration of the Eucharist the readings were taken from the Prophets or the New Testament⁴³. Originally in Rome three readings were used, but these soon were reduced to two. In Egypt, on Saturdays and on Sundays as well as during the whole of Eastertide, the two readings were taken from the New Testament.

In Hippo the decrease from three to two readings was still taking place during the time of Augustine's episcopate. On a great feast day, like Easter morning, a reading would be taken from the Old Testament, on other days this was no longer the case⁴⁴. In sermon 45 a reading from the Old Testament and one from the New Testament, but none from the Gospel, are mentioned⁴⁵. Four readings can be assumed in sermo Denis 13, because there Augustine not only refers to three passages from Holy Scripture but also to a letter from Cyprianus⁴⁶.

In sermon 341 the bishop says: "Our Lord Jesus Christ is understood and proclaimed in three ways: either through the preaching of the Law and the Prophets, or through the preaching of the Epistles of the Apostles, or through faith in historical facts known to us via the Gospel". We may presuppose that in this case he did not insist on the liturgical order of Epistle, Psalm and Gospel⁴⁷. Willis's suggestion that Augustine on occasion had two readings from the Apostles during the celebration of

⁴² "Postea ... lectum est illud in evangelio ubi Dominus ..., quod capitulum, cum eos intentos proposita vinolentiae quaestione feci, et ipse quoque recitavi" (*Ep.* 29,3).

⁴³ JUSTINUS, *Apologia* I,67,3-5. Cf. J. SALZMANN, *Lehren und Ermahnen. Zur Geschichte der christlichen Wortgottesdienstes in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*. Tübingen, 1994, p. 247.

⁴⁴ G. WILLIS, *St. Augustine's Lectionary*. London, 1962, p. 22-57 indicates in his overview several Old Testament readings.

⁴⁵ "In omnibus lectionibus quas recitatas audivimus" (*Is.* 57); "Deinde ascendit apostolica lectio" (*2 Cor.* 7); "factum est, ut se lectiones sic sequerentur, ut in Isaiam promitterentur nobis aliquid, in apostolo autem diceretur ... quasi una lectio esset prophetarum et apostoli ... Ubi enim finivit prophetica lectio ibi est promissio; unde coepit apostoli lectio ubi est operis indicio" (*S.* 45,1).

⁴⁶ See for *S. Denis* 13,2 footnote 61 below. "Certe modo in evangelio dominus alloquebatur Judaeos" (*Mt.* 23); "Paulum apostolum, cum legeretur, audistis" (*2 Cor.* 1:5-14); "Ecce timor et tremor venerunt super eum et contexerunt eum tenebrae, sicut audistis cum diceretur in psalmo" (*Ps.* 54:6), (*S. Denis* 13,3).

⁴⁷ "Dominus noster Jesus Christus tribus modis intelligitur et nominatur, quando praedicatur sive per legem et prophetas, sive per epistulas apostolicas, sive per fidem rerum gestarum quas in evangelio cognoscimus" (*S.* 341,1).

the Eucharist, one after the other, cannot be corroborated on the basis of the example he uses to prove his suggestion⁴⁸.

It became customary in Hippo to sing a Psalm between the two readings⁴⁹. In the case of three readings during the service, the Psalm was not placed between the reading of the Old Testament and that of the Apostle, but immediately before the reading of the Gospel, possibly as a result of Augustine's preference for a christological interpretation of the Psalms⁵⁰. In the days of Augustine, in Hippo as well as in Carthage, the liturgy of the Word consisted sometimes in a reading from the Old Testament, a reading from the Epistles or the Acts, a Psalm and a reading from the Gospel. In Africa as well as in Rome there was a growing tendency towards the omission of the reading from the Old Testament⁵¹.

THE LECTIONARY

The early church was not yet familiar with a fixed schema of reading in relation to the liturgical year as we now know it. The officiant was free to choose the pericopes to be read on a great number of days, according to his own understanding. He could choose the liturgical

⁴⁸ G. WILLIS, o.c., p. 47 mentions for S. 128,3,5-4,6 the reading of Gal. 5:14-17 and Rom. 13:9. But in fact Rom. 13:9 does not occur there. "Pugnam nostram, modo cum apostolus legeretur, audistis: Omnis, inquit, lex in uno sermone impletur (Gal. 5:14)" (S. 128,3,5); "Apostoli verba dico, quae modo recitata sunt de epistola ipsius: Dico autem (Gal. 5:15)" (S. 128,4,6).

⁴⁹ H. LEEB, *Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius*. Wien, 1967, p. 53-89; A. VERHEUL, *De antwoordpsalm in de eucharistieviering*, in: *Tijdschrift voor Liturgie* 76 (1992) 155-176.

⁵⁰ "Et ad hoc pertinet quod etiam apostolica lectio ante psalmi canticum praesignavit ... In illa parte corpus diaboli, in ista praefiguratio Domini Jesu Christi" (S. 32,4.) "Terribilis lectio ante psalmum sonuit in auribus nostris (James 2)" (S. *Wilmart* 2. MA I, 673). "... sicut praecedens hunc psalmum lectio" (*En. in Ps.* 31,II,1). The custom of placing the Psalm directly before the Gospel was already in use in Milan during the time of Ambrose; see H. LEEB, o.c., p. 80-82.

⁵¹ W. ROETZER, o.c., p. 100 maintains two readings for most occasions, (if one does not consider the Psalm a reading) sometimes three readings. "In omnibus lectionibus, quas recitatas audivimus, si animadvertit Caritas Vestra primam lectionem Isaiae prophetae ... Deinde ascendit apostolica lectio (Is. 57 and 2 Cor. 7:1)" (S. 45,1.) "Lectio prima prophetica quid nobis commendaverit (Micha 6:6 and Ps. 72)" (S. 48,2). "Cum ergo ultimum sit sanctum evangelium recitatum ... Sed ego memini superiore dominico quid promiserim. Cum enim de sancto propheta quod lectum fuerat aliquid exponere voluissem (Micha 6:6 and Mt. 20)" (S. 49,1). "Prima lectio quae nobis hodie recitata est apostoli Jacobi (James 5:12)" (S. 180,1). *Sermo* 176,1 mentions 1 Tim. 1, Ps. 94, Lk. 17. Cf. A. MARTIMORT, *A propos du nombre des lectures à la messe*, in: *Revue des sciences religieuses* 58 (1984) 42-51.

readings in such a way that they would conform to the occasion. "True to our promise, we ordered suitable readings from the Gospel and from the Apostle to be read"⁵². "In response to this solemn celebration appropriate readings have been read"⁵³.

Although complete lectionaries were only known from the seventh century onward, the development of a fixed lectionary had already begun in Augustine's time. In this respect, the period of Lent, — a period in which the catechumens were educated, — contributed to a fixed pattern of scriptural readings. The same applied to the feasts of Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, on which there existed essentially fixed listings for the liturgical readings. The first elements of what later was to be a lectionary emerged more and more clearly in the fifth century. They were related to feasts and not to ordinary days. Apart from the feasts the bishop could choose the readings in the liturgy according to his own discernment⁵⁴.

As appears clearly from the sermons of Augustine, in Africa a rudimentary lectionary functioned in the beginning of the fifth century. This lectionary was obligatory for many Sundays of the liturgical year as well as for the feasts of the Saints. At the same time Augustine preached on Psalm texts and New Testament passages which do not fit in with the framework of the liturgical year. Those sermons dealt with a more personal or more local feast, with the consecration of a church or the ordination of a bishop, or dealt with the explanation of a well chosen pericope⁵⁵.

Every diocese had its own list of readings, because every local church had its own liturgical practices. Thus the list of Milan differed from that of Hippo. The liturgy as such was based on local customs and not so much on centrally decreed ecclesiastical legislature⁵⁶.

Because the celebrant on most occasions was free to choose the readings, often Augustine, by way of *lectio continua*, acquainted his listeners with a complete book of the Bible. He chose this approach in order to be able to explain a certain book of the Bible in its entirety

⁵² S. 362,1, see footnote 32 above. A. MARTIMORT, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 64). Turnhout, 1992.

⁵³ "Huic solemnitati sanctae lectiones congruae sonuerunt" (S. 302,1).

⁵⁴ Two examples from Augustine: "Hesterno die qui adfuitis promissionem nostram tenetis (Mt. 25)" (S. 93,1). "Habet ergo et fides ipsa quoddam lumen suum in scripturis, in prophetia, in evangelio, in apostolicis lectionibus. Omnia enim ista quae nobis ad tempus recitantur, lucernae sunt in obscuro loco, ut nutriamur ad diem (John 5)" (S. 126,1).

⁵⁵ A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 157-158.

⁵⁶ G. WILLIS, o.c., p. 75-93 discusses the relations between the reading schemas of the different patriarchates.

during a number of consecutive days, mostly during conferences in the afternoon⁵⁷. On these occasions his pastoral concern played an important role in opposing the two factors that endangered the ecclesiastical life in Africa: paganism and heresy. Thus, in the tractates on the Gospel of St. John he argues against Donatism⁵⁸.

THE FEAST OF A MARTYR

The African councils between 390 and 427 show by their decrees, that in the time of Augustine a venerable African tradition concerning the liturgical readings had already grown. From 393 the episcopate jointly tried to safeguard this tradition by obliging all members of the clergy to read only canonical books during the celebrations. Regarding this obligation a list was made of canonical books and of regulations concerning the reading of a *passio* of a martyr. The bishops even introduced certain biblical books into the liturgy, for example, the book of Wisdom and the Letter to the Hebrews⁵⁹.

The fact that the faithful valued their tradition appears from a remark made by Augustine during a sermon. During Holy Week he allowed Passion accounts to be read other than the regular one of St. Matthew. Because of the consternation among the faithful then present, he refrained from further experimenting and kept himself to the traditional readings⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ AUGUSTINUS VAN HIPPO. *Preken over de Eerste Brief van Johannes*, transl. T. VAN BAVEL. Leuven, 1992, p. VII; S. POQUE, *Lectures de l'octave pascale à Hippone d'après les traités de saint Augustin sur la première épître de saint Jean*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 74 (1964) 217-241. A. ZWINGGI, *Die fortlaufende Schriftlesung im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus*, in: *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 12 (1970) 85-129 presupposes that the *lectio continua* in Augustine's choice of pericopes played a secondary role.

⁵⁸ A. KUNZELMANN, *Augustins Predigtätigkeit*, in: *Aurelius Augustinus*, hrsg. M. GRABMANN - J. MAUSBACH. Köln, 1930, p. 164.

⁵⁹ The Council of Hippo (393) stated in canon 36: "Ut praeter scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum scripturarum ... Liceat etiam legi passionem martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur", in: *Concilia Africae (345-525)*, ed. C. MUNIER (CC 149). Turnhout, 1974, p. 43. R. HENNINGS, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon des Alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gal 2,11-14*. Leiden, 1994, p. 200-217. There is also the issue of the influence of Cyprian on the organisation of the sanctoral in the liturgy of Africa, see A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., 148-150 and 157.

⁶⁰ "Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes evangelistas etiam passio legeretur. Factum est, non audierunt homines quod consueverant et perturbati sunt" (S. 232,1).

At the end of the fourth century in Africa the custom emerged of reading the act of a martyr during the liturgy on his feast day⁶¹. By means of conciliar decrees the African bishops tried to situate the popular veneration of the martyrs within a liturgical framework. It was prescribed that during the liturgy on the feast of a martyr the specific *passio* ought to be read. Augustine also reveals his commitment to this decree in his sermons⁶². A Psalm verse was chosen that was related to the *passio* being read, whereas the text of the Gospel was very often the same, taken from St. Matthew⁶³. La Bonnardière attempts to explain the diminishing number of Old Testament readings during the liturgy as being a result of the emergence of the *passio* during the liturgy⁶⁴. Should we suppose, however, as was observed by Zwinggi, that the readings from the Old Testament occurred mainly during the services in which the catechumens were instructed?⁶⁵

⁶¹ Sometimes Augustine even allows miracle stories to be read: "Hesterno die libellum promissimus Caritati Vestrae ubi de illo sanato audire etiam possitis, quae videre non potuistis" (S. 322,1); and once from a letter of Cyprian: "Audistis beatum Cyprianum martyrum et exemplum et tubam ..." (S. Denis 13,2. MA I, 56). Augustine refers here to Cyprian's *Liber ad Fortunatum* (c. 253/257), a collection of scriptural passages to strengthen Christians during the persecutions. Cf. B. DE GAIFFIER, *La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en occident*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954) 134-166.

⁶² "Beata filia eius in hoc ordine constituta, cuius inter ceteras celebramus hodie passionem, paulo ante audivimus confessionem" (S. 37,23). "Quando audimus quomodo passi sunt martyres, gaudemus" (S. 273,2). "Beati quorum passio recitata est" (S. 273,6). "Longam lectionem audivimus, brevis est dies, longo sermone etiam nos tenere vestram patientiam non debemus" (S. 274, fine). "... sed plane utilissimam et fructuosissimam voluptatem oculis interioribus hausimus, cum beati Vincentii gloriosa passio legeretur" (S. 275,1). "In passione quae nobis hodie recitata est" (S. 276,1). "Quis autem hodie Daciani vel nomen audisset nisi Vincentii passionem legisset?" (S. 276,4). "Delectat autem piam mentem, tale spectaculum contueri, quale sibi beata Perpetua de se ipsa revelatum esse narravit" (S. 281,2). "Quid autem attinet ad istas quarum sunt ista vocabula, sicut audivimus, cum earum passio legeretur ..." (S. 282,2). "Istum diem nobis solemnem gloria Machabaeorum fecit, quorum mirabiles passionem, cum legerentur ..." (S. 300,1).

⁶³ Mt. 5, Mt. 10 or Mt. 19. The Epistles also show little variation: 1 John 3:16 or 2 Tim. 3:12.

⁶⁴ A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 155-157 mentions, in addition to the texts mentioned above in footnote 61 and 62: S. 309,3, S. Lambot 9, S. Denis 14, S. Denis 16,1, S. Guelf 27,2, S. Guelf 28,6 and S. Guelf 30,2.

⁶⁵ A. ZWINGGI, o.c., p. 98; T. AUDET, *Les catéchèses baptismales de saint Augustin*, in: *Augustinus Magister*. Paris, 1954, I, 157. In the works of Augustine there is no indication that during the weekdays mainly the Old Testament was read.

THE PSALM AS CHANTED READING

In 400 of the approximately 900 sermons ascribed to Augustine he explains one or more Psalm texts. He apparently had a preference for the Psalms⁶⁶ and advocated the singing of a Psalm at the altar during the offertory and communion, a practice that was emerging at that time in Carthage⁶⁷.

When Augustine became bishop of Hippo the Psalm was sung only by the cantor. It was Augustine who introduced singing by the congregation. In his works there is no indication that this congregational singing was by means of two semi-choirs⁶⁸. It would seem, rather, that what he introduced was responsorial singing, that is, singing the response.

Those who read the *Confessiones* may conclude that the bishop became familiar with the practice of the congregational singing of the Psalms in Milan. Augustine tells us that the practice of congregational singing originated from the East⁶⁹.

The *Ordo Monasterii*, which is of Eastern origin but known in Augustine's milieu, is not intended for the church community, but for a community of religious⁷⁰. Although it does speak about the *antiphona* as a specific form of singing the Psalms, Augustine himself never uses the term *antiphona*⁷¹.

⁶⁶ G. KNAUER, *Psalmzitate in Augustins Konfessionen*. Göttingen, 1955, p. 24-30.

⁶⁷ "... morem, qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem coeperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem sive cum distribueretur populo quid fuisset oblatum" (*Retractiones* 2,11). A. ZWINGGI, o.c., p. 100-103.

⁶⁸ A. ZWINGGI, o.c., p. 101. "Deinde cantavimus psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem, una voce, uno corde dicentes: Venite adoremus (Ps. 94:6)" (S. 176,1).

⁶⁹ "Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium ... institutum est; ex illo in hodiernum retentum multis iam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus" (*Conf.* 9,7,15). Cf. H. LEEB, o.c., p. 53-62, 85-87.

⁷⁰ Possibly the *Ordo Monasterii* was compiled by Augustine's friend Alypius: "Sommes-nous trop optimiste si nous pensons qu'il faudrait désormais parler de la Règle d'Alypius, comme on parle de la Règle d'Augustin, tout en précisant que la première a été approuvée par l'auteur de la deuxième, par une phrase de sa propre main, et mise sur un plan moins technique, par une autre phrase de sa propre main?"; see L. VERHEIJEN, *La Règle de saint Augustin*. Paris, 1967, II, p.171. See also A. DE VOGÜÉ, *L'horaire de l'Ordo monasterii. Ses rapports avec le monachisme égyptien*, in: *Homo Spiritualis. Festgabe für L. Verheijen*. Hrsg. von C. MAYER u. K.H. CHELIUS. Würzburg, 1987, 240-258.

⁷¹ The *Ordo Monasterii* prescribes three Psalms for morning prayer (*in matutinis*): 62, 5 and 89; for Terce a Psalm with response (*ad respondendum*) and two other Psalms (*antiphonae duae*); for evening prayer (*ad lucernarium*) a Psalm with response (*psalmus responsorius*), four other Psalms (*antiphonae quattuor*), and a Psalm with response; for prayer during the night (*nocturnae orationes*) both *antiphonae* as well as *psalmi*. L.

The Psalm singing in Milan was not exactly the same as the monastic way of reciting the Psalms. In the monasteries all the Psalms were recited, which would pose an insurmountable problem for a large crowd. Furthermore the monastic melodies were too austere to compete with the popular melodies. Augustine suggests, on more than one occasion, that the singing was not executed with austere, but with sweet melodies⁷².

From Augustine's remarks it becomes clear that certain Psalm texts required certain melodies. Possibly their melodies were written down in *troparia* or in what we now call *antifones*. These were used as a tuning fork; in addition to the pitch they indicated the psalmodic mode⁷³.

In any case, Augustine, as bishop, encouraged the practice of singing. The singing of the response was already customary in Carthage, where for the first time in the Church of Africa this kind of large group singing was carried out⁷⁴. The Catholic Christians of Africa were not particularly oriented in those days to singing⁷⁵. But Augustine himself held the conviction: When there are no readings, sermons or prayers, what better can the people do than sing?⁷⁶

VERHEIJEN, *La Règle*, I, p. 148-152; II, p. 137, 149-151. Cf. H. LEEB, o.c., p. 63-68.

⁷² "Nihil enim aliud dicebat, quoniam ipsum cantilenae modum nuper hauserat, et amabat, ut fit, melos inusitatum" (*De Ordine* 1,8,22); "Ita sonus iste dulcis est, ut et qui psalterium nesciunt, ipsum versum cantent" (*En. in Ps.* 132,1); "Quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter" (*Conf.* 9,6,14). The last text indicates that Augustine was not moved by sober but by sweet melodies. Possibly they were so sweet because the melody came from outside the Church, and while its original worldly text was still current.

⁷³ H. NOLTHENIUS, *Muziek tusssen hemel en aarde. De wereld van het gregoriaans*. Amsterdam, 1981, p. 35-43.

⁷⁴ F. VAN DER MEER, o.c., p. 288. "A Carthago même l'initiative d'Aurelius n'alla pas sans résistance; il rencontra l'opposition d'un certain Hilarus et demanda à Augustin de se charger de le convaincre. Augustin écrivit le *Contra Hilarum*, recensé dans les *Retractationes* II,11": A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 149.

⁷⁵ "... sicut de hymnis et psalmis canendis, cum et ipsius Domini et apostolorum habeamus documenta et exempla et praecepta. De hac re tam utili ad movendum pie animum, et accendendum divinae dilectionis affectum, varia consuetudo est, et pleraque in Africa ecclesiae membra pigriora sunt; ita ut donatistae nos reprehendant, quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia divina cantica prophetarum ..." (*Ep.* 55,18,34).

⁷⁶ "Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur, aut antistes clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?" (*Ep.* 55,18,34). "Aliis vero particulis temporum quid melius a congregatis christianis fiat, quid utilius, quid sanctius, omnino non video" (*Ep.* 55, 19,35).

Roetzer and La Bonnardière produce some examples of a response⁷⁷. The response was first sung by the cantor and then repeated by the people and repeated again every time the cantor completed the next psalm verse. The singing of the Alleluia could also serve as a response⁷⁸. Sometimes the performance of the cantor was interpreted as reading, at other times it was considered singing⁷⁹.

RECONSTRUCTION OF READING LISTS

From the text of Augustine's sermons, Willis reconstructed a reading list that might have been used in Hippo. Because the bishop was a typical liturgical preacher, Willis considers this reconstruction possible. Augustine's sermons contain more material in connection with liturgical practices than those of any other western Church father, in particular concerning important feasts like Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. Information about the second half of the ecclesiastical liturgical year is more limited.

What method does Willis use to determine the pericopes? He nowhere explains specifically how he concludes from the sermons which pericopes were used. He does, however, consider as a reasonably reliable indication the fact that certain scriptural passages occur frequently in sermons that belong to one liturgical-thematic group⁸⁰. Other writers have

⁷⁷ W. ROETZER, o.c., p. 101-102; A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 157. For example: "Videte quomodo impleverit quod omnes cantant sed pauci faciant: Benedicam dominum in omni tempore, semper laus eius in ore meo (Ps. 33:2)" (S. 359A,6); "Memento quid in psalmo cantaveris: Inquilinus ego sum in terra (Ps. 118:19)" (S. 359A,8).

⁷⁸ "Brevis psalmus est et valde utilis, quem modo nobis cantatum audivimus et cantando respondimus" (En. in Ps. 119,1); "Itaque in hoc psalmo quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus" (En. in Ps. 46,1). Verse 6 of Psalm 40 "Inimici mei dixerunt mala mihi" serves as response: "Primo quo legenti respondentes cantavimus" (En. in Ps. 40,1 and 7). The Alleluia serves as response: "Quod nos voce psalmi spiritus sanctus hortatus est, cui ore uno et corde uno respondebamus Alleluia" (S. Denis 9,1, MA I, 39). All sing together: "... de quibus audivimus et cantavimus, quod in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum (Ps. 18:5)" (S. 299,1); "Hunc psalmum sicut vobiscum cum exultatione cantavimus" (En. in Ps. 44,1, in Carthage).

⁷⁹ "Primo quod legenti respondentes cantavimus, quamquam de medio psalmo sit, hinc tamen sermonis ducamus exordium" (En. in Ps. 40,1); see also En. in Ps. 46,1, footnote 78 above. Cf. H. LEEB, o.c., p. 80-84.

⁸⁰ "Augustine very frequently refers to Isa. 53:8 ... in sermons preached on Christmas Day. He nowhere states explicitly that this lesson was read, and the fourth Servant Song is not very suitable for the Nativity, except for this verse, nor does this lesson occur in later lectionaries for Christmas Day. Nevertheless, Augustine's references to it in Christmas sermons are so frequent that it is possible that it was read at Hippo at that

also occupied themselves, using the sermons of Augustine as point of departure, with the listing of the liturgical Scripture readings in the church of Hippo⁸¹. In the following paragraphs we will summarize the different methods used by Susanne Poque, Anne-Marie La Bonnardière and Victor Saxer⁸².

Susanne Poque, who discusses the pericopes of the liturgical celebrations during Holy Week and Easter week, usually does not explain how she determined the pericopes. Frequently she considers the scriptural reading as probable⁸³. She summarizes the scriptural texts that occur in the respective sermons⁸⁴, and sometimes adds a suggestion for a possible pericope⁸⁵. Thus she deals with the pericopes in Easter week without explaining her method of deduction⁸⁶.

season. It is probable that the Epistle was from Romans 5, which is also unparalleled elsewhere; and certain that the psalm was 84 ... There is no trace whatever in Augustine ... of the prologue to Saint John's gospel, the *In principio*, nor of the Matthaean account of the Nativity": G. WILLIS, o.c., p. 58.

⁸¹ For example W. ROETZER, o.c., p. 14-54; P. ROUILLARD, *Les sermons de Noël de saint Augustin*, in: *La vie spirituelle* 41 (1959) nr.101, p. 479-492; G. HUDON, *Le mystère de Noël dans le temps de l'église d'après saint Augustin*, in: *La Maison Dieu* 59 (1959) 60-84.

⁸² In his introduction (see footnote 37 above) M. PELLEGRINO refers with approval to the work of Willis (p. 26); he himself provides many examples of sermons of which the pericope or pericopes can be deduced from mainly explicit indications (p. 26-32). He thus discusses the readings of: S. 6, 13, 14, 16A, 27, 29, 32, 33A, 36, 43, 47, 61, 67, 68, 69, 70, 80, 81, 101, 112, 113, 117, 125, 131, 150, 160, 162A, 163B, 165, 174, 176, 223A, 229B, 306C, 307, 308, 313B, 339, 340A, 392. Furthermore, he states that Augustine uses the term *capitulum* to indicate *pericope* and that *dictum* can imply that which has been read or chanted (p. 29-30).

⁸³ "D'après *En. in Ps. 21,II,1* on peut supposer que la lecture prophétique était Jérémie 9,1 et l'évangile Mt. 26,1-16": S. POQUE, *Augustin d'Hippone. Sermons pour la Pâque* (SC 116). Paris, 1966, p. 70. "Sed quid modo ait propheta? Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum ... Verba quae modo audivimus, fratres, ubi ponimus?" (*En. in Ps. 21,II,1-2*). If one reads this *enarratio*, it becomes clear that Augustine comments on a number of verses of Mt. 26.

⁸⁴ S. POQUE, o.c., p. 76-77.

⁸⁵ "Ps. 18,6 était-il liturgiquement associé au jour de Pâques?": S. POQUE, o.c., p. 83; "Une double référence au Ps. 35 laisserait supposer que, au moins selon Ordo IV, ce psaume était lu ou chanté": *ib.* p. 92. She refers to S. 233,1: "Audisti lectionem sancti evangelii de resurrectione Christi ... Ait enim, sicut audistis quando loquebatur: Qui crederit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit (Mk. 16:16)"; and to S. 233,2: "Audi: Filii autem hominum sub tegmine alarum tuarum sperabunt (Ps. 35:8)"; "Quoniam apud te est fons vitae (Ps. 35:10)"; "Homines et iumenta salvos facies (Ps. 35:7)".

⁸⁶ S. Poque seems to take over without investigation the pericopes from C. LAMBOT, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques*, in: *Revue des sciences religieuses* 30 (1956) 230-240, 31 (1957) 263-278. See S. POQUE, o.c., p. 86-89. "A partir

Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, who is particularly interested in more general rules considering the lectionary of Hippo, claims that the fact that a certain scriptural passage occurs more than once can be interpreted as an indication of an original scriptural reading. Like Willis, she asserts that the method of concluding from scriptural indications which pericopes Augustine used is a reliable method⁸⁷.

Although in an earlier work she presents scriptural readings for Epiphany only as a possibility⁸⁸, she justifies her conclusions in a later study⁸⁹. Mt. 2:1-12 must have been the Gospel reading, since Augustine gives a recognizable commentary on this text. As psalm response, Ps. 18:2 (*caeli enarrant*) is suggested, because this verse occurs in six of the nine sermons on Epiphany⁹⁰, although Augustine nowhere states that the verse had actually been sung. *Caeli* is associated here with *stella*, and this association is only made in sermons on Epiphany. Augustine explains the star as a celestial sign or as divine communication; in other instances *caeli* often indicates the apostles or the saints. The reading from the Epistles is Eph. 2:11-22, because he cites this text specifically in sermons on Christmas and Epiphany in order to be able to relate the two feasts together. The passage lends itself very well for this purpose.

Saxer in his attempt at reconstructing uses indications in the sermon that specifically denote the scriptural reading⁹¹.

We can conclude that, according to the authors mentioned above, the numerous occurrences of a certain scriptural passage in a specific sermon can form a reliable indication of the use of a particular liturgical pericope. In order to be able to interpret these indications, the scriptural texts must be identified and summed up for each sermon. When the same scriptural passage occurs in sermons that belong to one liturgical-thematic group, this can indicate a fundamental pericope, presuming that this

de cette date, vendredi de Pâques 410, il semble, que ce fut toujours le récit de la pêche miraculeuse (Joh 21,1-14)", *ib.*, p. 100.

⁸⁷ "L'oeuvre homilétique de saint Augustin, complétée quelquefois par une allusion recueillie en d'autres de ses oeuvres, permet de retrouver les lectures bibliques et le répons psalmique du jour donné où fut prêché tel ou tel sermon. C'est là une donnée de base": A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 153.

⁸⁸ "Les homélies d'Augustin révèlent qu'il commentait la page d'adoration des mages, le verset 2 du psaume 18, la péricope paulinienne de l'Épître aux Ephésiens. [Ps 18:2] Le verset est cité; il n'est pas dit explicitement qu'il ait été chanté, mais on peut le présumer": A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, a.c., p. 154-155.

⁸⁹ *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, ed. A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE. Paris, 1986, p. 83-86.

⁹⁰ S. 199-204 and 373-375. On the other hand, Psalm 18:6 occurs also in a number of Christmas sermons.

⁹¹ V. SAXER, *Saint Augustin. L'année liturgique*. Paris, 1980.

specific scriptural passage does not occur, or at least rarely occurs, in other sermons. A pericope can also be determined when Augustine comments on it recognizably.

METHOD OF ELIMINATION

In this article we would like to determine on the basis of a number of sermons that belong to one liturgical-thematic group what the corresponding pericopes were. In our example we proceed from Augustine's Christmas sermons. Such a departure point is not always possible. The advantage of our example is the fact that the sermons are comparable. It is our presupposition that every explicit indication is preferable to an implicit indication.

Here a problem arises: what do we mean by explicit indication? Is this a proposition in which the term *cantare* or *dicere* occurs?⁹² Or one in which the verb *audire* plays a role?⁹³ Or are we to pay attention to terms like *psalmus*, *evangelium*, *propheta*, *apostolus*?⁹⁴ It appears that *ait*, *dixit*, *cantat*, *canitur* are hardly clarifying with regard to the pericope used; that *audire* in combination with *legere* renders an immediate explicit indication; that one can sometimes obtain further indications through interpreting terms like *psalmus*.

Here we can introduce some other remarks and principles. We presume that as a rule a scriptural quotation will more clearly refer to a pericope than a scriptural allusion. In our research, therefore, quotations

⁹² "Christus qui dixit" (185,2); "hinc enim dictum est" (185,3); "Neque enim ait evangelium: Caro Verbum facta est; sed ait: Verbum caro factum est ... unde ait" (186,2); "quomodo dicit apostolus ad romanos" (186,3); "Neque enim quia dictum est" (187,3); "verum dixit" (187,4); "de quo psalmus cantat" (189,1); "in alio psalmo canitur" (189,1); "Si Maria terra, agnoscamus quod cantamus: Veritas" (189,2); "de quo alibi dicitur" (190,4); "Agite quod ait apostolus" (191,4); "Ipse enim dixit" (192,2); "dicamus ergo ei" (193,2); "quod ait idem Johannes" (194,1).

⁹³ "Audistis cum evangelium legeretur" (189,4); "Merito psalmi eius tamquam voce tubae caelestis accendimur, ubi audimus: Cantate" (190,4); "Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus" (190,4); "angelorum vocem ... cum evangelium legeretur audivimus" (193,1); "audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur" (196,2).

⁹⁴ "Diem qua impleta est prophetia dicens" (185,1); "His, fratres, quae mecum recognoscitis, paucis apostolicis verbis, pauca verba psalmi huius admiscere delectat, et consonantiam reperire" (185,3); "praeconium vocis angelicae factum est" (185,3); "Praedictum enim fuerat per prophetam" (190,3); "sanctis instructa lectionibus" (193,2); "quo die, sicut istum sermonem exorsi sumus: Veritas ... Iam enim et quod in eodem psalmo sequitur" (192,3); "Ipsorum enim angelorum vere hodierna vox est" (194,2); "Proinde quod de illo propheta praedixit" (195,1); "Quod ait sanctus Isaia propheta" (196,1).

have priority over allusions. The fact that the same allusion occurs in several sermons does not necessarily mean anything special. Often the allusion functions as an underscoring of a theme. It is, however, also possible that the preacher larded his exposition with allusions taken from one pericope only. In that case, several allusions from the same biblical context could converge in one pericope.

When one concludes from sermons that belong to one group in which particular pericopes are used, one never has, unless there are explicit indications, the certainty that precisely that pericope was used for precisely that sermon. One will only be able to determine roughly that — in our example of the Christmas sermons — Augustine made use of those specific pericopes on a certain feast.

When Augustine quotes only a few scriptural texts in a sermon, one can conclude with less difficulty which liturgical pericope was used than when he uses quotations from several Epistles, Psalms or Gospels. In the latter case, it becomes much more difficult to determine which quotations did or did not originate from the scriptural passage that has been read. Here a method of elimination could be useful. We will subsequently formulate some basic characteristics of this method. Our observations on the Christmas sermons will clarify the value of this method.

In the first place, one should register accurately the occurrences of scriptural quotations and allusions in each sermon and should differentiate between them. Scriptural quotations are more or less word for word repetitions of propositions from the Scripture. Allusions are smaller fragments from the Scripture — of only one, two or three words — that together do not, or only minimally, form a proposition, and are only detached expressions. Allusions in general will not be obtained by the preacher from the pericope that was read in the liturgy.

In the second place, one should determine, within the context of the sermon, those scriptural texts that serve only as a elucidation of a single thought. These texts are to be conceived as incidental. In general, if they do not belong to the theme as a result of their own context, they will not originate from the pericope. They can, however, belong to a cluster of scriptural texts.

In the third place, within a collection of sermons belonging to one liturgical-thematic group, one can discern scriptural texts that repeatedly form a cluster together with other scriptural texts. Augustine knew clusters of scriptural passages even apart from liturgical themes. To be able to determine clusters of scriptural texts, the references should be listed in *chronological* order for each sermon. The scriptural text that belongs to a

certain cluster can then be studied in the rest of Augustine's works. It then becomes possible to determine whether Augustine included the scriptural text because it fitted in with the cluster or because it suited to the liturgical celebration⁹⁵. La Bonnardière has analysed extensively the clusters of scriptural texts⁹⁶.

In the fourth place, the immediate biblical context of the quotation can be a reason for dismissing a scriptural passage as not being suitable for a pericope.

Lastly, one should consider that local traditions were fundamental to the choice of the pericopes. The presumed scriptural readings can be checked through the occurrence in the liturgical listings of adjacent churches. These readings can also be tested by other liturgical-historical criteria.

CHRISTMAS PERICOPES IN HIPPO. THE OLD TESTAMENT⁹⁷

Apart from the Psalms which are frequently quoted in the Christmas sermons, one may assume, just from the scarcity of Old Testament quotations, that on Christmas there was no pericope from the Prophets. Thus, neither Rouillard, nor Saxer, nor Hudon mention a reading from the Prophets. Hudon follows Roetzer in his reasoning. Our presupposition can furthermore be substantiated by the fact that Christmas was at that time a new feast; only the older established feasts in the liturgy retained Old Testament pericopes as an inheritance.

Is. 53:8 is quoted quite often⁹⁸. Willis suggests this prophetic text at least to be considered as part of the pericope that lies at the basis of S. 196. We fail to see why that understanding should only apply to S. 196. Moreover we are of the opinion that Is. 53:8 simply serves as an un-

⁹⁵ Ps. 18:6 is — compared to Ps. 84:12 (S. 185 and 191) — more frequently combined with John 1 (S. 187, 188, 191, 194 and 195).

⁹⁶ A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Biblia Augustiniana. Ancien Testament: Livres historiques*. Paris, 1960; *Les Douze Petites Prophètes*. Paris, 1963; *Le Deutéronome*. Paris, 1967; *Le Livre de la Sagesse*. Paris, 1970; *Le Livre de Jérémie*. Paris, 1972; *Le Livre des Proverbes*. Paris, 1976; IDEM, *Nouveau Testament: Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniciens, à Tite, à Philémon*. Paris, 1964. IDEM, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne*. Paris, 1965; IDEM, *Tu es Petrus. La péricope Mt 16,13-23 dans l'oeuvre de Saint Augustin*, in: *Irenikon* 34 (1961) 451-499.

⁹⁷ We will limit ourselves to the discussion of S. 184-196, because the authenticity of S. 396 and 370 is disputed, see P. VERBRAKEN, *Etudes critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*. Den Haag, 1976, p. 151-152.

⁹⁸ In S. 184,3, 188,2, 195,1 (4x) and 196,1 (3x).

derscoring of both nativities: the divine and the human. The immediate biblical context of Is. 53:8 has little in common with the theme of Christmas, as little as does the context of Acts 8:33 where the Isaiah text is quoted by the sacred writer. In addition to the Christmas sermons, Is. 53:8 often occurs in other parts of Augustine's oeuvre: repeatedly, when the divine generation of the Son by the Father is concerned, and where the text applies to the Servant of the Lord, the Isaiah text is quoted more extensively⁹⁹. We can furthermore determine that in Augustine's Christmas sermons there are no explicit indications of a pericope from the Prophets.

Is. 1:3, quoted in S. 189,4 and 190,3, is used as the image or the foreshadowing of the unity between the Christians coming from Judaism and the Christians from paganism. Both peoples come to Christ and lie at his feet like two beasts of burden. Neither Is. 1:3 nor *puer natus est* from Is. 9:6 could have belonged to a pericope from the Prophets. Here we are dealing with a very restricted quotation. Also, the other quotations from the Old Testament¹⁰⁰ cannot indicate an appropriate pericope, because of their immediate biblical context.

On the basis of the following argumentation we have excluded Is. 1 and Is. 53 as pericope. Liturgical-historically speaking, Christmas was a recent feast in Augustine's time. It did not include a reading from the Prophets because of the tendency in the African liturgy to omit the Old Testament readings during the celebration of the Eucharist. Apart from the Psalms the scriptural texts from the Old Testament in comparison with those from the New Testament not only are restricted in number, but because of their immediate biblical context, could hardly be used in a Christmas pericope. Although Is. 53:8 is quoted several times in Augustine's early works, it cannot be claimed for the Christmas liturgy. The texts of Isaiah that have been discussed indeed serve to underline images or single thoughts.

THE EPISTLES

Willis presumes, apparently from S. 185,3, that Rom. 5:1-2 was read as pericope, but he fails to argue his case. Saxer, on the other hand,

⁹⁹ As for example in *De Civitate Dei* 18,29, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* I,31,17, *De symbolo ad catechumenos* 3, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* I,27,54.

¹⁰⁰ Gen. 2:19-20, Sap. 8:1, Eccli. 3:20.

does give an argumentation. He chooses for Rom. 5:1-2¹⁰¹ on the basis of the explicit indication *His, fratres, quae mecum recognoscitis, paucis apostolicis verbis, pauca verba psalmi huius admiscere delectat, et consonantiam reperire* (S. 185,3). Hudon reasons that Rom. 1:1-17 could have served as reading¹⁰². These authors consider the passage from the Epistle to the Romans as pericope. With the exception of Saxer, however, they do not present arguments for their selection.

Noteworthy are the numerous occurrences of texts from the Epistle to the Romans¹⁰³. Although Rom. 8:3 occurs in S. 184,2, 185,1 and 192,3, we are dealing here with an allusion: *similitudo carnis peccati*. Rom. 10:3 is used in S. 185,2 and 189,2. The manifold occurrences of texts from the Epistle to the Romans can be an indication of Augustine's inclination towards the theme of justification (*iustitia* in Rom. 1:17, Rom. 10:3 and Rom. 10:10; *lex* in Rom. 7:18.22.25), with which he explicitly deals in S. 185.

2 Cor. 11:2¹⁰⁴ does not form a cluster with any other text from the Epistles and can possibly be considered as a pericope. Therefore, one can choose 2 Cor. 11:2 as pericope, although the biblical context of 2 Cor. 11:2 can only be applied to Christmas with great difficulty. In general, one can say little about the clusters with which texts from the Epistles are associated. It is, however, remarkable that Phil. 2:6ff. is combined in a number of Christmas sermons with texts from John 1¹⁰⁵. Although, absolutely speaking, Augustine often quotes texts from the Epistles, in several cases this is a matter of identical texts.

It is our opinion that a pericope from the Epistle to the Romans indeed is the most likely choice. From S. 185,3 at least it becomes clear that Rom. 5:1-2 was read. Augustine often quotes from the Epistle to the Romans in his Christmas sermons, and in the same S. 185 the theme of justification is explicitly dealt with. According to our criteria of exclusion Rom. 1:17, Rom. 8:3, Rom. 10:3, Rom. 10:10 and Rom. 7,18.22.25 cannot

¹⁰¹ As pericope Rom. 5:1-11 does not seem to be confirmed by S. 193,2, which ends with an allusion to Rom. 5:5.

¹⁰² On the other hand, according to Hudon 1 Cor. 1:30-31, 2 Cor. 4:16, 2 Cor. 8:9, Gal. 4:4, Eph. 2:14, Eph. 5:8, Eph. 5:14, James 1:17 of 1 John 3:2 can also refer to a pericope, G. HUDON, a.c., p. 65.

¹⁰³ Other texts from the Epistles that occur several times are: 2 Cor. 11:2 in S. 188,4, 191,3 and 195,2; Eph. 2:14 in S. 185,3 and 193,2; Eph. 5 verse 8 in S. 195,3 and verse 14 in S. 185,1; Phil. 2:6-7.8 in S. 186,3, 187,4 and 196,1.

¹⁰⁴ S. 188,4, 191,3 and 195,2.

¹⁰⁵ S. 186, 187 and 196.

be considered as a pericope. In that case Rom. 1:1-3, Rom. 5:1-5 (S. 185 and S. 193) and Rom. 13:12-13 remain as possible readings.

THE READING FROM THE PSALMS AND THE RESPONSE

Willis suggests Psalm 84 as pericope from the book of Psalms because this particular Psalm is still used in the rites of different churches during the Christmas liturgy. Rouillard believes that there are three possibilities: either Ps. 84 with the response: *Veritas de terra orta est*; or Ps. 95 with the response: *Bene nuntiate diem de die salutare eius*; or Ps. 18 with the response: *Tamquam sponsus de thalamo suo*. Hudon — indicating that in the oeuvre of Augustine the relation between the Book of Psalms and the other quoted books of the Old Testament equals 31:12 — is right in his deduction that within the Christmas sermons the texts from the Psalms occupy a very dominant place. According to him, Ps. 95 must have been sung because this Psalm is quoted by Augustine in three sermons, and sometimes quite extensively. Furthermore Augustine states: *Merito psalmi eius tanquam voce tubae caelestis accendimur, ubi audimus: Cantate ...* (S. 190,4). Referring to our discussion on explicit indications above, one should investigate if *Merito* etc. may indeed be interpreted as an explicit indication. Saxer indicates that Psalm 84:12 served as response because Augustine states: *Si Maria terra, agnoscamus quod cantamus, Veritas de terra orta est* (S. 189,2). On the basis of S. 185, Saxer is also convinced that this response was used, because there it is quoted *passim*¹⁰⁶.

Among the different authors, Willis, Rouillard and Saxer choose Ps. 84 because this Psalm is adopted within the liturgical tradition of many churches; because the verse in S. 185 is quoted *passim*; and because of the explicit indication in S. 189,2. Rouillard and Hudon choose Ps. 95 because of its frequent use; because Ps. 95 is quoted more extensively in S. 189,1; and because of an explicit indication in S. 190,4. Finally, Rouillard also chooses Ps. 18, however without any argumentation.

One should perhaps take into consideration the fact that every sermon can have another pericope as its basis. In many sermons Ps. 84:12 appears¹⁰⁷. Although Ps. 18:6 is quoted in many of the other Christmas sermons¹⁰⁸, one should not come too hastily to the conclusion that Ps.

¹⁰⁶ Furthermore he refers to this quotation in S. 184,1, 191,2, 192,1/3 and 193,2. His reference to S. 189,1 should be S. 189,2.

¹⁰⁷ S. 184,1, 185 *passim*, 189,2, 191,2, 192,1/3 and 193,2.

¹⁰⁸ S. 187,4, 188,2, 191,2, 192,3, 194,4 and 195,3.

84:12 is the response in S. 184, 185, 189 and 193; and that Ps. 18:6 is the response in S. 187, 188, 194 and 195. This reasoning is countered by S. 191 and 192 where Ps. 18:6 is linked with Ps. 84:12¹⁰⁹. Ps. 84:12 also occurs together with Ps. 95:2¹¹⁰. This last Psalm also appears in S. 194,4 whereas, Ps. 117:24 is quoted in two sermons¹¹¹.

S. 196 offers no Psalm text at all; S. 186 and 188 offer only one. S. 195, on the other hand, offers much more Psalm texts than the other Christmas sermons. But of all the Psalm texts that occur in S. 195 only Ps. 18:6 is quoted in other sermons. The remaining Psalm texts in S. 195 are only found once within the context of the Christmas sermons.

It is difficult to discover some system in Augustine's use of Psalm texts. We may, however, conclude that both Ps. 84:12 and Ps. 18:6, because of their frequent use, can be regarded as response. Furthermore, we assume that Ps. 95:2, although it is quoted in three sermons, is introduced by the preacher mainly because of the terms *dies* and *salutare*. This verse, therefore, does not necessarily indicate a pericope, even if Ps. 95 could have been the pericope for S. 190, as Ps. 18 and Ps. 84 are not mentioned there. Because Ps. 117:24 (*Haec est dies quam fecit dominus*) only occurs in combination with Ps. 84:12 or with Ps. 18:6, we assume that this Psalm verse was not used as response, but as an underscoring text; in this case — as well as in Ps. 95:2 — to emphasize the term *dies*.

In our own argumentation both Ps. 18:6 and Ps. 84:12 can be considered as response, since they are frequently used and because of the exclusion of Ps. 95 and 117 which serve as a explanation of the terms *dies* and *salutare*. We accept as explicit indications the texts in S. 189,2 and S. 190,4, as claimed by our authors, only for the designated sermons. Therefore, we conclude that Ps. 95 served as pericope for no other sermon than for S. 190.

THE READING FROM THE GOSPEL

On the basis of *Angelorum vocem ... pastoribus nuntiatus est, cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Gloria* (S. 193,1), Roetzer proposes Lk. 2:8-14 as Gospel reading. Both on the basis of *Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus* (S. 190,4), and on the basis of *Audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur* (S. 196,2), he also proposes the pericope Lk. 2: 25-

¹⁰⁹ Moreover, both Psalms are absent in S. 186, 190 and 196.

¹¹⁰ S. 184,1 and 189,1.

¹¹¹ S. 184,1 and 187,4.

30, 36ff. Willis suggests as pericope Lk. 2:1-39¹¹². His argument is that this pericope occurs on Christmas in the lectionaries of many churches. Finally, he states that with Augustine there is no trace to be found of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew or of that according to John¹¹³. Rouillard follows Roetzer: Lk. 2:1-38 was read every time.

Hudon argues for the existence of a midnight mass in Hippo because some sermons refer to Lk. 2 (S. 189 and 193), while other sermons quote John 1 (S. 186, 187, 188, 191, 195 and 196). But we ask ourselves what one should decide when in one sermon both chapters are quoted (S. 185, 190, 193 and 194); or when neither of them is quoted (S. 184 and 192)?¹¹⁴ Saxer proposes Lk. 2:14 (Lk. 1-end?) as pericope on the basis of two explicit indications¹¹⁵. On the basis of *Audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur, quod esset sancta prophetissa* (S. 196,2) he also proposes the pericope Lk. 2:26-30. Furthermore, on the basis of *Hinc enim et nato ex virgine domino, cuius diem natalem hodie celebramus, praeconium vocis angelicae factum est: Gloria* (S. 185,3) and on the basis of *Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus Simeonem* (S. 190,4), he refers to the pericope Lk. 2:26-30.

Willis transmits the argument of tradition. Hudon arrives at the conclusion of the existence of a midnight mass and a mass during the day at Hippo because of the separate frequent occurrences of Lk. 2 and John 1. Roetzer gives three explicit indications for Lk. 2: S. 190,4, 193,1 and 196,2. In this he is followed by Rouillard. Saxer gives five explicit indications for Lk. 2: S. 185,3, 190,4, 193,1, 194,2 and 196,2.

The number of texts from the Gospel according to John is remarkable, especially from John 1¹¹⁶. Texts from John 1 are used several times

¹¹² S. 185,3, 190,3 (presumably because of *nuntiatur pastoribus* and *praesepe*), 193,1, 194,2 and 196,2.

¹¹³ See the text in the title of our contribution: S. 359A,11. As appears from our appendices, texts from Mt. 1 and John 1 are indeed found.

¹¹⁴ Apart from the history of the origin of the midnight-mass in Rome, one can already deduce from the text itself of Augustine's Christmas sermons, that he held his sermons during the day. This is indicated by the frequent occurrence of the terms *hodie*, *hodiernus* and *dies*: S. 184,1, 185,1, 185,2, 185,3, 186,3, 187,1, 188,2, 188,4, 189,3, 190,1, 190,2, 190,3, 191,3, 192,1, 192,3, 194,1, 194,2, 194,4, 195,3, 196,1 and a clear indication in 196,4. Augustine speaks always about the day of the birth, once only there occurs an allusion to the night of the birth: "Nondum contemplari possumus quod genitus est ante luciferum a patre, frequentemus quod nocturnis horis est natus ex virgine" (S. 194,4).

¹¹⁵ "Cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Gloria in excelsis" (S. 193,1); "Ipsorum enim angelorum vere hodierna vox est ... Gloria" (S. 194,2).

¹¹⁶ In fact texts from John 1 do not occur in S. 184, 189, 192 and 193.

times in one sermon. Furthermore, from the Gospel according to St. John verses 27 and 30-31 of chapter 3, and verses 4,6,18-19, 21 and 28 of chapter 14 are well represented¹¹⁷. Mark does not occur at all. From the texts from Matthew only Mt. 1:23 implies the nativity, whereas Mt. 5 is represented by two verses¹¹⁸.

It is possible to denote two clusters of gospel texts. Lk. 2 and John 1 appear together in S. 185, 190 and 194, twice linked with John 14:6¹¹⁹. John 1 and John 14 form a cluster in S. 185, 187, 190, 194 and 195. Research to determine the place of John 14:6 within the works of Augustine could show itself valuable with regard to his Christmas sermons.

For some sermons we propose parts of Lk. 2 as pericope, and for others parts from John 1.

CONCLUSION

With regard to the question which pericopes were read at Hippo in Augustine's time, we have gathered several facts about Augustine's sermons: his preparation of the sermon, the closing prayer after the sermon, preaching and Holy Scripture, number and order of the pericopes in a celebration of the Eucharist at Hippo, the lectionary, the feasts of martyrs, the Psalm as chanted reading, and attempts to reconstruct the reading list of Hippo by Willis, Poque, La Bonnardi re and Saxer, with which also theories of Roetzer, Rouillard, Hudon and Pellegrino were linked.

When one considers the results of the method of elimination, it is evident that this method can help in determining which scriptural texts quoted by Augustine are definitely not to be considered as pericopes. Of course, elimination will not flawlessly lead to the pericopes that actually were read. With a number of scriptural texts this method can not give a decided result. Whereas the explicit indication only applies to the sermon wherein it occurs, the method of exclusion can however elucidate more general principles in the use of Scripture within the liturgical-thematic analogous sermons.

For the Epistle we found a clear indication in S. 185,3 (Rom. 5:1-2); for the Psalm in S. 189,2 (Ps. 84:12), S. 190,4 (Ps. 95) and S. 192,3 (Ps. 84:12); for the Gospel in S. 186,2 (John 1:14), S. 189,4 (Lk. 2:7), S. 190,4 (Lk. 2:26), S. 193,1 (Lk. 2:14), S. 194,2 (Lk. 2:14) and S. 196,2 (Lk.

¹¹⁷ John 14 in S. 185, 187, 190, 194 and 195.

¹¹⁸ Mt. 5:6 and 5:8.

¹¹⁹ S. 185 *veritas*; S. 190 *via*.

2:36-37)¹²⁰. From this it becomes clear that Augustine pays particular attention to the words of the Gospel in his Christmas sermons.

Combining the evidence with the results of the method of exclusion, we understand that the following sermons contain references to the following pericopes¹²¹:

S. 184:	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	
S. 185: Rom. 5:1-2	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>Lk. 2:14</i>
S. 186: <i>Phil. 2:6-8/Rom. 1:1-3</i>		<i>John 1:14</i>
S. 187: <i>Phil. 2:6-7</i>	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>John 1:14</i>
S. 188: 2 Cor. 11:2	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>John 1:14</i>
S. 189:	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>Lk. 2:7</i>
S. 190: Rom. 13:12-13	<i>Ps. 95:1-2</i>	<i>Lk. 2:29-30</i>
S. 191: 2 Cor. 11:2	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>John 1</i>
S. 192:	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	
S. 193: <i>Eph. 2:14</i>	<i>Ps. 84:12</i>	<i>Lk. 2:14</i>
S. 194: Gal. 2:20	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>Lk. 2:14</i>
S. 195: 2 Cor. 11:2	<i>Ps. 18:6</i>	<i>John 1</i>
S. 196: <i>Phil. 2:6-7</i>		<i>Lk. 2:36-37</i>

At the end of our contribution we give three appendices. The first appendix clarifies how the indications relate to the results of the method of elimination. Indeed, the result of the method of elimination can be confronted with the list of indications. The first appendix provides after the first words of every sermon also the quotations and allusions in the order they appear in each sermon. The numbers that are printed in *italics* indicate — based on the method of elimination — that the scriptural text could have served as pericope, whereas the numbers that are printed in **bold** indicate the pericopes that can be deduced from the indications. When a bold reference is not printed in *italics*, this means that in this case our method has not lead to any result. The second appendix supplies the total number of scriptural quotations and allusions that are used by Augustine in his Christmas sermons. They are arranged according to the order of the books of Holy Scripture. The third appendix gives a complete classification of indications.

Eindhoven

Martijn SCHRAMA O.S.A.

¹²⁰ A complete classification of indications follows in appendix III.

¹²¹ The references printed in *italics* have been determined by the method of elimination; those that are printed in **bold** have been determined by indications. Both can be combined in a reference, in that case it is printed in **bold italics**.

Appendix I

SERMO 184: Natalis domini et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, quo veritas de terra orta est, et dies ex die in nostrum natus est diem, anniversario reditu nobis hodie celebrandus illuxit: exsultemus et iucundemur in eo.

Ps. 84:12, Ps. 117:24, Ps. 95:2, Mt. 11:25, Rom. 8:3 and Is. 53:8.

SERMO 185: Natalis domini dicitur, quando dei sapientia se demonstravit infantem, et dei verbum sine verbis vocem carnis emisit.

Ps. 84:12, Eph. 5:14, Rom. 8:3, 1 Cor. 1:30-31, Rom. 10:3, Ps. 84:12, John 14:6, John 1:14, James 1:17, John 3:27, Rom. 5:1-2, Ps. 84:11, Rom. 5:1, Ps. 84:12, 1 Cor. 1:30-31, Lk. 2:14, Eph. 2:14, 2 Cor. 1:12, Ps. 3:4.

SERMO 186: Gaudeamus, fratres, laetentur et exsultent gentes. Istum diem nobis non sol iste visibilis, sed creator ipsius invisibilis consecravit.

Ps. 66:5, John 1:14, Mt. 26:38, John 1:14, John 1:1, John 1:14, Phil. 2:6-7, Phil. 2:8, Rom. 1:1-3, Gal. 4:4, 2 Cor. 4:16.

SERMO 187: Laudem domini loquetur os meum; eius domini per quem facta sunt omnia et qui factus est inter omnia.

Ps. 144:21, John 1:1, Sap. 8:1, Ps. 33:9, John 1:1, John 1:14, John 1:1, Mt. 1:23, 1 Peter 1:25, Ps. 18:6, Phil. 2:6-7, John 14:28, John 10:30, Phil. 2:6-7, Is. 9:6, 1 Peter 1:25, John 1:14, Mt. 1:23, Ps. 117:24, 1 John 1:7, Ps. 117:24.

SERMO 188: Filium dei sicuti est apud patrem aequalis illi et coaeternus, in quo condita sunt omnia in coelo et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia, verbum dei et deum, vitam et lucem hominum, si laudare moliamur; non mirum est quod nulla humana cogitatio, nullus sermo sufficiat.

Mt. 5:8, John 1:1, John 1:14, Is. 53:8, Ps. 18:6, Gen. 2:19-20, 2 Cor. 11:2.

SERMO 189: Sanctificavit nobis istum diem dies, qui fecit omnem diem, de quo psalmus cantat: Cantate domino canticum novum, cantate domino omnis terra, cantate domino et benedicite nomen eius, bene nuntiate diem de die salutare eius.

Ps. 95:1-2, Ps. 5:5, Ps. 84:12, Rom. 10:3, Rom. 1:17, Ps. 84:12, Ps. 84:12, Lk. 2:7, Is. 1:3.

SERMO 190: Dominus noster Jesus qui erat apud patrem antequam natus esset ex matre, non solum virginem de qua nasceretur, sed et diem quo nasceretur, eligit.

Rom. 13:12-13, *John 1:14*, *John 1:*, **Is. 1:3**, **Ps. 95:1-2**, *Ps. 66:2-3*, *John 14:6*, **Lk. 2:29-30**, *Ps. 95:2*, *Ps. 95:2-3*.

SERMO 191: Verbum patris per quod facta sunt tempora, caro factum, natalem suum nobis fecit in tempore.

John 1:14, **Ps. 84:12**, *Lk. 24:39*, *Ps. 18:6*, **2 Cor. 11:2**, *1 Cor. 7:32-34*, *Rom. 10:10*.

SERMO 192: Hodie veritas de terra orta est, Christus de carne natus est. Gaudete solemniter, et sempiternum diem hodierno quoque admoniti cogitate, aeterna dona spe firmissima concupiscite.

Ps. 84:12, *Mt. 12:50*, **Ps. 84:12**, *John 3:31*, *John 16:8-10*, *Ps. 18:7*, *Ps. 18:6*, *Ps. 18:7*, **Ps. 84:12**, *Ps. 18:6*, *Ps. 18:7*, *Rom. 8:3*.

SERMO 193: Angelorum vocem, per quam dominus Jesus Christus natus virginis partu, pastoribus nuntiatus est, cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Lk. 2:14, *Ps. 33:13-15*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Ps. 101:28*, *Rom. 7:18.22*, *Rom. 7:25*, *Gal. 5:17*, *Eph. 2:14*, *John 8:31-32*, *Ps. 84:12*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Ps. 118:106*, *Rom. 7:22*, *Ps. 118:107*, *Rom. 7:18*, *Ps. 118:108*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Rom. 5:5*.

SERMO 194: Audite filii lucis, adoptati in regnum dei, fratres carissimi, audite; audite et exsultate iusti in domino, ut vos rectos possit decere laudatio.

Ps. 32:1, **John 3:30**, *2 Cor. 5:15*, **Gal. 2:20**, *John 3:30*, *John 1:*, *Lk. 2:14*, *Ps. 94:7*, **Lk. 2:14**, *John 1:*, *John 1:*, *Col. 2:3*, *2 Cor. 8:9*, *Ps. 30:20*, *1 Cor. 13:9*, *1 John 3:2*, *John 14:8*, *Ps. 16:15*, *John 10:30*, *John 14:9*, *Ps. 23:10*, *Ps. 79:4*, *Ps. 26:8-9*, *John 14:21*, *1 Cor. 2:9*, *2 Cor. 5:9*, *Mt. 5:6*, *Ps. 71:17*, *Ps. 109:3*, *Ps. 18:6*.

SERMO 195: Filius dei idemque filius hominis, dominus noster Jesus Christus, sine matre de patre natus, creavit omnem diem; sine patre de matre natus, consecravit hunc diem; divina nativitate invisibilis, humana visibilis, utraque mirabilis.

Is. 53:8, *Is. 53:8*, *Is. 53:8*, *Is. 53:8*, *Ps. 44:3*, **2 Cor. 11:2**, *Gal. 4:26-27*, *John 1:11*, *John 1:5*, *Eph. 5:8*, *Ps. 18:6*, *John 1:14*, *John 14:4*.

SERMO 196: Hodiernus dies natalis domini nostri Jesu Christi nobis festus illuxit. Natalis dies quo natus est dies. Et ideo hodie, quia ex hodierno crescit dies.

Is. 53:8, *John 1:*, Is. 53:8, *Phil. 2:6*, *Phil. 2:7*, *Phil. 2:6*, Is. 53:8, **Lk. 2:36-37**, Eccli. 3:20, *John 1:*.

Appendix II

OLD TESTAMENT

Gen. 2:19-20: S. 188

Is. 1:3: 189, 190

Is. 9:6: 187

Is. 53:8: 184, 188, 195, 196

Wisdom. 8:1: 187

Eccli. 3:20: 196

PSALMS

Psalms that occur several times:

Ps. 18:6/7: 187, 188, 191, 192, 194, 195

Ps. 84:11/12: 184, 185, 189, 191, 192, 193

Ps. 95:1-3/2: 184, 189, 190

Ps. 117:24: 184, 187

Ps. 118:106-108: 193

Psalms that occur only once:

Ps. 3:4: 185

Ps. 5:5: 189

Ps. 16:15: 194

Ps. 23:10: 194

Ps. 26:8-9: 194

Ps. 30:20: 194

Ps. 32:1: 194

Ps. 33:9: 187

Ps. 33:13-15: 193

Ps. 44:3: 195

Ps. 66:2-3: 190

Ps. 66:5: 186

Ps. 71:17: 194

Ps. 79:4: 194

- Ps. 94:7: 194
Ps. 101:28: 193
Ps. 109:3: 194
Ps. 144:21: 187

GOSPEL

- Mt. 1:23: 187
Mt. 5:6: 194
Mt. 5:8: 188
Mt. 11:25: 184
Mt. 12:50: 192
Mt. 26:38: 186

Lk. 2:7: 189
Lk. 2:14: 185, 193, 194
Lk. 2:29-30/36-37: 190, 196
Lk. 24:39: 191

- John 1:...: 186, 187, 188, 190, 194, 196
John 1:5/11: 195
John 1:14: 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 195
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John 3:30: 194
John 3:31: 192
John 8:31-32: 193
John 10:30: 187, 194
John 14:4: 195
John 14:6: 185 (*veritas*), 190 (*via*)
John 14:8-9.21: 194
John 14:28: 187
John 16:8-10: 192

EPISTLES

- Rom. 1:1-3: 186
Rom. 1:17: 189
Rom. 5:1-2: 185
Rom. 5:5: 193
Rom. 7:18/22/25: 193
Rom. 8:3: 184, 185, 192
Rom. 10:3: 185, 189

Rom. 10:10: 191

Rom. 13:12-13: 190

1 Cor. 1:30-31: 185

1 Cor. 2:9: 194

1 Cor. 7:32-34: 191

1 Cor. 13:9: 194

2 Cor. 1:12: 185

2 Cor. 4:16: 186

2 Cor. 5:9: 194

2 Cor. 5:15: 194

2 Cor. 8:9: 194

2 Cor. 11:2: 188, 191, 195

Gal. 2:20: 194

Gal. 4:4: 186

Gal. 4:26-27: 195

Gal. 5:17: 193

Eph. 2:14: 185, 193

Eph. 5:8: 195

Eph. 5:14: 185

Phil. 2:6-7: 186, 187, 196

Phil. 2:8: 186

Col. 2:3: 194

James 1:17: 185

1 Peter 1:25: 187

1 John 1:7: 187

1 John 3:2: 194.

Appendix III

The indications that are marked with an * we consider certain, those marked with a ? we consider doubtful. Other indications of a less explicit nature are stated in footnote 92, 93 and 94 above.

- ?185,1 (Ps. 84:12) qua impleta est prophetia *dicens*: Veritas
 ?185,2 (Ps. 84:12) propterea cum *dixisset*: Veritas ... mox *addidit*: Et iustitia
 *185,3 (Rom. 5:1-2) His fratres ... paucis apostolicis verbis
 ?185,3 (Lk. 2:14) praeconium vocis angelicae *factum est*: Gloria
 ?185,3 (Ps. 3:4) Hinc enim *dictum est*: Gloria mea et exaltans caput meum
 *186,2 (John 1:14) Neque enim ait evangelium: Caro
 ?186,3 (Rom. 1:1-3) quomodo *dicit* apostolus ad romanos: Segregatus in evangelium dei
 ?187,3 (John 1:14) Neque enim quia *dictum est*: Deus erat verbum
 ?187,4 (John 14:28/30) verum *dixit*: Pater maior me est ... verum *dixit*: Ego et pater unum sumus
 ?188,2 (John 1:14) Huc itaque paululum *aures et animos advertamus* si forte valeamus aliquid congruum dignumque dicere, non ex eo quod in principio erat verbum, sed ex eo quod verbum caro factum est
 ?188,4 (2 Cor. 11:2) Huic enim *dicit* apostolus: Aptavi vos
 ?189,1 (Ps. 95:1-2) de quo psalmus *cantat*: Cantate
 *189,2 (Ps. 84:12) Si Maria terra, agnoscamus quod cantamus: Veritas
 *189,4 (Lk. 2:7) Qui deus erat, homo factus est. Angustum erat diversorium involutus pannis, in praesepe positus; audistis cum evangelium legeretur
 ?190,1 (Rom. 13:12-13) Sic enim *dicit* apostolus: Nox praecessit
 ?190,3 (Is. 1:3) *Praedictum* enim fuerat per prophetam: Agnovit
 *190,4 (Ps. 95:1-2) Merito psalmi eius tamquam voce tubae caelestis accendimur, ubi audimus: Cantate
 *190,4 (Lk. 2:26.29-30) Et modo cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus: Simeonem
 ?191,2 (Ps. 84:12) Sic adimplendum est quod *praedixerat* psalmus: Veritas
 ?191,3 (2 Cor. 11:2) Desponsavi enim vos, *inquit*
 ?192,3 (Ps. 84:12) quo die sicut *istum sermonem* exorsi sumus: Veritas
 ?192,3 (Ps. 84:12) Iam enim et quod in eodem psalmo sequitur, *factum est*
 *192,3 (Ps. 84:12) Quod ergo audis: Veritas

- *193,1 (Lk. 2) Angelorum vocem ... cum evangelium legeretur, audivimus:
Gloria
- ?194,1 (John 3:30) quod *ait* idem Johannes: Illum oportet crescere
- ?194,1 (Gal. 2:20) et dicat unusquisque nostrum quod *dicit* apostolus: Vivo
autem iam non ego
- *194,2 (Lk. 2) Ipsorum enim angelorum vere hodierna vox est: Gloria
- ?195,1 (Is. 53:8) proinde quod de illa propheta *praedixit*: Generationem
- ?195,2 (2 Cor. 11:2) Ad hanc quippe *dicit* apostolus: Aptavi
- ?196,1 (Is. 53:8) Quod *ait* sanctus Isaias propheta: Generationem
- *196,2 (Lk. 2:36-37) Audistis modo cum evangelium legeretur prophetissa.

Regular and liturgical and liturgical manuscripts. St. Lawrence of Sciville's De Institutione appropinquates the Augustin Rule of Vespers, the Augustinian Tercentenary and history of Sciville's Regular canonization. The exact history of such rules is of increasing complexity and that of the Rule of St. Augustine is, as we shall see, no exception. With the Gregorian reform came important changes in development of the rule, however far removed with the emphasis on the strength of the early tradition in their acceptance of poverty, celibacy and regular prayer. A complete revision in 1521 by a Regular Order Augustin's canon came but the early commitment to the according to the Rule, which clearly became an 'typical canon' had little of no knowledge of the actual text of the Rule, whereas the difficulty this Church of Northumbria experienced in obtaining a copy c. 1120. It was some time before it was the rule of the Northumbrian. Thus the Rule of St. Augustine achieved the most authoritative average regular source that the Rule of St. Benedict had long suffered owing to the fact it is commonly true that the need for such a rule was the more strongly felt for the dispute in which arose with the Benedictines and their frequent charge that the canon lacked a founder. It was eventually an approved rule by the Fourth Lateran Council and was adopted by St. Benedict and his house.

The text of the Rule of St. Augustine as printed in 1521, 'the prince three years'. The first 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 700, 800, 900, 1000, 1100, 1200, 1300, 1400, 1500, 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900, 2000, 2100, 2200, 2300, 2400, 2500, 2600, 2700, 2800, 2900, 3000, 3100, 3200, 3300, 3400, 3500, 3600, 3700, 3800, 3900, 4000, 4100, 4200, 4300, 4400, 4500, 4600, 4700, 4800, 4900, 5000, 5100, 5200, 5300, 5400, 5500, 5600, 5700, 5800, 5900, 6000, 6100, 6200, 6300, 6400, 6500, 6600, 6700, 6800, 6900, 7000, 7100, 7200, 7300, 7400, 7500, 7600, 7700, 7800, 7900, 8000, 8100, 8200, 8300, 8400, 8500, 8600, 8700, 8800, 8900, 9000, 9100, 9200, 9300, 9400, 9500, 9600, 9700, 9800, 9900, 10000, 10100, 10200, 10300, 10400, 10500, 10600, 10700, 10800, 10900, 11000, 11100, 11200, 11300, 11400, 11500, 11600, 11700, 11800, 11900, 12000, 12100, 12200, 12300, 12400, 12500, 12600, 12700, 12800, 12900, 13000, 13100, 13200, 13300, 13400, 13500, 13600, 13700, 13800, 13900, 14000, 14100, 14200, 14300, 14400, 14500, 14600, 14700, 14800, 14900, 15000, 15100, 15200, 15300, 15400, 15500, 15600, 15700, 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30100, 30200, 30300, 30400, 30500, 30600, 30700, 30800, 30900, 31000, 31100, 31200, 31300, 31400, 31500, 31600, 31700, 31800, 31900, 32000, 32100, 32200, 32300, 32400, 32500, 32600, 32700, 32800, 32900, 33000, 33100, 33200, 33300, 33400, 33500, 33600, 33700, 33800, 33900, 34000, 34100, 34200, 34300, 34400, 34500, 34600, 34700, 34800, 34900, 35000, 35100, 35200, 35300, 35400, 35500, 35600, 35700, 35800, 35900, 36000, 36100, 36200, 36300, 36400, 36500, 36600, 36700, 36800, 36900, 37000, 37100, 37200, 37300, 37400, 37500, 37600, 37700, 37800, 37900, 38000, 38100, 38200, 38300, 38400, 38500, 38600, 38700, 38800, 38900, 39000, 39100, 39200, 39300, 39400, 39500, 39600, 39700, 39800, 39900, 40000, 40100, 40200, 40300, 40400, 40500, 40600, 40700, 40800, 40900, 41000, 41100, 41200, 41300, 41400, 41500, 41600, 41700, 41800, 41900, 42000, 42100, 42200, 42300, 42400, 42500, 42600, 42700, 42800, 42900, 43000, 43100, 43200, 43300, 43400, 43500, 43600, 43700, 43800, 43900, 44000, 44100, 44200, 44300, 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