

1. Christianity in North Africa to Diocletian	1
Background	1
Geographical Spread	3
Persecution	7
180-249 C.E.	7
Persecution under Decius, 250/251 C.E.	12
<i>Summary</i>	12
<i>The Orders</i>	15
<i>Implementation of the Orders</i>	16
<i>The Victims</i>	18
Persecution under Gallus	20
Persecution under Valerian and Gallienus, 257-260 C.E.	22
<i>Dionysius of Alexandria</i>	22
<i>Cyprian</i>	23
<i>Further Implementation</i>	24
Disciplinary and Doctrinal Disputes	26
Christian Literature	30
2. The Christian Imperial Period: Diocletian to the Vandals	35
From Diocletian to Constantine	35
Diocletian's Reforms	35
The Persecution of Christians	38
Constantine and His Sons	42
The Liberation of Christianity	42
Religious Non-Conformists	45
<i>Manichees</i>	45
<i>Novatianists</i>	46
<i>Tertullianists</i>	47
<i>Donatists</i>	47
Julian to the Vandals	51
Stability Once More	52
Destabilization and Suppression	53
Renewed Conflict between Caecilianists and Donatists	54
The Pelagian Controversy	57
Arians and Vandals	58

3. Fifth-Century Conflicts: Vandal Arians and African Nicenes	61
The Vandal Conquest of Roman Africa	61
The Vandal Kingdom in Africa	64
The Religious Conflict	67
<i>Vandal Arianism</i>	67
<i>Repression of Nicene Christianity</i>	69
The Vandal Imprint	75
Byzantine Africa	75
Justinian's Conquest	75
Byzantine Orthodoxy	77
African Resistance to Justinian	78
Donatism	80
The Final Debate	82
Arab Africa	84
4. Survey of the Archeological Evidence for Christian Practice	87
History and Overview of the Evidence	87
Types of Ecclesial Structures	92
Dating the Remains	95
Characteristics of African Basilicas	98
Liturgical Furniture (Altars, Screens, and Pulpits)	101
Baptismal Architecture	103
Multiple Baptisteries in a Single Urban Area	105
Baptistry Placement and Construction	106
Font Shapes, Sizes, and Depths	108
Mosaic Decoration of Baptisteries and Fonts	111
Additional Structures and Apparatus	112
Archeological Evidence Pertaining to the Cult of Saints	113
Burial <i>ad Sanctos</i>	118
Architectural Evidence for Christian Burial	120
Cemeteries and Cemetery Churches	124
Funerary Banquet or Offering Tables (<i>Mensae</i>)	126
Mosaic Tomb Covers	128
Ecclesial Structures in Selected Cities	131
Basilica of Castellum Tingitanum (Chlef or Orléansville)	131

The Churches of Carthage	134
<i>The Caecilianist Cathedral of Carthage</i>	142
<i>Basilica Maiorum</i>	144
<i>Memoria Cypriani (Basilica of the Mappalia)</i>	145
The Churches of Sufetula	147
<i>The Church of Bellator</i>	149
<i>The Chapel of Jucundus</i>	150
<i>The Basilica of Vitalis</i>	150
<i>The Church of Servus</i>	152
<i>The Basilica (or Martyrium) of Saints Sylvanius and Fortunatus</i>	153
<i>The Basilica of Saints Gervasius, Protasius, and Tryphon</i>	154
<i>Other Basilicas</i>	154
<i>The Chapel of Bishop Honorius (in the Region of Sufetula)</i>	155
The Ecclesial Complex at Hippo Regius	155
<i>The Baptistery at Hippo Regius</i>	159
Thamugadi and the Cathedral of Optatus	160
Conclusion	162

5. Becoming a Christian: The Ritual of Baptism	165
Introduction	165
Baptismal Practice in Tertullian's Time	166
The Rejection of Idolatry	166
The Catechumenate	168
The Ritual	169
Age of Candidates for Baptism	171
Ministers of the Sacrament	171
Baptism in Extraordinary Circumstances	171
Baptismal Space, Time, and Elements	172
Images of Baptism: Biblical Typologies	172
Disputed Issues	173
<i>Irregular or Heretical Baptism</i>	173
<i>The Baptism of John</i>	174
<i>Repeating Baptism</i>	174
<i>Baptism and Martyrdom</i>	175
Conclusion	175
Baptism in Cyprian's Time	176

The Ritual	177
Infant Baptism	179
The Worthy Minister	180
Baptism and Martyrdom	182
Emergency Baptism	182
Images of Baptism	184
Baptismal Spaces	184
The Maternal Church	184
Disputed Issues	186
<i>The Power to Baptize</i>	186
<i>The Rebaptism Controversy</i>	187
Conclusion	190
Baptism in the <i>Treatise on Rebaptism</i>	191
The Ritual	191
Contribution to the Controversy	192
Conclusion	194
The Controversy over Baptism in the Fourth Century	195
The Donatist Schism	195
Optatus of Milevis	198
The Revolt against Primian	200
Conclusion	201
Baptism in Augustine's Time	201
The Ritual	201
<i>Enrollment of Catechumens</i>	202
<i>Lenten Preparation</i>	204
<i>Holy Week and Baptism at the Easter Vigil</i>	208
<i>The Baptismal Washing</i>	208
<i>Anointing and Imposition of Hands</i>	210
<i>Entrance into the Church</i>	211
<i>Subsequent Instruction</i>	211
<i>Foot Washing</i>	212
Infant Baptism	212
Emergency Baptism	213
Ministers of the Sacrament	213
A Theology of Baptism	214
Conclusion	219

General Observations	220
Correlation of Archeological and Literary Evidence	220
<i>The Decoration of Fonts</i>	221
<i>Shapes, Sizes, and Depths of Fonts</i>	222
<i>Placement of Baptisteries</i>	223
<i>Multiple Fonts</i>	223
<i>Privacy of the Ritual</i>	224
Correlation of Theology and Practice	224
<i>Rebaptism</i>	224
<i>The Power to Sanctify</i>	226
<i>Unity of the Ritual</i>	229
<i>Baptism of Infants</i>	229
Transition	230

6. Living in Peace: The Celebration of Word and Eucharist	233
Introduction	233
Word and Eucharist in Tertullian's Time	234
The Ritual	234
<i>Readings</i>	235
<i>Prayer</i>	236
<i>Kiss of Peace</i>	237
<i>Offering</i>	237
<i>Times of Celebration</i>	239
The Evening <i>Agapē</i>	240
The Morning Ritual	241
Presiders	242
Food Elements	243
Additional Issues	244
<i>Purity</i>	244
<i>Excommunication</i>	245
Conclusion	245
Word and Eucharist in Cyprian's Time	246
The Ritual	247
<i>Readings</i>	247
<i>Prayer and Kiss of Peace</i>	248
<i>Offering</i>	249

Evening <i>Agapē</i> and Morning Assembly	251
Presiders	252
Food Elements	252
Additional Issues	254
<i>Priesthood and Sacrifice</i>	254
<i>Eucharist and Martyrdom</i>	255
<i>Excommunication</i>	256
<i>Purity</i>	257
<i>Images of the Eucharist</i>	258
Conclusion	259
Word and Eucharist in Augustine's Time	261
The Ritual	262
<i>Entrance Procession</i>	262
<i>Readings and Preaching</i>	263
<i>Dismissal</i>	265
<i>Prayers</i>	265
<i>Presentation and Preparation of Gifts</i>	265
<i>Eucharistic Prayer and Distribution</i>	266
<i>Ending</i>	268
Daily Eucharist	269
The Lectionary	269
Preaching	271
The Congregation	272
Fasting before Eucharist	273
Eucharistic Theology	274
Theology of Priesthood	282
Theology of Preaching	284
Conclusion	286
General Observations	287
Correlation of Archeological and Literary Evidence	287
<i>Church Furnishings</i>	287
Correlation of Theology and Practice	289
<i>From Evening Agapē to Morning Eucharist</i>	289
<i>Eucharist as Sacrifice</i>	290
<i>Preaching and Predestination</i>	291
<i>The Role of the Clergy</i>	291
Transition	293

7. Keeping the Church Pure: Excluding and Readmitting Sinners	295
Introduction	295
The Practice of Penance in Tertullian's Time	296
Structure of the Ritual	297
Using the Ritual of Repentance	299
Access to the Ritual	300
Withholding the Ritual	301
The Penitential Works	301
Forgiveness through Martyrdom	302
The Development of Penitential Discipline	303
<i>The New Prophecy</i>	304
<i>Episcopal Innovation</i>	308
The Power to Forgive Sins	309
Conclusion	311
The Practice of Penance in Cyprian's Time	313
The Ritual of Penance	314
Using the Ritual of Penance	318
Reconciliation of Penitents before Death	320
Alternate Forms of Penance	321
Repentance by the Clergy	322
Forgiveness through Martyrdom	323
The Forgiveness of Daily Sins	324
The Power of the Church to Forgive Sins	324
The Authority and Power of the Bishop	326
Integration into the Community	328
The Communion of the Church	330
The Purity of the Church	330
Conclusion	331
The Donatist Practice of Penance	332
The Practice of Penance in Augustine's Time	333
Types of Sin	334
Rebuke and Correction	337
The Rituals: Daily Private Penance	337
The Rituals: Formal Public Penance	339
The Rituals: Penance Performed in Secret	341
The Rituals: Reception of Those Baptized without True Conversion	343

Penance for the Clergy	344
Penitential Works	345
The Necessity of the Ritual of Reconciliation	347
The Power to Forgive and the Efficacy of Penance	349
Intercession of the Martyrs	352
Conclusion	353
General Observations	354
Correlation of Archeological and Literary Evidence	354
<i>Placement of the Penitents</i>	354
Correlation of Theology and Practice	355
<i>The Power to Forgive Sins</i>	356
<i>Sins the Church Could Not Forgive</i>	358
<i>Ritualizing Repentance</i>	359
<i>The Rituals of Reconciliation</i>	360
Transition	361
<hr/>	
8. Leadership: The Clergy and the Sacrament of Orders	363
Introduction	363
The Clergy in Tertullian's Time	364
Clerical Ranks	364
Clerical Life	365
Clergy as Governing Officers	366
Status of Martyrs and Confessors	368
Spiritual Prophets	369
Lay Elders	369
Conclusion	370
The Clergy in Cyprian's Time	370
Clerical Offices	370
<i>Subdeacons, Acolytes, Readers, and Exorcists</i>	370
<i>Deacons</i>	372
<i>Presbyters</i>	373
<i>Bishops</i>	375
Electing and Rejecting a Bishop	375
Authority of the Bishop	378
Appointment and Discipline of Other Clergy	379
The Martyrs	381

Prophets and Visionaries	382
Lay Elders	383
Apostolic Succession and the Episcopal College	384
<i>Episcopal Synods</i>	386
<i>Primate Bishops</i>	387
Conclusion	388
The Clergy during the Fourth Century	389
The Donatist Schism	389
Clerical Office	391
Lay Elders	392
Episcopal Synods	396
Orders as a Sacrament	397
Assimilating Schismatic Clergy	398
Conclusion	401
The Clergy in Augustine's Time	402
Clerical Offices	402
<i>Doorkeepers</i>	402
<i>Acolytes</i>	403
<i>Readers</i>	403
<i>Subdeacons</i>	404
<i>Deacons</i>	404
<i>Presbyters</i>	405
<i>Bishops</i>	407
Lay Elders	409
The Selection and Ordination of Clergy	411
Clerical Life	415
The Organization of the Episcopate	417
<i>Provincial Organization</i>	417
<i>Structure of the African Church</i>	419
<i>Disciplining Clerics</i>	420
The Sacrament of Orders and the Status of the Clergy	424
<i>The Sacrament of Orders</i>	425
<i>Theology of the Episcopate</i>	428
<i>The Status of the Clergy</i>	430
Conclusion	431
General Observations	432
Correlation of Archeological and Literary Evidence	432

Correlation of Theology and Practice	434
<i>Authority and Power</i>	435
<i>Acceptance of Schismatic Clergy</i>	436
<i>Episcopal College</i>	437
Conclusion	438

9. Forms of Christian Life: Marriage, Virginity, and Widowhood	441
Introduction	441
Marital Practice in Tertullian's Time	442
The Rituals	445
Virginity	446
Widowhood	446
Theology of Marriage	448
Conclusion	450
Marital Practice in Cyprian's Time	451
The Rituals	451
Family Life	451
Virginity	452
Widowhood	454
Conclusion	455
Marital Practice in Augustine's Time	455
Forms of Marriage	455
Family Relationships	460
Virginity	463
Widowhood	467
Theology of Marriage	468
<i>The Unity of Human Society</i>	469
<i>Procreation</i>	471
<i>The Competition of the Ages</i>	474
<i>The Bond of Marriage</i>	475
<i>The Sacrament or Sign</i>	476
Theology of Virginity	478
Theology of Widowhood	481
Conclusion	482
General Observations	484
Correlation of Archeological and Literary Evidence	484

11. Honoring the Victorious Heroes: The Cult of the Martyrs	519
Introduction	519
Martyrs before Systematic Persecution	520
Systematic Persecution in Cyprian's Time	521
The Diocletian Persecution	523
<i>Acta</i> and <i>Passiones</i> of the Martyrs	524
Relics	529
Burial <i>ad Sanctos</i>	530
Shrines	530
Dedications	532
Conclusion	532
The Fifth and Following Centuries	533
Calendar of Festivals	534
Festivals	535
Purpose of the Cult	538
True and False Martyrs	541
Burial <i>ad Sanctos</i>	543
Miracles at the Shrines	545
Conclusion	548
General Observations	548
Correlation of Archeological and Literary Evidence	548
Correlation of Theology and Practice	549
<i>Role of the Martyrs</i>	549
<i>True and False Martyrdom</i>	550
<i>The Martyr's Victory</i>	551
<i>Adaptation of the Meaning of Witness to Christ</i>	551
12. Pious Practices of Christian Living	553
Introduction	553
Praying Together and Alone	554
Tertullian	554
Cyprian	556
Augustine	557
Conclusion	563
Controlling Bodily Appetite by Fasting	563

Tertullian	563
Cyprian	565
Augustine	566
<i>The Practice of Fasting</i>	566
<i>The Meaning of Fasting</i>	568
Conclusion	569
Sharing Property and Income	570
Tertullian	570
Cyprian	571
Augustine	576
Conclusion	580
Confessing Christ	581
Tertullian	582
<i>Prohibited Practices</i>	582
<i>Accepted Practices</i>	583
<i>Disputed Practices</i>	584
Cyprian	586
<i>Prohibited Practices</i>	586
<i>Accepted Practices</i>	588
Fourth-Century Witnesses	590
Augustine	593
<i>Disputed Practices</i>	593
<i>Prohibited Practices</i>	594
<i>Recommended Practices</i>	595
Conclusion	596
General Observations	596
Correlation of Archeological and Literary Evidence	596
Correlation of Theology and Practice	597
<i>Prayer</i>	597
<i>Fasting</i>	598
<i>Almsgiving</i>	598
<i>Confessing Christ</i>	599
<hr/>	
13. The Church and Its Holiness	601
Introduction	601
Tertullian: Rejecting Idolatry and Adhering to Christ	601

Cyprian: Rejecting Schism in a United Church	603
The Donatists: Rejecting Apostasy in a Pure Church	606
Optatus of Milevis: Divine Operation Sanctifies Christians	609
Augustine: Christ Sanctifies His Ecclesial Body	610
Controversial Writings	611
Pastoral Writings	614
Conclusion	620
Bibliography	622
Index of Persons and Groups	643
Index of Places and Monuments	651
Index of Subjects	658